

DENSHO PUBLICATIONS

Articles by Kelli Y. Nakamura
Kapiolani Community College

Spring 2016



[Byodo-In](#) by [Rocky A](#) / CC BY-NC-SA 2.0

The articles, by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), are licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#)
by rights owner [Densho](#)



Table of Contents

298th/299th Infantry	1
Alien Enemies Act of 1798	3
<i>Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community</i> (book)	6
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura	6
Cecil Coggins.....	9
Charles F. Loomis	11
Charles H. Bonesteel.....	13
Charles Hemenway	15
Dan Aoki	17
Daniel Inouye.....	20
December 7, 1941	25
Delos Emmons.....	30
Emergency Service Committee	33
Fred Kinzaburo Makino.....	38
<i>Fujinkai</i>	40
George Ariyoshi.....	46
GI Bill	49
<i>Hawaii, End of the Rainbow</i> (book)	52
<i>Hawaii Hochi</i> (newspaper)	55
Hawaii Territorial Guard.....	60
Hawaii War Records Depository	62
Hiroshi Honda.....	64
Husband E. Kimmel	68
Ingram M. Stainback.....	70
J. Garner Anthony	72
Japanese Language Schools	74
John Aiso.....	79
John Burns	83
Joseph Poindexter	87
<i>Kachigumi</i>	89
Kazuo Miyamoto	95

<i>Kenjinkai</i>	99
Massie Case	101
McKinley High School	104
Miles E. Cary	106
Military Intelligence Service Language School.....	110
Military Intelligence Service.....	116
Milton Murayama	122
Morale Committees.....	124
<i>Nippu Jiji</i> (newspaper).....	128
Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense	133
Office of Civilian Defense (Hawaii).....	135
Patsy Mink	137
Patsy Sumie Saiki	139
Picture Brides.....	141
Plantations.....	146
Police Contact Group (Honolulu).....	152
Revolution of 1954	157
Richard Sakakida	163
Robert C. Richardson.....	166
Samuel Wilder King	168
Sanji Abe	171
Seabrook Farms	176
Spark Matsunaga.....	180
Takie Okumura.....	185
<i>The Lost Years: 1942–1946</i> (book).....	188
<i>The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II</i> (book)	191
Thomas H. Green.....	194
Thomas Sakakihara.....	196
Walter Dillingham.....	198
Walter Short	202

298th/299th Infantry

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Hawai‘i National Guard units whose members of Japanese ancestry would eventually join the 100th Infantry Battalion.

Early History

On August 28, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a bill mobilizing the National Guard of the United States and other reserve components for a period of one year. Commanding General Charles D. Herron, Hawaiian Department, officially received word on September 19, 1940, that the Hawai‘i National Guard units of the 298th and 299th Infantry Regiments would be called to active duty on October 15, 1940. These regiments were comprised of 110 officers and 1,741 enlisted men including forty Japanese Americans. The majority of the 298th were recruits from O‘ahu while the 299th was comprised of residents from the other islands. Colonel Perry Myers Smoot issued mobilization orders to Colonel Wilhelm A. Anderson and Colonel Gordon C. Ross commanding officers of the 298th and the 299th Infantry. The 298th Infantry was eventually attached to the Twenty-Second Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Daniel Sultan, and the 299th was attached to the Twenty-First Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General D. S. Wilson. By the end of October 1940, both regiments were in training at Schofield Barracks on O‘ahu.

On December 9, the selective service boards of the territory began to process inductees. After thirteen weeks of basic training at Schofield, most of the nearly 3,000 recruits were sent to the 298th and 299th Infantry including approximately 1,500 Nisei although around 200 were sent to army engineer units. Many of the Nisei inductees had previously joined ROTC at O‘ahu high schools and the University of Hawai‘i and had some received some previous military training. Within a few months, many of them were privates, first class, and some had become noncommissioned officers. In June 1941, at a patriotic rally arranged by the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense, General Herron’s representative reported that that these soldiers of Japanese ancestry "will do much to aid the cause of national unity by spreading the gospel of Americanism among their own relatives and friends."^[1]

The Pearl Harbor Attack and Mobilization

After six months training the 299th moved to Maui, Moloka‘i, Hawai‘i, and Kaua‘i assisting army engineers and the Works Progress Administration in constructing military installations. The 298th Infantry remained on O‘ahu and many witnessed the Pearl Harbor attack. On December 7, 1941, the 2nd Battalion of the 298th infantry was stationed on the windward side of the island, in positions along the shore between Bellows Field and Kualoa and the First Battalion was stationed at Schofield. Many of the Nisei soldiers of the First Battalion were on weekend pass from Schofield and following the attack all reported to their units for duty. For the next three days, all the members including 350 new Japanese American inductees were put to work digging trenches throughout the camp area, their

weapons and ammunition confiscated.

During the next six months, members of the 298th were stationed along the windward shore of O'ahu, between Mokapu Point and Kualoa, stringing barbed wire, constructing machine gun emplacements, patrolling beaches, and building dugouts. On the other islands, the soldiers of the 299th had similar duties and continued to assist in the construction of military installations. In the summer of 1942, 1,406 Japanese American enlistees, 798 from the 298th and 608 from the 299th Infantry, including nearly twenty-eight officers of which fifty percent were of Japanese ancestry were transferred from the National Guard and organized into the 100th Infantry Battalion. Its staff, company commanders, and other officers were selected from the National Guard. Lieutenant Colonel Farrant L. Turner executive officer of the 298th was selected to command the 100th Infantry Battalion.

For More Information

"299th Infantry Regiment (Hawaiian Army National Guard)." Military.com.
<http://www.military.com/HomePage/UnitPageFullText/0,13476,712442,00.html>.

Adams, Frank Stephen. "A History of the Hawaii National Guard in Peace and in War, 1934-1948." Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1954.

Murphy, Thomas D. *Ambassadors in Arms*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1954.

References

1. "Nisei Give New Pledge of Loyalty," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 14, 1941, 5.

["298th/299th Infantry"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Alien Enemies Act of 1798

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

The Alien Enemies Act of 1798 was part of four laws known as the Alien and Sedition Acts that enacted increasing press regulations and restrictions against aliens. It was used as the basis for incarcerating enemy aliens and confiscating their property during World War II. As a result, a number of Japanese, Germans, and Italians were arrested and interned for the duration of the war and were later deported to their nations of origins.

In 1798, the United States was on the verge of war with France. The Federalists, America's first political party, believed that Democratic-Republican criticism of their policies was disloyal. Additionally, they feared that aliens living in the United States would sympathize with the French during a war. As a result, a Federalist-controlled Congress passed four laws, collectively known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws raised the residency requirements for citizenship from five to fourteen years and made aliens "liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed" in the Alien Enemies Act of 1798.^[1] However, these acts set off a firestorm of criticism against the Federalists as they revealed the limits of freedom of speech and the press and contributed to their defeat in the election of 1800. Currently, the Alien Enemies Act of 1798 is still in force in modified form and authorizes the President to detain, relocate, or deport enemy aliens in time of war.

In 1941, the Alien Enemies Act was utilized by government officials to incarcerate Japanese Americans. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Proclamation 2525 in accordance with the Alien Enemies Act, giving the government the authority to detain enemy aliens and confiscate enemy property. The Proclamation permitted immediate apprehension of "alien enemies deemed dangerous to the public health or safety of the United States by the Attorney General or Secretary of War."^[2] On December 8, 1941, similar proclamations were issued for the arrest of suspect Germans and Italians. By February 16, 1942, the Department of Justice held 2,192 Japanese, 1,393 Germans, and 264 Italians, and arrests continued even after that date. Many arrested were Issei leaders of the Japanese American community and its organizations.

Upon conclusion of World War II, some internees used the Alien Enemies Act to block their deportation to Axis states. Some German internees from Latin American countries filed habeas corpus petitions challenging their detention by the United States, claiming that they were not "alien enemies" as defined by the Alien Enemy Act of 1798, because they were not natives or citizens of an enemy country. In January 1946, this effort failed when a federal district court ruled that the Latin American internees were "alien enemies" who could legally be detained. After this decision, 513 Japanese (over ninety percent from Peru), 897 Germans and 37 Italians from Latin America in United States internment camps were granted hearings pending deportation.^[3] The hearings were a formality leading to their deportation to Axis countries, although most of the remaining Latin American Japanese wished to return to Peru. Voluntary repatriation continued into 1946, with at least 130 Peruvian Japanese returning to Japan by June. (See Japanese Latin Americans.)

For More Information

Christensen, Erika L. "Face of the Enemy: the Japanese-American Internment and its Significance on Ethnic Conflict in America." Master's thesis, Utah State University, 2010.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

German American Internee Coalition. <http://www.gaic.info/history.html>.

Miller, John Chester. *Crisis in Freedom: the Alien and Sedition Acts*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951.

Miyake, Lika C. "Forsaken and Forgotten: The U.S. Internment of Japanese Peruvians During World War II" (May 2002): 18666 words.

Neuman, Gerald L., and Charles F. Hobson. "John Marshall and the Enemy Alien." *The Green Bag*(Autumn 2005).

http://www.law.columbia.edu/law_school/communications/reports/winter06/facforum2.

Peltner, Arndt. "Unforgettable Justice." *The Atlantic Times*, May 2007. http://www.atlantic-times.com/archive_detail.php?recordID=864.

Presidential Proclamation 2525.

<http://www.internmentarchives.com/specialreports/smithsonian smithsonian10.php>.

Stone, Geoffrey R. *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime From the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004.

United States. National Archives and Records Administration. *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

References

1. United States, National Archives and Records Administration, *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.
2. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 54.
3. *Personal Justice Denied*, 312.

[“Alien Enemies Act of 1798”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community
(book)
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community by Forrest E. LaViolette examines Japanese American family and community life in the pre-World War II period until 1941. LaViolette specifically focuses upon the adjustment problems facing the Nisei in the United States "resulting from a bi-racial, bi-cultural milieu in which racial discrimination is a compelling fact of life" prior to their incarceration.^[1] He only briefly mentions the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans in the final chapter despite serving as a community analyst for the War Relocation Authority (WRA) at Heart Mountain for six months in 1943.

LaViolette's Educational Background

LaViolette received his bachelor's degree from Reed College in 1933 and wrote a thesis entitled "Japanese Nationalism, A Social Study." In 1936, he graduated with a degree in sociology from the University of Chicago and *Americans of Japanese Ancestry* was originally published in 1945 based on his dissertation. From 1936 to 1940, LaViolette was a sociologist at the University of Washington conducting research on Japanese Americans before serving as a community analyst at Heart Mountain. After the war, LaViolette was a faculty member at McGill University and was the chairman of the sociology department at Tulane University.

As one of the early studies focusing on racial discrimination and identity within the Japanese community, LaViolette began gathering the material for this study in the summer of 1934 researching in areas like Portland, San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles where Japanese Americans had established a number of communities before their incarceration. His research was supported by the Canadian Social Science Research Council and the Research Committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, as both organizations supported "further research among the two groups of Japanese, those in Canada and those in the United States, for these are . . . the only two countries in the world concerned with problems of assimilating such a divergent group as the immigrant Japanese and their children" as both populations experienced social and economic discrimination.^[2]

Book Organization

The book begins by describing the two principal groups in the Japanese American community—the Issei and Nisei—and the organization of the family as well as vocational, marriage, and community issues. As one of the early works on Japanese American immigrant and community life prior to World War II, LaViolette noted that much of the material on the topic was available only in "scattered references" although he was influenced by John Embree's *Suye Mura* and the publication of the *Survey of Race Relations* documents from the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City. In his research, LaViolette utilizes information and sources from Japan to examine processes of social change and prevailing traditions. While some of this cultural information may be useful in certain

instances such as in understanding the role of intermediaries (*nakōdo*) in marriage practices, not all traditional practices were replicated in the United States. For example, scholar John Embree notes that sources such as *Onna Daigaku* that describes the qualities of an ideal, submissive, upper-class wife, "does not truly reflect even upper-class Japanese life today and certainly does not apply to rural Japan, whence many immigrants came to this country" as class influenced the transmission of certain practices.^[3]

However, as a result of their cultural heritage, Japanese Americans have experienced a history of discrimination and "marginalism" in the pre and postwar period that LaViolette points out influenced assimilation, notions of identity, and patterns of settlement.^[4] One critical event, however, that LaViolette does not carefully examine is the impact of the incarceration experience on the Japanese American community and the multiplicity of identities to emerge from the camps that challenged the dichotomy of Issei vs. Nisei and corresponding notions of loyalty. This fact was pointed out by reviewer Galen Fox who noted that "LaViolette terminated his field work before the evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast, and therefore did not forecast the influence of that epochal event on the Americanization of the nisei."^[5] As such, LaViolette provides an overly simplistic understanding of loyalty and the draft issue among Issei and Nisei noting that "the prospect of serving in the American Army was looked upon favourably. It was openly welcomed by the *nisei* as the best opportunity ever presented for settling the questions of duality citizenship and ambiguous loyalties."^[6] LaViolette fails to mention the controversy surrounding the draft issue within the camps and the challenges surrounding declarations of loyalties in part due to the bicultural identity of many Japanese Americans. Regional differences are also ignored as Japanese Americans in Hawai'i, the Pacific Northwest, California, and other areas seemingly share the same experiences and notions of identity despite the fact that there were clear differences before, during, and after the war.

In expanding on the issues raised in Edward K. Strong, Jr.'s *The Second-Generation Japanese Problem* (1934), Laviolette's study provides important insights into the prewar Japanese American community and the challenge of clearly defining Japanese American identity. How these notions of identity changed during the war, however, remains a critical area of study for Japanese American scholars who are interested in examining the evolution of ethnic identity and the historical events that shaped these ideas.

For More Information

"Forrest E. LaViolette papers, 1933-1943." Howard-Tilton Memorial Library Special Collections, Tulane University.

<http://specialcollections.tulane.edu/archon/?p=collection/findingaid&id=156>.

"Guide to the Forrest E. LaViolette Slides and Photographs Apr. 1 to Oct. 1, 1943." University Libraries, University of Washington. <http://digital.lib.washington.edu/findingaids/view?docId=LaViolettePHColl522.xml;brand=default>.

Robinson, Greg. *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics*.

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Strong, Edward K. *The Second Generation Japanese Problem*. 1934. New York, Arno Press, 1970.

Reviews

Angus, H. F. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economique et de Science politique* 12.4 (Nov. 1946): 537–38.

Embree, John F. *American Journal of Sociology* 52.3 (Nov. 1946): 285–86.

Fisher, Galen M. *Pacific Affairs* 19.4 (Dec. 1946): 451–52.

Masuoka, Jitsuichi. *Social Forces* 25.4 (May 1947): 455–57.

Smith, Elmer R. *Pacific Citizen*, Sept. 21, 1946, 5.

References

1. Forrest E. Laviolette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), v.
2. Laviolette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry*, v-vi.
3. John F. Embree, review of *Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community*, by Forrest E. LaViolette, *American Journal of Sociology* 52.3 (Nov. 1946), 285.
4. Laviolette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry*, 175.
5. Galen M. Fisher, Review of *Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community*, by Forrest E. LaViolette, *Pacific Affairs* 19.4 (Dec., 1946), 452.
6. LaViolette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry*, 147.

“[Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community \(book\)](#)” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Cecil Coggins
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Navy doctor, ONI counterespionage agent who investigated the loyalty of Japanese Americans.

