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# THE OUYE FAMILY: TOPAZ SURVIVORS

by

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# INTRODUCTION

It was not until 1997, when I was 43 years old, that I learned that my mother and eight members of her immediate family were among the approximately 110,000 Japanese Americans sent to concentration camps after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. My mother, Mary Ouye Baker, passed away in 1962, when I was not quite eight years old, and although I had occasional contact over the years with my mother's family, I had not maintained a close relationship with the family after her passing. In 1995, while working as an exhibitor at a trade show with my husband in San Francisco, I took advantage of being in close proximity to my mother's family — the Ouyes — and I contacted them. We enjoyed a wonderful reunion that was attended by all of my living aunts and uncles, my cousins and their spouses, and my second cousins. Everyone brought a camera or camcorder, and it seemed to me like a surreal Fuji film festival as they welcomed me — their prodigal relative — back into the fold with open and welcoming arms. The experience has continued to bring us still closer as each day passes.

Two years after that initial reunion, my Auntie Margaret sent me a revealing letter that introduced me to the evacuation and confinement of my family and other Japanese Americans. It also caused me to wonder about my mother and her family and started an avalanche of questions: *When and why had my grandparents moved to the United States in the first place? Why had they settled in Washington? Why had my mother been the only one in her family to move to the East Coast? Why had she been the only one in her family to marry a Caucasian? Why had the evacuation and relocation, such an important part of our family's and nation's history, remained hidden for so long?*

Many of my questions can never be completely answered, because those who know the answers are no longer living. However, through books written by historians and sociologists about Japanese American immigration, I *have been able* to accurately uncover much of the history of first and second generation Japanese Americans, anti-Asian sentiment and legislation, the concentration camps themselves, the heroic and highly decorated all Japanese regimental combat units that served in World War II, and finally the successes and failures of the so-called redress movement. I have especially relied on the extensive research and the photo documentation of Dorthea Lange and others who recorded the events during the evacuation, relocation, and incarceration.

However, it was not until I received a copy of my family's "Final Accountability Records" from the Manabi & Sumi Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum that I had a factual historical record to help me verify the hasty and long overdue accounts given to me by my rapidly aging relatives. At the suggestion of the resource center, I requisitioned my mother's records from the War Relocation Authority (WRA), an inquiry that enabled me to place my mother, her parents, and some of her siblings in various locations on specific dates. Among the 56 pages that I received were personal letters my mother had written to WRA officials and caseworkers. These letters were emotionally overwhelming because they offered me the first glimpse of my mother's handwriting or anything she had written.

The Ouye family held another reunion this spring, May 2002, in California, and this time, my sister and brother were able to attend. My husband and I drove from Florida so we could make a pilgrimage to the Topaz site in Utah, where my mother and her family had been confined. The plaques on the memorial at the site were severely

riddled by either shotgun or pellet gun fire and the dry alkali soil of the barren, desolate surroundings blew around me in whirlwinds, causing me to pause in remembrance of what my family and the other Japanese Americans had endured. We also visited the Great Basin Museum, which has one of the tar-papered shacks on exhibit, along with other artifacts from Topaz.

After we arrived in the San Francisco Bay area, we paid our respects to my mother and cousin Eddie, who are buried in the Golden Gate National Cemetery in San Bruno — accompanied by my Auntie Hats, Uncle Seigo, cousin Jane, brother, Guy, and, sister, Charlotte. From the cemetery, you can see the site of the Tanforan Assembly Center — the former Santa Anita racetrack in San Bruno, which is now a shopping center.

On our last stop before leaving California, Guy, Jane, and my second cousin Heather and her family traveled with us to Los Angeles to visit the Japanese American National Museum and the "Go For Broke" memorial to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Through it all I was filled with a plethora of emotions ranging from sadness and anger to joy and pride.

During the past two years, I requested information from my father, my aunts, uncles, brother, sister, cousins, and second cousins, who provided me with personal thoughts, photographs, World War II yearbooks, and an audio-taped oral history of my Uncle Tom taken by an unidentified Berkeley High School student just a few months before his passing. My family has been most accommodating in answering questions I have posed in person, on the telephone, in written correspondence, and via e-mail.

This project gives an overview of the immigration of the first generation of Japanese Americans — the *Issei*; the birth of the next generation of Japanese Americans — the *Nisei*; the evacuation, relocation, and confinement of all generations of Japanese Americans residing on the West Coast in concentration camps after Pearl Harbor; the test of loyalty battled by the *Nisei* soldiers of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team; the resettlement of the displaced Japanese Americans; the redress movement that came forty years after the incarceration; and finally, the viewpoints and some of the effects of the confinement on the of the subsequent generations of Japanese Americans — the *Sansei* and *Yonsei*.

Working on this project has helped me gain my first insights into the person my mother was and what she had endured, and, perhaps a better understanding of who I am and why I have become the person I am today.

## The Issei

When the pioneering generation of Japanese Americans, referred to as the *Issei* (first), emigrated from Japan in the late 1800s and early 1900s, they hoped, like immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, to improve their economic future. For more than 200 years, Japanese laws had prohibited emigration abroad, but during the Mejii Restoration from 1868-1912, Japanese citizens saw an increase in diplomatic relations, trade relations, and contact with Western nations, which opened the doors to emigration (Ng 2). Japan began a course of modernization that included industrialized and military growth supported by an increase in taxes for landowners that resulted in many farmers going into debt to pay taxes or losing their property (Ng 2). Many *Issei* were drawn to the United States because of abundant farmland, while others saw it as an opportunity to avoid Japan's national conscription law, which required men to perform military service (Ng 2).

Like all immigrants, the *Issei* faced challenges and adjustments to life in a country with different social and cultural customs, but they were also keenly aware of the discrimination the Chinese immigrants to the United States had faced (Ng 4). Unlike the Chinese, the *Issei* quickly adopted Western-style clothing and encouraged their children to participate in American schools and activities (Ng 4-5).

Despite holding jobs that were not in direct competition with other immigrants or existing residents, their success in agriculture caused many farmers to view them as an economic threat (Ng 5). They took lower wages to obtain work, but even this low pay by U.S. standards was more than they would have been able to earn in Japan (Bernstein 42). They farmed the least desirable tracts of land — "swamplands near marshes and rivers that would flood, or barren strips of land that had to be irrigated" (Ng 5). Still they

managed to grow "specialty, labor-intensive crops, such as strawberries, deciduous fruits, and cut flowers" and remained competitive with Caucasian farmers (Ng 5).

Fears that the Japanese would drive out existing farmers and fishermen, and reports in the newspapers by propagandists who extolled "Hawaiianization" of the West Coast — the danger that California, Oregon, and Washington would become as predominantly Japanese in population as Hawaii — fueled anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast (Kawakami 19). Publications by the labor-sponsored Japanese and Korean Exclusion Leagues trumpeted the immediacy of the "Yellow Peril" (Modell 34). The push from labor in the early 1900s, coupled with columns in the *Los Angeles Times* and the then recently established *Los Angeles Examiner* — a Hearst paper appealing to labor — rapidly fueled the fire of anti-Asian sentiment in California (Modell 36-38).

Many inaccurate or misleading articles were published in major newspapers, and the "yellow press" printed articles that roused suspicion or resentment toward the Japanese, as noted by independent newspaperman John B. Wallace in the Dearborn *Independent* (qtd. in Kawakami 87):

> Just the other day the yellow press came out with big headlines accusing the Japanese of violating the fishing laws in regard to the three-mile limit, and asserted that they were openly defying the authorities and had fired on the wardens. As a matter of fact it was not the Japanese fishermen at all...
>
> I have noticed this unfairness in nearly all California papers, especially in the reports of the hearings before the immigration committee. They have universally adopted the old trick of playing up in the headlines all testimony unfavorable to the Japanese, while burying in the body of the article the testimony in their favor.

California politicians also did much to aggravate the situation. Senator James D. Phelan pinned his hopes for re-election on the sole issue of the "Japanese menace," and every poster advertising his candidacy contained his slogan "Keep California White"

(Kawakami 82). House Immigration Committee member, U. S. Representative Isaac Siegel, investigating the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast in the summer of 1920, charged the "ill feeling toward the Japanese in California to the machinations and agitations of political aspirants" (Kawakami 82-83).

Prior to World War II, the United States and California had enacted many laws discriminating against the Japanese in the areas of immigration, citizenship, land ownership, and marriage. Among these laws were the National Origins Act, which forbade immigration of aliens ineligible to citizenship; and the Supreme Court ruling in *Ozawa v. U.S*, which confirmed Japanese and other Asians ineligible for naturalization by reason of race (Ueda 29). Exclusion laws, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, were in place for others Asians as well (Ueda 28).

However, it was the forced segregation in 1906 of the Japanese in the San Francisco school system, which became a diplomatic embarrassment that resulted in the 1907 "Gentlemen's Agreement" (Kawakami 65). In addition to the non-laboring Japanese, such as — diplomats, merchants, financiers, and students, still free to enter the United States — this agreement now allowed only the following to also be admitted: 1) former residents of the United States, 2) parents, wives, and children of residents, and 3) settled agriculturalists (Kawakami, Appendix C, 255).

The agreement assured the issuance of fewer visas by Japan in exchange for a reversal of the school segregation policy, and it also resulted in a reduction in the number of people emigrating from Japan. The eventual "Ladies Agreement" in February 1920, prompted further reductions (Kawakami 176).

When my *Oji-chan,* Tamakichi Ouye — the first *Issei* member of my family to immigrate to the United States — arrived in 1903 from Hiroshima, he was one of the

37,526 emigrating from Japan to the U.S. mainland between 1902 and 1907. Those who emigrated did so because of economic hardships, a sense of adventure, and a multitude of other factors (Kawakami 63). During this same period, 65,368 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii, while the European immigrants to the continental United States totaled 5,393,712 (Kawakami 63). Still, immigrants were a minority among the peoples of the world when my grandfather became one of the 1,820 to arrive in the state of Washington in 1903 (Kawakami Appendix C, 252). Leaving Japan meant a painful separation from everything and everyone familiar, filling those who came to America with self-doubt and a sense of estrangement. For the Japanese, "echoing through it all were the lashing words: '*Are you crazy? You forget your place?*'" (Ueda 3).

The second *Issei* member of my family to immigrate to the United States, Kanji T. Okubo — my maternal great-uncle known to the family as *Okubo-san* — arrived in Washington in 1906 (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family) along with 1,619 other Japanese (Kawakami, Appendix C, Table 1, 252), unaware that the door to America for emigrating Japanese was about to swing closed on the sister he left behind.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, enacted to offset the diplomatic problems and "School Board Crisis" that the segregation of schools had caused in San Francisco, severely limited immigration of male laborers, and thus it restricted visas primarily to returning residents and spouses of existing residents (Kawakami 66-68). As a result, Japanese arrivals to the continental United States decreased from 9,544 in 1908 to 2,432 in 1909 (Kawakami 68).

A congressional act in 1907 mandated "that any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband," effectively reducing the opportunity further for immigrant residents to marry locally (Ueda 120).

Furthermore, federal courts ruled *In re Rionda* (1908) and *United States v Cohen* (1910) that an American woman who lost her citizenship by marriage to an alien was not eligible for naturalization, because of the underlying principle that the nationality of a wife was determined by that of her husband (Ueda 120). If she then wished to regain her citizenship, her husband must naturalize first. This was, of course, impossible for a male, Japanese alien, and in 1922, *In Ozawa v. U.S.*, the Supreme Court confirmed the California Land Act of 1913 and "declared that Japanese aliens were not white and hence were 'ineligible to citizenship'" (Ueda 29).

In 1922, the Cable Act ruled that any woman who married an alien who was ineligible to citizenship, would no longer be a citizen herself (Lowes 2). California laws went a step further by denying those of Japanese ancestry the right to marry Caucasians, perpetuating the large number of wives and "picture brides" immigrating to the United States between 1909 and 1920 (Kawakami, Appendix C, Table 8, 258). Of the 36,121 women to arrive during the same period, 28,115 were wives, with returning residents comprising the balance (Appendix C, Tables 5 and 7, 256-257). A report compiled by the Japanese American Association from immigration office records for the San Francisco and Seattle ports revealed that 7,018 "picture brides" entered the country between 1912 and 1920 (Kawakami 71).

When a Japanese man living in America desired to marry, but he was prevented for various reasons from going home, he would write his parents asking them to find a suitable bride (Kawakami 72). His parents would meet with the girl's parents, an investigation would take place on both sides, and if all proved satisfactory, pictures — not always accurate likenesses — would be exchanged (Kawakami, Appendix C, 258).

Frequently, the prospective bride and groom hailed from the same town or village, as did my grandparents, rendering the photograph exchange unnecessary.

My *Oba-chan* (grandmother), Okubo, the final member of our family to emigrate from Japan, arrived in 1910 to join her brother, Kanji Okubo (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family). Obachan and Okubo had been orphaned at an early age and had no qualms about leaving Japan as they had been mistreated by the relatives in whose care they had been left (Margaret Ouye, letter to author 1 March 1997). My grandparents married the following year, but for many Japanese women immigrating to the United States that year, it was a Hobson's choice: they could become "picture brides" or remain in Japan. Picture brides tied the nuptial knot at a ceremonial dinner attended by the bride and the parents and relatives of both sides, from which the groom, living in America, was naturally absent (Kawakami, Appendix C, 258).

By 1920, the "Ladies Agreement" came into effect, preventing the immigration of Japanese "picture brides" to the United States (Daniels et al, Chronology, xv). Forecasting the eventual steps likely to be taken, the Japanese Association of America in San Francisco issued a statement that the practice "should be abolished ... the Japanese in this state have come to realize that the practice of marriage through exchange of photography is incompatible with the ideals and customs of the American people" (Kawakami 74). On December 17, 1919, the Japanese government announced that it would stop issuing passports after the end of February 1920 (Kawakami 73).

Congress expanded the principle of exclusion based on national origins that had begun with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, when it passed the Immigration Act of 1917 where group characteristics superseded individual characteristics as a condition and standard for admission (Ueda 19). It established an Asiatic Barred Zone, from which no

Laborers could come, and introduced a literacy test to be administered to immigrants in their native tongues upon arrival (Ueda 20). Those who failed would not be admitted.

The Exclusion of Act of 1924 prohibited further immigration of those of Japanese descent, and the law forbade those already in the country to become citizens or own property (Ueda 22). Congress passed a Second Quota Act in 1924 and announced that no "alien ineligible to citizenship" — an alien status which was reserved only for Asian immigrants — could be admitted into the United States (Daniels et al, Chronology, xv). It was the 1885 Supreme Court decision in *Barber v. Connolly* that allowed a state to enact laws that discriminated against a class or against certain classes of aliens, such as those "ineligible to citizenship," without violating the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment (Ueda 121).

The passing of the Immigration Act of 1924, known as the National Origins Act, treated the "Gentlemen's Agreement" as non-existent, and forbade immigration by aliens "ineligible to citizenship" (Daniels et al, Chronology, xv). Each of these stepping-stones reinforced the boundaries of race, generation, and class (Ueda 122) and added to the sentiment of discrimination that would face Japanese immigrants and, much later, Japanese American citizens.

Farmers on the West Coast considered the *Issei* — who immigrated primarily to Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and California — a threat to their employment and security. The California Alien Land Act prevented Japanese aliens from owning land and it limited them to three-year leases on property, a measure other West coast states soon adopted (Daniels et al, Chronology, xv). When my *Oji-chan* came to this country, he, like other Japanese, probably farmed the less desirable tracts of land that local farmers had been unable to make productive in rural Washington. The Second California Alien Land Act

in 1920, adopted by initiative, forbade leasing of land to aliens "ineligible to citizenship," (Daniels et al, Chronology, xv) and, most likely, led to my grandfather's change of occupation from berry farmer to dairy farm worker.

The Alien Land Law of 1920 also prohibited the transfer of land to noncitizens by sale or lease, and aliens not eligible for citizenship could not hold land in guardianship for their children who were citizens (Pedersen 1). If it was determined that land was purchased in one person's name but with money from an Asian alien, the land would automatically become state property (Pedersen 1). In an article entitled, "Asian Land Laws," in the Asian American Encyclopedia, James Okutsu writes "[d]espite the punitive provision of the Alien Land Laws, evasions were largely ignored. Between 1912 and 1946, only seventy-six escheat proceedings were filed in California under the Alien Land Laws" (qtd. in Pedersen). Unable to own property themselves, *Issei* parents put property in the names of their *Nisei* (second generation Japanese American) children of legal age, and they pinned their hopes on the future generations. Like my grandparents, many of the *Issei* did not have the economic means to return to Japan, even if they had the desire. The vast majority of the *Issei* loved this country, despite the fact that it did not always love them.

Eventually my *Oji-chan* became a citizen, but not until 1952. It was in that year that the "reactionary McCarran-Walter Act, passed over Harry Truman's veto, erased the final ethnic and racial bars to immigration, so that other Asians, including Japanese could become naturalized citizens" (Daniels 89). My *Oba-chan* never obtained U.S. citizenship, but it is unknown whether the reason was her limited English or a lack of desire. Quite possibly, after my grandfather's naturalization, she no longer considered it

a necessity because of legal protections provided through her marriage to someone who was now a U.S. citizen.

My grandfather remained in the United States, a resident of California until his death April 30, 1968 ("California Deaths"). He never desired to return to Japan, even for a visit, and did not accompany my grandmother when she made a voyage to Japan later in her life (Hatsue and Seigo Ouye, personal interview, May 2002). Both of my grandparents remained true to their Buddhist upbringing and offered daily sacraments of rice and flowers to the temple that sat atop their mantel.

Although few jobs were available to the *Issei*, my aunts and uncles said my grandfather offered his home remedies and "cures," and he even listed himself as a doctor in the local phone directory. I didn't know that he considered himself a doctor, but I can still recall the smell of incense balls burning from the long needles protruding from his back as he sat in a cross-legged lotus position on a mat in the middle of the living room floor. Like many *Issei* hampered by unfamiliarity with English, my grandmother worked as a domestic to earn money to allow them to afford a home of their own.

Through their perseverance and hard work, like other *Issei*, my grandparents were eventually able to purchase a house in the early 1950s at 2538 Milvia St., in Berkeley, California, titled under their own names and not their children's (Dorinne [Ouye] Tsuchiya-Paris, letter to author, 18 Sept. 2002). It was at this home that my grandmother continued to garden and nurture her red-and-white-striped carnations until her death on July 30, 1980 ("California Deaths").

## The Nisei

My grandparents immigrated to the United States and married shortly before the Gentlemen's and Ladies' Agreements of the early 1900s, which would have prevented their emigration from Japan. They started a family before the National Origins Act of 1924 was enacted, which would make them ineligible to citizenship, and before the Alien Land Act of 1920 came into effect, which prevented them from buying land in this country.

Despite anti-Asian laws and sentiment on the West Coast, they settled in Puyallup, Washington, just southeast of Tacoma, and on May 25, 1912, gave birth to Tomatsu Edwin Ouye, the first member of our Ouye family members born on American soil. This first generation of Japanese born in the United States is known as the *Nisei.*

While bringing a child into the world must have brought great joy to my grandparents, residents on the West Coast, and California in particular, feared that the birth rate of immigrant Japanese —which they perceived to be higher than the actual recorded figures — would cause the area to become a second Hawaii (Bernstein 38).

The Japanese population in Hawaii began in 1868, and it originally came about through the combined efforts of the sugar interests and emigration companies who provided contract labor for the plantations (Kawakami 5). After Hawaii's annexation by the United States in 1898, Japanese laborers were liberated because of the abolition of the contract-labor system, and while many left for the mainland, others seeing improved labor conditions, remained in Hawaii (Kawakami 6). The Japanese laborers who remained started families, and it was the inevitable outcome of the labor policy that the population of the islands became largely Japanese (Kawakami 6). The 1920 Federal Census figures show that the Japanese population in Hawaii had increased from 79,675 in

1910 to 109,275 in 1920 (Kawakami Appendix C, Table 1, 253), far surpassing the number of Caucasian Hawaiian residents, whose numbers increased from 8,772 to 11,072 during the same period, and the native Hawaiian population, which decreased by 2,318 — bringing their total to 23,723 in 1920 (Kawakami 253).

William Stephens, the 24th Governor of California, who served from 1917 to 1923, ("Governors") asserted "[t]he greatest danger to white Californians came from the high birthrate of the Japanese" (Bernstein 38). A state report sought to demonstrate that the Japanese birthrate was three times that of the white citizens of California, but it failed to take into consideration the pattern of Japanese immigration that led older husbands to bring young brides at the peak of their fertility (Bernstein 38). These assertions perpetuated public misperceptions that helped further the "yellow peril" hysteria (Bernstein 38).

A comparison of the number of Japanese births to white births by the California State Board of Health between 1908 and 1919 shows the percentage of Japanese births were a small portion of the total births (Kawakami, Appendix C, Table 12, 261). In 1908, the Japanese births in California amounted to 1.6 percent of the total births, compared to 96.8 percent white births, and 7.82 percent Japanese births compared to 90.86 percent white births in 1918 (Kawakami 261).

Figures compiled in March 1921 by the Bureau of Vital Statistics for the California Board of Health estimated the average white family at 4.67 persons, and the average Japanese family as slightly smaller at 4.63 persons (Kawakami, Appendix C, Table 15, 263). U.S. statistics for 1920 show that Japanese women with five children, like my grandmother, gave live birth to 145 infants that year, compared to Caucasian

women with five children who produced 2,021 live births — 93 percent fewer births than their Caucasian counterparts (Kawakami 263).

Additionally, the "birthrate of the immigrant generation [of Japanese] fell below that of contemporary European immigrant groups, and only slightly above native whites during the 1920s and 1930s," making the "high Japanese birth rate" a myth (Bernstein 38). By 1940, the birth rate of Japanese in every state on the West Coast was lower than the birth rate of the general population (Bernstein 38).

My grandparents did, however, foster a larger than average family, producing six sons and one daughter between 1912 and 1923, all of whom were born in Washington: Tomatsu, born May 25, 1912; Susumu, May 28, 1913; Tarao, May 8, 1914; Shiro, October 25, 1915; Seigo, October 31, 1917; Ockie, November 30, 1921; and Mary, July 21, 1923 (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family; Seigo Ouye, telephone interview, 2002).

My *Oba-chan* (grandmother) and *Oji-chan* (grandfather) gave their *Nisei* sons Japanese names but, because many English-speaking native-born Americans had difficulty with pronunciation, all but one chose a Westernized name — or accepted a name offered by a well-intentioned, but perhaps misguided, teacher. *Tomatsu* became *Tom*, *Susumu* became *George*, *Torao* became *Fred*, *Shiro* became *Joe*, and *Seigo* became *Robert*. Only Ockie retained his given name, and all except Seigo, used their Westernized names throughout their lives (Seigo Ouye, telephone interview, 2002). Perhaps it was seeing their sons feel the necessity to change their names to better fit into the culture, that led my grandparents to give their youngest child, my mother, the Western name of Mary.