Cecil Hengy Coggins was born on April 10, 1902, in St. Louis, Missouri, the son of a minister (who later became a physician) from Missouri and a school teacher from California. After a short stint as a merchant seaman, Coggins attended the University of Missouri and graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1930. While working as an obstetrician in California, he began monitoring Japanese fishing boats and eventually presented his data to the navy department. His techniques and findings became the basis of the official Manual of Investigations of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI).^[1]

In 1940, he was transferred to Hawai‘i on the staff of Commander of the Pacific Fleet and placed in charge of counterespionage. In this role, he selected and trained some 100 counterespionage agents, most of them Nisei to watch for suspicious activity within the Japanese community. A few months after Pearl Harbor, he met with members of the Honolulu Civic Association, previously the Hawaiian Japanese Civic Association, and together they drafted a statement of Japanese American loyalty. This statement was presented at a luncheon organized by Hawai‘i businessman Walter Dillingham to high ranking military personnel including Delos Emmons and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz who were contemplating the fate of the Islands' Japanese Americans.^[2] Although the impact of this statement is unclear, Coggins' account of this event and the statement of loyalty by Hawai‘i's Japanese was published by *Harper's Magazine* in 1943 during a period of anti-Japanese sentiment in America.^[3]

After a stint in Washington D.C. in 1942 where he served as the navy representative on the Strategic Service Planning Group of the Office of Strategic Services, chief of OP-16-W ("special warfare") in the Office of Naval Intelligence, and navy representative in the Office of War Information, Coggins was reassigned as chief field surgeon for U.S. Naval Group China, also known as Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO) until the end of the war. From 1947 to 1949, he served in the Medical Corps aboard the hospital ship *USS Repose* and later was chief of atomic, biologic, and chemical warfare on the staff of NATO headquarters in Paris. In this capacity, he established schools of warfare defense in NATO nations, coordinated their research, and devised a way to report biological warfare attacks. In 1959, Coggins retired as a rear admiral and later spent several years as medical chief of civil defense for the state of California. After a long career, Coggins passed away on May 1, 1987, in Monterey, California.

For More Information

Coggins, Cecil Hengy. "The Japanese-Americans in Hawaii." *Harper's Magazine* (June 1943): 75-83.

Coffman, Tom. *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai‘i*. Honolulu:

University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003.

Laforet, Eugene G. "Cecil Coggins and the War in the Shadows." JAMA, April 25, 1980, 1653–55.

"1935–1945: Counterintelligence and Criminal Investigations." Naval Criminal Investigative Service website. <http://www.ncis.navy.mil/AboutNCIS/History/Pages/1935-1945.aspx>

"Papers of Rear Admiral Cecil H. Coggins, 1927–1943." Naval Historical Center website, <http://www.history.navy.mil/ar/charlie/coggins.htm>.

References

1. "1935–1945: Counterintelligence and Criminal Investigations." Naval Criminal Investigative Service website, <http://www.ncis.navy.mil/AboutNCIS/History/Pages/1935-1945.aspx>
2. Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003), 81-82.
3. Cecil Hengy Coggins, "The Japanese-Americans in Hawaii," *Harper's Magazine* (June 1943): 75- 83.

“[Cecil Coggins](#)” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Charles F. Loomis
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Chief morale officer during World War II Hawai‘i who promoted the loyalty of Japanese Americans and founding partner of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).^[1] Charles Loomis was born on October 26, 1887, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and graduated from the University of Missouri with a B.A. from the Teachers' College. Additionally, Loomis graduated from the St. Louis Training School, the first manual training school in the country and was a manual training expert and later football manager and coach at Missouri University.

From 1911 to 1916, Loomis was the boys' work director for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Hawai‘i. From 1916–19, he was the secretary of the Kaua‘i YMCA and served as the territorial secretary until 1925. In 1919, Loomis helped develop plantation social services, working with the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association and introduced sugar study in schools. This curriculum eventually became the public schools' vocational agricultural program. Additionally, Loomis helped to establish the IPR in 1925 and as its first secretary he traveled to Kyoto, Shanghai, Yosemite, Virginia Beach, Hot Springs, and Mount Tremblant in the course of organized meetings. During the mid-thirties, he was acting secretary-general of the International Secretariat.

Prior to World War II, Loomis was associated with the army through National Guard duties promoting literacy programs and educational work in the Army-Navy YMCA. After the outbreak of war, he became the chief morale officer for the military government working with individuals such as Hung Wai Ching and Shigeo Yoshida to promote interethnic unity among the different groups in Hawai‘i including the Japanese. During the war, Loomis often spoke on behalf of the Japanese in the Islands and their loyalty to America. Loomis passed away at Queen's Hospital on October 6, 1957, after an extended illness. He was survived by his wife Edith Woodward Warren Loomis, to whom he was married in September 1952 and three children by a former marriage.

For More Information

"Charles F. Loomis Dies; Helped to Found IPR." *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 7 1957, A-5.

Finding aid for the Institute of Pacific Relations records at Columbia University Libraries, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/archival/collections/ldpd_4079192/.

Finding aid for the Institute of Pacific Relations manuscript collections, University of Hawai‘i and Mānoa Library, <http://libweb.hawaii.edu/libdept/archives/mss/ipr/>.

The First Battle: The Battle for Equality in War-Time Hawaii. Documentary film written, produced and directed by Tom Coffman, 2006. 56 minutes.

"Loomis, Charles F." University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Microfiche Biographical D98050. "Rites Tomorrow for C.F. Loomis." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 7,

1957, 13.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities.

“Charles F. Loomis” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Charles H. Bonesteel
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Successor to Delos Emmons as the head of the Western Defense Command (WDC), Charles H. Bonesteel supported the end of the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

Bonesteel was born at Ft. Sidney, Nebraska, on April 9, 1885, into a military family—his father was Maj. Charles H. Bonesteel and his grandfather was Gen. O.D. Greene, who served in the Civil War. Bonesteel entered the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1904 and after his graduation in 1908 he joined the 12th infantry at Ft. Porter, Buffalo, New York. He then served at various stations along the Mexican border and in the Philippines and in 1915 first came to Hawai‘i. Bonesteel became a captain within a month after entry of the United States into World War I and was then promoted to the rank of major in the aviation section of the signal corps. In August 1918, he went to France where he commanded a battalion of the 55th infantry, 7th division.

Upon his return from France, Bonesteel was ordered to Newport News, Virginia, where he commanded a debarkation camp and later became a commanding officer of the debarkation camps at Camp Morrison, Virginia. In 1919, he returned to West Point where he served as a member of the tactical department for five years. Bonesteel then attended the infantry school at Ft. Benning, Georgia, and the general staff school at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, that was followed by a four year detail in the training section of the office of the chief of infantry in Washington. In 1932, Bonesteel was promoted to lieutenant colonel and he spent the next four years as an instructor at the infantry school. He was made a full colonel in 1937 while commanding the 1st battalion, 2nd infantry, at Ft. Sheridan, Illinois.

In May 1938, Bonesteel arrived in Hawai‘i and was the commander of the 19th infantry. In 1944, Bonesteel replaced Delos Emmons as head of the Western Defense Command and like Emmons supported the end of the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. In a letter to the assistant secretary of war, Bonesteel noted: "My study of the existing situation leads me to a belief that the great improvement in the military situation on the West Coast indicates that there is no longer a military necessity for the mass exclusion of the Japanese from the West Coast as a whole."^[1] Although Bonesteel believed that certain individuals should be excluded, he felt that mass exclusion was unnecessary. Throughout 1944, Bonesteel continued to push for "positive action" on the question of ending the mass exclusion of Japanese.^[2] Despite his urgings, the Roosevelt administration delayed ending exclusion until after the president's reelection on November 10, 1944. Finally, on January 2, 1945, the rescission of mass exclusion and the commencement of the broad program of individual exclusion took effect.

Bonesteel passed away in 1964 and was survived by his wife, Caroline Hudson Bonesteel and his son, Charles H. Bonesteel III.

For More Information

"Bonesteel, Charles H.- (Lt. Gen.)." Microfiches Biographical D98050. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Hamilton Library.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982. Foreword by Tetsuden Kashima. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Muller, Eric L. *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

References

1. Eric L. Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 92.
 2. Muller, *American Inquisition*, 95.
-

[“Charles H. Bonesteel”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Charles Hemenway
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Lawyer, territorial attorney general, wartime advocate for Hawai‘i's Nisei students and Japanese population.^[1]

A resident of Hawai‘i since 1899, Charles Reed Hemenway (1875–1947) was born in Manchester, Vermont, on June 12, 1875, the son of Lewis Hunt and Martha (Reed) Hemenway. He was a descendant of Ralph Hemenway of Yorkshire, England, who settled in Roxbury, Vermont, in the early seventeenth century. He received his education at Burr & Burton Seminary and later graduated from Yale University with an A.B. degree. From 1897 to 1899 he studied law in New York City before coming to Hawai‘i as a mathematics teacher at Punahoa School. In 1901, he gave up teaching to enter private law practice in Honolulu and on July 25 Hemenway and Jane Munson Colburn were married in Manchester Center, Vermont.

In 1907 Hemenway was appointed territorial attorney general and three years later he left government service to return to private law practice. He continued until 1915 when he became associated with Alexander & Baldwin in Honolulu. In 1916, Hemenway was elected vice president and assistant manager of Alexander & Baldwin and served in that capacity until 1938 when he became president of the Hawaiian Trust Co. He served as president until 1945 when he retired to become chairman of the board of directors, a position he held at the time of his death. In 1916, Hemenway was appointed to the board of trustees of Lē‘ahi Home. During his career, Hemenway also served as a director of the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., Ltd., Maui Agricultural Co., Ltd., McBryde Sugar Co., Kahuku Plantation Co., Hawaiian Trust Co., Ltd., Bank of Hawaii Ltd., Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co., Hawaiian Electric Co., and the Hawaii Consolidated Railway Co.

Hemenway's long association with the University of Hawai‘i started in 1907 when the governor appointed Hemenway, Arthur G. Smith, and Arthur Dean, all members of the University Club of Honolulu, to draft the Act of Establishment which founded the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. When the College was enlarged in 1920 by the addition of the College of Arts and Sciences, it became a university. From 1910 through 1940, Hemenway served on the Board of Regents and from 1920 until his resignation was chairman. While associated with the university, Hemenway took an active interest in the educational and personal welfare of many of the young men who later became members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and 100th Infantry Battalion. Hemenway's support of Japanese Americans during World War II was noted in an editorial eulogy in the *Hawaii Herald*:

Hemenway wasn't afraid to "stick his neck out." He knew, out of his long, extensive, and intimate acquaintance with "his boys" at the University, that these boys were loyal Americans as could be found anywhere in the nation. And he did not hesitate to say so. His influential position in the community, his wide and varied contacts, his unquestioned integrity, his logical reasoning, and his cool-headed conviction carried weight in critical quarters.^[2]

As a result of his support of the Japanese community, he received honorary membership in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and in the Club 100 of the 100th Infantry Battalion. He was accorded an honorary LL.D. degree by the University of Hawai'i following his retirement from the Board of Regents and the social hall and activity building was named after him.

Hemenway died at Queen's Hospital, two days after undergoing a major operation. He had been seriously ill for the past three months. Upon hearing of his death, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa had flags flying at half-mast in tribute to a man who according to university President Greg Sinclair "whose constant interest throughout the years, whose indefatigable effort, contributed greatly to the development of a small unknown college into an American university of recognized prestige."^[3]

For More Information

"Charles R. Hemenway." *Hawaii Herald*, October 17, 1947, 2.

"C. Hemenway, Trust Co. Head, Dies at Queen's." *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 16, 1947, 6. "C.R. Hemenway, Civil Leader, Educator, Dies." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 15, 1947, 1.

Japanese Eyes, American Heart: Personal Reflections of Hawaii's World War II Nisei Soldiers. Honolulu: Tendai Educational Foundation: Distributed by University of Hawaii Press, 1998.

Tsukiyama, Ted. *Charles Reed Hemenway, 1875-1947*. [Honolulu: Hemenway Scholarship Committee, 1995].

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. "Charles R. Hemenway," *Hawaii Herald*, October 17, 1947, 2.
3. "C. Hemenway, Trust Co. Head, Dies at Queen's," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 16, 1947, 6.

["Charles R. Hemenway"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Dan Aoki
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

World War II veteran, former president of the 442nd Veterans Club and key organizer in Hawai'i's Democratic Party.^[1]

Background and World War II Experience

Daniel Toshimichi Aoki (1918–86) was born in Kealakekua on the island of Hawai'i and was the son of a Congregational preacher. When he was seven, his family relocated to Pu'unēnē, Maui, where he witnessed the poverty and hardship faced by plantation workers who struggled under the Republican control of the political and economic life of the Islands. Aoki graduated from Maui High School and attended the University of Hawai'i where his roommate was future congressman Sparky Matsunaga. He left the university before he graduated and joined future House Speaker Tadao Beppu in organizing a clerk's union at Castle & Cooke with the aid from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) before they were fired in 1941. Aoki encountered difficulties finding a job because of his Japanese ancestry but eventually found employment with the fire department after having to prove that he was not a dual citizen.

As a result of the discrimination he experienced, twenty-five-year-old Aoki volunteered for the army after World War II broke out despite being older than the typical eighteen or nineteen-year-old recruits. According to Aoki, "we fought better than many of the American Army because we had a two-fold purpose . . . We had to fight for our country like everyone else but we also had to prove that we were American soldiers."^[2] Due to his experiences in combat, the first sergeant and Bronze Star awardee was dramatically transformed and would no longer accept the second-class status that Japanese Americans had endured in America.

The Political Mobilization of Nisei Veterans

Soon after his return to Hawai'i, Aoki and other veterans formed the 442nd Veterans Club and Aoki was elected president. At the club, Aoki renewed his acquaintance with Daniel Inouye, a second lieutenant with whom he had fought in Italy. In 1948, the club had raised a substantial fund for its headquarters and decided to hold a club birthday party to which Delegate Joseph Farrington was invited as a guest of honor. Inouye suggested that the club also invite Farrington's democratic opponent John Burns. Although he opposed politics in the veteran's club, Aoki agreed to this non-partisan gesture and was impressed when he met Burns. "He explained to us what politics was all about," recalled Aoki, "Burns had lived with the people of the Japanese community all his life—he knew how they thought and how they felt." The veterans also recognized the role Burns had played during the war as the liaison between the Honolulu Police Department and the FBI with his Police Contact Group. "We were revolutionary, belligerent, dissatisfied and ambitious," remembers Aoki, "I stuck with Mr. Burns because he was the man who was going to lead us to the things we wanted to do."^[3] Under Burns and Aoki's guidance, the members of the 442nd Veterans Club actively began participating in the Democratic Party.

In 1949, Aoki campaigned for Akira Fukunaga in the race for Constitutional Convention delegate and in 1959, he supported Sakae Takahashi's bid for the Board of Supervisors. "It was hard work, seven days a week of work in our community trying to convince people," remembers Aoki. "The Republican Party was an entrenched party. We were coming in as a neophyte party, a party which had only existed in name. Now we had to come in and develop a party with people, with members. We had to go and get people signed up; we had to get people convinced; we had to get people believing," he said.^[4] While past attempts had failed, Burns and members of the 442nd Veterans Club began to make progress as individuals who had attended mainland schools under the GI Bill began to return home and join the Democratic Party. In addition to supporting promising new candidates like Matsunaga and Inouye, the Democratic Party began running multiple candidates for all available positions in elections.

The Democratic Revolution of 1954 and Aoki's Role

In 1954, a Democratic majority was elected to the territorial legislature for the first time and although Burns would lose the race for congressional delegate to Elizabeth Farrington, Burns was elected in the subsequent 1956 election in a landslide victory over the incumbent. Aoki accompanied Burns to Washington D.C. as his administrative assistant where Aoki supported Burns's effort to grant Hawai'i statehood that was achieved in 1959. Three years later Burns was elected governor of Hawai'i and Aoki continued to work in the Burns administration and implemented the governor's directives. While his political opponents critiqued him for a "heavy-handed and arrogant style" his supporters admired his more straightforward approach, in particular Burns who told him when he began working for him, "Don't lie." However, four years after the election of Lt. Governor George Ariyoshi in 1974, Aoki left his government post. As Aoki noted, "we were kicked out in 1978. Maybe Mr. Ariyoshi wanted to be more independent . . . but I don't know what Mr. Ariyoshi's thinking because he never discussed these things with me."^[5] Aoki retired from public life in 1978 but continued his political involvement. In 1986, Aoki was campaigning for the election of John Waihee as governor when he passed away in his sleep in his Palolo home at the age of 68. Aoki was survived by three sons, Paul, John, and Michael and a sister, Esther Lee.

For More Information

Boylan, Dan. "The Old Guard Exits." *Honolulu* 14.2 (August 1979): 54, 158-164.

"Dan Aoki, Aide to Late Governor Burns, Pillar of Democratic Party, Dead at 68." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 June 1986, A-2.

Kotani, Roland. "Dan Aoki: From the Shadow of John Burns." *The Hawaii Herald*, Dec. 4, 1981, pp. 7, 13 and Dec. 18, 1981, pp. 4, 10-11.

---. "Dan Aoki: 1918-1986." *The Hawaii Herald*, July 4, 1986, pp. 1.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
 2. Roland Kotani, "Dan Aoki: From the Shadow of John Burns," *Hawaii Herald*, December 4, 1981, 7.
 3. Kotani, "Dan Aoki," 7.
 4. Kotani, "Dan Aoki," 7.
 5. Roland Kotani, "Dan Aoki: From the Shadow of John Burns," *Hawaii Herald*, December 18, 1981, 4.
-

[“Dan Aoki”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Daniel Inouye
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Hawai‘i Senator Daniel K. Inouye (1924–2012), formerly the most senior member of the U.S. Senate and the President Pro-Tempore, was known for his distinguished record as a legislative leader and as a World War II combat veteran with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Inouye was part of a group of politically active Japanese American veterans including Spark Masayuki Matsunaga and George Ryoichi Ariyoshi; together, they sparked a statewide democratic revolution during the 1950s which transformed Hawai‘i politics. A Medal of Honor, Bronze Star, and Purple Heart awardee, Inouye was among the most powerful American statesmen, and his passing marked a critical loss for the Japanese American community, Hawai‘i, and the nation.^[1]

Early Life and World War II

Daniel K. Inouye was born to Japanese immigrant parents in Honolulu on September 7, 1924. Inouye's family originally came from Yokoyama village in Fukuoka prefecture and was of the samurai class.^[2] His grandfather Asakichi was forced to immigrate to Hawai‘i to pay off a family debt after a fire that had originated from the Inouye's house burned down three homes at a cost of \$400. Inouye's parents, Hyotaro and Kame (Imanaga) Inouye, purchased a house on Coyne Street, in an area known as Bingham Tract but more readily known by its popular name—Chinese Hollywood—for its large number of Chinese families. As the eldest of four children, Inouye grew up in a household that blended Japanese and American traditions and attended Japanese school after completing his American education in the morning at McKinley High School.

On the morning of the Pearl Harbor attack, at just seventeen years of age, Inouye provided first aid to civilian casualties. Later as a pre-med freshman at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in 1943, he enlisted in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated Japanese American unit. Inouye recalled the Nisei's excitement and the ensuing "chaos" that greeted the news that they were approved for enlistment:^[3]

As soon as he [Colonel Clarke] said that we were now eligible to volunteer, that room exploded into a fury of yells and motion. We went bursting out of there and ran—ran!—the three miles to the draft board, stringing back over the streets and sidewalks, jostling for position, like a bunch of marathoners gone berserk. And the scene was repeated all over Oahu and the other islands. Nearly 1,000 niseis volunteered that first day alone, and maybe because I was in better shape than most of them and ran harder, I was among the first 75.^[4]

Nearly 3,000 local Nisei signed up for military service and on April 4, 2,855 enlisted men and twenty-five officers left Hawai‘i for training. Inouye and his fellow Japanese Americans fought in France and Italy, where Inouye lost his right arm in battle in 1945, ending his dreams of becoming a surgeon. He was awarded a Distinguished Service Cross, a Bronze

Star, and a Purple Heart for his heroics on the battlefield. The 442nd became the most decorated outfit in the United States Army with ten unit citations and 3,915 individual decorations, including forty-eight Distinguished Service Crosses and a Congressional Medal of Honor.

Postwar Fate and Activism

After the war, Inouye returned to attend the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa on the G.I. Bill and graduated in 1950 with a bachelor's degree in government and economics. One year earlier he had married Margaret "Maggie" Awamura, his wife for the next fifty-seven years. Their only child, Daniel Ken Inouye, Jr., was born in 1964. In 1952, he earned a law degree from George Washington University and began his law career as deputy public prosecutor for the city of Honolulu. However, his war experiences had fundamentally changed Inouye and other veterans, and they were unwilling to accept their second-class status within society, particularly in light of the lives that had been lost in order to prove the loyalty of the Japanese community. The 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team accounted for sixty percent of Hawai‘i's fighting forces and eighty percent of total Hawai‘i casualties. Of the 7,500 men who joined either of these units, 5,000 were awarded medals, approximately 3,600 of which were for battle wounds. Over 700 hundred died, 700 were maimed, and another 1,000 were seriously wounded.^[5]

According to Inouye, after experiencing the horrors of war and sacrificing countless lives in an effort to prove their loyalty, many Nisei veterans returned to the Islands with a new perspective and desire for change. "So we knew we were expendable," explained Inouye, "but we knew that we had to pay that price. . . and we were willing to pay that price . . . but once we paid that price we wanted our place in the sun."^[6] This desire for political, social, and economic change led many veterans to support the Democratic Party and align themselves with other prominent Nisei who had emerged as leaders within the Japanese community during World War II. Because of the absence of traditional Issei leaders who had been interned, and because of the war-spawned role reversal of traditional Japanese social patterns, prominent Nisei assumed the leadership roles within the Japanese community. They spearheaded organizations during the war such as the Council for Inter-Racial Unity, Morale Committees, and Emergency Service Committee

Political Career

Determined to pursue a career in public service, Inouye became the first Japanese American to serve in the United States House of Representatives in 1959 and later was elected to the Senate in 1962. During his career Inouye held a number of positions, becoming the first Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in 1976 and serving as the third-ranking leader among Senate Democrats as Secretary of the Democratic Conference from January 1979 through 1988. He also chaired the Senate Democratic Central America Study Group to assess U.S. policy and served as Senior Counselor to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America (also known as the Kissinger Commission). During the 1970s and 1980s, Inouye served on the Senate Watergate Committee and was also involved in the Iran-Contra investigations, chairing a special committee from 1987 until 1989.

As a proponent for Asian American causes, Inouye along with other Japanese American members of Congress were critical in the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. When Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) officials first approached Senators Inouye and Spark Matsunaga and Congressmen Norman Mineta and Robert Matsui for advice in February 1979, Inouye suggested the idea of lobbying for a congressional study commission that would issue a report on the factors behind the incarceration of Japanese Americans, rather than a push for monetary compensation from the start. Thus, on August 2, 1979 Inouye and Matsunaga introduced S. 1647, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians Act that led to the creation of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. The commission conducted an official governmental study of Executive Order 9066, and in 1983 issued its findings in *Personal Justice Denied*. The findings revealed that the incarceration of Japanese Americans had not been justified by *military necessity*. Rather, the report determined that the decision to incarcerate was based on "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."^[7] In its findings, the commission recommended legislative remedies consisting of an official government apology, redress payments, and a public education fund to help ensure that this would not happen again.

Following the findings of the commission, Inouye let Matsunaga take the lead in sponsoring the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 that provided an official apology from President George H. Bush and \$20,000 in redress to surviving Japanese Americans who had been incarcerated during World War II. While Inouye did not lobby individual senators like Matsunaga did, his support was essential as his presence as a high-ranking and respected senator who had been in office since Hawai'i gained statehood in 1959, made it difficult for his colleagues to vote against the legislation. At the time, Inouye was secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference and the third-ranking member of the Senate leadership, and had recently risen to national prominence as chair of the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance of Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition (commonly known as the Iran-Contra committee). He was also the fourth-ranking member of the powerful Appropriations Committee and chair of the Select Committee on Indian affairs who had been the keynote speaker at the 1968 Democratic National Convention and member of the Watergate committee in 1973-74. Finally as a distinguished veteran who had served with the all-Nisei 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team, he represented what author Leslie T. Hatamiya describes as "the ideal of the true statesman and patriot,"^[8] having lost a limb for a nation that had incarcerated his fellow Japanese Americans in concentration camps. Inouye's military service and support for redress as well as the efforts of his fellow Japanese American colleagues led the way for the passage of the Civil Liberties Act.

Activities and Awards

Inouye served as the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and of the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee; he was the Ranking Democrat on the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee and the Indian Affairs Committee, and sat on the Rules Committee. He helped establish the Inter-parliamentary Exchange Program between the U.S. Senate and Japan's legislature.

In 2000, the Government of Japan presented him with the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun. In May 2008, Inouye married Irene Hirano, president of the nonprofit U.S.-Japan Council, after his wife Margaret passed away on March 13, 2006. Following the death of West Virginia Sen. Robert Byrd on June 28, 2010, Inouye was sworn in as President Pro-Tempore of the Senate and was serving his ninth consecutive term.

On December 17, 2012, Inouye passed away from respiratory complications at the Walter Reed National Military Medical Center. He was survived by his wife, Irene Hirano Inouye, his son Daniel Ken Inouye Jr., Ken's wife Jessica, and granddaughter Maggie and step-daughter Jennifer Hirano. When Inouye was asked how he wanted to be remembered, he replied, "I represented the people of Hawaii and this nation honestly and to the best of my ability. I think I did OK." His last words were, "Aloha."^[9] Following his death, Hawai'i Governor Neil Abercrombie appointed Lieutenant Governor Brian Schatz to fill Inouye's Senate seat.

For More Information

Asian American Net. "Daniel K. Inouye: United States Senator." <http://www.asianamerican.net/bios/Inouye-Daniel.html>.

Brokaw, Tom. *The Greatest Generation*. New York: Dell Pub., 2001.

Coffman, Tom. *Catch a Wave: a Case Study of Hawaii's New Politics*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

"Daniel K. Inouye." *New York Times*.

http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/people/i/daniel_k_inouye/index.html.

Fuchs, Lawrence H. *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1961.

Hatamiya, Leslie T. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Inouye, Daniel K. *Go For Broke*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1967.

———. *Journey to Washington*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.

———. "No Man is an Island: the Rise of the Nisei in Hawaii." *Paradise of the Pacific* 77.5 (September 1, 1965): 32-34.

Matsuo, Dorothy. *Boyhood to War: History and Anecdotes of the 442nd RCT*. Korea: Mutual Publishing of Honolulu, 1992.

U.S. Senate. "Daniel K. Inouye, Senator for Hawaii: Biography." <http://www.inouye.senate.gov/about-dan/biography>. [Official Senate biography.]

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Daniel K. Inouye, *Journey to Washington* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), 5.
3. Inouye, *Journey to Washington*, 75.
4. Dorothy Matsuo, *Boyhood to War: History and Anecdotes of the 442nd RCT* (Korea: Mutual Publishing of Honolulu, 1992), 44.
5. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1961), 306.
6. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 306.
7. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 18.
8. Leslie T. Hatamiya, *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993), 112.
9. "Statement on the Passing of Senator Daniel K. Inouye," <http://www.inouye.senate.gov/news/press-releases/statement-on-the-passing-of-senator-daniel-k-inouye>, accessed on January 7, 2013.

"[Daniel Inouye](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

December 7, 1941
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese navy launched a surprise military attack against the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor located on the island of O'ahu. The attack on Pearl Harbor was intended to neutralize the United States Pacific Fleet as the Japanese expanded throughout the Pacific region. Despite numerous historical precedents for unannounced military action, the lack of any formal warning by Japan led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to proclaim December 7, 1941, "a date which will live in infamy." The attack on Pearl Harbor, not only brought America into World War II, but raised suspicions of the large Japanese communities on West Coast of the United States and in Hawai'i. However, the changes brought by war were first immediately felt by residents of O'ahu in the hours and days following the attack.^[1]

The Approach and the Attack

At 3:24 a.m. on December 7, 1941, the minesweeper *Condor* sighted a submarine periscope off the entrance to Pearl Harbor. Since this was an area where no American submarine traveled submerged, the *Condor* immediately notified the destroyer *Ward*, which searched the waters for an hour and a half without success. Nearly three hours later, the destroyer answered a similar alert from the target repair ship *Antares* and this time located the submarine, apparently trailing the *Antares* into Honolulu Harbor. The *Ward* fired on the intruder—the first American shots of World War II—and the crippled submarine went down.

As the *Ward* was reporting the incident to the 14th Naval District headquarters, two army privates were completing their three-hour training period at an isolated radar station in the hills between Waialua and Kahuku when they discovered a large number of planes approaching O'ahu from three degrees east of north at a distance of 132 miles. A lieutenant who was serving his second morning of observation assumed that the planes were the B-17s scheduled to fly in from the Mainland and dismissed the matter.

Thus, as early as 6:30 a.m., two Japanese reconnaissance planes flew over O'ahu. They were followed by 360 planes that Japanese carriers 200 miles to the north had launched in three waves. Most of the planes approached the Pearl Harbor area directly from the sea. At about 7:57 a.m., a score of fighters swooped down from the sky to within twenty feet of the ground at the Marine Corps Air Station at 'Ewa, firing on the forty-nine planes closely lined up on the field and riddling them with bullets before heading to Pearl Harbor. Japanese dive bombers immediately targeted Ford Island, in the center of Pearl Harbor, destroying thirty-three of the seventy planes on the field. Japanese pilots then besieged the heavy vessels in "battleship row," adjacent to Ford Island. Almost simultaneously, Japanese fighters attacked Hickam Field next to Pearl Harbor, Kāne'ohe Naval Air Station on the windward side of O'ahu, and Wheeler Field adjoining Schofield Barracks in central O'ahu.

In the first half-hour, Japanese pilots had inflicted significant damage to major American military installations on O'ahu. All seven battleships—the *West Virginia*, *California*,

Arizona, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Nevada, and Oklahoma—had been hit at least once, many sustaining fatal damage. In all, six ships were sunk, twelve were severely damaged, and others suffered minor blows. Hangars, machine shops, guard houses, and barracks were also hit; 2,335 American servicemen, mostly navy personnel, perished. By contrast, Japanese losses were minimal, with twenty-nine aircraft and five midget submarines damaged or destroyed, and sixty-five servicemen killed or wounded. Fires broke out throughout the city including one at the Lunalilo School first aid station. A building next to the school had caught fire and some of the residents had died, trapped behind a wall of flames. Fifty-seven civilians died on O‘ahu that day, and another 280 were injured in fires caused by American anti-aircraft action.^[2]

The Aftermath of the Attack

Soon, radio stations were broadcasting orders to the residents of O‘ahu: "Do not use your telephone. The island is under enemy attack. Do not use your telephone. Stay off the streets. Keep calm...In the event of an air raid, stay under cover." Governor Joseph Poindexter came on the radio to proclaim a state of emergency, and, at 11:41 a.m., the army ordered all commercial radio stations off the air, fearing that Japanese planes could navigate by their signals during another attack. Later that day, the stations returned to the air to announce that Hawai‘i was now under martial law. The statement was broadcast three times: twice in English, once in Japanese.^[3] Poindexter also ordered the mobilization of a Territorial Guard that day. Subsequently, the University of Hawai‘i's Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) was called to duty and its members became the nucleus of the new Hawaii Territorial Guard that was primarily an "anti-sabotage force."

With martial law instituted, constitutional liberties were suspended. Civilian courts were closed, and all government functions—federal, territorial, and municipal—were placed under army control. The commanding general declared himself the "military governor" of Hawai‘i, and controlled the entire civilian population with absolute discretionary powers as a state of emergency had been declared.