My family moved in 1919, settling in the rural town of Enumclaw, Washington — approximately 25 miles east of Tacoma (Tom Ouye, taped interview, 1983). It was there that the *Nisei* family members attended nearby Newaukum schools, amidst a population of primarily Scandinavian residents and did their best to assimilate into the rural way of life (Tom Ouye, taped interview, 1983). A photo of the family in dress clothing, probably taken around 1925 at the King County Fairgrounds, just east of Enumclaw, exhibits their sense of American patriotism as they pose in front of an American flag. While growing up, the *Nisei* members of my family entrenched themselves in the same American values and styles as their Caucasian peers.

My Uncle Tom, the eldest of the *Nisei* siblings, graduated in 1930 from Auburn High School in Enumclaw, and claimed to have been the only Japanese member of his class. A class photo of my mother, Mary, probably taken in Enumclaw in the early 1930s, depicts her with only Caucasian classmates, and thus gives giving credence to his account. Census figures for 1920 show that of the total population of 1,356,316 living in the state of Washington, only 17,114 of them were Japanese (Kawakami 254).

My mother's education records show that she attended Lincoln School in Yuba City, California, from August 1936 to June 1938 (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Form 26, 6 Nov. 1942). In a taped interview by a Berkeley area high school student, Matthew Inouye, recorded in 1983, my Uncle Tom says the family moved to Marysville, a suburb of Yuba City, California northeast of Sacramento in 1935. It was there, in 1936, that my grandparents, unable to own land, purchased their first home on Route 1 in Yuba City, California (Tom Ouye, taped interview, 1983), under the name of their first son, Tom.

The move to northern California placed my family in an area containing far more Japanese than they had encountered in Enumclaw. Another class photo taken of my

mother in elementary school sometime in the late 1930s, and probably taken after they moved to Yuba City, shows her seated with several Japanese classmates. The 1920 Census for California reported 70,107 Japanese among the total population of 3,426, 536 (Kawakami 254).

Although my grandfather could read, write, and speak English sparingly and my grandmother could not read, write, or speak English at all, only the eldest and the youngest of the children became proficient at speaking Japanese (Seigo Ouye, telephone interview, 2001). The eldest of their children, my Uncle Tom, had the advantage of spending time alone with his parents before siblings existed with whom he could converse in English. My mother, Mary, the youngest, and by virtue of being born female, spent more time with her mother than did her brothers, while she learned to cook and do needlework.

Noted for their desire for knowledge and their value of education, my grandparents, like other immigrating Japanese, ensured that schooling remained a priority (Kawakami 144). An article in the San Francisco *Call*, dated May 15, 1920, quoted Inspector Antone Scar of the California Housing and Immigration Commission (Kawakami 144):

> They (Japanese farmers) may have many white people with children working for them, but their own children do not work in the fields. They are sent to school religiously, no matter how far away the schools may be, and they generally are given Japanese schooling in addition to that provided by the state.

My mother did attend a Japanese language school sometime between 1930 and 1936, when they lived in Auburn, Washington (Certificate in possession of author), as was typical for many young Japanese children (Kawakami 144), but this was uncommon for the *Nisei* children in our family. With nine mouths to feed, and living in a rural area

on limited funds, my grandparents had little money available and were financially unable to send the other children in the family to Japanese language schools. It is also probable that the economic conditions brought on by the Great Depression were the major factor precluding them from attending Japanese Language schools, which were "viewed by many on the West Coast as threats to the American social system" (Bernstein 40).

Like everyone living in the United States during the 1930s, my family was unable to escape the economic hardships brought on by the Great Depression. Jobs were scarce, and the lumber mills, the major industry in the state of Washington, were hit hard with unemployment (Tom Ouye, taped interview, 1983). Our family was fortunate because the dairy farm where my grandfather continued to produce milk — a necessary commodity — even though salaries dropped making it difficult for workers to survive (Tom Ouye, taped interview, 1983). The Depression is remembered by the *Nisei* members of my family as the most difficult period of their lives.

The *Nisei* generation grew up in the midst of two worlds, one Japanese and the other American. Japan, like many European countries, had traditionally followed the principle of *jus sanguinis*, meaning that the children of Japanese nationals, regardless of country of birth, were citizens of Japan (Bernstein 39). Expatriation and citizenship acts passed in Japan in 1916 and 1924 modified this principle, and ethnic Japanese born in the United States after 1924 had to register promptly with the Japanese consul to obtain dual citizenship (Bernstein 39). By the 1930s, only 20 percent of *Nisei* held dual citizenship, because the Japanese Association on the West Coast encouraged the *Issei* to expatriate their *Nisei* children and terminate dual citizenships (Bernstein 39). Although my mother was born prior to 1924, if she had dual citizenship privileges, she was unaware of it (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Form 71, 15 April 1944).

The *Nisei* respected their parents and the traditional life they practiced, but as with all children from subsequent generations, they wanted to be different than their parents. They grew up as American youngsters, wearing Western fashions and listening to Western music, and this was what they preferred.

While my grandparents practiced Buddhism, many of my uncles attended Christian churches. According to my Uncle Seigo, Buddhist temples did not exist in the rural areas of Washington, and Christian churches offered a welcome social setting for young people (telephone interview, 2001). Uncle Seigo recalled Sunday mornings when the pastor would pass by the house to pick him up, thus ensuring his attendance at Sunday school (telephone interview, 2001). Many *Issei* (first generation Japanese American) parents "believed that joining Christian churches would open more doors for them [the *Nisei,* second generation Japanese Americans] in terms of employment and social acceptance," and half of the *Nisei* were Christians by the 1930s (Bernstein 40).

My Uncle Tom, who had fond memories of his years growing up in Washington and claimed never to have experienced prejudice until his arrival in California, said:

> [In Washington] we had no problem, because we were the only Japanese in that area at that time. I was the first Oriental to ever graduate from the high school. If we go to the [high school] reunion, they spot me right now, cause they know I am the only Oriental. But, people treated us very good, very good. But, [when] you come to California — I found that out — the discrimination is pretty bad. So you stay on your own. You can't go anywhere. They say, "You. Hey. Get out" (taped interview, 1983).

Tom, the eldest of the *Nisei*, moved to Berkeley, California, and began working in the dry cleaning industry. The rest of the family soon followed, and this is where they settled. My youngest uncle, Ockie, and my mother both graduated from Berkeley High School, and the family purchased a house at 1837 Prince Street in Berkeley (WRA

Records of Mary Ouye). This house remained in the family, and my Uncle Tom continued to live there until his passing on December 3, 1983 ("California Deaths").

Despite the discrimination my family would face, a major attraction for remaining in California must have been other Japanese with whom they could network and interact. Job opportunities had to be greater in the metropolitan San Francisco Bay area than it had been in any of the rural areas of Washington and California in which they had previously resided. Until this time, the Great Depression far eclipsed any discrimination problems they had faced as the first American-born generation Japanese, but things would soon change.

## The Confinement

Although they had seen first-hand the growth of anti-Asian sentiment and were aware of anti-Asian laws that had been enacted restricting immigration and alien rights, nothing could have prepared my family and other Japanese Americans for what was about to happen. The native born Japanese American *Nisei* had never suspected that they — citizens of the United States — would be forced from their property and confined in concentration camps.

However, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor at dawn on December 7, 1941, it was an event that would revive and escalate the "yellow peril" hysteria (Bernstein 47). On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, empowering the Secretary of War, or his delegate to establish "military areas to which entry of any or all persons would be barred whenever such action was deemed militarily necessary or desirable" (Bernstein 100). The government issued dozens of Public Proclamations designating most of the area contained in the coastal states of Washington, Oregon, and California — including Berkeley, where my family lived — as "military areas" (Daniels 52).

Originally, General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command and the U.S. 4th Army, wanted to remove all Japanese, German, and Italian aliens, but public opinion favored relocating Japanese citizens and aliens, while it opposed any mass evacuation of German or Italians, regardless whether they were aliens or citizens (Bernstein 100). However, it was not difficult to sway General DeWitt's position, because he had indicated his prejudice in previous statements: "A Jap is a Jap. ... It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen. ... The very fact that no

sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken" (qtd. in Arrington 14).

The fear that Japanese Americans represented a threat grew, primarily because it was written and spoken about by those in high authority. Navy Secretary Knox referred to Japanese Americans as the "fifth column," in a press conference in December, and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Owen J. Roberts used the term in a public report in January (Daniels 37). Prominent, respected syndicated columnist, Walter Lippmann, wrote of his serious concerns of sabotage by native-born *Nisei*, as well as by aliens, and recommended that the West Coast be made a combat zone in his essay entitled "The Fifth Column on the Coast" (Daniels 45). Headlines in March 1942, on the front page of the *San Francisco Examiner*, proclaimed: "Ouster of All Japs in California Near!" (Photograph, Dorthea Lange in Burton 32).

At that time, the West Coast was home to 112,000 of the 127,000 persons of Japanese descent living in the United States (Arrington 11). Effective March 27, Public Proclamation No. 3 established a curfew and residents in Military Area No. 1 had to cover or "blacken" their windows and remain at home between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. (Burton 33). The proclamation also listed prohibited areas for all enemy aliens and "persons of Japanese ancestry" (Burton 33). In addition, it required that "at all other times all such persons shall only be at their place of residence or employment or traveling between those places or within a distance of not more than five miles from their residence" (Burton 33). My family, like other Japanese who had to travel more than five miles from their home for work or school, needed a special permit.

My family members — three aliens and six American-born citizens — along with all Japanese citizens and aliens, were required to register, to carry identification cards,

and to turn over to local police all "contraband:" cameras, radios, binoculars, and firearms (Arrington 11).

Real property was not confiscated, but the protection of that property became a problem, and Congressman John H. Tolan of California suggested a custodial plan for which the War Department drew up papers (Bernstein 110-111). The plan didn't go through, and instead, the Treasury Department directed the Federal Reserve Board to assist evacuees in disposing of their property, which resulted in "fire sales" with property of the Japanese Americans being sold for next to nothing (Bernstein 111). The evacuees, unprotected and vulnerable, often entered into oral contracts with friends and acquaintances to manage their property or businesses (Bernstein 133). The practice of regarding a person's word as binding was a carryover from Meiji Japan and would later make it difficult to document when, where, and how losses occurred (Bernstein 133).

Several Japanese Americans owned automobiles, proud symbols of economic advancement, which were in demand by both the Army and the civilian population (Bernstein 129). Evacuees who did not dispose of their vehicles could place them in government storage, but the deterioration likely to result from long-term storage discouraged this practice (Bernstein 129). Cars that were driven to assembly centers were automatically placed in the custody of the Federal Reserve Bank where they were appraised and the possibility of resale to the Army or private sector was evaluated (Bernstein 129). Automobile factories had been converted to wartime production, so the new 1942 models were sold only to auto dealers (Bernstein 129).

All Japanese Americans who owned "rentable property within the defense rental area" were required to register it with the Office of Price Administration (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1, No. 14 [Aug .15, 1942], p. 2). The regulation was in accordance with

the rent law, which covered all types of dwelling units (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1, No. 14 [Aug .15, 1942], p. 2).

By December 10, 1941, the Department of Justice had rounded up and arrested approximately 1,300 "enemy aliens" thought to have ties with Japan (Bernstein 55), and it then closed their businesses and "blocked" their bank accounts (Arrington 11). Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy deemed the evacuation and registration of the Japanese as the "best way to solve" the West Coast Japanese problem (Daniels 34). McCloy addressed "the heart of the situation: how to do what the army wanted to do 'in spite of the Constitution'" (Daniels 34).

On March 27, 1942, General DeWitt issued Proclamation No. 4, which prohibited further "voluntary evacuation," and the U. S. Army took over (Bernstein 103). Change-of-address cards required by Proclamation No. 1, issued March 2, which divided Washington, Oregon, and California into two military areas, show that only 2,005 of the 107,500 persons of Japanese descent had moved from Military Area No. 1 by March 29 (Bernstein 103). In a report to the White House, Assistant Secretary of War McCloy, still in favor of the failing voluntary evacuation, said a major drawback was "loss of their property. A number of forced sales are taking place, and, until the last minute, they hate to leave their land and their shop" (qtd. in Bernstein 103). Many who attempted to voluntarily evacuate and leave the West Coast, met with resistance from inland residents who perceived their states as dumping grounds for "'undesirables,' and many refugees were turned back at state borders, had difficulty buying gasoline, or were greeted with 'No Japs Wanted' signs" (Burton 32-33).

In all, the government issued 108 Civilian Exclusion Orders, each designed to affect approximately 1,000 persons (Burton 33). On April 24,1942, the government

issued Civilian Exclusion Order No. 19 and posted it everywhere in Berkeley (Okubo 17). The order required families living in Berkeley to register on April 26 at the Civil Control Station being set up at the Pilgrim Hall of the First Congregational Church (Uchida 59). My family's time had come. Berkeley's estimated 1,319 Japanese — aliens and citizens alike — were to be evacuated to the Tanforan Assembly Center by noon on May 1 — giving them only 10 days' notice (Uchida 58). Tanforan was one of the 16 Assembly Centers, 14 of which were located in California ("Mass Incarceration"). The earliest center opened in late March of 1942 and the last centers closed in September of 1942, when the last inmates were transferred to concentration camps ("Mass Incarceration").

Now reduced to a number: 13642, my family would become part of the approximately 110,000 persons evacuated from California, Oregon, Washington, and the southern third of Arizona — two thirds of whom were native American citizens (Okubo 16). Individual family members were identified by a letter affixed to the family number — my mother, Mary Ouye, was now 13642H (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family).

Many Japanese found the numbering process particularly offensive. This number was now their identity, causing them to feel a loss of privacy and dignity. But, the Japanese response to the evacuation orders was unbelievably restrained, and there were no serious protests or resistance (Arrington 16). Although they were stunned and bewildered, the overwhelming majority followed the principle of realistic resignation (Arrington 16) — *shikata ga nai* (it cannot be helped) (Ng 185).

As it did to other Japanese Americans, the government issued my mother, her parents, an uncle, four brothers, and her sister-in-law several identification tags with their

family number — one to be attached to each piece of baggage, and one to hang from their coat lapels (Okubo 22). Like the other Japanese Americans, they were told to pack belongings with the "size and number of packages … limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group," which required the anguished sorting of a lifetime of possessions (Bernstein Figure C). Among those items, they were required to bring the following for each member of the family: 1) bedding and linens (no mattress), 2) toilet articles, 3) extra clothing, 4) sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls, and cups, and 5) essential personal effects (Bernstein Figure C). Pets, of any kind, were not allowed (Bernstein Figure C).

The Western Defense Command and 4th Army Wartime Civil Control Administration, Presidio of San Francisco, issued Civil Exclusion Order No. 27 on April 30, 1942, instructing all persons of Japanese ancestry in Berkeley, where my family lived, to report to the Civil Control Station in Oakland on Friday, May 1, or Saturday, May 2, 1942 (Bernstein 111-114). Although the justification for evacuation was to thwart espionage and sabotage, newborn babies, young children, the elderly, the infirm and even children adopted by Caucasian parents were not exempt from removal (Burton 34). Anyone with 1/16 or more Japanese blood was included (Burton 34). Pursuant to the order, my family — including my Auntie Elaine who was eight months pregnant with her first child — reported to transfer by bus to their assigned assembly center: Tanforan, formerly the Santa Anita racetrack in San Bruno, just south of San Francisco (Bernstein 136).

A total of 120,313 Japanese were taken into custody by the WRA, 90,491 of whom were sent to WCCA Assembly Centers (Bernstein 150). Included in that total were 17,915 who were directly evacuated, 1,735 sent to Department of Justice internment

and detention camps, 1,579 workers released by the WRA, 1,275 sent to institutions, 1,118 Hawaiian Islanders, and 219 voluntary residents. Also computed in the figure were 5,981 births after confinement (Bernstein 150).

Although the vast majority of people of Japanese ancestry, both citizens and aliens, complied with the orders and obeyed curfew and evacuation orders, there were legal challenges made to the constitutionality and legality of the evacuation and internment. Three U.S. citizens: Minoru Yasui, Gordon Kiyoshi Hirabayashi, and Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu knowingly violated the government's orders, and were arrested, tried, and convicted (Ng 77). These cases have had important significance, particularly in the way they applied to the 14th Amendment and issues of race and ancestry (Ng 90). The combined decisions in the three cases reinforced racial stereotyping as legitimate in the interest of national security, but the Court's records show it was motivated by a claim of "military dangers" rather than racial prejudice (Ng 90). The Supreme Court decisions reinforced the role and powers of the legislative and executive branches during wartime (Ng 77).

Meanwhile, Japanese aliens and citizens were evacuated to 17 temporary assembly centers, which housed 90,491 detainees while they awaited the move to relocation centers (Burton 36). At Tanforan, one of the eleven assembly centers at racetracks or fairgrounds, the government assigned the confined Japanese Americans to barrack units and apartments, which turned out to be horse stalls, with "spider webs, horse hair, and hay" whitewashed onto the walls (Okubo 35). Once my family arrived, they, like the other evacuated Japanese Americans, were issued cots and ticking for mattresses that they had to fill with straw (Okubo 44). Privacy was next to non-existent with communal lavatories and mess halls, and the thin walls of the 20 ft. X 20 ft. barracks

into which families of eight or more were crowded (Bernstein 140). Six persons were placed in 12 ft. X 20 ft. rooms, and four persons or fewer, were assigned to a 20 ft. X 9 ft. horse stall (Bernstein 140). There at Tanforan, along with 7,816 other displaced Japanese Americans (Bernstein 138), my family settled into one of the barrack units designed for large families: No. 84-3 (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-Form 26-Rev. 1. "Individual Record" 6 Nov. 1942).

On Tuesday, May 26, 1942, my cousin, Haruo Edwin — known to us as Eddie — was the first of the *Sansei* (third generation Japanese Americans) born into the Ouye family. Eddie was also the second male baby and the fifth infant to be born inside the barbed wire fences of Tanforan — bringing the total number of my family incarcerated at the assembly center to 10. While at Tanforan, several good neighbors and friends came to visit my family during their confinement and to let them know they were not forgotten (Seigo Ouye, personal interview, May 2002).

Unsure how long they would be there or what would happen next, those confined at Tanforan did their best to make their "accommodations" bearable and to adjust to life. Sports teams and leagues formed, Fourth of July celebrations were attended, and religious services persisted (Arrington 44). Frequent tournaments of *Goh* and *Shogi,* games similar to chess and popular among the *Issei,* were held (Okubo 105). Security behind the barbed wire was ever-present. Camp police who walked beats within the centers, who were on the lookout for contraband and suspicious actions, were quick to raid gambling games (Bernstein 145).

Most of my family stayed in Tanforan until September 28, 1942, but WRA records indicate that my mother remained until the camp closed on October 15, 1942 (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family). My Uncle Seigo and Auntie

Hatsue informed me the WRA record is not correct in this particular instance: my mother left with the rest of the family in September, and it was Seigo, not Mary, who remained until October (personal interview May 2002).

From Tanforan, my family, like other Japanese Americans confined at the racetrack facility, was transferred by rail to Topaz Central Utah Relocation Center. The center was located near Abraham, Utah, in Millard County, sixteen miles north of Delta (population 1,500), and 140 miles southwest of Salt Lake City (Arrington 22). The Union Pacific Railroad had built a special spur from Delta to Abraham (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol 1, No. 19, [September 12, 1942] Final Issue). Trainloads of 500 — greeted by an improvised drum and bugle corps made up of boy scouts — arrived almost daily between September 11 and October 15, 1942, amidst a "suffocating cloud of dust which hovered over the camp all day"(Arrington 25). My Auntie Margaret, not a member of the Ouye family at that time but someone who was also detained in Topaz, recalls the trek to Utah when they left the assembly center in California one evening as it turned dark:

> That was the worst train I ever saw, it was so old and rickety. It must have been a World War I train. No electricity, and only kerosene lamps to see by. We were told to close the windows and draw the curtains — they said it was for 'our own security. Don't peek out.' They didn't want people to be able to see us and say, 'There goes the Japs.' There were newborn babies to teenagers to senior citizens. To the teenagers it was an adventure, but for the older folks, death seemed closer to them than anything else, and they wondered if they would die there [Topaz]" (telephone interview, 2002).

My aunt said closing the windows made the ride stifling. She said she could not recall being given any food other than oranges during the trip, but she remembered stopping at a deserted spot in Nevada in the morning to allow everyone to disembark the rigid, uncomfortable seats to stretch their legs (Margaret Ouye, telephone interview,

2002). The five- or six- car train had only one bathroom, thus causing unsanitary conditions (Margaret Ouye, telephone interview, 2002). When they arrived in Delta, Utah, the following afternoon, buses were lined up to transport them to Topaz (Margaret Ouye, telephone interview, 2002).

The Central Utah relocation center was one of 10 barracks cities the government constructed for the detainees, which the government euphemistically called, Topaz, or "Jewel of the Desert" (Arrington 21). Of the other nine relocation centers operated by the War Relocation Authority, two were in California: Manzanar and Tule Lake (Newell); two were in Arizona: Gila River (Butte Camp and Canal Camp) and Colorado River (Poston); one was in Idaho: Minidoka (Hunt); one was in Wyoming: Heart Mountain; one was in Colorado: Granada (Amache); and two were in Arkansas: Rohwer and Jerome (Denson) (Bernstein 157).

Topaz, which encompassed one square mile within the Sevier Desert, housed 8,130 residents at the peak of its population (Arrington 17), making it the fifth largest city in the state of Utah (Uchida 109). There were 42 checkerboard blocks, of which thirty-four were living quarters or residential blocks (Arrington 23). Each block, uniformly constructed to house and service 250-300 persons, had twelve single-story residential barracks (Arrington 23). The tar-papered shacks each had a central mess hall, a recreation hall, an outdoor clothesline, and a combination latrine-washroom in the center (Arrington 23). One female inmate summarized the bathroom facilities:

> The lavatories are not very sanitary ... The toilets are one big row of seats, that is, one straight board with holes cut out about a foot apart with no partitions at all and all the toilets flush together ... The younger girls couldn't go to them at first until they couldn't stand it any longer, which is really bad for them. (qtd. in Daniels, 65).

The barracks were divided into six single rooms, ranging in size from 16 ft. X 20 ft. to

20 ft. X 25 ft. (Arrington 23), and to many, including my family, the most objectionable aspect of the arrangement was the absence of privacy. My Auntie Hatsue said there were no stalls, just sets of bare toilets backed up to one another where she and her sisters would hold up a jacket or cloth to shield one another from others view (Hatsue Ouye, telephone interview, 2001). The 10 members of my family lived in Block 27, Barrack 7, Apartments A, B, and F (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family). My Uncle Tom described Topaz:

> Well, first it was rough, you know, [with] the living conditions so bad, and it was overcrowded. Lot of families has as many as 12, 13 people living in one little room, see. And then the people that were married couples were there with the father and mother, brothers and sisters, all in one room, see. Yeah. And then, when we got to Topaz, Utah, they give us married couple a room. My father and mother had a room. But outside of that, there was no privacy, you know. Yeah. It's just like the army barracks, you have one compound for the bathroom. So it's a community washroom (Tom Ouye, taped interview, 1983).