Rumors and Uncertainty in Wartime Hawai‘i

Contributing to the atmosphere of anxiety and uncertainty that justified the imposition of martial law were rumors about those within the Japanese population who might engage in sabotage or espionage in the event of an invasion or a further attack. Immediately after the attack, it was alleged that Japanese plantation workers had cut arrows in the cane fields to direct Japanese flyers to Pearl Harbor or had set cane fires as signals. Rumors also circulated that Japanese pilots who had been shot down were found with McKinley High School and University of Hawai‘i rings, implying they were former residents of Hawai‘i. Newspapers reported that Japanese parachutists had landed on O‘ahu and that the city water supply had been contaminated, along with other general acts of sabotage.^[4] Although these rumors remained unsubstantiated, officials eventually detained 1,569 individuals it considered suspicious or dangerous of which 1,444 were of Japanese descent.

The presence of so many "undesirables" in an important military location in a time of war

became the justification for martial law and for the internment of nearly 1,500 Japanese, who were sent first to camps in ‘Ewa and then to the continental United States. Some historians have claimed that martial law and internment were unnecessary as no one was ever convicted of espionage or sabotage. Others have argued the opposite case, claiming that martial law prevented further acts such as the Battle of Ni‘ihau. (See Ni‘ihau Incident.) This singular event that involved the collaboration between a Japanese pilot and Japanese American, served to cast doubt on the loyalty of the nearly 160,000 Japanese in the Islands.^[5] In particular, the approximately 35,500 Japanese aliens, twenty-two percent of the Japanese population in Hawai‘i, were immediately suspect owing to their Japanese citizenship.

To prove their loyalty, the Japanese responded to the war with extensive efforts to mobilize the Japanese community in Hawai‘i and to contribute to the overall United States war effort. Prior to the war, some Nisei and non-Japanese had formed the Committee for Interracial Unity in Hawaii, a multiethnic group of civic and military leaders that included Hung Wai Ching, Charles Loomis, and Shigeo Yoshida, who were appointed to the Public Morale Section, first with the Office of Civilian Defense and a month later under the Office of the Military Governor. Under the Morale Section, various organizations were formed within different ethnic communities, such as the Emergency Service Committee, that was organized to work with the Japanese community. Members of this group worked as liaisons with the military on matters affecting the Japanese community and assured the military of the complete loyalty of the Japanese population. They disseminated information at 209 meetings, contacting approximately 10,000 individuals from February through December 1942, relieving community anxieties during a period when authorities had suspended Japanese radio broadcasts and newspapers.^[6]

In addition to collective activities, many Japanese also responded through individual demonstrations of loyalty. Often holding down more than one job, many Japanese in the islands served as block wardens, Red Cross workers, fire fighters, medical workers, and laborers. They responded to urgent pleas for blood by hosting numerous blood drives and encouraged the purchase of war bonds. As block wardens, they were responsible for patrolling their areas, investigating fire hazards, and enforcing the 6:00 p.m. curfew and blackout regulations established under martial law. Volunteers also manned first-aid stations and the blood bank, and provided emergency ambulance services. In fact, the 800 volunteers who had received emergency medical training under the United Japanese Society in Honolulu went directly from their December 7, 1941, certification ceremonies to the aid of the wounded at Pearl Harbor.

As members of the *kiawe* corps on O‘ahu and Kaua‘i, and of the Menehune Minutemen on the Big Island, Japanese volunteers cleared *kiawe* thickets for evacuation and military camps, built trails, and strung barbed wire along the coastline.^[7] On Sundays, Japanese women devoted their free time to Red Cross activities, such as folding bandages and knitting woolen socks. Others joined the Women’s Division of the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD.) and studied safety measures, disseminated necessary information, and worked on special projects such as Christmas gifts for servicemen. Some young Japanese women even expressed their patriotism by entertaining off-duty soldiers at dances held in Waialua.

Although many of these activities were sincere expressions of patriotism, they were also efforts to deflect the suspicion focused on them as a result of their Japanese ancestry.

In order to prove their loyalty and appear as "American" as possible, the Japanese replaced Japanese radio programs and films with English programs and American films, and a "Speak-American" campaign was launched in the Japanese community.^[8] Many Japanese families also removed family heirlooms from their houses and destroyed them for fear that they would be used as incriminating evidence at an internment hearing. Additionally, many Japanese candidates who had previously been politically active elected not to run for public office during the war because of the politically volatile situation. As one Japanese politician observed, "A kettle that is already boiling should not boil over."^[9] Japanese voters themselves hesitated to support Japanese candidates for fear that it would seem the Japanese community was trying to take over the government. The Japanese community did not want to exacerbate already strained race relations in Hawai'i, as the war provided the opportunity for other ethnicities to express long-standing racial antagonism toward the Japanese.

Although persons of varying ethnic backgrounds had lived and worked side-by-side for many years, there was an undercurrent of anti-Japanese feeling even before December 7. The Japanese attack and the Pacific War caused these latent feelings to surface. The Koreans disliked the Japanese because Japan had subjugated Korea; the Filipinos were angered by the Japanese invasion of their homeland. Others had doubts about the loyalty of Japanese Americans because they followed Japanese customs, went to language schools, and were generally clannish. "Once a Jap, always a Jap" was a phrase often heard in wartime Hawai'i.^[10] Many Japanese understood the hostility and suspicion directed at them as this tension-filled situation ignited racial fears and hostilities.

Conclusion

To many, the Pearl Harbor attack seemed to confirm long-standing fears of the Japanese, enabling the expression of latent anti-Japanese sentiment to emerge both in Hawai'i and the United States. Pearl Harbor not only marked America's entry into World War II, but it also initiated a war within America's own borders to control and contain a population of "undesirables." Martial law and internment reflected the depth of American fears of the Japanese and their assumed disloyalty by virtue of their race that was highlighted in the events of December 7, 1941.

For More Information

Bailey, Beth and David Farber. *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawai'i*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1992.

Dye, Bob ed. *Hawai'i Chronicles III: World War Two in Hawai'i, From the Pages of Paradise of the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov>.

An Era of Change: Oral Histories of Civilians in World War II Hawai‘i. Honolulu: Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1994.

"Pearl Harbor Raid, December 7, 1941." Naval History and Heritage Command.
<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/events/wwii-pac/pearlhbr/pearlhbr.htm>.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971), 7.
3. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 9-10.
4. "Police Say No Evidence of Parachutists," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 8, 1941, 2; "Police Probe Reports of Parachutists," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 8, 1941, 2; "City Water Is Safe to Drink, Ohrt Announces," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 8, 1941, 2; "Sabotage Reported in Waikiki Area," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 7, 1941, 3.
5. Allan Beekman, *The Niihau Incident: The True Story of the Japanese Fighter Pilot Who, After the Pearl Harbor Attack, Crash Landed on the Hawaiian Island of Niihau and Terrorized the Residents* (Honolulu: Heritage Press of the Pacific, 1982), 83; "Hawaiian Who Killed Japanese Aviator on Niihau Isle Honored," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 7, 1943, 2.
6. Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Same De: The Japanese in Hawai‘i 1885-1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 147; *Report of Second Oahu Conference of Americans of Japanese Ancestry, January 28, 1945* (Honolulu: n.p., 1945).
7. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 91.
8. Ibid., 351.
9. Theon Wright, *The Disenchanted Isles: The Story of the Second Revolution in Hawaii* (New York: The Dial Press, 1972), 108.
10. Hazama, *Okage Same De*, 130.

“[December 7, 1941](#)” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Delos Emmons
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Delos Emmons (1888–1965) was a distinguished military career officer who served as the commanding general in Hawai‘i and the head of the Western Defense Command during World War II. Emmons oversaw the implementation of martial law in Hawai‘i and is credited with preventing the mass exclusion of Japanese in the Islands. He also promoted the entry of the Nisei into the military with the formation of the 100th Infantry Battalion and eventually encouraged the end of the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans on the mainland. After serving in a number of positions such as head of the Alaskan Department and commandant of the Armed Forces Staff College, Emmons eventually retired in 1948.^[1]

Emmons' Early Military Career

Delos Carleton Emmons was born on January 17, 1888, in Huntington, West Virginia. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in June 1909 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry. He later transferred to aviation and rose through the ranks, becoming a major general in 1939. He was soon promoted to lieutenant general and became chief of the Air Force Combat Command in June 1941. He replaced Major General Walter C. Short as commanding general of the Hawaiian Department on December 17, ten days after the Pearl Harbor attack. He requested Army Air Force Headquarters to send additional planes to build up the forces in Hawai‘i, anticipating the battle of Midway.

Implementation of Martial Law

Emmons oversaw the implementation of martial law in Hawai‘i following the Pearl Harbor attack. Martial law involved the outright suspension of constitutional liberties as civilian courts were declared closed. Additionally, all government functions—federal, territorial, and municipal—were placed under army control, and a military regime was established. As the commanding general, Emmons held the title of the "military governor" of Hawai‘i and controlled the entire civilian population with absolute discretionary powers.^[2] According to some "Emmons played a key role in the fate of Japanese Americans in Hawaii" by challenging allegations of sabotage made by Navy Secretary Frank Knox.^[3] Emmons is thus credited with preventing plans for the mass forced removal of Japanese from the Islands citing logistical problems, cost, and labor shortages. However, in lieu of mass removal, the army and the FBI quickly rounded up aliens and other suspicious persons in the Japanese community who had been investigated earlier for being disloyal or dangerous during a war. Of the 1,569 persons eventually detained on suspicion of disloyalty, 1,444 were of Japanese descent. Many were asked about their relationship with Japan and the local Japanese community as well as their allegiances and loyalty to America. Eventually, 981 internees were sent to mainland detention camps. The rest spent the early years of the war at Sand Island detention camp and were later moved to Honouliuli Internment Station outside of Ewa on O‘ahu.^[4] Emmons also played a key role in the formation of the 100th Infantry Battalion and supported the entry of Nisei into the military who were partly responding to "extreme insecurity" in wartime Hawai‘i.^[5] During the period of military

rule in Hawai‘i that lasted until late October 1944, some 181 general orders were issued under the names of the commanding general Emmons and Lt. Col. Thomas H. Green, the latter having been given the title of "Executive, Office of the Military Governor." Under that title—and operating from the Office of the Territorial Attorney General at ‘Iolani Palace, which the army had appropriated for its military governor's functions—Emmons and Green collectively controlled much of civilian life and criminal law enforcement in Hawai‘i until mid-1943.^[6]

Emmons authorized Green to extend army control even to the full range of federal administrative functions. These eventually included all the wartime powers exercised by the Office of Price Administration, the War Production Board, the War Labor Board, and other "alphabet industries." The army's general orders in Hawai‘i also controlled wartime wages and working conditions. The military controlled allocations of labor on the plantations, including "sweetheart deals" with the sugar and pineapple plantation companies by which they kept their labor force in place but contracted their workers out to the army's military construction projects. The army won over powerful employer interests and thus gained political influence within the civilian community by criminalizing job switching and absenteeism from work. Under martial law, employees were required to gain employer permission to leave a job. It was an offense to be absent from a job without permission.^[7] Organized business groups, therefore, provided enthusiastic support for army rule.

Emmons' Later Career and Retirement

Returning to the continental United States in June 1943, Emmons was later appointed as the commanding general of the Western Defense Command at Presidio, San Francisco, and is credited for taking steps to end the incarceration of Japanese Americans. In 1944, Emmons headed the Alaskan Department at Fort Richardson and two years later became commandant of the Armed Forces Staff College at Norfolk, Virginia. He remained in that position until he retired on June 30, 1948. Emmons died nearly twenty years later on October 3, 1965 ending a distinguished career that included a number of awards and decorations.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971.
Anthony, J. Garner. *Hawaii Under Army Rule*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai‘i, 1955.

Hazama, Dorothy Ochiai and Jane Okamoto Komeiji. *Okage Same De: The Japanese in Hawaii 1885-1985*. Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986.

Kimura, Yukiko. "Some Effects of the War Situation Upon the Alien Japanese in Hawaii." *Social Process in Hawaii* 8 (November 1943): 18-28.

Niiya, Brian, ed. *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History, Updated Edition, An A-to Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*. New York: Facts on File, 2001.

Scheiber, Harry N. and Jane L. Scheiber. "Constitutional Liberty in World War II: Army Rule and Martial Law in Hawaii: 1941-1946." *Western Legal History* 3.2 (1990): 341-378.

United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

U.S. Air Force. "Lieutenant General Delos Carleton Emmons." <http://www.af.mil/information/bios/bio.asp? bioID=5353>

U.S. Army Pacific. "Biography: Lt. Gen. Delos C. Emmons." http://www.usarpac.army.mil/history2/cg_emmons.asp

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber, "Constitutional Liberty in World War II: Army Rule and Martial Law in Hawaii: 1941-1946," *Western Legal History* 3:2 (1990): 344.
3. Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History, Updated Edition, An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present* (New York : Facts on File, 2001), 159.
4. Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Same De: The Japanese in Hawai'i 1885-1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 132.
5. Yukiko Kimura, "Some Effects of the War Situation Upon the Alien Japanese in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* Vol. VIII (November 1943): 18.
6. J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1955), 10.
7. Ibid., 43.

"[Delos Emmons](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Emergency Service Committee

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

The Emergency Service Committee was an organization comprised primarily of Nisei who sought to prove the loyalty of the Japanese community in Hawai‘i during World War II. During the war, the Committee promoted racial unity by spearheading a "Speak-American" campaign, organizing blood drives and the purchase of war bonds, and collecting funds for the Red Cross and the Army and Navy Emergency Relief Societies. The activities of the Emergency Service Committee demonstrated the loyalty of the Japanese community in Hawai‘i and the activism of its Nisei members who would rise to prominence in the postwar period. However, it also revealed the extreme insecurity and suspicion in Hawai‘i that existed after the Pearl Harbor attack as the Japanese were "definitely on the spot."^[1]

Background

Following the Pearl Harbor attack and the institution of martial law, the Japanese in Hawai‘i faced legal, social, and economic discrimination by the military and the constant questioning of their loyalty. The Japanese community in Hawai‘i responded to the war with extensive efforts to mobilize and to contribute to the overall United States war effort. Prior to the war, some Nisei and non-Japanese had formed the Committee for Interracial Unity in Hawaii, a multiethnic group of civic and military leaders that included Hung Wai Ching, Charles Loomis, and Shigeo Yoshida, who were appointed to the Public Morale Section, first with the Office of Civilian Defense and a month later under the Office of the Military Governor. Under the Morale Section, various organizations were formed within different ethnic communities, such as the Emergency Service Committee, that was organized to work with the Japanese community. The purpose of this organization was to "channel the inherent loyalty of the people of Japanese ancestry into a program of active participation in the war effort" and to counter the "insecurity and fear" they felt after the Pearl Harbor attack.^[2]

Actions of the Emergency Service Committee

Members of this group worked as liaisons with the military on matters affecting the Japanese community and assured the military of the complete loyalty of the Japanese population. They disseminated information at 209 meetings, contacting approximately 10,000 individuals from February through December 1942, relieving community anxieties during a period when authorities had suspended Japanese radio broadcasts and newspapers.

The Emergency Service Committee also spearheaded various efforts in the Japanese community to prove the loyalty of its members. They secured their leadership role within the Japanese community by dissolving Japanese societies and institutions, such as language schools and Shinto shrines that were traditionally considered sources of nationalistic sentiment.^[3] Authorities had interned many of the priests and language teachers immediately following the attack, and they were thus helpless to prevent the dissolution of their organizations. Members also confiscated \$2.4 million dollars in frozen bank assets

from three leading Japanese banks in the territory, and the money was converted into war bond purchases.^[4] Through letters and personal phone calls, they collected \$147,408.75 that was invested in war bonds. In June 1943, members raised over \$10,000 for the "Bombs on Tokyo Campaign."^[5] This concerted effort to control the finances of the Japanese community was designed to eliminate sources of funding and impoverish traditional leaders. While the Office of the Military Governor supported these actions, it was the Nisei who implemented these policies and challenged any sort of alternative discourse on the war through self-censorship of the community.

Under martial law, Japanese newspapers in Hawai'i were ordered to stop their presses and, although no similar orders were issued to other Japanese businesses and institutions, the doors to Japanese schools, Buddhist temples, and Shinto shrines closed as most of the teachers and priests had been interned. Almost overnight the Japanese community was deprived of its social, educational, and religious leaders, which created a void in leadership and aroused anxiety among the Japanese about their future in Hawai'i. This tactic so successfully suppressed leadership in the Japanese community that in 1943 and 1945, with only one exception, there were no individuals of Japanese ancestry in elected office in the territory despite Japanese constituting nearly twenty-nine percent of the total voter pool.^[6] Only a few years earlier in 1941, there were six representatives and one senator of Japanese ancestry in the territorial legislature, along with six Japanese on the county boards of supervisors. Many Japanese candidates who had previously been politically active elected not to run for public office during the war due to the politically volatile situation. In addition, Japanese voters hesitated to support Japanese candidates for fear that the Japanese community would be seen as trying to take over the government.

In order to prove their loyalty and appear as "American" as possible, the Japanese replaced Japanese radio programs and films with English programs and American films, and a "Speak-American" campaign was launched in the Japanese community by the Emergency Service Committee.^[7] These drastic actions reflected an underlying fear in the Japanese community about the tenuous position they occupied during a war with the nation of their origin. The reaction of the Japanese community to the outbreak of war not only reflected the general mobilization of Hawai'i as an important military station but also the anti-Japanese sentiment expressed by other ethnic groups, particularly by the Koreans and the Filipinos. This racial hostility had its origins in the plantation system that exploited ethnic differences between migrant groups to weaken interethnic bonds and strengthen the position of the white management in a strategy known as "divide and rule."^[8] Despite the best attempts of Japanese to be "patriotic" and "American," the war gave new vitality to a long-standing animosity toward Japanese.

According to historian Gary Okihiro, the Emergency Service Committee constituted a "*nisei* counter propaganda system directed against ethnic identity and culture" as the second generation led the way in the self-censorship of the Japanese community.^[9] Many Issei feared venturing beyond their homes because their presence constituted an embarrassment and sometimes danger to the community. "We are afraid. We don't know what to do," testified one Issei. "Even our own children don't let us go out. If we go out, we will be the

focus of hate and revenge. So we stay in the house."^[10] The Nisei, too, were held hostage because of race. They were frequently reminded they were "on the spot" and had to act in ways that would not irritate others or offend whites.

Although persons of varying ethnic backgrounds had lived and worked side-by-side for many years, there was an undercurrent of anti-Japanese feeling even before December 7th. The Japanese attack and the Pacific War caused these latent feelings to surface. Others had doubts about the loyalty of Japanese-Americans because they followed Japanese customs, went to language schools, and were thought to be generally clannish. "Once a Jap, always a Jap" was a phrase often heard in wartime Hawai'i.^[11] Many Japanese understood the hostility and suspicion directed at them as this tension-filled situation ignited racial fears and hostilities, culminating in the internment of nearly 1,500 Japanese in the Islands. Thus the Emergency Service Committee served an important purpose in deflecting anti-Japanese sentiment during the war.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945*. Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd, 1950. Anthony, J. Garner. *Hawaii Under Army Rule*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1955.

Emergency Service Committee. *The AJA—Their Present and Future*. Honolulu: n.p., [1940?].

Hatanaka, Yuriko and Kimie Kawahara. "The Impact of War on an Immigrant Culture." *Social Processes in Hawaii* vol. VIII (Nov. 1943): 36-44.

Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee. *Report of the Emergency Service Committee*. Honolulu: n.p., 1944.

Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee. *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee*. Honolulu: n.p., 1946.

Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee. *Report of the Emergency Service Committee*. Honolulu: n.p., 1945.

Hazama, Dorothy Ochiai and Jane Okamoto Komeiji. *Okage Same De: The Japanese in Hawai'i 1885- 1985*. Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986.

Kimura, Yukiko. "Some Effects of the War Situation Upon the Alien Japanese in Hawaii." *Social Process in Hawaii* vol. VIII (Nov. 1943): 18-28.

Ogawa, Dennis. *Kodomo No Tame Ni: For the Sake of the Children*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Hawaii, 1865-1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Scheiber, Harry N. and Jane L. Scheiber. "Constitutional Liberty in World War II: Army Rule and Martial Law in Hawaii: 1941-1946." *Western Legal History* 3L 2 (1990): 341-378.

Souza, Blaise Camacho. "Boosting Morale is a Cheerful Task on Home Front." *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, Sept. 13, 1999, Fifth Part.

Tsukiyama, Ted. "Hung Wai Ching." http://www.javadc.org/hung_wai_ching.htm.

Yoshida, Shigeo. "Emergency Service Committee." Jun. 1972.

<http://www.100thbattalion.org/archives/puka-puka-parades/wartime-hawaii/emergency-service-committee/>

References

1. Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee* (Honolulu: n.p., 1946), 1; Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Report of the Emergency Service Committee* (Honolulu: n.p., 1945), 1.
3. Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee* (Honolulu: n.p., 1946), 17.
4. Ibid., 19.
5. Ibid., 22.
6. Emergency Service Committee, *The AJA—Their Present and Future* (Honolulu: n.p., [1940?]), 9.
7. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945* (Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd, 1950), 351.
8. Dennis Ogawa, *Kodomo No Tame Ni: For the Sake of the Children* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 7.
9. Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 274.
10. Yukiko Kimura, "Some Effects of the War Situation Upon the Alien Japanese in

Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* vol. VIII (Nov. 1943): 18.

11. Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Same De: The Japanese in Hawai'i 1885-1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 130.

"[Emergency Service Committee](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Fred Kinzaburo Makino
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Newspaper publisher and community activist who fought for the rights of Japanese in Hawai‘i. [1] Makino was born in Yokohama, Japan in 1877 to a British trader, Joseph Higgenbotham, who died when Makino was four, and a Japanese mother from Kanagawa prefecture, Kin Makino. Scholar Tom Brislin describes Makino as "no stranger to scrapes—he grew up an outsider in two cultures." According to Brislin, Makino "grew up in the Japanese traditions of his mother but fluent in the English language of his father."^[2] He came to Hawai‘i in 1899 to join his brother in operating a small store and after working on two plantations, moved to Honolulu and opened Makino Drug Store in 1901.

As Japanese immigrants were prohibited from practicing law, Makino began dispensing legal advice in a law office above the store and became familiar with the legal challenges facing the Japanese community. Makino helped to found the Zokyū Kisei Kai, or the Higher Wage Association, during the 1909 strike along with *Nippu Jiji* editor Yasutaro Soga. In 1909, they were imprisoned together for several months for supporting the "First Great Strike" on the plantations and an increase in wages for Japanese laborers. At that time, both Soga and Makino advocated organized resistance and Soga had expressed deep sympathy for the plight of Japanese workers, criticizing plantation owners for their apparent lack of understanding and for their inhumanity. Later, Soga adopted a more conciliatory position vis-à-vis whites in Hawai‘i, advocating "harmony between the Japanese and the Americans" rather than social protest or legal action.^[3] Soga's policy, which was representative of the position held by many leaders in the Japanese community, was at odds with the stance adopted by Makino who had begun to publish the *Hawaii Hochi* in 1912 as the voice of Japanese laborers. Thereafter, Makino and Soga turned into bitter rivals who publicly debated various issues facing the Japanese in Hawai‘i including the Japanese language school controversy, the fight for citizenship rights, continued labor disputes, and sensational Japanese criminal cases like the Fukunaga murder and Massie case.

Despite his activism on behalf of Japanese immigrants, Makino was one of the few Japanese leaders who was never incarcerated during World War II although the military government had taken over the *Hawaii Hochi* and other Japanese language newspapers. In 1949, Makino suffered a heart attack from which he never fully recovered and he died in 1953 at the age of seventy-six. Currently, the *Hawaii Hochi* still publishes as the lone remaining Japanese language daily in Hawai‘i. It also produces the *Hawaii Herald*, a separate exclusively English publication that continues to provide important coverage of news within the Japanese American community in Hawai‘i.

For More Information

Brislin, Tom. "Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage: Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press." *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs* 147 (December 1995): 1-29.

Center for Labor Education & Research, University of Hawai‘i, West O‘ahu. *CLEAR Biographies of Hawaii Labor History Figures*. <http://clear.uhwo.hawaii.edu/LaborBios.html>

Compilation Committee for the Publication of Kinzaburo Makino's Biography. *Life of Kinzaburo Makino*. Honolulu: n.p., 1965.

The Hawaii Herald: Hawaii's Japanese American Journal. "About the Herald." <http://thehawaiiherald.com/about/>

Kotani, Roland. *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*. Honolulu: The Hawaii Hochi, 1985.

Shiramizu, Shigehiko. "Ethnic Press and Its Society: A Case of Japanese Press in Hawaii." *KEIO Communication Review* 11 (1990): 49-71.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Tom Brislin, "Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage: Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press," *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs* 147 (December 1995): 6.
3. Shigehiko Shiramizu, "Ethnic Press and Its Society: A Case of Japanese Press in Hawaii." *KEIO Communication Review* 11 (1990): 64.

"[Fred Kinazaburo Makino](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Fujinkai
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Despite popular belief that Japanese women were not active in their community, they in fact commonly organized themselves into *fujinkai* (women's clubs) whose main function was to facilitate activities within various churches, temples, and organizations. Although commonly associated with *Jōdo Shinshū* temples, women were also active in other Buddhist sects including *Nichiren* Buddhism as well as Christian churches both in Hawai'i and the Mainland.^[1] While some priests organized *fujinkai*, their wives and members of the congregation also organized these supportive groups. *Fujinkai* are often invisible in the Japanese American historical record, but they provided critical social, financial, and religious support that strengthened its female community.

Early History of *Fujinkai*

Fujinkai have a long history within the Japanese community beginning with the arrival of the large-scale migration of women. Christian women established some of the first *fujinkai* in southern California following the start of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 for the purpose of sending packages and monetary aid to Japan.^[2] They not only engaged in American-style charitable work, previously unknown by Japanese immigrants, but also nationalistic activities. *Fujinkai* members provided food, lodging, and entertainment for members of the Imperial Japanese Navy who stopped over in Los Angeles and collected money and gift packages for the Imperial Japanese forces during the second Sino-Japanese War. According to scholar Brian Masaru Hayashi, these organizations were established by women "who felt they could not express their sentiments freely in committees dominated by Issei males."^[3] Women also formed *fujinkai* within the Buddhist faith. *Kamuela Hongwanji Fujinkai*, for example, was first founded in May 1920, when a group of "enthusiastic young mothers" selected a corner room of a grocery store as the site of their first gathering.^[4] Many of these women were wives of migrant farmers and ranchers and led lives characterized by hard physical labor; working hours were long and pay was minimal. Working under demoralizing conditions, "they needed the teachings of the Nembutsu to give them peace and comfort." *Fujinkai* provided invaluable financial, spiritual, and community support to the early Buddhist and Christian church and the activism of its members was critical to the success of early Buddhist and Christian efforts both at the beginning of Japanese migration and following World War II when temples were closed along with their affiliated *fujinkai*. In April 1954, the thirty-four *fujinkai* organizations in Hawai'i united, eventually forming the Hawaiian Federation of *Honpa Hongwanji* Buddhist Women's Associations (HFHHBWA) with membership exceeding 7,000 participants from different generations, regions, social-economic status, and backgrounds.

"Enno Shitano Chikaramochi," (The Power Behind the Scenes): The Absence of *Fujinkai* in the Historical Record^[5]

Despite the large numbers of Japanese women who participated in or benefitted from *fujinkai*, there has been limited research and scholarship done on these organizations due to a number of related factors. Women's activities have often been ignored as conventional research methodologies have regarded men in organizations as superior in their community. Further, research has often focused on the business, political, and economic areas of community decision-making in which women were assumed unimportant or absent.^[6] Women are seldom perceived as local power elites, and their invisibility in the local community power structure is often taken for granted. Thus, male leaders and priests have been the focus of many religious histories. Women were never regarded to be powerful agents and their participation and influence in the larger community was considered peripheral at best. Yet the contribution of Buddhist and Christian women has been invaluable to the spiritual success of both religions. In Christian churches, *fujinkai* have stressed education and moral reform as well as spiritual and social matters. According to the 1916 constitution of the Japanese Methodist Church *Fujinkai* in California, its purpose was to "encourage women in the faith; to cultivate a virtuous life; and to create a warm fellowship."^[7] Women have also been credited with the continuing vitality and growth of the *Hongwanji* in Hawai'i and the Mainland, explaining why women have been called, "*enno shitano chikaramochi*," or the power behind the scenes.^[8]

Religious Activities

Many women joined *fujinkai* to fulfill both personal and community needs which mobilized them on local, national, and international levels to spread their faith. They were critical to the efforts and survival of Christian and Buddhist organizations as expressed by a metaphor used by the women of the *Honokaa Hongwanji Fujinkai* to explain their role in the church: "The *Kyōdan* [administrative body] can be considered the right hand of the temple, and the Fujinkai its left. The Fujinkai works hand in hand with the *Kyōdan* in all of its functions and projects."^[9] In rural locations on O'ahu such as Wai'anae, Waialua, Kahuku, and 'Ewa, which often experienced a shortage of ministers as they were "shared" among the temples, *fujinkai* members often assumed many of the temple's responsibilities. These responsibilities included preparing the *obuppan* (mounded rice offering) and fresh flowers, and initiating services.^[10] During World War II, when many priests were interned following the closure of temples under martial law, *fujinkai* members played critical roles in maintaining the temples despite their official closure. Accounts of *Waipahu Hongwanji* credit Mrs. Mitsu Deme, wife of interned Reverend Josen Deme, with caring for the temple.^[11] In other instances, when Revered Kakusho Izumi and his family were interned at a camp in Texas during the duration of the war, a devoted member of the *Pāpa 'aloa Hongwanji's Fujinkai*, Mrs. Tomo Sakado, resided at the minister's quarters and took care of the temple until the war ended.^[12] In contrast to Hawai'i, interment effectively ended many of the *fujinkai* on the Mainland as Japanese churches and temples were closed throughout the duration of the war.

As a part of the Buddhist and Christian church from the very beginning, *fujinkai* members perceive themselves as critical to the religious life of the community and of the church

organization itself. *Fujinkai* helped to strengthen their faith, and its female members become bound by a spiritual commonality and sisterhood. Although inherently associated with the Japanese community and active in promoting Japanese values, customs, and language, its outreach extends far beyond the local and into the wider community. Today, many *fujinkai* members assist in youth recruitment efforts by giving financial support to the Sunday school and *Hongwanji* mission school and reaffirm their connection to older members. Besides observing Japanese holidays such as *oshōgatsu* (New Year), many *fujinkai* attached to Buddhist temples also conduct *tsuito-e*, a memorial service for deceased members marking an everlasting membership in a community of believers. They are also active participants in commemoration events like memorial services and *obon*.^[13]

Japanese Christian women also promoted values advocated by evangelical Protestantism, especially *bitoku*, meaning virtue, grace, or noble attribute. To encourage women to become good homemakers and good neighbors, Methodist and Union *fujinkai* in Los Angeles often brought in speakers to discuss motherhood, family health care, childrearing, and flower arranging. To learn about American society, they brought in people to instruct them in American table manners and they visited different sites within the county—Barker Plaza, Frank Wiggins School, the Los Angeles County Farm, and Goodwill Industries. The Methodist *fujinkai* even visited a few non-Japanese churches and studied subjects unfamiliar to them, such as Shakespeare.^[14]

Financial Support

In addition to offering religious and outreach services, women were critical to the financial stability of the temple or church and the larger community. For example, when the Pearl City *Hongwanji*'s temple and adjoining buildings were destroyed by a fire, its *fujinkai* organized numerous bazaars to help raise needed funds.^[15] *Fujinkai* regularly organize fund-raising activities to supplement operational funds for the church or temple and furnish the social hall, kitchen, office, and even the minister's residence. Some organizations like the *Jikōen* and *Hanapepe Hongwanji Fujinkai* organized a *tanomoshi* (mutual financial organization) club as an incentive for members to come to the temple.^[16] As the income of most plantation workers was limited, few were able to borrow from an established financial institution; thus, individuals or organizations like *fujinkai* would facilitate the pooling of investments from interested individuals and then use the monies as needed.^[17]

Personal and Community Empowerment vs. Limits of Traditionalism

Fujinkai activities, which are conducted by embracing their identity of women as "mothers" and "housewives," have both positive and negative attributes. In one way, *fujinkai* allow women access to the public sphere and active membership of the community in ways men cannot easily imitate. These activities have given women a place to exhibit their power and agency in the local community that challenge the dichotomous power relations between men and women. On the other hand, this public emphasis on domestic roles can reinforce stereotypical gender roles. As scholar Allison Jaggar explains, "All communities exert pressure on their members to conform to the prevailing interpretation of their unifying

assumptions and values."^[18] Thus, the gendered aspect of *fujinkai* may subject some members to a prescribed notion of femininity and social empowerment. Further, usually only women with the financial security of the income of other family members can engage in such activities limiting the participation of some and further resigning their role to one of dependency.