At last my Uncle Tom and Auntie Elaine had a unit to themselves at Topaz, a privilege they had not enjoyed at Tanforan Assembly Center. It was here that my Auntie Elaine gave birth to my second eldest cousin: Jane Hatsuye Ouye, born on August 14, 1943 (Topaz Times, Vol. IV, No.22 [August 21, 1943], p. 4). The number of Ouye family members confined in the camp had risen to 11.

With other Japanese Americans, the government forced the *Issei*, *Nisei*, and now two members of the *Sansei* generations from our family, to endure the brutally cold winters, stifling hot summers, and constant chalk dust blowing from high winds and the harsh, alkali-based soil (Arrington 22). In winter, the desert temperatures reached 35 degrees below zero, while summers temperatures rose as high as 115, and because the desert did not cool off at night, it was necessary to splash water on the cots to be cool

enough to sleep (Bernstein 16). Camp doctors distributed salt pills, but residents found the pills made them nauseous, doing more harm than good (Okubo 114).

After arriving at Topaz, evacuees were required to build the fences and the guard towers that surrounded the relocation center, while the Army assumed responsibility for guarding the perimeter, controlling traffic in and out of the center, and inspecting parcels for contraband (Bernstein 175). Although the military police's sole duty was to guard the exterior of the property unless called in by the project director to handle an emergency, they created problems in several instances. The most severe incident resulted in the shooting death of an elderly resident, James Hatsuki Wakasa, who failed to respond to a command of "Halt!" in broad daylight as he approached one of the outer fences of the camp compound (Ng 45). The event stirred up the center, because the particulars and the facts of the case were never satisfactorily disclosed to the residents (Okubo 180). The guards were later removed to the rim of the outer project, and the authorities firearms banned (Okubo 180).

Detainees also built furniture and shelves for their barracks from treasured pieces of scrap lumber they managed to collect from around the center while waiting for rooms to be partitioned and other furniture to arrive (Bernstein 161). The substandard housing facilities, consisting of hastily built barracks constructed of planks nailed to studs and covered with tarpaper, were not suitable for the extreme desert temperature changes, and in some places the green wood warped quickly cracking walls and floors (Bernstein 159). Yoshiko Uchida, author of many books about her experience at Topaz, wrote the following about the center's elementary school where she was a teacher, in her book Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family (116):

> I went with one of the white teachers employed at Topaz to inspect Block 8. ... There were no stoves, no tables or chairs, no light bulbs, no supplies, no equipment of any kind. Nothing. The teacher invited me back to her quarters to write up our report. ...
>
> The white staff members at Topaz lived in special barracks located near the Administration Building. ... They lived in half of a barrack (the area occupied by three internee families), with linoleum and carpeting on the floor, a houseful of comfortable furniture, a fully equipped kitchen, and all the usual household objects that made up a home. ... I was amazed at the transformation and realized this was the first time in six months I had been inside a normally furnished home. I was filled with envy, longing, and resentment. Until I had seen these comfortable and well-furnished quarters, I hadn't realized how much I missed our home in Berkeley...

My aunts and uncles said they waited in long lines for everything, especially the mess hall, lavatories, and laundry. Food quality and quantity varied. Vienna sausages, dry fish, rice, macaroni, and pickled vegetables were frequently on the menu, and meatless meals were doled out two to three days a week (Okubo 39; Bernstein 162). Dairy shortages meant that fluid milk was served only to those with special needs (Bernstein 162). The WCCA had the same food allowance prescribed for the Army — 50 cents per person per day — but the assembly centers actually spent less than that — an average of 39 cents per person per day (Bernstein 142).

As deplorable as conditions at the camps were, the outside community pressed the government to cut expenses even more (Bernstein 142). "In January 1943, after accusations that evacuees were being coddled, the WRA adopted new policies, which showed their fear of adverse publicity had overcome any humanitarian impulse" (Bernstein 163).

The detainees were also having difficulty adjusting to camp life and were trying to determine how to fill their time. The phrase "waste time" became a kind of theme for teenagers (Daniels 68). Before camp, the adult family members had been productive,

active wage earners who ran the family business or worked on farms (Ng 43). A nagging question lingered in their minds: *"Were they obligated to work under the conditions of confinement, or were they prisoners of the government that was to provide for their welfare during their incarceration?"* (Ng 43). My Auntie "Hats" said she and her family worked at Tanforan, but when they got relocated to Topaz, they said, *"To heck with it. Why should we work for them?"* (Hatsue Ouye, telephone interview, 2001). Because the work details were voluntary, they chose not to work again until they left camp (Hatsue Ouye, telephone interview, 2001).

Those confined in the camps struggled to continue life as normally as conditions allowed. The detainees made the best of their situation, beginning at Tanforan Assembly Center where they built a nine-hole, "pitch and putt" golf course, complete with three sand traps per hole, roughs, fairways, and 30-foot greens (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1, No. 8 [July 4, 1942], p. 9). Although the terrain was much harsher in Utah than it had been in California, by the summer of 1943, the detainees at Topaz had managed to build a baseball diamond, football field, *grassless* golf course, and tennis and volleyball courts (Arrington 44). Athletic events were held regularly, with the Topaz school teams winning many victories on the fields of Millard County (Arrington 44).

Over 3,000 students attended school while at Topaz, with 1,000 graduating from high school during their stay (Arrington 42). Chiura Obata, a noted art professor who had been teaching at Berkeley at the time of the evacuation, was appointed art director by Topaz camp administrators and set up an art school in Recreation Hall No. 7 (Obata 67). Social clubs and organizations such as the YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H Clubs, Camp Fire Girls, and the USO were popular pastimes (Arrington 44). Like other

American communities the detainees participated in the war effort by collecting scrap-metal, buying War Bonds, and donating blood to the Red Cross (Arrington 44).

The Japanese internees, many of them professional gardeners attempted to landscape and garden, but erosion and the non-absorbent, alkaline soil, which turned to a gummy muck after a rain, provided little more than a breeding ground for mosquitoes (Arrington 22). Adding to the difficulty, Topaz was covered in greasewood brush (Bernstein 157). Although the Forestry Department of Utah State Agricultural College supplied 75 large trees, 7,500 small trees — Siberian elms, Utah juniper, Russian olives, and black locusts — and 10,000 willow, tamarisk, and wild currant cuttings in an attempt to beautify the grounds, the alkaline soil, heat, and wind foiled efforts and nearly all the trees and shrubs died (Arrington 25).

Perhaps the most perplexing test of emotions came in February 1943, when all evacuees over 17 were asked to register and to respond to a series of questions as part of the Army's "loyalty" registration and recruitment program (Arrington 30). Loyalty to America was decided on the basis of the answers to these questions and further investigation from the FBI (Arrington 30). The wording of "loyalty" question 28, proved difficult to answer: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United State of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?" (Arrington 30).

The question brought about a dilemma. Because the United States had denied them citizenship, the *Issei* — "aliens ineligible for citizenship" — felt that if they renounced their Japanese citizenship, they would become people without a country (Arrington 30). Some *Issei* chose to repatriate and were sent to Tule Lake detention center to wait for passage aboard the Gripsholm, a Swedish liner used to exchange

Japanese and American diplomats and other civilians that each government was willing to release and whom the other government was willing to accept (Daniels 77).

The *Nisei* — native-born, American *citizens* — felt the question was unfair and resented the implication that their loyalty was divided (Arrington 30-31). After one-fifth of all male registrants answered "no," the WRA convinced the Army to change the wording of question 28 to: "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and take no action, which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?" (Arrington 31).

Question 27, also concerned both the *Kibei* (second generation Japanese Americans born in the United States, but educated in Japan) and *Nisei*: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" (Arrington 31). Forced from their homes, the detainees were now being asked to serve in the armed services without any guarantee that the government would restore their civil rights (Arrington 31).

Personal responses to the questionnaire inescapably became public knowledge opening the community to debates (Bernstein 196). In testimony taken from Harry Taketa, September 22, 1981, in Chicago, the problem was apparent: "If I signed, 'no, no,' I would throw away my citizenship and force my sisters and brother to do the same. ... Every step I took, I questioned myself: shall I sign it 'no, no' or 'no, yes?'" (qtd. in Bernstein 197). My Auntie Margaret — her name on her birth certificate her name is Masako, but she is referred to by our family as Margaret (letter to author, 11 Dec. 2000) — said that after the questionnaire was presented, residents were identified by their answer — they were "no, no" or "yes, yes" with the "no, no's" being sent to Tule Lake camp (telephone interview, 2001).

The camp itself was a paradox. It was a place that offered many positive as well as negative experiences. My Auntie Margaret, who had grown up in the country, said she considered the experience an adventure (personal interview, May 2001). Although she endured hardships, she found the movies, stage performances, and other activities entertaining. She, along with the other residents went wild with excitement upon seeing their first snowfall (Okubo 145).

For many other *Nisei,* this was an opportunity to fill a variety of social roles previously closed to them in their home communities. High school students became student body leaders, captains of the football team, and editors of the class yearbook (Daniels 68). Older residents became civic leaders, those with training became teachers, and some had time for leisure never before afforded them in their adult lives (Daniels 68).

Topaz residents, such as Miné Okubo, who had been the recipient of the University of California's highest art honor, found constructive ways to channel their talent and energy (Arrington 27). Okubo acted as staff artist for Trek, a camp magazine created and produced by detainees in Topaz (Arrington 26). Although they only published four issues of the magazine, Miné Okubo made more than 1,000 black and white drawings depicting life in Topaz, many of which served to illustrate her personal documentary, Citizen 13660 (Arrington 26).

Both the temporary assembly center and the permanent relocation center where my family was confined had a newspaper that was produced solely by detainees — the *Tanforan Totalizer* and the *Topaz Times* (Friedlander 3). However, the works suffered from limited freedom because of censorship by camp administrators, poor reproduction and constantly changing staffs (Friedlander 3). Searching the microfiche of the *Tanforan Totalizer* and the *Topaz Times,* I was able to obtain a copy of the birth announcements of

my cousins, Jane and Eddie, several listings of temporary leave permits granted to my mother and other family members to travel to American Fork, Utah, and a notice of a paycheck not yet picked up by my Uncle Tom.

Although unsophisticated, *The Tanforan Totalizer*, a weekly newspaper produced at Tanforan Assembly Center, and the *Topaz Times*, a daily newspaper published in both Japanese and English, produced at the Topaz Relocation Center, provided information to residents of the camps on everything from rules, regulations, and job opportunities to blood drives, beauty tips, and comics. There were articles urging them to cast their ballot in the general election via absentee ballot (Tanforan Totalizer, [May 30, 1942], Vol. 1, No. 3, pg 1) and pleading detainees to buy War Bonds to support the war effort (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1, No. 2 [May 15, 1942], p. 3).

The newspaper staff maintained a marvelous sense of humor with weekly columns such as "Out of the Horses Mouth," and their "whinnyings" made light of their confinement in racetrack horse stalls. The first five births at Tanforan were announced in the order that they "came in" each week. The first week they declared the lone baby born as the "winner" (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol, 1, No. 1 [May 15, 1942], p. 1); the second week when there were two babies born whom they announced them as the "place and show" births (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol 1, No. 2 [May 23, 1942], p. 1); and when two more babies arrived the following week — one of them my cousin, Eddie — they announced the births as "running out of the money" (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1, No. 3 [May 30, 1942], p. 4).

There was even a comic strip regular, a character named "Jankee," who chronicled the trials and tribulations of everyday life in the camps, such as learning to build tables and chairs from scrap lumber (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol 1, No. 19 [September

12, 1942], Final Issue). Unlike political cartoons by Theodor Geisel, better known as "Dr. Seuss," that ran from 1941 to1943 in New York newspaper *PM* (Duryea 3), and others in newspapers outside the camp, which depicted cookie-cutter images of Japanese Americans with big, buck teeth, slanted eyes, and a sparse mustache wearing round, black glasses, "Jankee" appeared to look closer to a Rockwell poster child, not even detectable as Asian.

Food, shelter, medical care, and education — along with other minor cash allowances and unemployment compensation payments — were furnished to all evacuees except those temporarily employed outside the center (Arrington 34). Many residents took the low-paying jobs offered in the camps, which paid unskilled laborers $12 a month, skilled laborers in clerical and community service jobs $16 a month, and highly skilled, professional employees $19 a month (Arrington 34). Caucasian carpenters and others working in equivalent civilian jobs outside the camp were being paid from $150 to $250 per month (Arrington 35).

In papers I petitioned from the War Relocation Authority (WRA) an "Application for Leave Clearance" filled out by my mother lists jobs she held during her confinement at Tanforan and Topaz as "waitress" and clerk-typist for the Topaz Work Project (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-126, 23 Feb. 1943). WRA work project inducements were limited by political pressures and public opinion, because Congress had mandated that the maximum rate paid evacuees working on public projects not exceed the minimum pay of an Army private fighting overseas, which was $21 a month at the time of evacuation (Arrington 33). When Congress raised the soldiers' minimum pay to $50, the WRA did not increase its pay scale because it feared that it might keep residents tied to the center (Arrington 33).

Government regulations did allow detainees to apply for voluntary evacuation from the camps, if the destination was to a place beyond the boundaries of the Western Defense Command, which included the states of Washington, California, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1. No. 16 [Aug. 22, 1942], p. 1). In other areas, such as Colorado, voluntary evacuations from the camp detainees were restricted, unless there were unusual circumstances under which the case would have special exceptional merit (Tanforan Totalizer, Vol. 1. No. 16 [Aug. 22, 1942], p. 1). Although many of the *Nisei* felt the farmers and *hakujins* (Caucasians) were seizing an opportunity to hire cheap labor, the opportunity for freedom greatly attracted them (Bernstein 180).

The *Nisei* members of my family were conflicted. On one hand, they wanted their freedom and release from the camps, but on the other hand they found it difficult to leave their *Issei* parents behind. Although there were opportunities for those leaving the camps, the Japanese Americans knew it would take more than money for a fresh start. All those who had been detained, and those who still remained in the camps, wondered how they would ever be able to overcome the anti-Asian sentiments brought about by the bombing of Pearl Harbor and become accepted — and not merely tolerated — by their fellow Americans.

## The Nisei Soldiers "Go For Broke"

Not all members of the Ouye family were detained in the camps. In 1936, prior to the evacuation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast, my Uncle George had died from typhoid fever, and in October 1941, my Uncle Joe, was drafted into the U. S. Army (Margaret Ouye, telephone interview, 2001). My uncle was one of about 5,000 young *Nisei* (second generation Japanese Americans) from the mainland and Hawaii serving in the Army on December 7, 1941, the majority of whom had been drafted (Bernstein 187).

Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the Selective Service delegated discretion for the induction of Japanese Americans to local draft boards (Bernstein 187). Some *Nisei* volunteers were accepted, but the induction of others was delayed and many local draft boards stopped drafting them completely — usually classifying them 4F, i.e. physically or mentally unfit for service (Daniels 35). Enlisted Japanese Americans soon found themselves in a precarious position when some, but not all, of the military commands began discharging Japanese Americans (Daniels 35).

On March 30, 1942, the War Department ordered that induction of *Nisei* on the West Coast be discontinued, making that area once again the center of discriminatory practices (Bernstein 187). The Selective Service would later send out "an illegal directive to all draft boards instructing them to classify all men of Japanese ancestry, regardless of citizenship, as 4C, a category previously reserved for enemy aliens" (Daniels 35).

The Western Defense Commander, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, who was responsible for the security of the Pacific coast, was influential in spreading the idea that the Japanese might be disloyal (Stanley 16). Following the loss of Manila he said, "I

have little confidence that the Japanese enemy aliens [*Issei*] are loyal. I have no confidence in the loyalty of the *Nisei* whatsoever (Stanley 16).

Unlike General DeWitt, who opposed any plan that would involve the release of Japanese from the camps and felt it impossible to distinguish the loyal from the disloyal, Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy was more inclined toward allowing the *Nisei* into the Army (Ng 56). McCloy was favorably impressed by the performance of the Hawaii National Guard, which would later become the 100th Battalion, and by the success of the *Nisei* and *Kibei* in the Military Intelligence Language School at the Presidio of San Francisco (Ng 56).

President Roosevelt also supported a program to reinstate the draft and an all-Japanese American combat unit. In response to an Army decision announced by Secretary of War Stimson on January 28, 1943, President Roosevelt made a public announcement that the military would accept volunteers in an all-*Nisei* combat unit (Daniels 68):

> No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. A good American is one who is loyal to his country and to our creed of liberty and democracy. Every loyal American citizen should be given the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution ... (Bernstein 191)

On February 1, 1943, the Army announced the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and it first looked for *Nisei* volunteers to man this unit (Ng 56). It was important for the government to link the combat team to the general release of the detainees from detention, because recruiting for a combat team without lessening restrictions would open the War Department to the charge that the *Nisei* were being used

as "cannon fodder" (Bernstein 188). Many of the *Nisei* felt this was the case, including my Uncle Tom who said:

> Roosevelt wanted one regiment or division if he could get it, all of one race — Japanese. So he didn't care whether we got exterminated or lived. He didn't care. If we all died that was to his satisfaction. That's what he wanted to see. I could see that, you know. Yeah. But it turned the opposite way (taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983).

Furthermore, denying individuals barred from military service the opportunity to participate in the war effort in some other way would be unfair, and it would be illogical to argue that loyalty should be tested only for those who served in the Army (Bernstein 188). The War Relocation Authority began to focus on the combat team as a way to get detainees from the camps and to rehabilitate them in the eyes of the public (Bernstein 188). By February 6, ten teams of Army officers, enlisted men, and WRA staff who were trained for the assignment, were dispatched to the relocation center to administer "loyalty" questionnaires (Bernstein191-192).

The U.S. government consistently had maintained that the loyalty of people of Japanese ancestry was questionable, and it saw internment a military necessity (Ng 55). The loyalty review program, used as a mechanism to weed out so-called "loyals" from "disloyals," was to determine whether an individual would be "at risk" if released from the relocation center and it would be administered through the "Application for Leave Clearance" questionnaire (Ng 55-56). The questionnaire, to be filled out by everyone over the age of 17, asked about family background, education, and employment (Arrington 30).

The WRA also reasoned that the questionnaire would expedite the leave clearance process for evacuees who were promised jobs — jobs that were sometimes gone before the paperwork could be completed (190). But it is no wonder the recruitment teams

encountered hostile audiences when they arrived at the camps, since the questionnaires were forced on the evacuees with no notice or answers to their important questions (192).

Of particular concern to the *Nisei* and *Kibei* was Question No. 27: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" (Arrington 31).

Of the Topaz residents, some 5,364 gave a direct or qualified "yes" and 790 a direct or qualified "no" answer, but one-third of these "no" votes would later be reversed (Arrington 31). The question "emphasized the anomaly of asking for volunteers from a group the Army had confined in a relocation center, the injustice of a segregated unit of Japanese Americans, and the uncertainly of the future of the dependents of the volunteers" (Arrington 32).

However, by March 3, only 58 *Nisei* had volunteered and the Army department turned the recruitment over to project administrators (Arrington 32). As citizens locked up behind barbed wire, the *Nisei* were resentful that their loyalty was in doubt, because there was not even one case of *abuti* (espionage or sabotage) by any Japanese American (Tanaka 9). The *Nisei* responded at first to the questionnaire with a resolution to the Secretary of War suggesting that they would be glad to volunteer for Army service — *if their civil rights were restored* (Arrington 31), to which the War Department replied:

> It is only by mutual confidence and cooperation that the loyal Japanese Americans can be restored to their civil rights. The present program is not complete rehabilitation but is the first step in that direction. The United States government has evidenced its faith in the loyal Japanese Americans by giving them the opportunity to serve their country. This is their opportunity to demonstrate to the American people that they have faith in America (qtd. in Arrington 31).

My Uncle Tom doubted the government's "good faith," and he was wary of the program (taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983). He refused to volunteer, as did

many other *Nisei*, until the War Department's reply clarified the objectives of the program (Arrington 32). However, once the project administration took charge of the recruitment program, the Topaz evacuees staged rallies, distributed booklets, and set up a "Volunteers for Victory" program (Arrington 32), which adopted the following patriotic creed:

> We believe in democracy and dedicate ourselves to the furtherance of its principles. To uphold these principles, we must destroy every form of tyranny, oppression, and violation of human rights. We place our faith in America and base our hope in the future on that faith. Therefore, we believe that our volunteering in the armed forces of this country is a step towards the realization of these ends, and a positive manifestation of our loyalty to the United States of America (qtd. in Arrington 32).

Volunteers from the camps totaled 1,208, and the program was deemed a success by the WRA, despite the turmoil surrounding the recruitment (Bernstein 194). The number of evacuees who volunteered fell 3,000 short of the number expected, and was only a small portion of 10,000 the War Department estimated to be eligible (Bernstein194). Response to the call for Army volunteers in Hawaii — where there was no substantial exclusion or detention — was much higher with nearly 10,000 *Nisei* volunteering. This number was "one-third of those of draft age," and far above the Hawaiian quota set by the War Department (Bernstein 197).

Nevertheless, neither my Uncle Tom nor his brothers Fred, Seigo, and Ockie volunteered for the Army. Uncle Tom, then 31 and married with two small children born in the camps, was drafted. By today's standards he would be exempt from the draft.

My Uncle Seigo was designated 4F because he suffered from stomach ulcers. My Uncle Fred was instructed by Tom, his eldest brother, not to enlist, but it is unknown what actually precluded him from serving in the Army (Dennis Ouye, telephone interview, 2001). My Uncle Ockie also served in the Army, but not with the 442nd. In

contrast, my mother had indicated on her "loyalty" questionnaire, dated February 23, 1943, that she would be willing to serve in either the Women's Army Corps (WACs) or the Nurse Army Corps (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-171).

My Uncle Tom was assigned first to Company A (Alice [Ouye] Fukushima, letter to author, 3 Sept. 2002), and later to Company I (personal visit to "Go for Broke Monument" 2002), while my Uncle Joe, 25, who had been drafted in October 1941, was assigned to Company F (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-126). They were sent to Camp Shelby, Mississippi, for advanced-unit training as part of the 442nd Combat Team (RCT). Boot camp at 31 years of age was no treat to my Uncle Tom, who said:

> A lot of the guys I trained with were 18, 19 years old. Try to keep up with those guys, huh? ... And I was in no shape either. They used to pick me up in the jeep every time we went on a road march. One time we went on a road march and... the officer put me in front. Everybody went, "Hey now we get the *Issei*" [Uncle Tom was a *Nisei*, not an *Issei*, so this was a humorous reference to his age]. But, if you go on a 25-mile road march, you're not going to make it, if you're not in shape. You have to be in shape, you know. Yeah, old guys like me — they'd never make it. They'd picked me up in the jeep and take me home. Yeah, that was quite an experience (taped interview, 1983).

When my Uncle Joe was preparing to be shipped overseas to fight for his country, he wanted to visit his family before leaving and had to obtain permission from the government to enter the gates of Topaz. My Auntie Margaret wrote:

> Joe wanted to see his family for the last time, [and had been] given permission by the War Department came to Topaz. The soldiers [guarding the perimeter of Topaz] didn't know what to do with him unless they got in touch with Washington. Joe stayed all night outside the barb wired fence with sentries on platform, their rifles always pointed at him (letter to author, 1 March 1997).