Despite these criticisms, it is important to acknowledge the historical contributions and activism of Buddhist and Christian women that spanned over a century and helped to create the Japanese community built upon the perpetuation of social traditions and religious practices that *fujinkai* actively propagated. *Fujinkai* activities create a sphere that cannot be simplistically categorized as "domestic" or "public." Rather their actions were a result of all the possible combinations that Japanese women have engaged in both private and public spheres. Although some may argue that *fujinkai* incorporated domestic skills into the public sphere, it might be more appropriate to propose that women of *fujinkai* utilized cultural identities as mothers, wives, and volunteers to engage in activities to gain and express power in the public arena.

For More Information

Bokemeier, Janet L. and John L. Tait, "Women as Power Actors: A Comparative Study of Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology* 45:2 (1980): 238.

Derby, John. "The Role of Tanomoshi in Hawaiian Banking," *Social Process in Hawaii* 30 (1983): 66- 84.

Hasegawa, Atsuko and Nancy S. Shiraki, eds. *Hōsha A Pictoral History of Jōdo Shinshū Women in Hawaii*. Taipei: The Hawaii Federation of Honpa Hongwanji, 1989.

Hayashi, Brian Masaru. '*For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren': Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism Among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawai'i. <http://www.hawaiibwa.org/>.

Jaggar, Allison M. "Globalizing Feminist Ethics." In *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World*, edited by Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Los Angeles *Koyasan Beikoku Betsuin*. <http://www.koyasanbetsuin.org/>.

Nakano, Mei T. *Japanese American Women: Three Generations 1890-1990*. Berkeley, California: Mina Press Publishing, 1990.

Nakayama, Patsy Y. "The Fujinkai" *Hawaii Herald* 10:6 (March 17, 1989): 18-19.

Nichiren Mission of Hawai'i. <http://nichiren-shu.org/hawaii/3-3.htm>.

References

1. Mei T. Nakano, *Japanese American Women: Three Generations 1890-1990* (Berkeley, California: Mina Press Publishing, 1990), 53; Brian Masaru Hayashi, "For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren": Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism Among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995), 95-107.
2. Hayashi, 96.
3. Ibid., 95.
4. Atsuko Hasegawa and Nancy S. Shiraki, eds., *Hōsha A Pictoral History of Jōdo Shinshū Women in Hawaii* (Taipei: The Hawaii Federation of Honpa Hongwaji, 1989), 91.
5. Ibid., 17.
6. Janet L. Bokemeier and John L. Tait, "Women as Power Actors: A Comparative Study of Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology* Vol. 45, No. 2 (1980): 238.
7. Hayashi, 96.
8. Hasegawa, 17.
9. Ibid., 87.
10. Ibid., 57.
11. Ibid., 59.
12. Ibid., 99.
13. Ibid., 26.
13. Hayashi, 98.
14. Hasegawa, 49.
15. Ibid., 62.
16. John Derby, "The Role of Tanomoshi in Hawaiian Banking," *Social Process in Hawaii* Vol. 30 (1983): 69.
17. Allison M. Jaggar, "Globalizing Feminist Ethics," in *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World*, eds. Uma Narayan and

Sandra Harding (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 9.

“Fujinkai” by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 by rights owner Densho

George Ariyoshi
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Governor of Hawai‘i, 1974–86. A Military Intelligence Service veteran, George Ariyoshi (1926–) was the first Japanese American governor of Hawai‘i and America's first governor of Asian ancestry.^[1]

Personal Background

George Ariyoshi was born on March 12, 1926, the eldest son of Japanese immigrants. His father, Ryozo, arrived in Hawai‘i from Chikujo-gun, now Buzen City in Fukuoka, Japan in 1919 as a twenty-four-year old crewman aboard a Japanese ship. He worked as a stevedore, construction worker, and proprietor of a rice shop, saimin stand, beer parlor, and tofu shop before establishing R & M Dry Cleaning in Kalihi. Ryozo was also a sumō wrestler who wrestled under the name Yahatayama in exhibition bouts on the Big Island where he met his future wife, Mitsue Yoshikawa. As a child, Ariyoshi attended a variety of schools and completed kindergarten in the Wai‘alae area, first grade in Lā‘ie, and he attended Central Intermediate School in downtown Honolulu where his teacher Mrs. Margaret Hamada encouraged him to think about various career options including law. After meeting a local attorney, Arthur Trask, Ariyoshi "decided lawyers help people in trouble, and that is what I wanted to do." From that moment in eighth grade, Ariyoshi embraced law as his goal and was supported by his father who often said to him: "I can give you money, but you can spend it all. If I help you get an education, it will be with you forever."^[2]

In 1944, Ariyoshi graduated McKinley High school as the senior class president, his early years at McKinley shaped by Principal Miles Cary who promoted progressive education. During World War II, Ariyoshi was drafted into the army and served as an interpreter in the Military Intelligence Service in occupied Japan for several months before returning to Hawai‘i. After attending the University of Hawai‘i for a short period under the GI Bill, Ariyoshi finished his education at Michigan State University where he earned a bachelor's degree in history and political science in 1949. Three years later, Ariyoshi graduated from the University of Michigan law school and returned to Hawai‘i to open his own practice. In 1953, at a party given by a mutual friend, Ariyoshi met Jean Miya Hayashi who was a student at the University of Hawai‘i majoring in mathematics and speech. After one year, George and Jean were engaged on her twentieth birthday—October 30, 1954—and the couple married on February 5, 1955. Their engagement came right before he decided to make a successful run for the territorial House of Representative as Ariyoshi became part of the 1954 Democratic Revolution in Hawai‘i.

Political Career

Ariyoshi served in the territorial House until 1958 when he was elected to the territorial Senate where he served until 1970 when he was elected lieutenant governor with Governor John A. Burns. In 1973, Burns fell ill with cancer and Ariyoshi served as acting governor. Following Burns' death, he was officially elected to the position the following year, with Nelson Doi elected as his lieutenant governor. During his second and third terms, Jean

Sadako King and John Waihee served as Ariyoshi's lieutenant governors. During his political career, Ariyoshi guided the state through its first post-statehood economic recession and wrestled with the challenge of land development and population growth and the effect on Hawai'i's limited natural resources. He revised the state's welfare laws that previously allowed newcomers to receive government aid shortly after their arrival. In 1984, Ariyoshi also negotiated an eleventh-hour agreement that prevented a statewide walkout of public workers. According to Ariyoshi, his responsibilities as governor were shaped by his Japanese heritage:

As the first governor of Japanese ancestry, I felt a special obligation, and sometimes a special burden. From my background, I think you can see how the concept of haji came in. In Japanese terms, it was my job to avoid failure, to not bring shame on the family or on our heritage. I had to do well not only for my own sake, but for the sake of many others.^[3]

After term limits prevented Ariyoshi from running for governor in 1986, Ariyoshi held a variety of corporate and nonprofit positions such as the East-West Center's board of governors, Queen's (Medical Center) International Corporation, Bishop Museum, and the Japan-America Institute of Management Sciences. He also served on the board of directors of the Pacific Islands Development Council (PIDC) and Pacific International Center for High Technology Research, was appointed by President Clinton to serve on the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations, and was president of the Pacific Basin Development Council (PBDC). Ariyoshi was also the president and founding member of the Center for International Commercial Dispute Resolution, a member of the Japan-Hawaii Economic Council and honorary co-chair of the Japanese American National Museum. He also served on the advisory board of the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership. This father of three children, Lynn, Donn, and Todd, he holds the distinction of having never lost an election.

For More Information

Ariyoshi, George R. *Hawai'i: The Past Fifty Years, the Next Fifty Years*. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009.

---. *With Obligation to All*. Honolulu: Ariyoshi Foundation: Distributed by University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.

Ariyoshi, Jean M. *Washington Place: A First Lady's Story*. Honolulu: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i, 2004.

"East-West Center Oral History Project: George Ariyoshi." East-West Center website. <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/research/research-information-services/oral-history-project/george-ariyoshi>.

"George Ariyoshi: A Personal History-Part I: The Formative Years." *East West Photo Journal* 1:1 (May 1980): 26-29.

"George Ariyoshi: A Personal History-Part II: The Political Years." *East West Photo Journal* 1:2 (August 1980): 40-43.

"George Ariyoshi on the Transition from Governor to Elder Statesman." ThinkTech Hawaii. <http://vimeo.com/45379182>.

"George Ryoichi Ariyoshi. HawaiiHistory.org. <http://www.hawaiihistory.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ig.page&PageID=420>.

"Governor George Ariyoshi's Patriotism Statement." *Hawaii Herald*, July 4, 1980, 2. "Hawaii Governor George Ryoichi Ariyoshi." National Governor's Association website.

http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page_hawaii/col2-content/main-content-list/title_ariyoshi_george.html.

Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board. *Japanese Eyes, American Heart: Personal Reflections of Hawaii's World War II Nisei Soldiers*. Honolulu: Tendai Educational Foundation: Distributed by University of Hawaii Press, 1998.

"Interview: Governor George R. Ariyoshi." *New Pacific Magazine* 6.1 (January-February 1981): 63-73. Levi, Allieyn Chieko. "George Ariyoshi: His Politics and Family." *Hawaii Herald*, February 21, 1986, 1-13. Udell, Joe. "George R. Ariyoshi." *Hawaii Herald*, November 19, 2010, 16-17.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board, *Japanese Eyes, American Heart: Personal Reflections of Hawaii's World War II Nisei Soldiers* (Honolulu: Tendai Educational Foundation: Distributed by University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 306.
3. George R. Ariyoshi, *With Obligation to All* (Honolulu: Ariyoshi Foundation: Distributed by University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 87.

"[George Ariyoshi](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

GI Bill
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

To address potential problems as a result of an unprecedented number of demobilized veterans following the conclusion of World War II, Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 or the GI Bill. In addition to funding important projects like the construction of hospitals for veterans, unemployment compensation, and low interest farm, home, and business loans, it also paid for veterans to attend college. For Japanese Americans veterans, the GI Bill would enable unparalleled educational and economic opportunities in the 1950s that would result in their political, economic, and social ascendancy.^[1]

History and Impact of the GI Bill

Following World War I, many veterans were given only a train ticket to return home and a \$60 stipend. However, following the Great Depression, Congress implemented the World War Adjusted Act of 1924 or the Bonus Act to address some of the economic problems facing veterans. Although veterans were promised a bonus based on the numbers of days served, many would not be paid for twenty years.

Subsequently, in June 1932 nearly 15,000 to 20,000 veterans marched on Washington D.C. to request early payment of bonuses due to them in 1945. They dispersed only after U.S. troops used tear gas and bayonets. To prevent a recurrence of the Bonus March, veterans' organizations and members of Congress began lobbying for benefits for returning World War II veterans. After great debate, in 1944 Congress approved the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 or the GI Bill. The GI Bill appropriated \$500 million to build veterans' facilities including hospitals. It also approved unemployment benefits of \$20 per week for one year with the U.S. Employment Service providing job placement services. The GI Bill also paid for four years of education and training and a monthly stipend of \$50 was given to single veterans while those with dependents were allocated \$75. Additionally, it guaranteed 50 percent of business, home, and farm loans up to \$2,000 at an interest rate no greater than 4 percent.^[2]

Between August 1945 and December 31, 5.4 million soldiers and sailors were demobilized, double original estimates. Many began to immediately utilize their GI Bill benefits. Most drew unemployment benefits for fewer than twenty weeks, and only 14 percent of them exhausted their maximum entitlement of one year. Over the next few years, 29 percent received government-backed loan guarantees that allowed some 4 million veterans to buy homes at low interest rates. The GI Bill also enabled 200,000 veterans to purchase businesses and farms. However, the greatest success of the GI Bill was reflected in the educational opportunities as nearly 51 percent of veterans benefited from the education provision and almost 2.2 million attended a four year university or college. Over 5.6 million more pursued training in certificate or short course programs.^[3] According to one scholar, the GI Bill was, "without question, one of the largest and most comprehensive government initiatives ever enacted in the United States . . . And in the process of changing so many individual lives, it helped alter the institutional and physical landscape of postwar

America."^[4] Even more than the Pell Grant, the GI Bill created economic opportunities for large populations of various groups in America.

Many of these changes were the result of unprecedented access to higher education that also enabled veterans to stay in school. According to one estimate, these former soldiers gained 2.7-2.9 years of education that allowed 350,000 to enroll in professional and graduate degree programs. Subsequently, veterans were able to obtain better jobs, higher incomes, better benefits, and increased status and social mobility. For minorities like Japanese Americans, the GI Bill enabled unprecedented economic and social progress within a single generation.

GI Bill and Japanese Americans

Following their experiences in war, many Nisei veterans returned to their communities with a new perspective and desire for change. By fighting and dying on behalf of the United States to prove their loyalty, Japanese American soldiers believed they had earned their rightful place as equals within society. Through the GI Bill, many became the first in their families to attend college, with some even attending medical and law schools. Thus, in the postwar period, many Nisei entered professional occupations and became teachers, doctors, and lawyers, while in Hawai‘i, others took advantage of the tourism boom in the 1950s to enjoy unprecedented profits from businesses catering to the burgeoning tourist industry. This desire for political, social, and economic change also led many veterans in Hawai‘i to support the Democratic Party and align themselves with other prominent Nisei who had emerged as leaders within the Japanese community during World War II. Thus the economic and professional gains that many Nisei had achieved in the postwar period as a result of the GI Bill became mirrored in their political ascendancy in the Revolution of 1954 as former soldiers like Spark Matsunaga and Daniel Inouye became United States Senators while MIS veteran George Ariyoshi became the first governor of Japanese ancestry.^[5]

For many Nisei veterans and their families as well as the larger Japanese community, the GI Bill had a profound impact as it resulted in a fundamental shift in the status of Japanese Americans both in Hawai‘i and the mainland. For the first time, large numbers of Japanese Americans were able to envision a future beyond the plantations and produce markets and attain middle-class status as professionals, business owners and homeowners. With the aid of the GI bill, many veterans were able to break down housing restrictions that had previously characterized the prewar period. The GI bill also helped to accelerate generational and leadership changes in the Japanese American community. As a result of the absence of traditional Issei leaders who had been interned, and because of the war-spawned role reversal of traditional Japanese social patterns, prominent Nisei assumed the leadership roles within the Japanese community. While World War II did create great upheaval within the Japanese American community, veterans were able to take advantage of the changes of the period to reshape the future of the ethnic community.

For More Information

Altschuler, Glenn C. and Stuart M. Blumin. *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans*. New

York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Brooks, Charlotte. *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Hazama, Dorothy Ochiai and Jane Okamoto Komeiji. *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawaii 1885- 1985*. Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986.

http://www.gibill.va.gov/Benefits/history_timeline/index.html

Kurashige, Scott. *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Robinson, Greg. *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71.
3. Altschuler and Blumin, *The GI Bill*, 83.
4. Altschuler and Blumin, *The GI Bill*, 83.
5. For more information on the postwar rise of the Nisei, consult Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawaii 1885- 1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 177-218.

“GI Bill” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

***Hawaii, End of the Rainbow* (book)**
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Kazuo Miyamoto (1897–1988) was a Nisei doctor and author who was interned at various incarceration camps for the duration of World War II as a result of the publication of his observations during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). During his incarceration at Sand Island, Miyamoto began writing *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow*, which took him seventeen years to complete. Although a fictional account of the experiences of Japanese immigrants spanning nearly seventy years from their arrival in the Islands to World War II, it provides key insights from a participant in these important events.

Book and Author Overview

Born in ‘O‘okala, Hawai‘i, Miyamoto grew up in a family that included two brothers and three sisters. Miyamoto attended Stanford University and studied medicine at Washington University Medical School in St. Louis, Missouri. Following his graduation, Miyamoto spent nine years in Honolulu as a general practitioner and then traveled to Japan to further pursue his medical career during two years of study.^[1] In the midst of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Miyamoto was able to accompany a friend’s father who was a Diet (parliamentary) member on a two-month trip to China. During these two months, he recorded his observations for future publication entitled *Glimpses of Formosa and China under Japanese Occupation 1937-1939*. However, this publication would have far reaching consequences as it would become the justification for his internment. During his incarceration at Sand Island, Miyamoto began writing *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow*, a fictional account of the events unfolding in his own life. According to Miyamoto, he felt compelled to write this book as “had I not written this story there is perhaps no one else who could have presented it to the world as it actually happened in the concentration camps and relocation centers.”^[2] Miyamoto added that he “did not write in an [vindictive] mood and I did not materially deviate from the truth.” Instead he felt that “what happened is important history and, as such, is recorded so that in the future . . . America may not repeat the gross mistakes of the past” in regards to the rights of minorities.

The first part of the novel centers on the experience of two fictional Issei families—the Aratas and the Murayamas—as they leave Japan to work on the plantations in Kaua‘i and Hawai‘i. Through these characters, Miyamoto depicts the challenges that Japanese laborers faced working under grueling conditions. As they engaged in *hole hole* field work or labored in the plantation mills, they began to establish the fledgling Japanese community with the arrival of picture brides. The second part of the book focuses on the lives of their children and as the Nisei are successfully Americanized, some even sojourn to the mainland for work and education despite growing hostilities between Japan and the United States. The third part of the book centers on the experiences of the Arata and Murayama families during World War II as they are deemed suspect and interned for the duration of the conflict. After being relocated to various internment camps, by a twist of fate the two families who once shared a Waikiki picnic to celebrate their nuptials decades earlier, are reunited in Jerome, Arkansas. With the conclusion of the war, the families are allowed to return home to Hawai‘i to begin the challenge of rebuilding their lives.

Reaction and Impact

Although reviewer Martin J. Sherwin was critical of Miyamoto's "welter of peripheral matters and lines of weak dialogue," Sherwin acknowledged the value of Miyamoto's work as "it serves as a symbolic expression of a new era of 'acceptance' and success for Japanese-Americans."^[3] Scholar Stephen H. Sumida also noted the importance of Miyamoto's book as "the most comprehensive novel yet written of the history of Hawaii's Japanese immigrants and their children" as it transcends the traditional narrative of the Japanese American success story.^[4] Unlike other novels that are limited to the prewar history of the Issei, Miyamoto and other authors like Milton Murayama bridge the story of Japanese Americans before and during World War II to encompass what the *Christian Century* described as "whole unhappy story."^[5] Appropriately, Miyamoto ends his novel with his characters gazing at Diamond Head on their return trip home as they still longed to return to Hawai'i, "a still-shimmering dream at the rainbow's end."^[6]

Following its publication, *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow* (1964) was translated into Japanese and published under the title of *Hawai nisei monogatari* (1968). In addition to establishing a flourishing medical practice, Miyamoto wrote two other books, *Vikings of the Far East* (1975) and *One Man's Journey: a Spiritual Autobiography* (1981). As one of the first published fictional accounts written about Hawai'i internment by a former internee, *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow* remains an important work in Japanese American literature. ^[7]

For More Information

"Before the bombs fell: A look at pre-war Hawaii." *Hawaii Herald* 1:14 (December 5, 1980): 1-6. "Kazuo Miyamoto," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 19 February 1988, D-2.

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Glimpses of Formosa and China Under Japanese Occupation in 1939*. [Tokyo, 1939]. Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow*. Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1964.

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Hawai nisei monogatari*. Tokyo: Doho Kyokai, 1968.

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *One Man's Journey: a Spiritual Autobiography*. Honolulu: The Buddhist Study Center, 1981.

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Vikings of the Far East*, New York: Vantage Press, 1975.

Newman, Katherine. "Hawaiian-American Literature Today: The Cultivation of Mangoes" *MELUS* 6:3 (Summer 1979): 46-77.

Okihiro, Michael M. "Japanese Doctors in Hawai'i" *Hawaiian Journal of History* 36 (2002): 105-117. Review of *Hawaii: End of the Rainbow*, by Kazuo Miyamoto. *Christian Century* (March 18, 1964): 366.

Sherwin, Martin J. Review of *Hawaii: End of the Rainbow*, by Kazuo Miyamoto. *Pacific Historical Review* 33:4 (Nov., 1964): 490-491.

Sumida, Stephen H. *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.

References

1. Kazuo Miyamoto, *Vikings of the Far East* (New York: Vantage Press, 1975), About the Author; Kazuo Miyamoto, *One Man's Journey: a Spiritual Autobiography* (Honolulu: The Buddhist Study Center, 1981), 84-85.
2. Kazuo Miyamoto, *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow* (Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1964), 9.
3. Martin J. Sherwin, review of *Hawaii: End of the Rainbow*, by Kazuo Miyamoto, *Pacific Historical Review* 33:4 (Nov., 1964): 491.
4. Stephen H. Sumida, *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 216.
5. Review of *Hawaii: End of the Rainbow*, by Kazuo Miyamoto. *Christian Century* (March 18, 1964): 366.
6. Sumida, 217.
7. Katherine Newman, "Hawaiian-American Literature Today: The Cultivation of Mangoes" *MELUS* 6:3 (Summer 1979): 69.

"[Hawaii, End of the Rainbow \(book\)](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

***Hawaii Hochi* (newspaper)**
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

The *Hawaii Hochi*, one of the largest Japanese-language newspapers in Hawai‘i was founded on December 7, 1912. Initially published in Japanese, in 1925 an English section called the "Bee Section" was added for the growing Nisei readership. Under the ownership of Frederick Kinzaburo Makino, the *Hochi* played a critical role in events within the Japanese community, publicizing issues such as the 1909 and 1920 strikes and the Japanese language school controversy. Currently, the *Hawaii Hochi* still publishes as the lone remaining Japanese language daily in Hawai‘i. It also produces the *Hawaii Herald*, a separate exclusively English publication that continues to provide important coverage of events, news, and issues within the Japanese American community in Hawai‘i.

Background of Frederick Kinzaburo Makino

Frederick Kinzaburo Makino was born in Yokohama, Japan, on August 27, 1877. His father, Joseph Higgenbotham, was a merchant/trader from Manchester, England. His mother was Kin Makino from Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan. His father died in September 1881, when Makino was only four years old, and not much is known about Makino's formal schooling, aside from his ability to read, write, and speak both English and Japanese. In 1899, at the age of twenty-two, Makino came to Hawai‘i to join his two brothers, who had emigrated earlier, and immediately went to Na‘ālehu to work at his brother's general store. In short succession, he worked for the Kona Sugar Company and then the Honoka‘a Sugar Company as a bookkeeper.

In 1901, he left the Big Island and moved to Honolulu, where he opened the Makino Drug Store at the corner of Nu‘uanu Avenue and Hotel Street. Two years later he married Michiye Okamura of Kaua‘i in April 7, 1903 and opened a "law office" above his drug store. At that time Japanese immigrants faced numerous immigration and other legal problems but there were no Japanese lawyers. Although Makino did not possess a law degree, he served as a consultant for them.

The 1909 Strike and the Establishment of the *Hawaii Hochi*

In 1909, Japanese workers initiated a strike on the island of O‘ahu which "in every respect . . . was the most important labor conflict that had ever occurred in Hawaii up to that date."^[1] It marked a fundamental shift from previous labor movements in its character and impact, as it extended far beyond the plantations to involve the planter elite, high-ranking government authorities, and influential leaders within the Japanese community. Unlike previous strikes, this particular work stoppage was the result of nearly eight months of deliberations, meetings, and discussions by Japanese plantation workers on the issue of their salaries and their need to increase them. It was also remarkable for its scope and scale, as it became an island-wide strike involving Japanese laborers from the various plantations on O‘ahu. This strike not only resulted in nearly \$2,000,000 in losses for plantation owners, but also led to Makino's arrest, along with prominent Japanese newspaper reporters and editors including *Nippu Jiji* editor Yasutaro Soga, whom officials charged with conspiracy to initiate violence

on behalf of their cause. They were held responsible for the various riots and disturbances that occurred during the strike.^[2] Ultimately, the planters broke the strike but made a number of concessions to laborers, including higher wages, better housing facilities, and improved sanitation conditions. However, it was the leaders of the strike who bore the brunt of the planters' wrath. They were tried and found guilty of conspiracy, sentenced to ten months in O'ahu Prison, and fined \$300.

After his release from prison, Makino became dissatisfied with the leadership of the Japanese community, particularly Soga's conciliatory attitude toward planters. In December 1912, Makino founded the *Hawaii Hochi* to present an alternative perspective in the Japanese community and in the first issue stressed its "non-party and independent status" to protect the "rights and interests of the Japanese."^[3] During the early years of its publication, the *Hawaii Hochi* ran into a number of difficulties, as none of his employees, including Makino himself, had any experience in publishing a newspaper. Often Makino was unable to pay his rent, telephone bill, and his employees' salaries. He even had difficulty purchasing printing paper. Eventually, Makino was forced to pay cash for everything because no one was willing to extend him credit. Undaunted, Makino sold his drugstore inventory below wholesale prices to raise funds, diverted income from his law practice to pay for newspaper expenditures, and his wife even sold the pigs that she had raised in the backyard of their Mānoa residence.

The Activism of the *Hawaii Hochi*

Despite a difficult start, the *Hawaii Hochi* under the leadership of Makino became one of the most active organizations that supported various causes in the Japanese community. Soon after its founding, the newspaper began criticizing immigration officials who forced Japanese picture brides and their grooms to be married en masse in a Christian ceremony upon arrival. As a result of these protests, the director of immigration ended this practice of these "assembly line" marriages. The *Hochi* also spearheaded efforts to gain citizenship for Japanese soldiers who fought for the United States during World War I; as a result, 400 veterans became United States citizens. In 1919, the *Hochi* appealed for the unity of Japanese and Filipino workers in their common grievances against plantation owners that came to fruition in the 1920 strike.

During that same period, the *Hochi* became active in the language school controversy as Japanese language schools became subject to increasingly discriminatory rules and regulations that led to the closure of many schools. Makino himself led the legal challenge against these regulations and in 1927 the U. S. Supreme Court agreed that these regulations of language schools were unconstitutional. The *Hochi* also became involved in two high profile crimes involving Japanese defendants—the Myles Fukunaga case and the Massie Trial—that to Makino seemed to illustrate the existence of a dual system of justice that privileged the rights of whites at the expense of ethnics.

As part of the *Hochi's* efforts to broaden its community reach, in 1925 Makino introduced an English section, called the Bee for its sting. The Bee specifically appealed to Nisei who preferred to read news events in English. Bee editor George Wright was an Ohio mining engineer who moved to Hawai'i in 1917 as a machinist for the navy and was fired in 1925

for union activities.^[4] During his career at the *Hochi*, Wright developed into an accomplished journalist who was most famous for bringing the topic of the language schools before the English-reading public. According to newspaper scholar Helen Geracimos Chapin, both the English and Japanese sections of the *Hochi* became highly readable when it "adopted the tabloid form, which came into its own in the United States in the 1920s, its half-sheet format featuring big headlines and lots of photos."^[5]

World War II and the Legacy of Makino

Despite the activism of the *Hochi* under the leadership of Makino, Makino was never arrested or interned during World War II. Some have claimed that the "FBI was afraid that if they arrested Makino without good cause, he might file a lawsuit against them after the war."^[6] Others have argued that in the process of investigating Makino, authorities realized that Makino's "opinions and actions were always independent and the authorities could find no relation between Makino and the Japanese government" and thus could not find cause to arrest him. Scholar Masayo Umezawa Duus also attributed Makino's lack of internment to the fact that after the war began, Makino reportedly met with Robert Shivers, head of the FBI's Hawai'i office for a number of "clandestine meetings."^[7] While no one is sure about the purpose of these meetings, Makino was never arrested although he himself had expected the possibility. During the war the *Hawaii Hochi* was renamed the *Hawaii Herald* in an attempt to deflect anti-Japanese sentiment. However, it eventually returned its original banner of the *Hawaii Hochi* in January 1952.

After the war, the *Hochi's* editorials were distinctly less radical than before, in part due to the deaths of three important people to Makino and the staff of the newspaper. On May 24, 1931, Kosaka Hoga, who had been editor-in-chief from 1915 to 1930 died suddenly. Joseph Lightfoot, a lawyer who had worked on behalf of Makino and his causes including the language school controversy, also died shortly after the winning of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case. Finally, during the war, George Wright, the paper's English editor since 1925, died on December 10, 1944. Five years later, after returning from a trip to Maui, Makino suffered a heart attack and never fully recovered. On February 17, 1953, at the age of 76, he died at Queen's Hospital leaving behind a beloved wife and a formidable legacy of activism in the press. More than 1,000 attended the Buddhist funeral service for Frederick Makino. Even the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, which once fought the *Hochi* over its coverage of events in Hawai'i, placed Makino's photo and obituary on page one.^[8]

The *Hawaii Hochi* Today

Japanese newspaperman Konosuke Oishi of the *Shizuoka Shimbun* purchased the *Hawaii Hochi* in 1962 and decided that Hawai'i's Japanese American community needed a publication of its own for the growing population of Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei who could not read Japanese. Oishi and *Hawaii Hochi's* president and publisher Paul S. Yempuku created a new *Hawaii Herald* in March 1969 as a weekly eight-page tabloid for an English audience and had a four year run. The *Hawaii Hochi* still publishes today as the lone remaining Japanese-language daily in the Islands.

A new all-English, twice-monthly version of the *Hawaii Herald* debuted in 1980 and is now in its 32th year. The *Herald's* comprehensive and varied coverage chronicles the past achievements and events and current concerns within the Japanese American community. In addition to articles written by award-winning writers and journalists, calendars and community focus items relating to the Japanese American community continue to keep the community abreast of relevant events and activities.

For More Information

Chapin, Helen Geracimos. *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

Duus, Masayo Umezawa. *The Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.

Fourth Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1910. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

Fred Kinzaburo Makino: A Biography. Honolulu: n.p., 1986?.

The Hawaii Herald. "About the Herald." <http://thehawaiiherald.com/about/>.

Hawaii Hochi Printing. <http://www.thehawaiihochi.com/>.

"Rites Slated Tomorrow for F. K. Makino." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 18, 1953, 1.

Sakamaki, Shunzo. "A History of the Japanese Press in Hawaii." Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1928.

Shiramizu, Shigehiko. "Good Old Days of the Press: Two Great Men in the Japanese Community." Paper presented to Hawaii Newspaper Project Reporter "Political Role of Newspapers in Hawaiian History" (Honolulu: sn, 1986): 1-13.