After visiting with his parents and siblings, he returned to Camp Shelby, Mississippi. The day before he was scheduled to depart for Europe with his unit, my Uncle Joe was trying to get into a taxicab with two of his buddies to return to

the base, when some anti-Japanese Caucasians accosted him with a beer bottle (Margaret Ouye, letter to author, 1 March 1977). He lived the rest of his life with a glass eye. As a result of his injury, he never fought overseas with the 442nd RCT during World War II. However, he did remain in the Army and served five years as a procurement clerk (Margaret Ouye, telephone interview, 12 Oct. 2002).

One of shorter men in his unit, my Uncle Tom said the small frames of the *Nisei* soldiers — which caused the quartermasters nightmares when trying to outfit men in shirts with 13 ½-inch necks and 27-inch sleeves, pants with 26-inch waists and 25-inch inseams, and size 2 ½ EEE shoes (Tanaka 2) — gave the 442nd RCT advantages when on the battlefield:

> They would call on us. Our little regiments would go right through. Even the battle of Casino -- the Germans were up on the hill with machine guns and all the grounds were vineyards, terraced, see. Casino, you know. So we had to go from the bottom. We were so small we could hide behind those, you know. They can't hit us (Tom Ouye, taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983).

Most of the officers in the 100th Infantry Battalion — formed from the 298th and 299th Regiments of the Hawaiian National Guard — were *haoles* (whites or Caucasians to the Hawaiians), but there were a few Japanese American and Korean American officers (Ng 62). The Hawaiian soldiers endearingly referred to their unit — the 100th Infantry Battalion — as "One-*Puka-Puka*" (*puka* is the Hawaiian word for small white seashells with a round hole in the center that resemble the number zero) (Ng 62). The 100th Infantry Battalion, a unit consisting of 1,432 men, fought some of the bloodiest campaigns in Europe, earning them more than 900 Purple Hearts and the nickname "The Purple Heart Battalion" (Ng 63). In June 1943, they joined the 442nd RCT in Camp

Shelby, but continued to be called the 100th Infantry Battalion because of their distinguished battle record (Ng 63).

Although both the men of the 100th and the 442nd were of Japanese ancestry, there were frequent fights between the two groups in the beginning (Ng 64). Many of the mainland *Nisei* soldiers, who had grown up being part of an ethnic minority and had been drafted from relocation centers — where their parents were still being held under armed guard — differed greatly from the Hawaiian *Nisei* who came from a place where one-third of the population was of Japanese ancestry (Ng 64). The mainland *Nisei* felt the Hawaiian-born *Nisei* were uneducated, and they looked down on them because they spoke the local Hawaiian dialect (Ng 64) of pidgin English ("Pidgin").

The Hawaiian *Nisei* thought the mainland *Nisei* snobbish and nicknamed them "kotonks" — the sound an empty coconut makes when it hits the ground! (Tanaka 23). The mainland *Nisei* called the island *Nisei* "Buddha-heads," a dysphemistic play on the Japanese word *buta* (pig) (Tanaka 23).

Animosity between the two groups disappeared, and the relationship shifted, after the Hawaiian *Nisei* visited the Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas (Ng 64). All of the *Nisei* soldiers had been invited to a dance organized by the Camp Jerome USO, who had heard that the still deeply segregated USO Club in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, would not allow Japanese American soldiers to dance with white girls (Ng 64). While attending the social event at Jerome Relocation Center, the Hawaiian soldiers began to respect the mainland *Nisei*, after seeing first-hand what they had experienced, and after they realized the difficult decision the mainland *Nisei* had faced when joining the Army (Ng 64).

The 100th Infantry Battalion landed in Naples, moved immediately to the beaches of Anzio, and by the time the 442nd RCT arrived, the 100th Battalion had pushed toward

Rome (Bernstein 257). On June 15, 1943, the 100th Infantry Battalion formally became part of the 442nd RCT and fought through Belvedere, Luciana, and Livorno (Bernstein 257). After a rest in late July, the 442nd RCT — all Japanese Americans except for the officers, who were mostly Caucasians (Tanaka 17) — returned to combat on August 15, with the objective of crossing the Arno River, a feat that was not accomplished until early September at the cost of 1,272 men — one-fourth of the unit's total strength (Bernstein 257).

From the Arno River, the 442nd moved to France and was assigned the task of taking the town of Bruyeres, which it won after three days of bitter fighting (Bernstein 257). That same month the 442nd — and in particular, the K company and I company, in which my Uncle Tom served — "encountered its bloodiest battle in the rescue of the 'Lost Battalion'" (Bernstein 257). After attempts to rescue the Texans had failed, the 442nd was called in, and for six days they fought enemy infantry, artillery, and tanks through nine miles of forests and mountain ridges until they reached the "Lost Battalion" (Bernstein 257-258).

The I and K companies, running low on men and ammunition, led the battle charge and bore the brunt of the attack fighting was head-to-head combat (Tanaka 95). My Uncle Tom gave this account:

> You're advancing...going in...to rescue the Lost Battalion. [It wasn't] too far, but it took us over 10 hours to get there. You can only advance two or three feet. You fight from tree to tree, [but] there's no trees left. It's all been sniped. I said, "Okay, you guys, we're moving out at 5 o'clock in the morning, so, dig in." Here come the Germans, just when it's getting dark. They did, and we marched. We kept on. So my line-sergeant said, "Tom, dig a foxhole for us."...[At the] last minute, he changed his mind and said, "You better go with the lieutenant"...
>
> About 4 o'clock in the morning a shell hit a snag up top. Comes down like an umbrella, see. This sergeant got shrapnel through the top of his

> head and out the back. The guy sleeping next to him, both legs are broken. The guy came from Spokane. He just came in [transferred]. He didn't see daylight [only spent one night with the company before dying]. He got hit. Shrapnel went through here and out the back. I don't know. I was just lucky. You know, if I were with this guy who was with the sergeant, I wouldn't be here today, or I would be a cripple (taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983).

The commander of the 36th division, part of the 1st Battalion of the 141st Regiment fromTexas whose "Lost Battalion" of Texans had been cut off by German advance, said: "No finer fighting, no finer soldierly qualities have ever been witnessed by the U.S. Army in its long history" (qtd. in Arrington 48). Governor John Connolly later proclaimed the unit, "Honorary Texans" (Tanaka 1).

The unit had suffered almost 800 casualties in a single week to rescue 211 of the original 275 Texans who were trapped for several weeks behind enemy lines (Bernstein 258). My Uncle Tom recalled the battle in an audio-taped interview by Matthew Inouye made in 1983: "When we got up there, out of 200 men in my company, [there were only] six of us left. K company had 16 left, out of 200. So out of the two companies, we [the I company] were the first ones up there."

Immediately after the rescue of the "Lost Battalion," the 442nd RCT pushed on for 10 more days to take the ridge that had been the "Lost Battalion's" original objective (Bernstein 258). Since Bruyeres, the casualty list of the 442nd numbered 2,000, including 140 deaths (Bernstein 258). Company K was down to 17 riflemen, Company I had only eight, and there were no officers in either company the day after the contact with the "lost battalion" was made (Tanaka 101). Sergeants like my Uncle Tom were running the companies:

> I went in front lines. You get wounded or killed so fast. Even a buck private—if you're capable you're up there. Someone had to get there. And they said, "Hey, you got to take this guy's place — you're a sergeant

> now." [I said], "Don't give me that." If you're a private, who's gonna take your place? Who's gonna take your place? Well the lieutenant got wounded. He had to go back. He didn't owe us, he said, "This is it." I go, Oh man, so for a while I was a second "liuey." I wish they had given me that rank, now. Nope. So, I ended up as staff sergeant (taped interview, 1983).

My Uncle Tom, who earned seven citations for bravery, was fortunate, indeed, to have survived these battles and be sent home without any major injuries (Tom Ouye, taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983).

By the end of World War II, more than 18,000 Japanese American soldiers wore the patch of the 442nd, a proud symbol of freedom and liberty (Tanaka 20). The emblem on the patch depicts a silver arm and hand holding a torch against a field of blue surrounded by a border of silver and red. Designed by T/Sgt. Mitch Miyamoto, this patch replaced the War Department's original design, which unbelievably depicted a *yellow* arm brandishing a red sword that everyone from the rank of Commanding Officer Col. Pence down to private found repugnant (Tanaka 20).

The spectacular achievements of the combined 100th/442nd units who fought in seven major campaigns and suffered a total of 9,486 casualties — more than 300 percent of its original infantry strength, including 600 killed (Bernstein 258) —earned them so many unit and individual citations and awards that it is often referred to by historians as "the most decorated unit in United States military history" (Arrington 47-48). Their distinguished battle record earned them 9,486 Purple Hearts, one Medal of Honor, 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 1 Distinguished Service Medal, 560 Silver Stars, 28 Oak Leaf Clusters in lieu of second Silver Stars, 22 Legions of Merit, 4,000 Bronze Stars, 1,200 Oak Leaf Clusters representing second Bronze Stars, 15 Soldier's Medals, 12 French *Croix de Guerre*, 2 French palms representing second *Croix de Guerre* awards, 2

Italian Crosses for military merit, and 2 Italian medals for military valor (Ng 71). President Truman affixed the Presidential Unit banner to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team's regimental colors (Bernstein 259).

Members of the 100th/442nd units received more than 18,000 individual decorations but only one ("Clinton") of the 301 Medals of Honor originally awarded by the U.S. Army to soldiers who fought in World War II ("Medal"). On June 21, 2001, President Clinton presented the Medal of Honor — the nation's highest military award — to 22 Asian-American World War II veterans, only seven of whom are still living, saying it is "long past time" to "break the silence about their courage" ("Clinton"). Prior to the White House ceremony, only two Asian American or American Pacific Islanders — Sgt. Jose Calugas of the Philippine Scouts, and Pfc. Sadao Munemori of the 442nd RCT — had received the Medal of Honor for service in World War II ("Asian").

When asked if he felt the 442nd RCT had made a difference, my Uncle Tom — who participated whole-heartedly in this segregated Japanese unit despite being drafted — replied:

> If none of us had fought in the war we ... would have been in the same shoe as before the war started. We would work for peanuts. We're not going to get nowhere. As far as advancement is concerned, there's none, as far as I could see — around the West Coast, no matter where you go — [for] an Oriental person (taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983).

Perhaps it is the battle cry of the 442nd RCT, "Go For Broke," — a Hawaiian gambling phrase meaning, "shoot the works," — that epitomizes the efforts of the *Nisei* soldiers (Ng 71), not only on the battlefield, but also in the quest to prove their loyalty, to gain the release of their *Issei* parents, and to earn the respect and trust of their fellow American citizens.

The record of the *Nisei* in the 100th and 442nd was instrumental in earning the return to freedom for those of Japanese ancestry and proved their loyalty to the United States. If not for their courage and heroic actions, the Japanese living in the United States may have been unable to assimilate.

## The Issei & Nisei Resettle

Although the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) did help to prove the loyalty of Japanese Americans, and helped those who had been detained in the camps to resettle and assimilate, the soldiers who managed to return from the battlefield found they still had not changed the views of many Americans. Despite serving in the 442nd RCT and coming home decorated war heroes, my Uncle Tom said he and other Japanese American soldiers still faced discrimination (Tom Ouye, taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983). He recalled the prejudice he experienced after returning to civilian life:

> I wanted a job. I went to the union, because I was in the union before I left. The union agent says, "Tom, things aren't so good yet, so you better lay low." ... [I said], "I'll call Col. Miller. If I don't get a job, I'll wire Col. Miller, and he'll come flying in on the next plane." So the next morning he [the union agent] called me and said, "You got a job." That's the way it worked. ... If you keep your mouth shut you don't get anything.

When my family left for Tanforan Assembly Center and, later, Topaz Relocation Center in 1942, they, like other Japanese Americans confined in the camps, had reached the lowest status ever experienced by a comparable group of Americans (Arrington 46). In his book "The Price of Prejudice," Leonard Arrington, noted Topaz historian, said they had been "forcibly removed from their homes and herded into the nearest approximation to a concentration camp America has ever had" (Arrington 46). No longer were they free to continue the educational or occupational pursuits of their choice (Arrington 46). Although putting my family, and other Japanese Americans and aliens, into the camps took only a few months, getting them all out again took almost four years (Daniels 72).

Several actions led to the closing of the camps. On December 17, 1944, Proclamation No. 21 was issued rescinding General DeWitt's mass exclusion orders and replacing them with individual exclusions from "sensitive" areas on the Western Defense

Command (Bernstein 235). A significant case filed in 1942 by Mitsuye Endo, a U.S. citizen who had complied with the evacuation orders but questioned the legality of detaining individuals who had not been charged with breaking the law was finally brought before the U.S. Supreme Court (Ng 77). Although *habeas corpus* cases are normally heard immediately, it took almost a year for federal courts to decide on her case (Ng 88). When it was denied and appealed, it took yet another year before the case was forwarded to the Supreme Court in 1944 (Ng 88). In a unanimous decision, the Court concluded, "whatever power the War Relocation Authority may have to detain other classes of citizens, it has no authority to subject citizens who are concededly loyal to its leave procedure" (Ng 89). Following the *Endo* decision, all of the camps closed, with the exception of Tule Lake - a segregation center housing those who had answered "no" to the loyalty questionnaire, (Ng 89).

When restrictions for the *Nisei* confined in the camps lessened, most of my family looked for work outside of the camps in agriculture and turkey farming to escape confinement, and in March 1943, my Uncle Fred became the first of the family to leave the camp (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family). As a foreman at a turkey farm for J.W. Pulley, 106 Main Street, in American Fork, Utah (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, "Seasonal Leave Form," 29 June 1943), he secured jobs for the rest of my uncles and two future aunts to kill and pluck turkeys (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Memo, 27 March 1943; Dennis Ouye, telephone interview, December 2001). Within a year, only my mother, grandparents, great-Uncle Okubo, Auntie Elaine, and my cousins, Eddie and Jane — still small children — remained in the camps (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family).

Like my mother and uncles, many of those incarcerated had taken jobs outside the

camps or were serving in the U.S. Army long before the camps closed, but only one of every six of the first-generation *Issei* had left (Bernstein 241). Many of those who remained were the elderly or middle-aged *Issei,* like my *Oba-chan*, now 52. Others were *Nisei* with young children, such as my Auntie Elaine.

The impetus for the release of students and others who needed help to resettle after the camps "came from outside the War Relocation Authority, although the WRA willingly cooperated" (Daniels 77). Educators hoped the U.S. Office of Education would subsidize a college program for the *Nisei*, but the funding never materialized. Most students received help through private scholarships, (Daniels 77) enabling them to attend private schools, which had previously been inaccessible to many of those students. Many of the prestigious American institutions, such as Princeton and MIT, refused to admit Japanese American students in 1942, but other colleges and universities did — particularly private institutions (Daniels 73). In other cases, schools such as the University of Idaho, caving in to community pressure, rescinded the admission of six *Nisei* in the fall of 1942 (Daniels 74).

Students from the ten WRA relocation camps — including *Nisei* 105 students released from Topaz, where my family was sent — studying in 43 different colleges and universities around the United States, were particularly effective in reminding Americans of the plight of the *Nisei* (Arrington 46). As one commentator noted in regard to the *Nisei* students: "Articulate and thoroughly Americanized, they made good impressions wherever they went, and the reports they sent back to the centers indicated their treatment was far different from that to which they had been accustomed on the West Coast" (Arrington 46).

My father also said that sentiments regarding Japanese Americans were different on the East Coast, and those relocating were often met more with stares of curiosity than hostility (Nova Baker, telephone interview, 2001). Many reasons existed for the relatively high degree of acceptance of Japanese Americans east of the Sierra Nevada in wartime and postwar America (Daniels 81). It was readily apparent that the *Nisei* were hardworking, culturally conservative people with essentially middle-class aspirations and behavior (Daniels 81). It was also critically important in cities such as Chicago, where many whites were extremely prejudiced, that the *Nisei* were not African American (Daniels 82).

To facilitate resettlement, the WRA opened six regional offices and thirty-five sub-regional offices across the United States to prepare both the detainees and the receiving communities for the release (Daniels 78). My mother, Mary Ouye, who was 19, received permission from the camp administrators to travel to American Fork to visit her brother, Fred, and investigate employment possibilities (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Claude C. Cornwall, Chief, Employment Division, Memorandum to the Topaz Leave Office, 28 June 1943). The War Relocation Authority (WRA) issued her a "Citizen's Leave Permit for Work Group" identification card (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-185, No. 8019, 29 June 1943) with a photo and an imprint of her right index finger. My mother obtained her father's permission (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, 15 April 1944) and accepted an invitation, or sponsorship, from a Christian family in Philadelphia and was granted a "Citizen's Indefinite Leave" on April 19, 1944, by Topaz project director, Charles Ernst (WRA Records of Mary Ouye). Ironically, just below my mother's signature is the logo: "For Victory, Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps."

The WRA and the government propaganda agency, the Office of War Information, also promoted the *Nisei* image through their positive "information campaign" (Daniels 82). My Auntie Margaret told me she was given a booklet upon her release from camp — which she found a bit humiliating — detailing how a Japanese American should act to best fit into society (Margaret Ouye, personal interview, May 2001).

A Western Union telegram my mother sent to the WRA on April 24, 1944, from Chicago en route to Philadelphia, informing them of her arrival on the Pennsylvania Trail Blazer the following morning and advising them she would wait at the station is evidence she knew no one in Philadelphia and thus needed help (WRA records of Mary Ouye). Because workers and housing were in short supply during the war, Japanese Americans found it easier to secure jobs than to locate suitable places to live (Daniels 78). The help received from hostels, Christian organizations, and Christian families was instrumental in the resettlement process for my mother and others arriving from the relocation camps.

Because my mother had left the Topaz Relocation Center with only $10 (WRA Records of Mary Ouye WRA-130, "Application for Indefinite Leave," 15 April 1944), she also must have received assistance in order to complete courses necessary to obtain her cosmetology license, although there is no specific record of funding for her schooling in her WRA records. The assistance given by the Quakers, other church organizations, and the government for continued education gave my mother and other resettling Japanese Americans opportunities and opened doors that would have otherwise been closed to them.

After settling in Pennsylvania, my mother, Mary, requisitioned the WRA to ship the belongings that she had left behind at Topaz, which consisted of only two boxes

weighing a total of 172 lbs. (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, "Government Bill of Lading" OEM-32055). Hostels run by Quakers and other religious groups (Daniels 78), such as the one in which my mother stayed in April 1944 (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Jeannette Walker, "Results of Interview," 31 May 1945), and Uncle Ockie stayed in October 1944 (WRA records of Mary Ouye, Jeannette Walker, "Results of Interview," 14 Oct. 1944) when they relocated to Pennsylvania, helped provide temporary homes for them and others being resettled.

Other government assistance programs were also available. My mother was petite — only 4'11" and 110 lbs. — and she suffered from epilepsy, stomach ulcers, fainting spells, and other health problems (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-219, 29 March 1944). After resettling in Pennsylvania, she developed a high fever that caused her to be hospitalized for nearly a month (August 9, 1944 until September 4, 1944) (WRA records of Mary Ouye, Henry Patterson, WRA, Philadelphia, PA, letter to Edwin Arnold, Chief of WRA Relocation Division in Washington, D.C., 20 Sept. 1944). Alone, without family support, and unable to pay her own way, she received public assistance to cover the medical expenses (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-344, 18 Sept. 1944).

In Philadelphia, my mother first worked for the Japanese American Student Relocation Council, earning $23 for a 40-hour workweek (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Henry Patterson, WRA, Philadelphia, PA, letter to Bertha Borton, Dept. of Public Assistance, 18 Sept. 1944). This was a decent wage for a Japanese American resettling from the camps, especially when one considers this job offer made to the Ouye family by Henry Albertson of Greenhill Farm in Burlington, New Jersey, which was included in my mother, Mary Ouye's WRA records (November or December 1944):

Job Offer Referred to Mary Ouye's Family
Duration of job: Permanent
Days per week: December and January, 9 hours a day, February 9 ½ hours a day. March, full 58 hours a week.

Furnished bungalow, 5 rooms, bathroom, all essential furniture included, electricity. Many with family would get $20 a week until March 1st, then $22 plus house, 2 quarts of milk a day, firewood, use of private truck garden. Member of family could do some domestic work for Albertsons and get extra pay. Woman of family would get small amount of money for cooking for other Japanese American men.

Other men would get 35 cents an hour ($20.30 for 58 hours) plus board and room. All men would get retroactive bonus of $2 a week at end of one year. This would equal $100 if they worked steadily.

My family did not take this which was job offered to them, but it assures me that my mother was concerned about her parents who she had left behind at Topaz. Unfortunately, my mother, who was not a competent typist, was retained for only a short period of time in her job with the Japanese American Student Relocation Council (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, M. Megilligan of the American Friends Service Committee, Memo to Jeannette Walker, WRA, 3 June 1944), and she had to settle for domestic employment as a child caretaker and housekeeper at a salary of $10 weekly plus room and board (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Gladys Raker, letter to WRA, DeKalb County, PA, 14 Aug. 1944).

Evacuated from Berkeley at the age of 19 and just shortly after her graduation from high school, her clerical experiences were limited to jobs taken at Topaz. This, coupled with limited jobs available to Japanese Americans like my mother before her confinement in the camps, left her with these few skills to list on job applications or when interviewing for positions (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, WRA-26, "Application for Leave Clearance," 11 Nov. 1942; WRA-219 "Application for Private Employment by Relocation Center Resident," 29 March 1944):

Peach pitting and cutting, Yuba City; 10 cents an hour
Caring for children in Yuba City
Waitress, Tanforan Assembly Center, $8 per month
Waitress, Topaz
Cherry Sorting, Provo Utah
Clerk-typist, Stewards Office, Topaz
Clerk typist, Elementary School office, Topaz
Power Machine Sewing, Topaz

Despite limited skills and the difficulties surrounding resettlement, the *Nisei* now had better employment opportunities available to them, such as the typing position my mother had been hired to fill —jobs not available to them before relocation. My mother recognized her limitations, and she was grateful for the opportunities that came her way, and probably for her freedom. Neither the confinement nor the resettlement process had tainted her positive attitude or indomitable spirit. In a letter dated July 6, 1944, to Miss Jeannette Walker of the WRA regarding employment taken as a domestic in the home of Mrs. Gladys Raker, my mother said: "I don't think anyone is as lucky as I am. I'm a greenhorn at everything, but Mrs. Raker has the patience to teach me."

The Ouye family members who had left camp to work in American Fork moved to Salt Lake City, but my mother remained in Philadelphia. She eventually obtained a cosmetology license, despite constant urgings from her Christian benefactor to become a missionary — something she did not wish to do (WRA Records of Mary Ouye, Jeannette Walker, WRA, "Results from Interview," 9 Nov. 1944).

The little money that my uncles made upon leaving the camps barely provided enough for them to subsist, especially as they were now living outside the confines of Topaz and needed to pay for their food and housing. Along with managing to make ends meet for themselves, they probably had to earn enough to pay the mortgage and property taxes on the family home in Berkeley or risk losing it. They persevered and, eventually,

my uncles met and married Japanese women through work or were introduced to Japanese women through a *baishakunin* (matchmaker). The brothers and their wives shared a home to help them save for their futures and the release of their parents — still detained in Topaz.

The low wage of 25 cents per hour earned for plucking turkeys, netted my aunts a monthly wage of $40, based on a 40-hour work week — more than two-and-a-half times what they would be making inside the confines of the barbed wire, according to an article in the *Tanforan Totalizer* that showed the highest paid resident for the month of May received $15.08 (Vol. 1, No. 9 [11 July 1942], p. 1). When the company asked for volunteers willing to slice the turkeys' necks — which would increase my aunts' hourly wages from 25 cents to 60 cents — they were the first to raise their hands. My Auntie Margaret tells about her experience:

> That was one nasty job. As the live turkeys came by, [we] had to put the knife through their neck, they would flutter around upside-down, splatter blood all over. Must say Hatsue [Ouye, my aunt] and I had "perfect hits" each time. At the end of the day, nobody wanted to come near us (letter to author, 1 March 1997).

It was bloody work and they "smelled to high heaven," said my aunt, but they had their freedom.

Although menial jobs were plentiful for the evacuees, employment discrimination blocked them from better paying jobs (Bernstein 242). For the *Issei*, jobs with good pay were scarcer yet. By January 1945, only one of every six *Issei* had left the camps, and now they would have to be persuaded to leave (Bernstein 245).

When the war with Japan ended on August 14, 1945, more than a third of the exiled people – 44,000 persons - were still in the camps (Daniels 86). My great-uncle finally left in April 1945, and my grandfather left in September 1945 — a month and a

half before the last of my relatives left — probably to make arrangements for the rest of the family still at Topaz. Of my family members, only my aunt — whose husband, my Uncle Tom was overseas with the 442nd Regimental Combat team; my two young cousins — Eddie, 3, and Jane, 2; and my grandmother — who probably stayed behind to assist with the children, remained at the Topaz until October 19, 1945 (WRA Final Accountability Records of the Ouye family). This was just one week before the camp closed on October 26, 1945 (Arrington 54). My Auntie Margaret, said it was her brother, Tom Kicashima, and his wife "Socks" — to whom he was wed while at Topaz — who were among the last to leave the camp and ironically place the lock on the gate behind them (telephone interview, 2002).

The WRA finally made the remaining evacuees leave — those who had not, or would not, designate a desired destination — leave and gave them train fare through to the point from which they were originally evacuated because the government was preparing to close the camps (Bernstein 241). Each person was given an allowance of $25, and those without prewar holdings to which they could return were "piled into temporary shelters, hotels, converted Army barracks, and public housing" (Bernstein 241). However, lacking self-esteem and often frightened of reintegrating with Caucasians after having been segregated, many of the *Issei* felt burdened at the thought of starting over again — this time at an older age (Bernstein 241), and without the drive and ambition they had felt in their youth. Suicides, especially among elderly bachelors, were reported (Bernstein 241).

Another reason many of the older Japanese Americans had not yet left the camps, was because they did not have the right to return to their homes in California and the forbidden areas of Washington, Oregon, and Arizona, until after the December 1944

Supreme Court decision in the Endo case ruled that an admittedly loyal American citizen could not be held in a relocation camp against his or her will (Bernstein 239). Many resettlers created new and permanent communities far from the West Coast, with the largest being Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City, and New York City (Daniels 81).

Despite the evacuation and being placed in the camps, my family managed to retain their home, but many detainees had no homes to which they could return. Those, like my family, who did manage to retain their property on the West Coast throughout the relocation ordeal returned to discover their stored possessions had been lost or stolen (Bernstein 241). Because property taxes had not been paid in many instances, special measures were required to keep properties from tax sales (Bernstein 241).

Property and housing concerns, however, were not the only problems. Violence was also relatively common, with the first incidence occurring on January 8, 1945, when someone tried to dynamite and burn an evacuee's fruit packing shed (Bernstein 242). Another 30 or so incidents followed, usually involving shots being fired into an evacuee's home (Bernstein 242). General harassment ensued and signs announcing "No Japs allowed, no Japs welcome" were widespread (Bernstein 242).

Although there had bad reports and a number of instances of terrorism — mainly in California — the rate of West Coast resettlement continued to increase (Daniels 86), and the *Issei* members of my family wanted to return to Berkeley. Older than the *Nisei*, and perhaps less resilient, Berkeley is where the *Issei* members of my family felt comfortable. Northern California is the area they knew and the place where they knew many other Japanese would be living again too.

A matter of great concern for my family and others confined in the camps was reuniting their families. My Uncle Fred and Uncle Seigo had married and settled just

outside Salt Lake City. My Uncle Seigo and Auntie Hats had already started a family, and their first child, Dorinne, was born there. My Uncle Ockie, a bachelor, had moved to Wayne, Pennsylvania to be near my mother (WRA records of Mary Ouye, Jeannette Walker, WRA "Results of Interview" 11 Oct. 1944), and Uncle Joe was now stationed in Fort Lewis, Washington (WRA records of Mary Ouye, WRA-344 "Request for Financial or Medical Assistance or Permission to Reside in a Relocation Center," 18 Sept. 1944). Only Uncle Tom and his family had returned to the family home in Berkeley.

When the *Nisei* members of my family gained their freedom from the camps, they settled in Utah and Pennsylvania, and most of them had no intention of returning to California. They were outraged by the treatment they received there and did not care whether they ever went back (Seigo and Hatsue Ouye, telephone interview, 2001). They felt angry that the country had turned its back on them. They might have understood the feelings about their parents, the *Issei*, but they — the *Nisei* — were U.S. citizens born in this country. However, at my *Oba-chan's* urging, all of the sons *did* eventually move back to Berkeley. In order to help with the reunion, eight members of my family — Tom, Seigo, Joe, their wives and children — lived together with my grandparents under one roof at 1837 Prince Street in Berkeley.

As soon as they were able to do so, my Uncle Seigo and Auntie "Hats" moved into a place of their own, and added three additional children to their family: Vicki, Russell, and Tami. Eventually my Uncle Joe married my Auntie Margaret, adopting two children, Joey and Susi, and they lived in a home in Berkeley until my uncle's passing in December 1995. A bachelor until his death October 31, 2001, my Uncle Ockie also remained in the Berkeley area.

The second eldest son, my Uncle Fred, who had met his wife, my Auntie Ruby, through a *baishakunin* (matchmaker) while living in Utah (Ruby Ouye, telephone interview, December 2001), moved into a house of their own in Berkeley, which they shared with my maternal great-Uncle *Okubo-san* (his respectful name), who lived with them for the remainder of his life. Auntie Ruby gave birth to four of my cousins: Rich, Dennis, LaVonne, and Jim.

Uncle Tom, the eldest son, and his wife, my Auntie Elaine, had a marriage arranged by my grandparents (Margaret Ouye, letter to author, 1 March 1997). However, soon the old customs of the *Issei* — such as arranged marriages — would wane and the *Nisei* generation would rise to assert their independence. My Auntie Margaret wrote about the *Nisei's* changing attitude:

> Folks still had the upper hand then [and said], "Tom was our first son, and the No. 1 son, his wife has to live with us and care for us for the rest of our lives."... When they returned to the West Coast ... as per agreement of their marriage, all lived together. ... Then comes our generation — the second — the *Nisei*. We were more independent. No way we were going to have our future husbands picked by our parents (letter to author, 1 March 1997).

Uncle Tom and Auntie Elaine would parent a sibling, Alice, for the two children they had born at the camps, and both my uncle and aunt remained in the Prince Street house until their passing in 1983 and 1977, respectively ("California Deaths"). Arranged marriages, an antiquated custom, did not fit into the lifestyle of the *Nisei* generation, who grew up with Western ideologies, and eventually the agreement dissolved (Margaret Ouye, letter to author, 1 March 1997).

Not only had the arranged marriage for my Uncle Tom not worked out as my grandparents envisioned, but now their only daughter would disappoint them by marrying a Caucasian. My mother was the only one of our *Nisei* family members to marry outside

of her race, and *Oba-chan* (my grandmother) never approved of my dad, Nova (Margaret Ouye, letter to author, 1 March 1997). Still respectful of the *Issei* generation yet wanting to live her own life, when my mother agreed to marry, it was *Okubo-san* (my great uncle) whose permission she would seek (Ruby Ouye, telephone interview, Dec. 2001). She knew her parents, wanting to arrange their only daughter's marriage, as they had their No. 1 son's, would never allow it (Ruby Ouye, telephone interview, Dec. 2001).

After *Okubo-san* granted his permission, it was necessary for my mother to return to Pennsylvania before marrying my father, a sailor, on June 1, 1948 (Nova Baker, telephone interview, 2001). Until October 1, 1948, when anti-miscegenation legislation was ruled unconstitutional in *Perez v. Sharp* —the first such action by a state court — California law forbade persons of Japanese descent to marry Caucasians (Modell 5). California's anti-miscegenation legislation dated from its statehood in 1850, and they were "originally enacted to prohibit interracial marriages between whites and Indians or blacks (Modell 5). The legislation was extended four years later to forbid white and Chinese intermarriage, and in 1910, "Mongolians" — mistakenly including Japanese — were added to the statutory prohibition of miscegenation (Modell 5). In order to circumvent the local law against interracial marriage, many Japanese residing in California traveled to Nevada to marry where miscegenation was legal (Hatsue Ouye, telephone interview, 2001).

My parents produced three *hapa* (part-Asian) children, my sister, Charlotte, born in 1950, my younger brother, Guy, born in 1956, and me. Married to a military man, my mother constantly shifted her family from naval base to naval base. However, for a brief time, the entire Ouye family was at last reunited when my father was stationed at Alameda Naval Air Station in Oakland where I was born in 1954.

My grandparents took jobs as caretakers and gardeners and eventually saved enough money to purchase their own home on Milvia Street in Berkeley. Later *Oji-chan* a unique, intelligent man, according to my Auntie Margaret, tried his hand at another occupation:

> After returning to Berkeley, he [my grandfather] had himself listed in the yellow pages of the phone directory under "DOCTOR." He had no medical license, nor degree for his "burn treatment." He had studied for many years of the nerves and muscles of one's body, functions, and connections. He had many elderly "patients" [and he was] always busy. The treatment was to find the nerve or muscle connection, then place a certain herb — a little wad — on top of the skin, then light this herb wad with a glowing red incense and let it burn into the skin. Some of his patients would have 20-30 wads burning at the same time. When after many treatments, [and] it doesn't cure his patient — they [would] go to the hospital and scare the wits out of the nurses that undress them with [exclamations of] "Wow! What happened?" (Margaret Ouye, letter to author, 1 March 1997).

Wanting to get on with their lives, and hoping to make life easier for their *Sansei* children and grandchildren, the *Nisei* and *Issei* kept quiet about the interment camps. Until some of our *Sansei* family members heard about it from playmates or teachers, the *Nisei* and *Issei* members of our family said nothing. My cousin Jane, who was born in the Topaz Relocation Center, found out about the camps from one of her neighborhood friends (Jane [Ouye] Yamamoto, letter to author, 21 Nov. 2001):

> My first knowledge of camp wasn't from my parents, but from one of my neighborhood friends — we must have been around eight or so. Anyway [Joy Sharp] came up to me one day and told me that her father told her I was born in a prison camp and I immediately turned on her and called her a liar, then later found out from parents that what she told me was true, but that they didn't consider it a "prison" camp.

Afterward, my Uncle Tom and Auntie Elaine, like many Japanese Americans who were detained in the camps, rarely spoke of it again.

My sister, brother, and I heard nothing from our parents about the internment camps. Because my mother died when I was seven years old, I have always felt estranged from my Japanese heritage. I never saw my mother's family much after the age of eight, and I thought this was the primary reason I didn't know anything about the camps or my family's confinement. Although it was a shameful chapter in America's history, I read nothing about it in school when I was growing up in the Midwest. If not for a letter from my Auntie Margaret in 1997, detailing her experiences in the camp, I might still be in the dark about our family's confinement.

It has been enlightening, to some extent, to discover that most of my cousins also heard little about the camps while growing up. One reason behind this might lie in the *haji* (shame) that many of the detainees, particularly the *Issei*, felt after leaving the camps (Bernstein 241). Authority on the Japanese Relocation Camps, Roger Daniels, commented, "Some of this is related to the 'blame the victim' syndrome: the false notion that if something bad happens to a person — i.e. kidnapping, rape, disease — it is, at least in part, the victim's fault" (Daniels 96). Japanese culture teaches that individuals should not bring shame or disgrace on the group, and because the experience seemed disgraceful, it was best not to talk about it (Daniels 96). This left a dam on the emotions of the *Issei* and *Nisei* that would block their feelings for almost four decades (Daniels 97).

Another part of this secrecy was because of their Japanese heritage and culture, which taught them to look and move forward, not backward. Until the late 1970s — forty years after the camps — when it appeared the movement for reparation, known as *redress*, would succeed, few in my family or in the Japanese community spoke about the camps or their experiences there unless someone asked them (Daniels et al 4).

Perhaps this phrase — *shikata ga nai* (it cannot be helped) — familiar to all those imprisoned in the camps and epitomizing *Issei* and *Nisei* sentiment, best sums up how they coped, before, during and after the camps, with all they had endured (Ng 185).

## The Redress Movement

The fighting heroism of the combined 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) represented a significant step forward in the restoration of Japanese American rights as citizens (Arrington 48). However, until 1990, nearly forty years after the doors of the Topaz relocation center had closed, my family members and the other Japanese Americans who had been incarcerated during World War II, had not received compensation or even an apology for the loss of civil rights and property suffered during the evacuation procedure.

In 1948, there was a proposed Japanese American Claims Act, but it was inadequately funded and went nowhere (Daniels et al 4). That same year, Congress did pass the Evacuation Claims Act to allow Japanese Americans to seek compensation from the U.S. government for losses as a result of their incarceration, but claims were limited to "damage to or loss of real or personal property," not covered by insurance (Ng 100). Although 26,568 claims were filed totaling $148 million, the government paid only $37 million and only a small percentage of those wronged actually received compensation for their losses (Ng 100). Many former internees lacked documentation necessary to prove their losses, and the Internal Revenue Service had already destroyed most of its 1939 to 1942 income records making assessment of holdings and earnings difficult (Ng 100).

Although full reparation was not accomplished in the years after the release of the Japanese Americans from the camps, several legislative and social changes were initiated. Racial and ethnic bars were removed from the naturalization statutes in 1952, thereby removing the "aliens ineligible to citizenship" stigma from the first generation Japanese Americans, the *Issei* (Daniels et al 4). By 1959, Hawaii had belatedly been admitted to the Union, and elected legislators — among them Senator Daniel K. Inouye,

who lost his right arm fighting with the all-Japanese 442nd Regimental Combat Team — began to represent Japanese Americans in Washington (Daniels et al 4). Japanese Americans, a people who had owned no political "clout" in 1942, were now represented, and that representation would be increased when California began to send Japanese Americans to Washington, including Senator Inouye and Senator S. I. Hayakawa, a naturalized citizen (Daniels et al 4).

By the 1960s, the socioeconomic gains of the majority of the *Nisei* and the *Sansei* began to push many of them into the middle and upper-middle classes (Daniels et al 4). Yet, figures that the state of California compiled in 1965 showed that persons of Japanese ancestry — despite having, on average, more education than Caucasians — earned significantly less money (Daniels et al 4). Japanese American males over fourteen had a median income of $4,388 as opposed to $5,109 for Caucasians, and only 7.7 percent of the Japanese American men twenty-five years of age and older earned as much as $10,000, opposed to 12.1 percent for Caucasians in those same age groups (Daniels et al 4).

The 1960s and 1970s were not only times of socioeconomic change for the *Nisei* and the *Sansei*, but also times of change in terms of social movement and activism. The *Sansei* — members of the baby-boomer generation — had very little knowledge of their parents' and grandparents' experiences (Ng 105). Largely influenced by the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War, and women's movements, and the concurrent emphasis on ethnic and racial identity, the *Sansei* began to question and pursue their ethnic group's identity (Ng 105). For the *Sansei*, uncovering the "silent past" meant taking social and political action (Ng 105). In the early 1970s, bridging the *Nikkei* (American citizens of Japanese ancestry) generations, the *Issei*, *Nisei*, and *Sansei* began to make pilgrimages together to

the ten WRA camps (Ng 105). *Sansei* activists began to call for *reparations*, but over time *redress* became the preferred term (Ng 107). Initially, established Japanese American community leaders either ignored or rejected the movement, refusing to support those who publicly protested the incarceration during World War II (Daniels 91).

In 1976, as part of the bicentennial celebration, President Gerald R. Ford used the thirty-fourth anniversary of Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 to issue Proclamation 4417, "An American Promise," which repealed the order, and declared (Daniels 90): "We know now what we should have known then: not only was [the] evacuation wrong, but Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans" (qtd in Daniels 90). Ford's proclamation, except in the western states, was largely ignored and the editors of the *New York Times*, published nothing about it until the paper's editors ran a letter to the editor from Roger Daniels — who has written extensively about the Japanese American experience — reproaching the *Times* for its lapse (Daniels et al 5).

Many Japanese Americans argued that redress had been accomplished through President Ford's proclamation hailing Japanese American loyalty while others demanded more (Daniels 92). Pressure and action grew, finally affecting the Japanese American Citizen's League (JACL), which called for an apology and a cash payment of $25,000 in its 1978 convention in Salt Lake City (Daniels 92). By proposing an amount, the JACL had effectively set an upper-limit on what Japanese Americans might expect to receive (Daniels 92).

In late 1980, Congress and President Carter created the Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians to determine whether any *wrong* had been done to Japanese Americans during World War II and — if they found there had been — to make recommendations for appropriate remedial action (Daniels 91)

Euphemisms were common when describing Japanese Americans and the concentration camps. Roger Daniels — noted authority on the plight of the Japanese Americans — said that it should have been "Incarceration of Civilians," and not "Internment of Civilians," because "internment" is "a well defined legal process by which enemy nationals are placed in confinement in time of war" (Daniels et al 6).

Renowned Japanese internment author, Yoshiko Uchida, a *Nisei*, incarcerated at Topaz Relocation Center, wrote in the epilogue to her book, Desert Exile: "Today the 'relocation centers' are properly called concentration camps. The term is used not to imply any similarity to the Nazi death camps, but to indicate the true nature of the so-called 'relocation centers'" (147).

Although the Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians had refused to call the camps what they really were: "places to which persons were sent, not for crimes or legal status, but because of race or ethnicity," Daniels said overall, the Commission's final report in December 1982, "Personal Justice Denied," had not "papered over the truth" in coming to the following major conclusion (Daniels et al 5):

> Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and decisions ... were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes, which shaped these decisions, were race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership. ... A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II (CWRIC-Bernstein, p. 18, qtd. in Daniels 5).

The Commission made no recommendations for monetary reparation at the time they issued their report, and Daniels felt the strategy behind the omission was deliberate, logical and effective, (Daniels et al 8). It was important that the Commission's

conclusions would be disseminated as widely as possible and that public attention not be diverted from the historical conclusions (Daniels et al 8).

The Commission had been given three instructions: 1) to review the facts and circumstances surrounding Executive Order 9066, 2) to review directives of United States military forces requiring the relocation, and in some cases, detention in internment camps of American citizens, and 3) to recommend appropriate remedies" (Bernstein, Prologue, xvii). The Commission issued its report *Personal Justice Denied* on February 24, 1983, and released its *Recommendations* on June 16, 1983 (Bernstein, Prologue, xvii ). I would agree with Daniels that the four months between the report and the recommendations did provide time for exposure of the issue without diluting or diverting attention from the content.

In 1983, news coverage regarding the injustice done to Japanese Americans was much different than it had been at the time of President Ford's 1976 proclamation (Daniels et al 5). The Commission's conclusions made the front page of the *New York Times*, and of most newspapers in the United States and Japan, and was highlighted by television networks in both countries (Daniels et al 5), affirming that the evacuation of the Japanese Americans was not "justified by military necessity" (Daniels et al 8).

Although the pain and controversy associated with the relocation were certainly not gone, the Commission's report in 1983 did finally bring the relocation out of the closet, and now many of the *Nisei* came on board with the activist *Sansei* — including my Auntie Margaret's sister-in-law "Socks" who fought vigorously for the redress movement (Jane [Ouye] Yamamoto, letter to author, 18 Nov. 2002). Daniels said, "Never again, I suspect, will the community be able to return to the collective social amnesia that has marked so many of the years since 1942" (Daniels et al 5-6).

In June 1983, the Commission made the following recommendations (Daniels 98):

1. A formal apology by Congress
2. Presidential pardons for persons who had run afoul of the law while resisting the wartime restraints placed upon Japanese Americans.
3. Congressional recommendations to government agencies to restore status and entitlements lost because of wartime injustices. (For example, many Japanese Americans who were serving in the U.S. armed forces received less than honorable discharges in the weeks immediately after Pearl Harbor, which meant that they were not entitled to veterans' benefits.)
4. Congress to establish and fund a special foundation to "sponsor research and public educational activities ... so that the causes and circumstances of this and similar events may be illuminated.
5. A one-time, tax-free payment of $20,000 to each Japanese American survivor who had been incarcerated because of ethnicity during World War II. (Individual Aleut survivors, who had previously received some compensation, were given $5,000.) Estimates are that perhaps 60,000 of the 120,000 persons detained are still alive; redress payments to Japanese Americans might total $1.2 billion.

These recommendations, particularly the significant and controversial reparations, were met with dissent (Daniels 98). The Reagan Administration's "point-man" on Capitol Hill, Congressman Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA), vigorously opposed payments (Daniels 99). Others felt the need for reparations and compensation held validity, and argued that many Japanese Americans and their families would always suffer from being a step or two behind where they would have been if the government had let them live productive, law-abiding lives (Daniels et al 4).

My grandparents and other Japanese Americans had no income while confined in the camps and no opportunity to save. Most had lost not only the accumulated substance of a lifetime, but their livelihood (Bernstein 133). Of the 1,905 vehicles, placed in government storage and custody by Japanese Americans at the time of evacuation, 1,469 had been "voluntarily" sold to the Army, according to General DeWitt's "*Final Report*" (Bernstein 130). Many others lost their businesses and property or sold them for pennies

on the dollar after being informed of the impending evacuations and had to start anew after the war (Bernstein 132). *Nisei* students at universities on the West Coast had to drop classes and take indefinite leaves of absence (Uchida 62). The Commission stated in its report, "Economic losses from the evacuation were substantial and they touched every group of *Nikkei* (American citizens of Japanese ancestry)" (Bernstein 133).

Furthermore, a quarter of a century after the evacuation, the effects of the wartime incarceration were still present (Daniels et al 4). Social security benefits were determined not on the earnings over ones lifetime, but on the basis of the meager salaries of jobs taken after the confinement, which greatly diminished the benefits paid to many of the *Issei* (Uchida 150). Some employers were reluctant to put Asian Americans in positions in which they supervised, hired, and fired whites. A major reason for the discrepancy, however, stemmed from the war years, which were — for most Americans — years of relative prosperity, when old debts were paid and savings and investments increased (Daniels et al 4). However, it was during this period many Japanese Americans were financially wiped out (Daniels et al 4).

The bill that enacted the redress — the Civil Rights Act of 1988 — formally began at the first session of the 100th Congress, which opened in January 1987, and it was given the symbolic number H.R. 442 — the same numbers as the famous combined 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team who fought so heroically during World War II (Daniels 101). Among the testimony before the Redress Commission was this poignant account of Norman Mineta (D-CA), who was incarcerated as a young child (Daniels 102):

> I realize that there are some who say that these payments are inappropriate. Liberty is priceless, they say, and you cannot put a price on freedom. That's an easy statement when you have your freedom. Bu to

> say constitutional rights are priceless and have no value at all is to turn the argument on its head. Would I sell my civil and constitutional rights for $20,000? No. But having had those rights ripped away from me, do I think I am entitled to compensation? Absolutely. We are not talking here about the wartime sacrifices that we all made to support and defend our nation. At issue is the wholesale violation, based on race, of those very legal principles we were fighting to defend.

H.R. 442 passed the House in September 1987, and the Senate finally passed the bill in April 1988 (Daniels 102). Minor differences in the two versions were adjusted, and it passed through the Senate without need for a vote on July 27, 1988 (Daniels 102-103). Upon the passing of the bill, Daniels, made the following comment:

> On October 9, 1990, forty-eight years after the incarceration of Japanese Americans began, seven years after the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) made its report and recommendations, and two years after Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, the American government finally began to make redress payments" (Daniels et al 219).

The Reagan Administration delayed redress payments until two distinct legal battles played out in federal court (Daniels 99-100). The first case voided the 1942 indictment and conviction of Fred T. Korematsu for his failure to report for incarceration (Daniels 100). The second case, which involved a class-action suit asking $25.2 billion ($210,000 each for all who were incarcerated, or their heirs) in reparation for the wrongs done to Japanese Americans during and after World War II, was dismissed by several lower courts for: untimely filing; barred by sovereign immunity (exemption of the government to be sued on the ground that there can be no legal right against the authority that makes the law on which the right depends); and eventually denied a writ of *certiorari* (a decision by the Supreme Court to hear an appeal from a lower court) by the Supreme Court in 1988 (Daniels 100-1).

By the end of the century, the Office of Redress Administration declared that

82,219 persons received the full $20,000 in redress payments (Ng 109). The terms of the agreement were broad enough to include the Aleuts — Native American inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands — who were evacuated from *real* military necessity because the army wanted to take them out of harm's way, but who had been "treated miserably, dumped in unhealthy sites in southern Alaska, and left without even minimal medical and other social services," making them eligible to receive $5,000 (Daniels 95-99).

Besides the ten camps operated by the War Relocation Authority — where my family and other West Coast Japanese Americans were detained — there were also camps in Crystal City, Kennedy, and Seagoville, Texas, and Missoula, Montana, operated by the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service (Bernstein 311). There were several Japanese Latin Americans and Japanese Peruvians who were deported from Latin America and detained in the United States, but they were not eligible to receive compensation under this redress movement, and they took their case in another direction (Ng 109). Three hundred ninety-six Japanese Latin Americans were eligible to receive $5,000 payments under *Mochizuki v. United States* (Ng 109).

Five of the oldest survivors of the WRA camps were more than 100 years old and were in wheelchairs and walkers when they received their checks from the government, accompanied by a letter of apology signed in October 1990 by President George Bush (Ng 109). Neither my mother, Mary, who would have been 67; my *Oba-chan* and *Oji-chan*, who would have been 97 and 106, respectively; my Uncle Tom, who served in the 442nd and would have been 78; my Uncle Fred, who helped his family members obtain jobs on the turkey farm outside the camps and died just months before the redress at the age of 76; nor my cousin Eddie, who was born in the Tanforan Assembly Center and would have been 47, lived long enough to receive an apology or compensation. My

uncles Ockie and Seigo; my aunts by marriage, Margaret and Hatsue; and my cousin Jane were the only members of our family who survived long enough to witness the apology and receive monetary redress. Jane, who was born in Topaz and was too young to remember the camps, expressed the feelings receiving the redress money and apology evoked:

> I was the only one in my immediate family who got it [the redress money and letter of apology]. I was grateful that I was getting the check and apology, but felt guilty at the same time, as I was so young. I wasn't really affected like my parents and other relatives. I really felt bad that the ones who really suffered weren't alive to receive their redress money and apology (Jane [Ouye] Yamamoto, letter to author, 18 Nov. 2002).

Some Japanese Americans viewed the redress money as government welfare, and other were opposed to the awards on ideological grounds— including Senator Hayakawa (R-CA) (Daniels 92). Critics are quick to point out, however, that Senator Hayakawa was a naturalized U. S. citizen who had been born in Canada and spent the war in Chicago, so his family — having never been relocated or sent to a concentration camp — had not suffered the indignities experienced by the West Coast Japanese Americans (Daniels 92). Others, seeing awards of $10,000 in damages paid to those wrongly detained for only a day or two during anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in Washington, DC, quickly reasoned the time they had spent behind barbed wire qualified them for similar compensation (Daniels 93)

For many in my family, the money received from the redress seems too little and much too late, but it did give them some sense of closure and brought national recognition of wrong done to them. It wasn't until two weeks after my Uncle Joe's death on December 23, 1995, that my Auntie Margaret received a certificate signed by President William J. Clinton honoring the memory of my Uncle Joe "by a grateful nation,

in recognition of his devoted selfless consecration to the service of the United States forces of the United States of America." The framed certificate and the letter of apology signed in 1990 by President George Bush hanging proudly on the wall of my Auntie Margaret's assisted-living, retirement apartment in Davis, California, and confirm the importance placed on those token symbols by my family.

## The Sansei & Yonsei

It was the *Sansei* (third) generation that had pushed for the redress after the silence about the Japanese American experience in the camps had been broken. Upon discovering the injustices forced upon their parents and grandparents, the *Sansei* questioned why the *Nisei* had not done more to stand up against the forced evacuation. They wondered why the *Nisei* had not sought legal remedies after their incarceration by filing writs of *habeas corpus* or suits through the civil courts. There were many things that the *Sansei* did not understand about the reaction to the injustices suffered by the previous generation — the *Nisei*.

The *Nisei* were taught, from birth, to respect their *Issei* parent's Japanese culture. They had been told that a child — son or daughter — follows the family's decision. He or she may ask permission to do as they wish, but if the family declines the child must do what his or her family expects. However, the *Nisei* were not like the *Issei* and they did not fit into the mold prescribed by their *Issei* parents. The *Nisei* were citizens from birth, they acknowledged their ancestral roots, but they saw themselves as Americans first.

Like their *Nisei* parents, the *Sansei* were different from the generation that preceded them. The *Nisei* had considered themselves Americans first and Japanese second, but the *Sansei* — most of them born in the 1950s — thought of themselves simply as Americans. The *Sansei* were part of the rebellious 1960s and 1970s, and many of them were living in California — the epicenter of the radical social changes being experienced around the country. It was the *Sansei* who taught past and future generations to celebrate their ethnicity and discover their ethnic pride (Uchida 147). Their compassion and concern for the aging *Issei* resulted in many worthwhile programs for all Japanese Americans (Uchida 147).

However, for my generation — the *Sansei* — civil rights meant more than just words, and the *Nisei* became the object of harsh criticism from the *Sansei* for not protesting more vigorously what was happening during the evacuation (Uchida 147). The *Nisei* have had to defend themselves against the criticism and are still quick to remind the *Sansei* that "Executive Order 9066 authorized any military commander to exclude any person from any area, and Public Law 77-503 provided a prison term and fine for any civilian disobeying military authority" (Friedlander 3). My Uncle Tom, a *Nisei*, commented on the predicament facing the *Issei* and *Nisei*:

> We went to camp, we knew we were citizens, but what could you do? We could try to fight them, but then the Army already had proclaimed this. No sense in fighting. Take it as it comes. [*Shikata ga nai* (it cannot be helped)]. So a lot of these *Sansei* they can't understand why we [the *Issei* and *Nisei*] didn't fight it. They say, *"Why didn't you fight it?* ... They [the *Issei* and *Nisei*] sold you under." I said, "No. They didn't sell you under. They were up against a wall." You couldn't do anything. An order is an order. If you try to fight it, they'd bring the Army in on you. If you start a riot, they would shoot you, you know? (Inouye, taped interview by Matthew Inouye 1983).

In her book, Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family, Yoshiko Uchida, who was confined at Topaz, expressed the same sentiment:

> *"Why did you let it happen?"* they [the *Sansei*] ask of the evacuation. *"Why didn't you fight for your civil rights? Why did you go without protest to the concentration camps?* ... They were right to ask these questions, for they made us search for some obscured truths and come to a better understanding of ourselves and of those times (147).

I greatly admire the strength and dignity with which the *Issei* and *Nisei* generations conducted themselves. It was their pacifism and willingness to prove their loyalty without violent protest that gained respect for all future generations of Japanese Americans. Although the term "model minority" was not coined until 1966, it was because of the quiet resolve of the *Nisei* that the seeds of the concept were planted in the

waning years of WW II (Daniels 82). It was indeed a different generation who lived through the evacuation, and a different kind of America than it had been in 1942. Today those same *Nisei* would not allow their civil rights to be denied without strong protest, and many other Americans would be willing to stand beside them in protest (Uchida 148).

Efforts have been made since the redress to make the nation aware of the relocation camps and injustices suffered by Japanese Americans during WWII. Congress established a special foundation to "sponsor research and public educational activities ... so that the causes and circumstances of this and similar events may be illuminated" — one of the remedies stipulated by the redress Commission (Daniels 98). The Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles opened its doors in 1992, and a national memorial in remembrance of Japanese American veterans and those confined to the camps during World War II was erected in Washington, D.C. in 2001. The central piece of the memorial, a tall bronze sculpture of two cranes — the Japanese emblem of long life — struggling against barbed wire, was erected to ensure that the memory of the camps would never be completely lost again ("Japanese"). The sculpture sits in a small park on the edge of the Capitol grounds and is accompanied by a bronze bell that visitors are encouraged to ring as a call to reflection ("Japanese").

The tragic events of September 11, 2001, caused a renewed interest in the racial profiling and confinement of the Japanese. Reminding the nation of what had happened to the Japanese after Pearl Harbor, and hoping to prevent similar action against Muslims based solely on race and prejudice, newspapers, such as the *St. Petersburg Times*, printed articles denoting the similarities in racial profiling in the two weeks following the tragedies. One of those articles, "Save our anger for terrorists, not Arab-Americans,"

written by Robyn Blumner, reminded us of our nation's response to the devastating attack on Pearl Harbor, and stated that "only later, after the crisis had passed and the hysteria had died down, were we the least contrite" for the tragic wrong visited on people whose only crime was their heritage.

Unfortunately, outdated statutes, despite unconstitutionality, still exist in three states banning Asian immigrants from owning or inheriting property. In 1952, the California Supreme Court found the Alien Land Law of 1913 unconstitutional *In Fujii Sei v. State of California*, and in 1956, all Alien Land Laws were repealed in California by popular vote (Pedersen). Thanks to attention brought about by the efforts of the University of Cincinnati Law School students, Wyoming repealed their alien land law last year [2001], and Kansas will repeal its laws this year ("No effort"). In New Mexico and Florida, repealing the statutes is more difficult because they are in the state's constitutions and voters, not lawmakers, have the final word ("No effort"). A referendum to repeal Article 2, Section 22 of New Mexico's Constitutional Amendment No. 4 was on the ballot in November 2002, but it was defeated by the voters ("Secretary"). Florida remains the only state that has made no decision to act on the restrictions ("No effort").

Despite the outdated laws still in effect, I feel the legacy of the injustices suffered by the *Issei* and *Nisei* who were detained after the attacks on Pearl Harbor have helped lessen discrimination and racial profiling for future generations of all races. It is important to share the experiences of the *Issei* and *Nisei* with future generations to understand and prevent others from becoming victims of such prejudice. To promote the sharing of experiences and ideas, the Independent Television Service hosts an interactive Website, "Face to Face," that connects the experiences of Japanese Americans in the

aftermath of Pearl Harbor with those confronting Arab and Muslim Americans today ("Face").

The relocation was, and is, the central event in Japanese American history, the event from which all other events are dated and compared (Daniels et al 4). "Before the war" and "after camp" are the phrases that mark the essential periods of Japanese American life (Daniels et al 4). All future generations have to come to terms with what the *Issei* and *Nisei* endured. Despite differences between the generations and changes in the way they think as Americans, the *Issei*, first generation; *Nisei*, second generation; *Sansei*, third generation; *Yonsei*, fourth generation; and now the *Gosei*, the fifth generation, have one thing in common: they are all *Nikkei* (Americans of Japanese descent).

The scars of the wartime incarceration were not borne by the *Issei* and *Nisei* alone (Bernstein 300). The War Relocation Authority resettlement policies stressed assimilation and instructed the evacuees not to congregate in public and to avoid living next door to another Japanese American family (Bernstein 299-300). Because of this the *Nisei* raised their children to "not make waves" (Bernstein 300). Some would not pass on what they knew about Japanese culture, while others felt ignorance of the wartime suffering would prevent bitterness and make them better Americans (Bernstein 300). The confinement shaped the way the *Sansei* were raised, for the *Nisei* feared that "any cultural deviation from the mainstream" would hold them back (Bernstein 300).

Many questions linger in the minds of the *Sansei*: *What if the confinement in the camps had never happened? How much different would my life have been?* My siblings and I have often questioned how much different our lives might have been if it had not been for the camps. *Surely*, we think, our mother — the youngest family member and the

only daughter — would never have moved across the country and remained away from her family.

These questions loom especially large for me, and my siblings, because substantial differences exist among the *Sansei* members of the Ouye family. These differences stem primarily from my mother's marriage to a Caucasian and, secondly, because my mother did not remain in California after her confinement at Topaz. We wonder whether our mother would have remained in California and speculate whether she would have married someone of Japanese descent and retained the Buddhist religious beliefs of her upbringing.

Although my mother did return to California and the entire Ouye family was reunited for a brief period between 1953 and 1955, my mother continued to accompany my father as he transferred from naval base to naval base across the country. My sister Charlotte, who is four years older than me, was born in Philadelphia I was born in California; and my brother Guy, two years younger than I am, was born in Norfolk, Virginia. While my mother was alive we lived mostly on the East Coast. After her death January 15, 1962, just eight days prior to my eighth birthday, my sister, brother, and I bounced around between different children's homes and foster homes, before we eventually settled in the Midwest. My brother, sister and I have often wondered if the harsh conditions and constant exposure to blowing alkali dust during her confinement at Topaz contributed in any way to the disease — multiple sclerosis — that would take her life before she reached 40.

Not only did we not have the stable home life enjoyed by our California cousins, we were the subjects of much more prejudice and discrimination because of our geographical location. Before my mother's death, I can recall her going with me to

school for show-and-tell, and my dressing up in traditional Japanese attire — a *kimono*, *obi* (sash), *tabi* socks with the split toe, and wooden *zori* sandals — and being really proud of my Japanese heritage. When visiting California, we would go to the Berkeley Rose Garden and join in the *Obon* festival fan dances — a celebration of the spirits of ones ancestors and a wish for rich crops — eating *Botan* rice candies with edible wrappers and other Japanese treats. I treasure the photos taken at my grandparent's golden wedding anniversary, shortly before my mother's death, with all of the *Sansei* females dressed in kimonos.

However, after our mother's death, my siblings and I no longer had her cultural influence. Growing up in the Midwest, we had no community support or social structure to help us identify with our Japanese culture and heritage. My sister said "If I had been in one spot through my life I probably would not know about prejudice, but I do know about it as I have lived in the South, North, East, and West (Charlotte [Baker] McLoughlin-Lamberton, letter to author, 4 Nov. 2001). My brother wrote the following about our isolation from the Japanese community and the Japanese members of our family:

> In the past, it [being Japanese American] had always elicited a sense of mystery for me. I wasn't sure what I was supposed to think or feel, especially being isolated from the Ouye family and living in a myriad of western-thinking Caucasian environments. *What were other Japanese American kids like? Did they look and think like me? Was I supposed to be some mystical, inscrutable aloof Zen disciple? Or a slant-eyed demon as all the John Wayne movies portrayed Japanese people to be?* (Guy Baker, letter to author, 4 Nov. 2001)

Adolescence can be painful under any circumstances, especially when one is constantly moving and adjusting to fit into new schools and social cliques, but with a lack

of peer identity and support, that pain intensifies significantly. Although I was the brunt of many jokes and teasing while growing up, it was my brother who suffered most:

> Every December 7, from the seventh grade through ninth grade, I was forced to stay late after school to clean the woodshop at Argentine Junior High in Kansas City. My crime? I was Japanese American — that was it and only it! The shop teacher, [Mr. Williams], had been at Pearl Harbor during the attack and wanted to get even with anyone of Japanese origin, so even though I had a straight-A average in his class and always got 100% on all the tests, I was subjected to a public humiliation every year. He would bring me in front of the class and tell them how I was being punished later that day. I remember how in the eighth grade my best friend, Willie Ramirez, tried to stick around after school to help me, but Mr. Williams threatened to give him a failing grade if he didn't leave (Guy Baker, letter to author, 4 Nov. 2001).

Another reason my brother, sister, and I experienced prejudice was that we were *hapa* (half Japanese). My siblings and I have always had an ethnic appearance, but people have never been able to identify our race by looking at us. Growing up, people thought we were Mexican, Italian, and a multitude of other races, but never Japanese. We did not look Japanese, but we did not look or fit in as Caucasians, either. The peer pressure, discrimination, and taunting I experienced over the years affected my self-esteem. I spent my pre-pubescent and teen-age years in anger, which manifested into years of self-destruction and non-productivity.

There was not one other Japanese American or even another Asian student at any school I attended, so dating anyone other than a Caucasian never occurred to me. Even if I had been given the option of dating other Asians, I am not sure I would have identified with them culturally. I did not have any sense of being Asian, much less being Japanese American. In contrast, my cousins Alice and Jane, who grew up in Berkeley, said they dated only Asians.

However, even within California, with its large Asian population, where one resided made a difference in how one regarded ones' heritage. My cousin, Tami, said cultural support was better in Berkeley, than in Oakland:

> When I got into junior high, my folks thought it would be better for me to go to Berkeley schools. ... Growing up in Berkeley is unlike any place around. The freedom and liberal thinking is amazing. ... Many of the Asian students joined in Asian American studies and we had a student club or organization. So, I thought of myself in that more global sense of Asian American, rather than just Japanese American. Although, we all brought our traditions to this group and learned about the differences. I took a Japanese class in high school for 2 years. I learned to write in calligraphy and speak some simple stuff. But, without utilizing the language, I can't remember anything. I didn't see *Oba-chan* very often, so I couldn't practice on her. Mom thought it was funny listening to the bad accent and I think I got intimidated trying it out on her. Dad can't speak much at all, but understands okay. So, it wasn't very useful, although I wish I could have learned as a little kid (Tami [Ouye] Hammerton, letter to author, 8 Dec. 2001).

My California cousins said they did not experience prejudice growing up because of their ancestry. My cousins Jane and Tami both said they grew up in primarily black neighborhoods, making them a minority, but did not feel discrimination because of their race — they simply did not belong to the majority race. Jane said that as a Japanese American hanging out with white or black friends, she was considered "special" — in a good way — because of her ethnicity (Jane [Ouye] Yamamoto, letter to author, 21 Nov. 2001).

The only instance of prejudice my cousin Jane can recall growing up came from my father — a Caucasian — who suggested that she not bring her black girlfriend to the naval base housing with her on future visits (Jane [Ouye] Yamamoto letter to author, 21 Nov. 2001). For my cousin Russell, the only discrimination he said he experienced growing up was from the parents of his Chinese friends, who still harbored resentment against the Japanese from WWII (Russell Ouye, telephone interview, November 2001).

It was not until he left the western United States for the first time on his own a road trip to the Midwest after his high school graduation, that he personally encountered prejudice against Japanese Americans. Russell said it was uncomfortable and strange to have people think of him as unusual and staring at him because he looked different (Russell Ouye, telephone interview, November 2001).

My cousin Jane also said that growing up within a Japanese American environment she recognized that her Japanese American peers were more competitive both socially and academically (Jane [Ouye] Yamamoto, letter to author, 21 Nov. 2001). The *Issei* and *Nisei* reminded their children that an education is one thing that can never be taken away from them, and instilled the importance of education within the *Sansei*. The Ouye family was no exception. The majority of the *Sansei* members of our family earned a two-year specialty degree, nursing degree, or bachelor's degree. Seventy-five percent of the *Yonsei* members of our family who are 21 or older have completed bachelor's degrees in photography, journalism, engineering, biology, history, or biochemistry, kinesiology, and dance.

Some of the *Sansei* in our family, and many of the *Yonsei*, have taken an interest in Japanese language and culture with one of the *Yonsei* even earning a minor in Japanese studies. However, it is only the few *Sansei* members of our family who had members of the *Issei* living with them when they were growing up that have any significant usable knowledge of the Japanese language. Other than Jane, who spoke little English when she left Topaz and lived with my grandparents after the camps, none of the *Sansei* generation from our family spoke Japanese while growing up. A few of my cousins from my Uncle Fred's family do understand some Japanese because my grandmother's brother, *Okubo-san*, lived with them and conversed in Japanese with my Auntie Ruby — my aunt by

marriage to Uncle Fred. Some of my cousins experienced language xenophobia. My cousin Dennis said he felt the *Issei* and *Nisei* should speak English and act in more American ways (Dennis Ouye, telephone interview, November 2001). "Speak English," he would say, "You are living in America."

In much the same way that my family saw the *Nisei* as the future for the *Issei*, we now see the *Yonsei* as the future for both the *Nisei* and the *Sansei*. Our family seems to have come full circle. Many of the *Sansei* living in California who have given birth to children in the last 10 to 15 years have enrolled them in Japanese language schools or, at a minimum, have introduced them to Japanese culture from an early age. The *Yonsei*, even those living outside California, who are now starting families, seem to have a keen interest in cultivating this heritage in their children as well. My second cousin Peter, who just graduated from UC Davis, is teaching English in Japan for a year, before embarking on a career in California. My niece Heather who lives in Colorado, displays a kimono and other Japanese attire in a living room display case for her *Gosei* children — who are one-eighth Japanese.

Despite this renewed interest in Japanese American culture and heritage, more of the *Sansei* and *Yonsei* in our family have chosen to marry Caucasians or non-Japanese Asians than did the previous generation — the *Nisei*. Among the fourteen *Sansei* members of my family, seven of us, including my *hapa* (half Japanese) siblings and I, are married to Caucasians — although one of my cousins included in that total was previously married to a person of Japanese ancestry. Three are married to Chinese Americans. Of the *Yonsei* in our family, only four are married. Three of them — including two who are *hapa* — have married Caucasians, while the fourth married someone of Chinese American ancestry. Of the *Yonsei* family members, who are old

enough to date, the majority are dating, in serious relationships, or cohabitating with Caucasians counterparts.

Although the tapestry of the Japanese American family is changing rapidly, the *Yonsei* are weaving a new pattern. The *Yonsei* members of our family who are more aware of the camps, like my second cousin Alison, are also openly sharing their knowledge of the Japanese American experience:

> I was always aware of the camps, my dad was born in Tule Lake and my mom's family was at Topaz. I made sure everyone in my class knew about the camps too. I shared pictures of my family taken at Topaz and ones of my grandfather and his troop in France. I took great pride in the fact that my grandfather was a member of the 442nd (Alison Fukushima, letter to author, 4 Nov. 2001).

The *Nisei* and *Sansei* have encouraged their children to continue their education, but most of all they have encouraged them to enjoy life and the freedoms they have as Americans and never to take them for granted. The *Sansei* and *Yonsei* "should be proud of the way in which their grandparents survived their life-altering ordeal. It is our country that should be ashamed of what it did, not the Japanese Americans for having been the victims" (Uchida 148).

The *Gosei*, and all future generations, can be thankful for the legacy of past generations: the *Issei* for teaching them to be strong; the *Nisei* for teaching them to be resilient; the *Sansei* for teaching them to be tolerant individuals willing to stand up for themselves and others, while pressing for acceptance for all races, and now the *Yonsei* for their openness and willingness to share their knowledge.

# DOCUMENT 1
# EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 9066

## EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 9066

### *The President*

### EXECUTIVE ORDER

AUTHORIZING THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO PRESCRIBE MILITARY AREAS

WHEREAS the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities as defined in section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220, and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U. S. C., Title 50, Sec. 104);

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such actions necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commanders may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with such respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Sectary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said Proclamations in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

I hereby further authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the said Military Commanders to take such other steps as he or the appropriate Military Commander may deem advisable to enforce compliance with the restrictions applicable to each Military area hereinabove authorized to be designated, including the use of Federal troops and other Federal Agencies, with authority to accept assistance of state and local agencies.

I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order, including the furnishing of medical aid, hospitalization, food, clothing, transportation, use of land, shelter, and other supplies, equipment, utilities, facilities and services.

This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted under Executive Order No. 8972, dated December 12, 1941, nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigation of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
THE WHITE HOUSE,
*February 19, 1942*

Source: Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (Union Square West, NY: Hill and Wang, 1993) p. 130.

# DOCUMENT 2
# PROCLAMATION 4417

## An American Promise

*By the President of the United States of America*

**A Proclamation**

In this Bicentennial Year, we are commemorating the anniversary dates of many of the great events in American history. An honest reckoning, however, must include a recognition of our national mistakes as well as our national achievements. Learning from our mistakes is not pleasant, but as a great philosopher once admonished, we must do so if we want to avoid repeating them.

February 19th is the anniversary of a sad day in American history. It was on that date in 1942, in the midst of the response to the hostilities that began on December 7, 1941, that Executive Order No. 9066 was issued, subsequently enforced by the criminal penalties of a statute enacted March 21, 1942, resulting in the uprooting of loyal Americans. Over one hundred thousand persons of Japanese ancestry were removed from their homes, detained in special camps, and eventually relocated.

The tremendous effort by the War Relocation Authority and concerned Americans for the welfare of these Japanese-Americans may add perspective to that story, but it does not erase the setback to fundamental American principles. Fortunately, the Japanese-American community in Hawaii was spared the indignities suffered by those on our mainland.

We now know what we should have known then—not only was that evacuation wrong, but Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans. On the battlefield and at home, Japanese-Americans—names like Hamada, Mitsumori, Marimoto, Noguchi, Yamasaki, Kido, Munemori and Miyamura—have been and continue to be written in our history for the sacrifices and the contributions they have made to the well-being and security of this, our common Nation.

The Executive order that was issued on February 19, 1942, was for the sole purpose of prosecuting the war with the Axis Powers, and ceased to be effective with the end of those hostilities. Because there was no formal statement of its termination, however, there is concern among many Japanese-Americans that there may yet be some life in that obsolete document. I think it appropriate, in this our Bicentennial Year, to remove all doubt on that matter, and to make clear our commitment in the future.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that all the authority conferred by Executive Order No. 9066 terminated upon the issuance of Proclamation No. 2714, which formally proclaimed the cessation of the hostilities of World War II on December 31, 1946.

I call upon the American people to affirm with me this American Promise—that we have learned from the tragedy of that long-ago experience forever to treasure liberty and justice for each individual American, and resolve that this kind of action shall never again be repeated.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundredth.

Gerald R. Ford

Source: Kent School District, Kent Washington, Retrieved 20 Nov. 2001.
<http://www.kent.wednet.edu/KSD/SJ/Nikkei/NikkeiGraphics/Ford.JPEG>

# DOCUMENT 3
# APOLOGY LETTER FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore lost years or erase painful memories; neither can they fully convey our Nation's resolve to rectify injustice and to uphold the rights of individuals. We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.

In enacting a law calling for restitution and offering a sincere apology, your fellow Americans have, in a very real sense, renewed their traditional commitment to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. You and your family have our best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

George Bush

GEORGE BUSH
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 1990

Source: Marriott Library: Japanese Relocation Photographs Exhibit, University of Utah
<http://www.lib.utah.edu/spc/photo/9066/t38.htm>

# DOCUMENT 4
# LETTER OF APOLOGY FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 1, 1993

Over fifty years ago, the United States Government unjustly interned, evacuated, or relocated you and many other Japanese Americans. Today, on behalf of your fellow Americans, I offer a sincere apology to you for the actions that unfairly denied Japanese Americans and their families fundamental liberties during World War II.

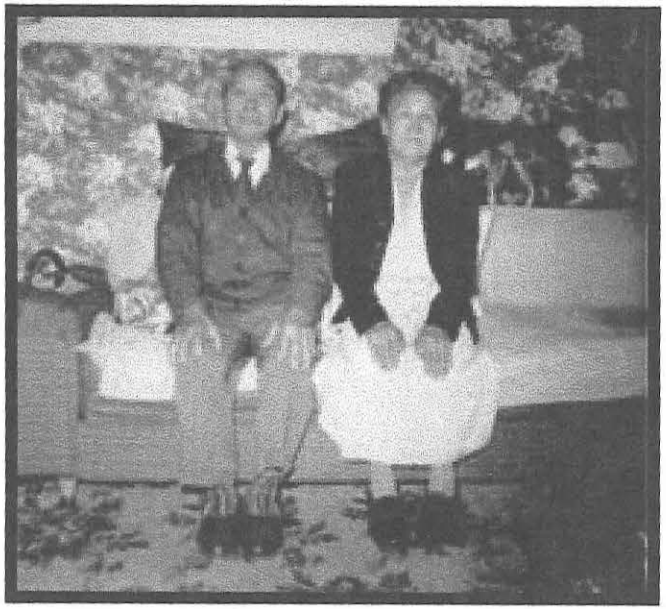
In passing the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, we acknowledged the wrongs of the past and offered redress to those who endured such grave injustice. In retrospect, we understand that the nation's actions were rooted deeply in racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a lack of political leadership. We must learn from the past and dedicate ourselves as a nation to renewing the spirit of equality and our love of freedom. Together, we can guarantee a future with liberty and justice for all. You and your family have my best wishes for the future.

Bill Clinton

Source: IM Diversity.com Website:Asian American Village.
Retrieved 23 Nov. 2002.
http://www.imdiversity.com/ArticleImages/asian/apology-gr2.jpg

# The Ouye Family

My paternal great-grandparents, Kosuke Ouye and Yo. (Yamada) Ouye.



Tamakichi and Matsuno Ouye, my grandparents, were the first generation of our family to immigrate to America from Japan. This pioneering generation is referred to as the *Issei* — the first — for the Japanese ordinal number one.

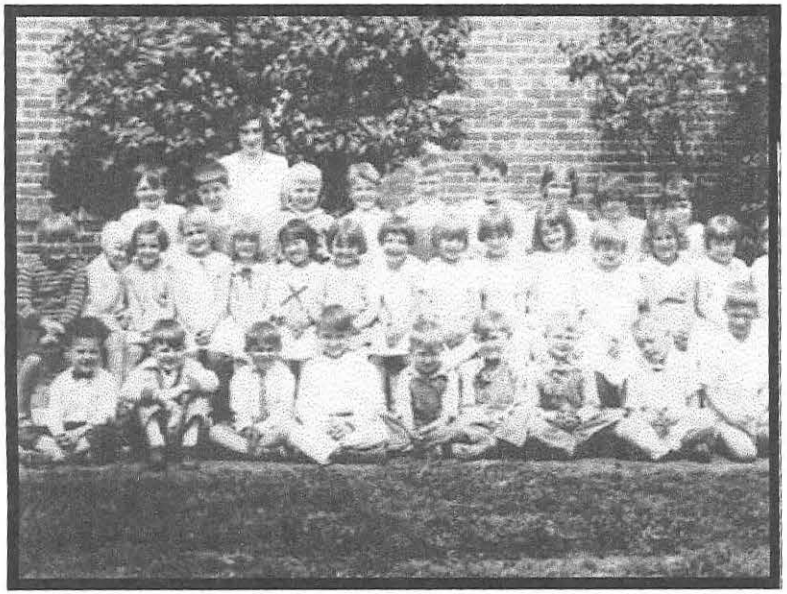
This photo of my *Oji-chan* (grandfather) and *Oba-chan* (grandmother) was taken during their confinement in Topaz, one of the ten camps run by the War Relocation Authority.


"Picture Bride" style photos of my grandmother as a young lady.

A photo of my mother, Mary Ouye, taken on February 25, 1933 in Enumclaw, Washington, near Tacoma.

This photo, probably taken at the King County Fairgrounds just east of Enumclaw in 1925, exhibits the Ouye family's sense of patriotism as they pose in front of an American flag.

Back row, from left: Tom, Oba-chan, George, Fred, Oji-chan, and Joe.
Front row, from left: Mary, Ockie, Seigo.



At the school my mother attended in rural Enumclaw in the early 1930s, most of the students were Scandinavian, and she had no Japanese or Asian classmates.

After the Ouye family moved to northern California, my mother attended school in Yuba City, where her grade school class was more diversified.

The image of my mother, Mary, is marked with an "x" in each photo.

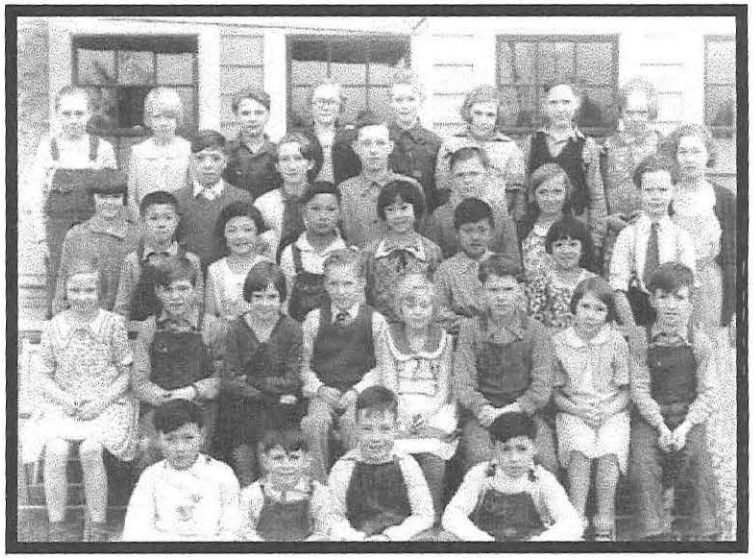
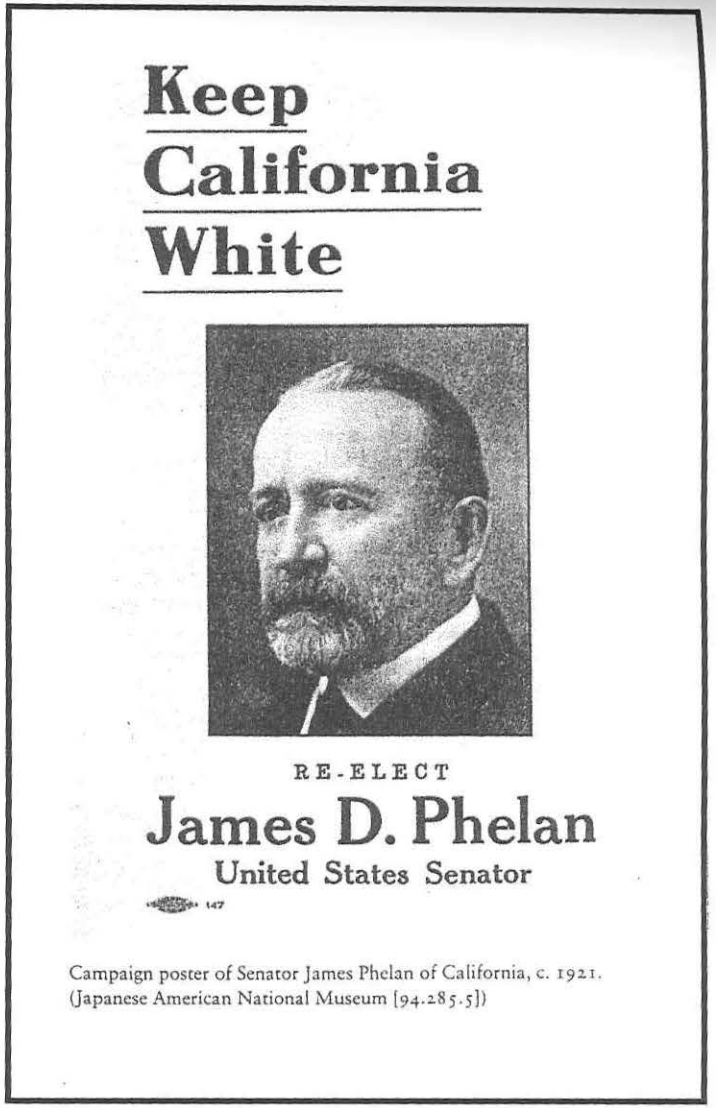



Photo by Dorthea Lange

Exclusion Orders posted in San Francisco, California giving instruction to all persons of Japanese Ancestry. Similar orders were posted in all areas of Military Area 1 on the West Coast. Photo was taken April 11, 1942. BANC PIC 1967.014—PIC, Series 14. Courtesy of Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

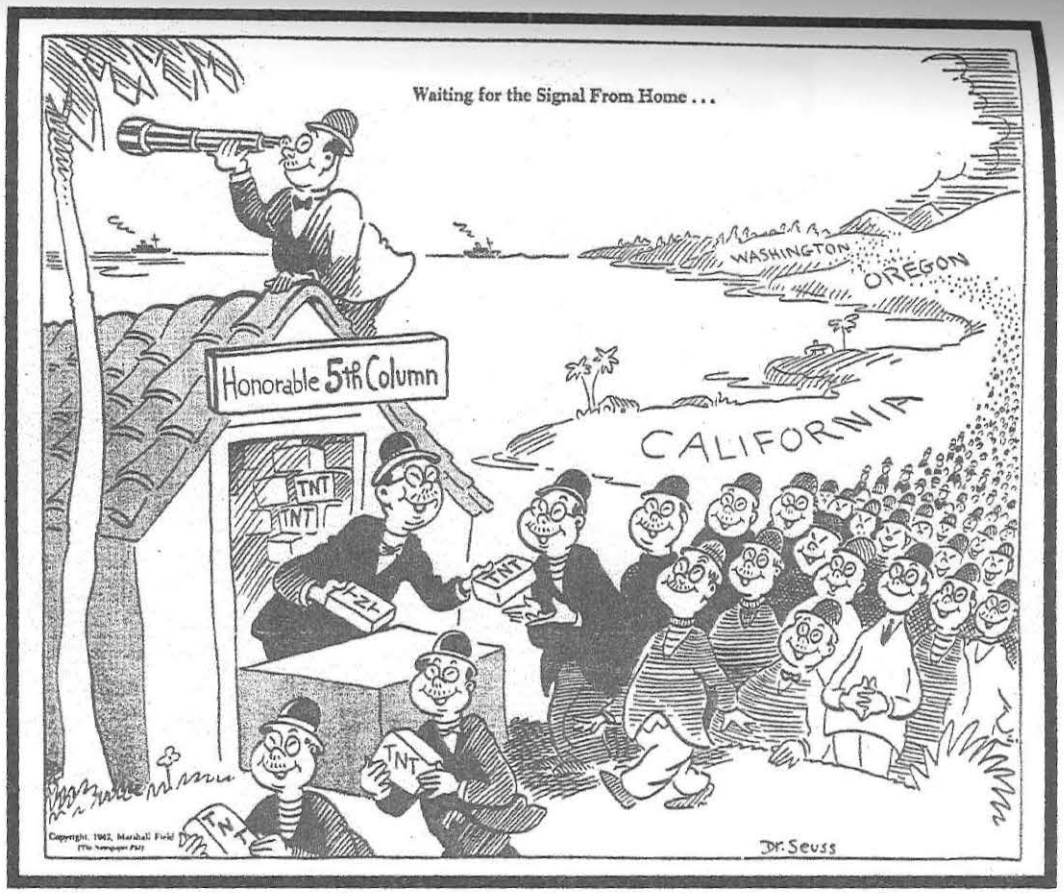



Campaign poster of Senator James Phelan of California, c. 1921. (Japanese American National Museum [94.285.5])

# Dr. Seuss Goes to War


Theodor Geisel, "Dr. Seuss"
February 13, 1942

Political cartoons, like these by Theodor Seuss Geisel, known to most of us as Dr. Seuss — emphasize the wave of anti-Japanese sentiment that swept the country after Pearl Harbor.




Theodor Geisel, "Dr. Seuss" — February 13, 1942

Many references were made to a non-existent Japanese Fifth Column. All of Geisel's political cartoons depicted Japanese in the same way — with denigrating features: round black glasses, buck teeth, and a sparse mustache — indicating that all Japanese were alike, regardless of citizenship.

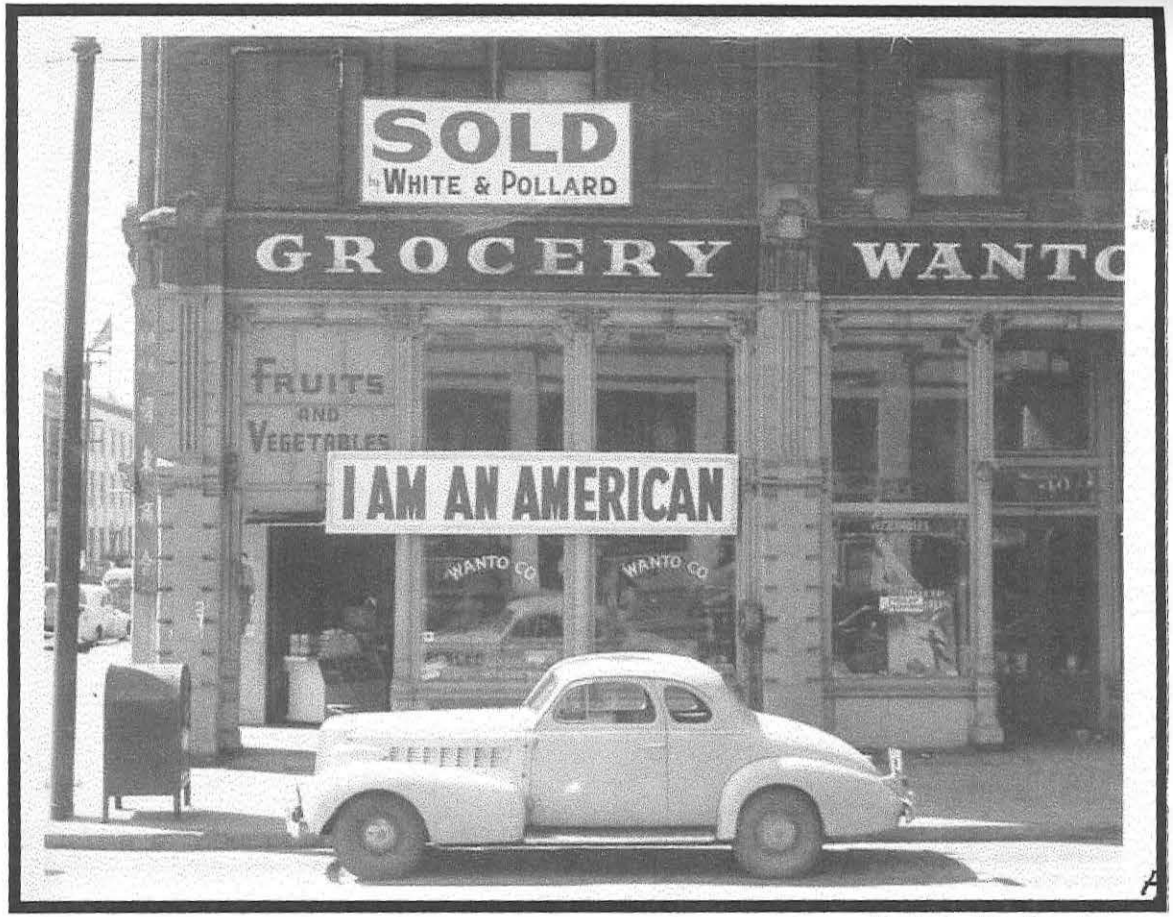
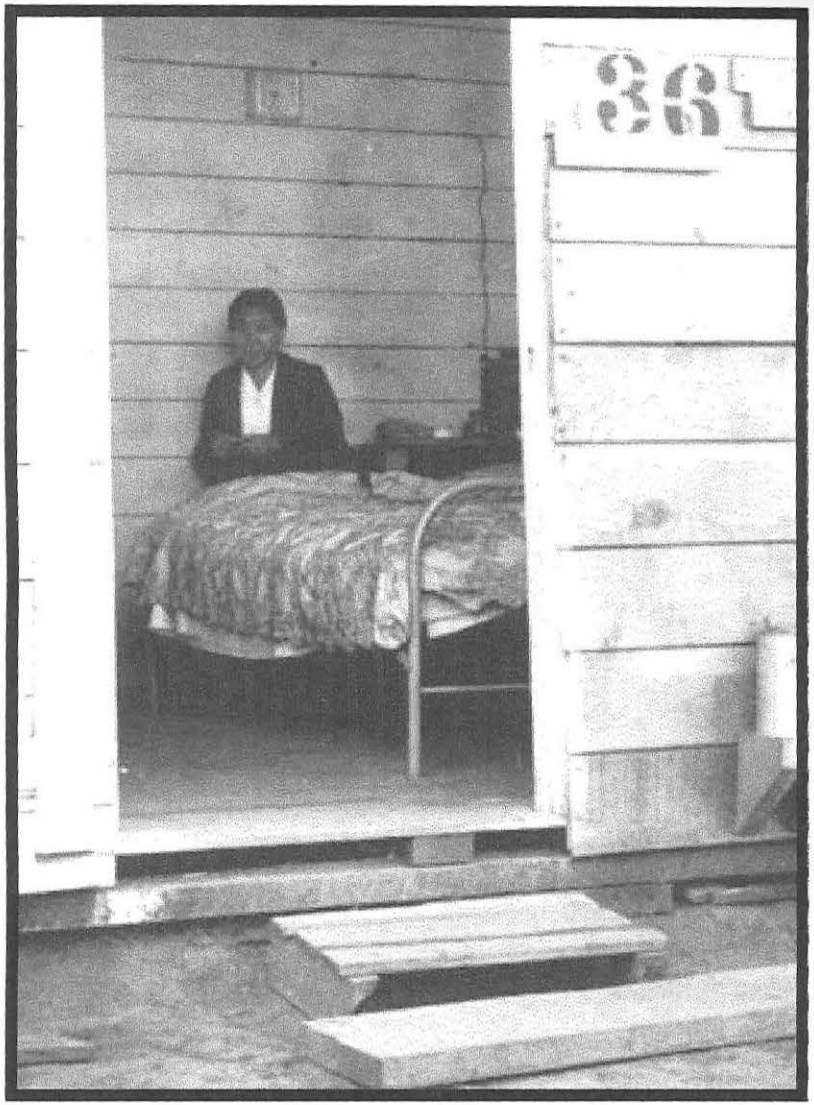



Photo by Dorthea Lange

The Japanese owner placed this "I AM AN AMERICAN" sign on his storefront at 13th and Franklin Streets in Oakland, California, on December 8, 1942 — the day after Pearl Harbor. Photo was taken March 13, 1942. BANC PIC 1967.014—PIC, Series 14. Courtesy of Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

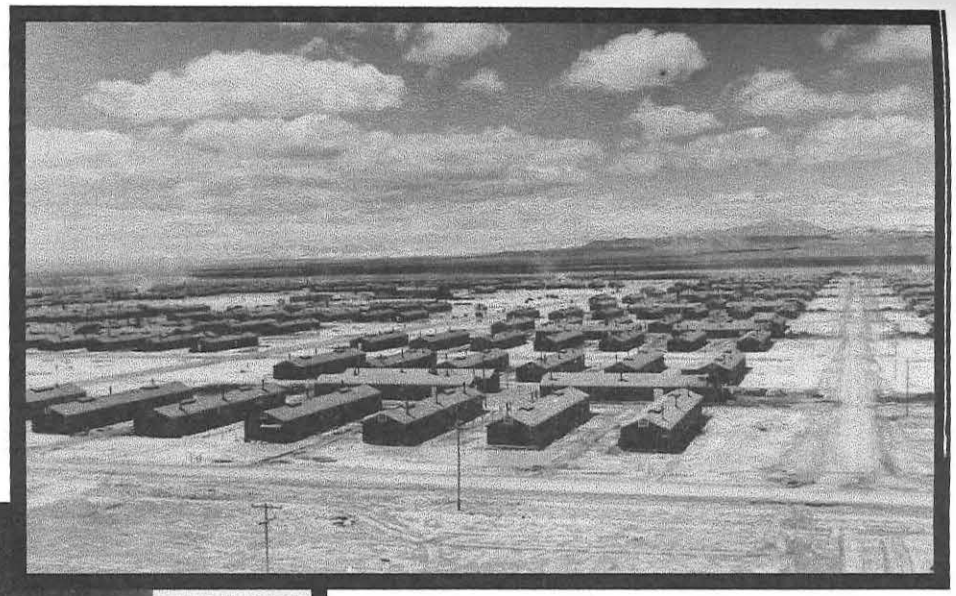


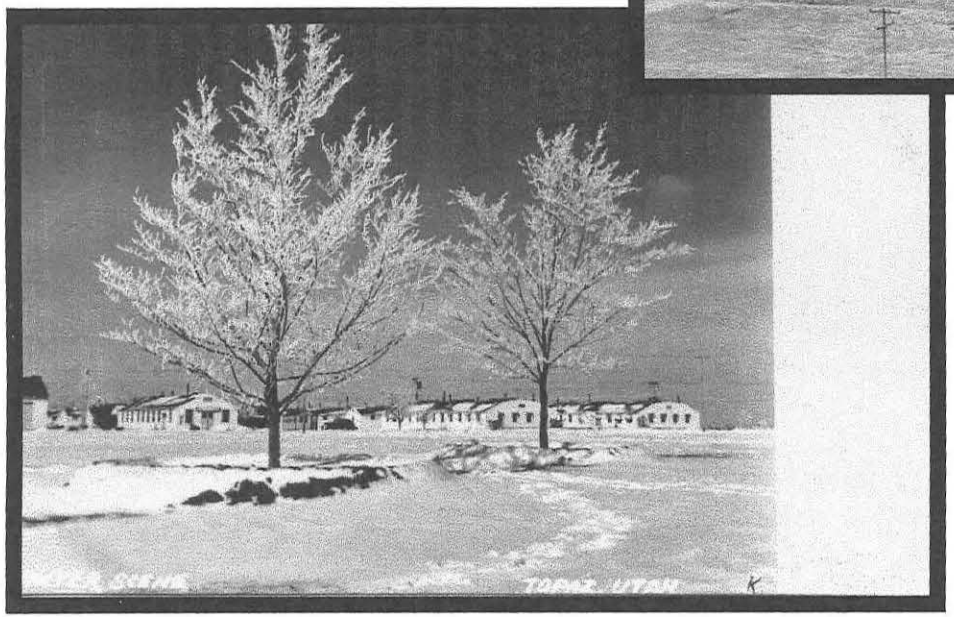

WRA Photo by Dorthea Lange, June 16, 1942

Tanforan Assembly Center barracks. Formerly a racetrack in San Bruno, California, my family and other Japanese Americans were temporarily housed here in horse stalls that the government referred to as "apartments." My aunt was pregnant at the time of the evacuation and my cousin Eddie, was born a couple of weeks after they arrived at Tanforan.

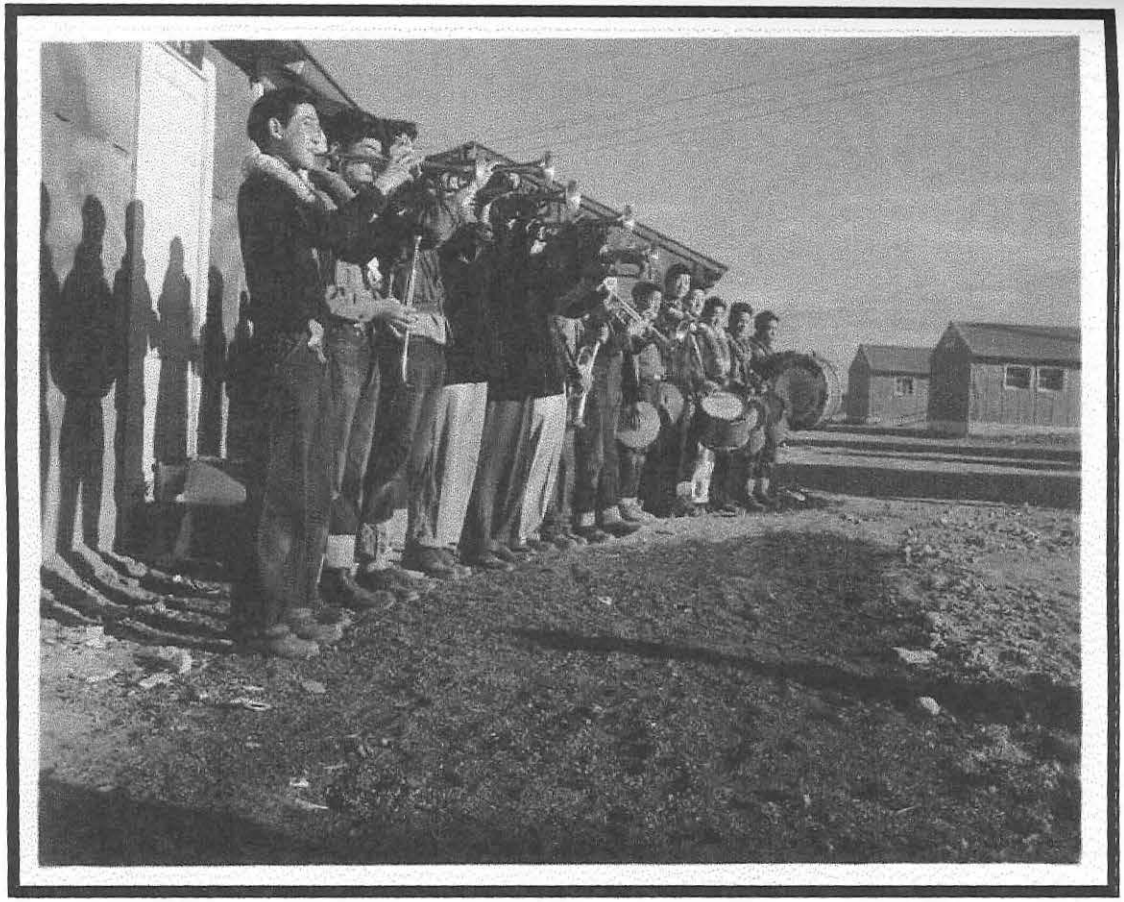
TOPAZ:

The "Jewel of the Desert"



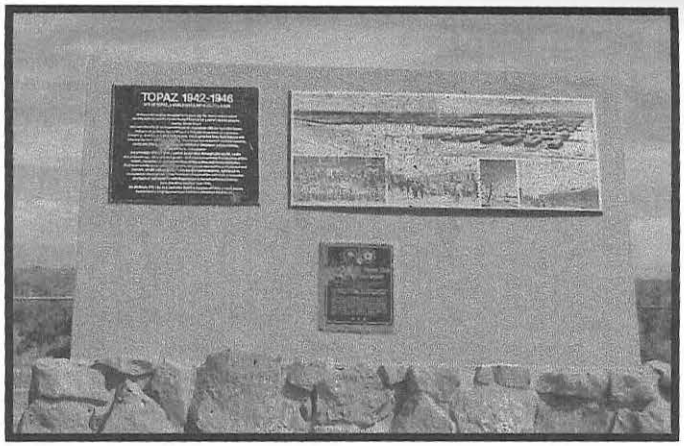


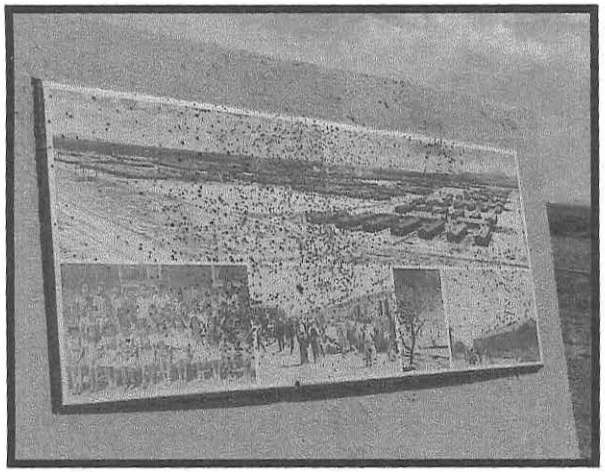
Postcards from Topaz, Utah

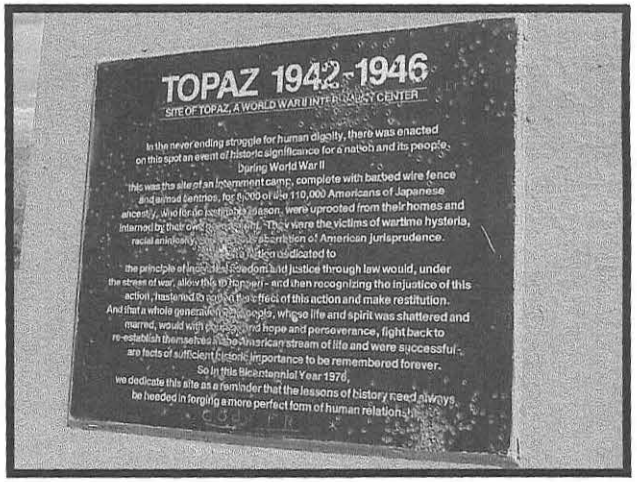


WRA Photo by Francis Stewart

The Boy Scout Band greets evacuees as they arrive at Topaz Relocation Center in Abrahams, Utah, approximately 150 miles southwest of Salt Lake City. Photo was taken March 14, 1943. BANC PIC 1967.014—PIC, Series 4. Courtesy of Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.






Photos by Nadine Beard. May 15, 2002

Bullet-riddled and defaced, this memorial stands at the site in Utah where Topaz was located.

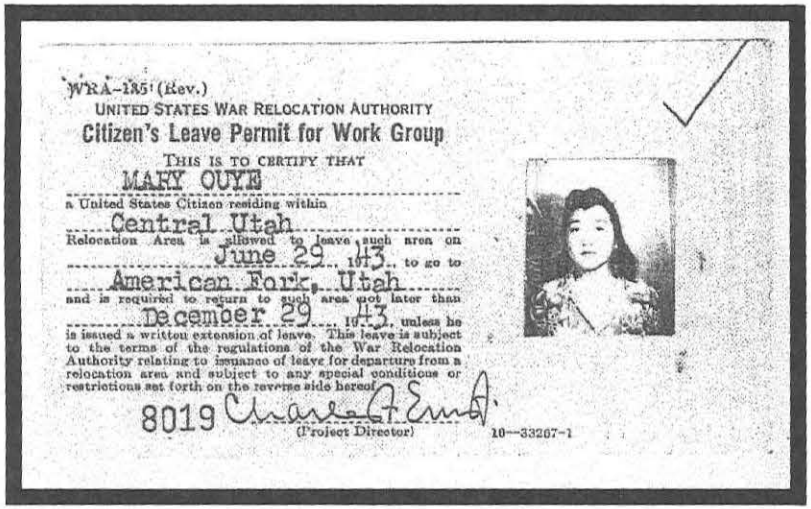
# The 442nd
# Regimental Combat Team
# "GO FOR BROKE"

Snapshots of my Uncle Tom with his unit, Company I, while on a tour of duty in Europe. Companies I and K were involved in some of the heaviest combat the 442nd faced, including the rescue of the "Lost Battalion."

Photo above: Tom Ouye, my uncle, is in the center, facing the camera.

The Patch of the 442nd, a symbol of freedom and liberty. This patch replaced the War Department's original design, which unbelievably depicted a *yellow* arm brandishing a red sword that everyone from the rank of Commanding Officer Colonel Pence down to private found repugnant

# Citizen's Leave Permit for Work Group Issued by the War Relocation Authority

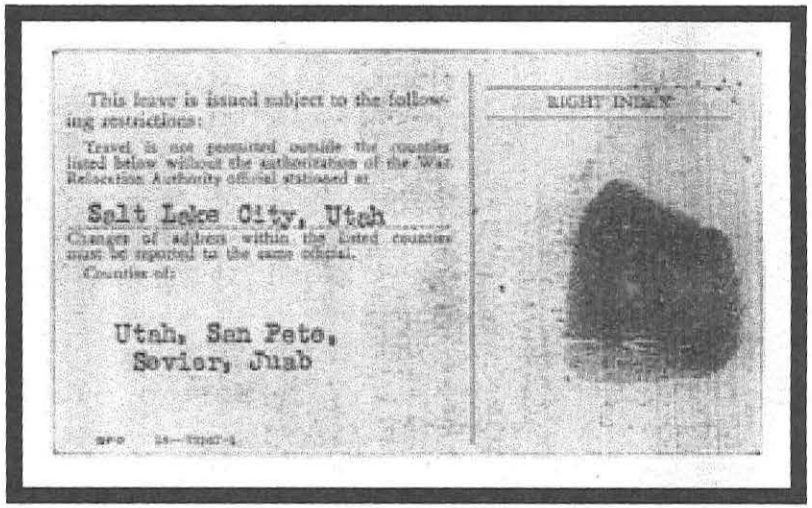


WRA-185 (Rev.)
UNITED STATES WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
**Citizen's Leave Permit for Work Group**

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT
MARY OUYE
a United States Citizen residing within
Central Utah
Relocation Area is allowed to leave such area on
June 29 1943, to go to
American Fork, Utah
and is required to return to such area not later than
December 29 1943, unless he is issued a written extension of leave. This leave is subject to the terms of the regulations of the War Relocation Authority relating to issuance of leave for departure from a relocation area and subject to any special conditions or restrictions set forth on the reverse side hereof.

8019 Charles F. Ernst
(Project Director)

10—33207-1



This leave is issued subject to the following restrictions:

Travel is not permitted outside the counties listed below without the authorization of the War Relocation Authority official stationed at

Salt Lake City, Utah

Changes of address within the listed counties must be reported to the same official.

Counties of:

Utah, San Pete,
Sevier, Juab

RIGHT INDEX

My parents, Mary and Nova L. Baker, on their wedding day, June 1, 1948. They were married in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At that time, it was still illegal in California for anyone of Japanese ancestry to marry a Caucasian.

The entire Ouye family was finally together again on the West Coast by the early 1950s, and the number of family members was increasing rapidly.

This photo of the female *Sansei* members of the Ouye family was taken at my grandparents' Golden Wedding anniversary in 1961.

Back row, from left: Vicki, Alice, Dorinne, Jane and LaVonne.
Front row, from left: Charlotte, Susi, me (Nadine), and Tami.

This photo of the *Nisei* members of my family was taken in January 1995 in Berkeley, California, when my husband and I were visiting San Francisco. This was the first time I had reunited with my mother's family in more than 20 years.

Standing, from left: Uncle Seigo, Auntie Hats, Auntie Ruby, Auntie Margaret
Seated, from left: Uncle Ockie, Uncle Joe, me (Nadine), and my husband, Bill

Photo by Vanessa DeVary

This photo of me with my Auntie Margaret was taken during a visit to Davis, California, in May 2001.

Photo by Ryan Greenbaum

The *Sansei* members of the Ouye family at a family reunion on May 18, 2002.

Back row, from left: Rich, Joey, Guy, Russell, and Tami
Middle row, from left: Dorinne, Alice, Dennis, Charlotte, Jim, and Susi
Front row: Me (Nadine) and Jane


Photo by Nadine Beard

The *Yonsei* and *Gosei* members of the Ouye family at a family reunion on May 18, 2002.

Back row from left: Jeffrey, Casey, Randy, Ted, Ryan, Matt, Perry, Nate
Front row from left: Alison, Damon, Kellie, Molly, Kenny, Heather
Far right, front row from left: *Gosei* members Jessica and Tori

## GLOSSARY

**Abunai.** Dangerous.

**Abuti.** Espionage or sabotage.

**Assembly Center.** Temporary facilities used to house evacuated Issei and Nisei Japanese Americans while the permanent relocation centers were being built. There were sixteen centers in California, Oregon, and Washington. They were on former horse racing tracks, fairgrounds, stockyards, exposition centers, and a Civilian Conservation Corps facility.

**Baishakunin**. Matchmaker.

**Buddhahead.** Slang nickname given to Hawaiian soldiers of Japanese ancestry by mainland Japanese soldiers. Derived from a play on the Japanese word for pig, "buta." Considered derogatory.

**Concentration camp.** Guarded facility/detention center for imprisonment or detention of groups of people for social or political reasons.

**Evacuee.** Term used to refer to individuals of Japanese ancestry during the period when were evacuated from their homes to reside in the assembly centers and concentration camps.

**Gaman**. Means internalization of, and suppression of, anger and emotion, but is more commonly construed as strength and perseverance or bearing up. Japanese word.

**Gosei.** Fifth generation Japanese Americans, born in the United States, a U. S. citizen.

**Hakujin.** White person or Caucasian. Japanese word.

**Haji.** Shame. Japanese word.

**Haoles.** Stranger. Foreigner. White person or Caucasian. Hawaiian word.

**Hapa.** Derived from the English word "half." Native Hawaiians used this word to describe someone who was "half Hawaiian." In colonial times, it was often combined with the word "haole" which meant stranger, foreigner, or white person. Eventually, the term, "hapa," was used in the continental United States (by Japanese Americans and other Asians) to describe any person of partial Asian ancestry. Formerly, many Nisei (second generation Japanese Americans) considered the term to be derogatory. However, to most Sansei and Yonsei today, "hapa" is simply accepted as a way to describe a person of partial Asian ancestry

**Issei.** The ordinal number one, or first. First generation Japanese immigrant, living in America. Ineligible for citizenship until the law changed in 1952.

**Japanese American Citizens League (JACL).** Founded in 1929, the JACL is the oldest Asian American civil rights organization in the United States. It was the first Nisei organization that dealt with the social and political issues of the second generation. The JACL remained active throughout World War II and continues to the present day.

**Jus sanguinis.** Japan, as well as several European countries, had traditionally followed the principle of *jus sanguinis*, meaning that the children of Japanese nationals, regardless of country of birth, were citizens of Japan

**Kibei.** Second generation Japanese American, born in the United States, but educated in Japan.

**Kotonk.** Term used by Hawaiian Nisei soldiers to describe mainland Nisei soldiers. Literally, the sound of an empty coconut when it hits the ground. Considered derogatory.

**Nikkei.** Term used to describe an American citizen of Japanese ancestry.

**Nisei.** Second generation Japanese American, born in the United States, a U.S. citizen. The bulk of those interned were of this generation.

**Oba-chan.** Grandmother. Japanese word.

**Oji-chan.** Grandfather. Japanese word.

**One-Puka-Puka.** Nickname given to the 100th Infantry Battalion by the Hawaiian soldiers in the all-Japanese unit. In Hawaiian, a puka is a round shell with a hole in it. It looks like the number zero. Translated, their unit name was the number one, followed by two zeros.

**Pidgin English.** A pidgin language is generally based on one of the major world languages, such as English, Spanish, or Portuguese. Arising out of commercial activities, it contains a sharply reduced grammar and vocabulary, making it much easier to learn than the parent tongue.

**Redress.** Compensation for a wrong or injury.

**Relocation center/internment camp.** The official government term was *relocation center* for the ten camps run by the WRA. The camps were guarded facilities for detaining both aliens and U.S. citizens. Technically, *internment camps* were the prisons run by the Department of Justice for non-citizen, suspect aliens of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry.

**Resettlement.** Resettlement refers to the process through which Japanese Americans reestablished their lives, work, homes, families, and community after having been in forced detention. Time period following the close of the camps, lasting approximately through the early 1960s, although there is no definitive beginning and ending point.

**Sansei.** Third generation Japanese American, born in the United States, a U. S. citizen.

**War Relocation Authority (WRA).** Civilian government agency housed within the Department of the Interior set up to administer and mange the internment centers and internee population.

**Wartime Civil Control Authority (WCCA).** The WCCA was the government agency supervising the evacuation of Japanese to assembly centers. Once individuals were moved to the relocation centers, the War Relocation Authority moved in to supervise the management and administration of the camps.

**Yonsei.** Fourth generation Japanese Americans, born in the United States, a U. S. citizen.

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