Shiramizu, Shigehiko. "Ethnic Press and Its Society, A Case of Japanese Press in Hawaii." *Keio Communication Review* 11 (1990): 49-71.

Wakukawa, Ernest. *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*. Honolulu: The Toyo Shoin, 1938.

References

1. Ernest Wakukawa, *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Toyo Shoin, 1938), 169.
2. *Fourth Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1910* (Washington:

Government Printing Office, 1911), 62.

3. Shigehiko Shiramizu, "Ethnic Press and Its Society, A Case of Japanese Press in Hawaii," *Keio Communication Review* 11 (1990): 64-65.
4. Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 144.
5. Ibid.
6. *Fred Kinzaburo Makino: A Biography* (Honolulu: n.p., 1986?), 5.
7. Masayo Umezawa Duus, *The Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 335.
8. "Rites Slated Tomorrow for F. K. Makino," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 18, 1953, 1.

["Hawaii Hochi \(newspaper\)"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Hawaii Territorial Guard

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Following the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7th, Hawai‘i's governor, Joseph B. Poindexter ordered the mobilization of a Territorial Guard around 10:00 a.m. Subsequently, the University of Hawai‘i's Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) was called to duty and its members became the nucleus of the new Hawaii Territorial Guard that was primarily an "anti-sabotage force." Other individuals, including many from high school ROTC units, were rapidly enlisted, and soon the guard numbered 35 officers and 370 men. The Territorial Guard doubled its membership the second day of the war, and by December 31, it had 89 officers and 1,254 men on guard at 150 posts. General Short estimated that it relieved six companies of infantry for combat duty.

Members were assigned to guard important civilian locations including the governor's residence at Washington Place, bridges, pumping station, wells, the territorial archives, water tanks, and high schools as Punahou School and Farrington High School which were used as emergency hospitals. Guardsmen were also stationed at the FBI office, courthouses, electric substations, and telephone exchanges. Some patrolled Kaneohe Hospital, Fort Armstrong Post Exchange, and even the headquarters of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company. One of the guard's responsibilities was to oversee the eviction of Japanese Americans from approximately thirty areas considered militarily sensitive. One location was Lualualei Homesteads, adjacent to a munitions storage facility near Pearl Harbor. Although it is unlikely that any Nisei participated in the removal of Japanese families from Lualualei Homesteads, this event revealed the growing community fear of Japanese Americans that resulted in discharging individuals of Japanese American ancestry from the Territorial Guard after six weeks without explanation or warning. On January 21, 1942, Colonel Thomas Green, aide to General Delos Emmons inactivated the Territorial Guard "due to the fact that the police force has been augmented and improvements in the protection of vital installations have been increased." The Headquarters unit was maintained and at least one Japanese American was temporarily retained to type out discharge papers for their colleagues.

Subsequently, the discharged guardsmen petitioned the military governor "for whatever service you may see fit to use us" and were accepted into a labor battalion attached to the 34th Combat Engineers Regiment. Although officially known as the Corps of Engineers Auxiliary these Varsity Victory Volunteers, or VVV's as they called themselves, lived for eleven months at Schofield. The average age of the group was twenty; twelve were recent college graduates and nearly all others were university students. During that time they labored on O‘ahu, quarrying rock, stringing barbed wire, and building dumps, military installations, roads, and warehouses. At their request, they were inactivated a year later in order to respond to the call for army volunteers and many became members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers,

1950.

Dye, Bob ed. *Hawaii Chronicles III: World War Two in Hawai‘i, From the Pages of Paradise of the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000.

"Hawaii Territorial Guard." Excerpt from interview with Yoshiaki Fujitani. The Hawaii Nisei Story website, http://nisei.hawaii.edu/object/io_1153542159624.html.

Odo, Franklin. *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawaii during World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
-

["Hawaii Territorial Guard"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Hawaii War Records Depository

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

The Hawaii War Records Depository (HWRD) is a collection of archival materials at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa that documents life in Hawai‘i during World War II. In April of 1943, the Hawai‘i Territorial Legislature passed a joint resolution designating the University of Hawai‘i as the official depository of material related to Hawai‘i's war experience. As a result of this legislation, the Hawaii War Records Depository was established. The majority of the collection was collected during the depository's early years of existence and contains invaluable memorabilia and other materials that provides critical insight into Hawai‘i's World War II history.

History

Prior to the formation of the Depository, the Department of Sociology of the University of Hawai‘i had been involved in research in the field of race relations. Shortly after the outbreak of war, during the spring of 1942, field work commenced by a small group of student volunteer assistants and continued throughout the war. In 1943, following the territorial resolution designating the University of Hawai‘i as "the official depository of material, documents, photographs, and other data relating to Hawai‘i's part in the war between the United States and Germany, Japan, and Italy," the university Board of Regents appointed a committee composed mostly of university faculty to direct the project.^[1]

The committee employed librarians, researchers, and archivists to staff the depository and space to house the collection was designated within at the library which was then located in George Hall on the University of Hawai‘i campus. A considerable number of personal and private documents, such as letters, journals, diaries, and confidential reports, were made available to the War Research Laboratory through the staff of reporters and student assistants and in response to requests by radio and newspapers. According to University of Hawai‘i sociologist Andrew Lind, "The assurance of anonymity to the informants, and the appeal of an objective and impartial presentation of the 'facts' brought forth documents showing the most varied viewpoints, from the most rabid of race-baiters to the most sentimental of racial romanticisms."^[2] Particularly insightful are the perceptions of the Japanese by other groups within Hawai‘i's community during the war that are found in the collection. These information reports are scattered over the various islands and represent the middle and upper strata of Island society, from plantation managers to office clerks. Some eighty former university students and others also assisted in recording the opinions and sentiments of wider cross-sections of the population in their respective communities.

Additionally, government departments, civil war agencies, armed forces, and large corporations that specifically wrote reports of their wartime activities donated a large portion of the collection to the Hawaii War Records Depository. The original catalogue comprised seventy-three major headings with additional subheadings. Often, these subheadings represented the creating agencies of documents in the collection with materials originating from over 200 creators.

Publications and the Present

In May of 1947, the territorial legislature empowered the University's Board of Regents to publish a history of Hawai'i's contribution to the war with the names, pictures, and biographies of Hawai'i's soldiers who died during the war. Lloyd L. Lee, a member of the depository staff, compiled a memorial volume entitled *In Freedom's Cause* that was published by the University of Hawai'i Press in May 1949. One year later, Gwenfread Allen wrote *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945*, a history of wartime Hawai'i based on the materials in the Hawaii War Records Depository.

Currently, researchers have access to the Hawaii War Records Depository that continues to accept donations in accordance with Hawai'i Revised Statutes. However, there is no longer an official Hawaii War Records Committee at the university and it does not employ a full staff to actively manage the collection. It is currently housed at Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and parts of its collections have been digitized.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1950.

Lee, Lloyd L. *In Freedom's Cause: A Record of the Men of Hawaii Who Died in the Second World War*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1949.

Lind, Andrew W. *Hawaii's Japanese, An Experiment in Democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946.

http://libweb.hawaii.edu/digicoll/hwrd/HWRD_html/HWRD_welcome.htm

“Hawaii War Records Depository” by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Hiroshi Honda
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Hiroshi Honda was a Nisei from Hawai‘i who was interned during World War II as a result of his early life and experiences in Japan. Honda, who received art training in his youth, was one of a handful of artists who captured the daily life of internees in the camps while he himself was interned. Although Honda would leave his wife and children in Hilo after the war to pursue an art career in New York, his children would preserve his sketches and watercolor paintings, which provide an invaluable visual record of the nuances of camp life for thousands of interned Japanese Americans.

Background in Hawai‘i and Japan

Hiroshi Honda was born in Hilo, Hawai‘i, around 1913. His father, who was of samurai lineage from Kumamoto, had immigrated to the Islands at the turn of century seeking greater financial opportunities after clan obligations impoverished the family. Honda grew up in Hilo until he was sent to Japan at the age of six to live with the family of a childless uncle where it was expected he would take over the responsibility of operating the family store. While in Japan, Honda received art training in *sumi-e* brush painting as well as the hand painting of *mon* or family crests on kimono. As a young man in Japan, Honda was drafted into the Japanese air force, in which he served for seven years before being wounded accidentally in a non-combat plane crash. In 1939, his mother traveled to Japan to take him home to Hilo.^[1] As a Kibei who spent much of his boyhood in Japan, Honda found work teaching at the Japanese language school in the Hilo Honpa Hongwanji Mission while occasionally working as a commercial artist. In 1940, he met Sadako Hashida, a young Nisei woman from the plantation community of Pāpa‘ikou, Hawai‘i who had recently returned to Hilo after the death of her mother. For years, she had been living in Honolulu, where she was trained as a seamstress. After the couple married, they moved back to Honolulu.

Honda taught in a Japanese school in Nu‘uanu and lived on Metcalf Street when Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7, 1941. Honda spent much of the morning providing medical attention for the children who had been at Sunday school during the raid. When he returned home, military police immediately took him away for questioning. Authorities believed that Honda posed a potential threat as a Kibei who had served in the Japanese military.

Internment

Honda was initially interned on Sand Island, leaving his pregnant wife alone to bear their first child, Richard, in May 1942 at the Queen's Hospital in Honolulu. Regular visits to see Honda was difficult for Sadako, as she and other visitors needed to be ferried to Sand Island by boat as a bridge connecting it to the island had not yet been built. Later that year, when officials informed Honda that he and others would be transferred to camps on the United States mainland, Sadako applied to accompany her husband, submitting to voluntary internment with the rest of the family.

On the eve of their departure in late 1942, already aboard the Matson line's passenger ship *Lurline*, which had been fitted with blackout equipment for the voyage from Hawai'i to the West Coast, officials unexpectedly removed Honda from the ship. However, Sadako, her infant son, father, and elder sister, Nettie, were forced to make the journey. The separation of the family lasted several months as they were moved from camp to camp.

Sadako and the family were sent first to Jerome, Arkansas, and transferred to camps in California sometime in 1943. Her sister and father were sent to Manzanar while Hiroshi, Sadako and their young son were assigned to the Tule Lake segregation center that was designated for Kibei, draft resisters, renunciants, and other suspected individuals. Despite increased restrictions, a daughter Aileen was born in August, 1944, and a second son Edward, followed in July 1945, only four months before the Hondas and others were released from Tule Lake and other camps.

Postwar Life and Separation

After the war, the family did not return to Hawai'i for several years because of travel restrictions as well as Honda's desire to pursue his studies as an artist with Yasuo Kuniyoshi, who was teaching in New York City. The family remained in New York for about five years, during which time Sadako provided primary support through employment as a seamstress in a custom dress shop. By the time the two youngest children were ready to start school, the family moved back to Hilo in 1949, where Honda was encouraged to join Sadako's family's agricultural business. Honda, however, had other plans than becoming a farmer. Not long after their return, he went back to New York, leaving his wife and children. Sadako, living alone with three children to raise, received help from Hiroshi's younger brother, Robert, who had returned from Europe after serving with the "F" company of the celebrated 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Sadako and Robert eventually married to keep the family together. Although fragments of information suggest that Hiroshi Honda also remarried and continued to work and live in New York at least until the 1970s, details of his life and his art after the war remain elusive.

Work of Hiroshi Honda

The surviving body of work by Hiroshi Honda from World War II includes three sketchbooks, a single relief print, and some fifty watercolors that were discovered and preserved by his youngest child, Edward Honda. According to art professor Marcia Morse, "The sketchbooks display a well-developed natural ability for visual notation and accuracy in rendering."^[2] In his drawings, Honda explored a variety of subjects, ranging from young children, landscapes, and versions of traditional Buddhist imagery. Although there is a clear evolution in the style of his art, there is evidence to suggest that Honda revisited some ideas, painting about one camp while actually a resident in another. The fact that Honda would return to certain ideas, themes, or subjects in his painting coupled with the lack of actual dates on the work make establishing a firm chronology difficult.

Honda's work embraces four distinct styles of representation. One group of work, including sketchbook materials and a few watercolors dated in 1942, places him at a site in Wisconsin,

possibly Camp McCoy (which he referred to as "Camp Ma-koe") and the Jerome Relocation Center.^[3] They are characterized by what Morse describes as "a strong sense of contour line and light modeling with color values using a distinctive cool palette heightened with earth tones."^[4] Another group is more expressionist in manner with distinctive foliage and camp environs. The third, a variation on the second, retains the expressionist handling of materials but with the influence of Japanese brush painting. The subject of these paintings is predominantly the Tule Lake camp, where one author claims that Honda asserted his cultural identity in the form of "elegant landscapes in which Mount Shasta seems indistinguishable from Mount Fuji and rows of barracks might possibly be a Japanese village."^[5] The fourth style, which shows evidence of a different kind of attitude and perhaps schooling, is clearly influenced by a cubist sensibility as images are "intersected with lines evoking paths of light, shifts in color, facets of reflection." This style was one Honda carried with him after the war when the family settled in New York.

The collection of works by Hiroshi Honda is a poignant personal record of artistic maturation within a tumultuous period. It not only reveals the transformation of his artistic sensibilities, but also documents his experiences in the internment camps as art became an outlet for personal expression within a highly regulated environment. The images of beauty within the art are a striking contrast to the desolate isolated environment of many camps, testifying to the optimism and endurance of the human spirit.

For More Information

Morse, Marcia. "The Art of Hawaii's Hiroshi Honda." In *Reflections of Internment: the Art of Hawaii's Hiroshi Honda*. Honolulu: Stylist Printers Inc., 1994.

Muromoto, Wayne. "Art Behind Barbed Wire." *Hawaii Herald* October 7, 1988, 16.

Owens Valley History. "Hiroshi Honda."
<http://www.owensvalleyhistory.com/manzanar8/page17f.html>.

Ty-Tomkins, Nikki. "From Behind Barbed Wire." *Honolulu Weekly* 4:40 (October 5, 1994): 11.

References

1. Nikki Ty-Tomkins, "From Behind Barbed Wire," *Honolulu Weekly* 4:40 (October 5, 1994): 11.
2. Marcia Morse, "The Art of Hawaii's Hiroshi Honda," in *Reflections of Internment: the Art of Hawaii's Hiroshi Honda* (Honolulu: Stylist Printers Inc., 1994), 13.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

5. Ty-Tompkins, 11.

[“Hiroshi Honda”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Husband E. Kimmel
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Commander-in-chief of the U.S. fleet on December 7, 1941 and "scapegoat" for the Pearl Harbor attack.

Husband E. Kimmel (1882–1968) was born in Henderson, Kentucky, on February 26, 1882, and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1904. During his career, he served on several battleships and commanded two destroyer divisions including a destroyer squadron and the *USS New York*. In 1937, Kimmel was promoted to rear admiral after holding important positions in the navy. In February 1941 he became commander in chief, U.S. Fleet and Pacific Fleet, with the temporary rank of admiral and was in command of Pearl Harbor when the Japanese attacked. Within ten days after the attack, Kimmel and Lt. General Walter C. Short, army commander in Hawai‘i, were relieved of command and charged with being unprepared for the attack.

Kimmel, who immediately retired from the navy as a rear admiral, was often blamed for the Pearl Harbor attack. The charges generally pointed to errors in judgment, such as the misuse of radar, failure to coordinate and pass on intelligence, failure to use reconnaissance aircraft properly, and failure to read staff estimates of the situation. He was also criticized for underestimating the potential for a Japanese attack among other errors.^[1] To his death, Kimmel maintained that he could not have been any more prepared without adequate warning of the impending attack and charged that information was available in Washington that was not made available to him. Kimmel said that neither he nor Short was informed of the status of negotiations with Japan in Washington in November 1941 or advised of the final U.S. message to Japan on November 26 that has been referred to as an "ultimatum."^[2] From 1942 through 1946, there were nine different investigations, eight of which concluded that Kimmel and Short were "guilty not of dereliction of duty but of efforts in judgment."^[3] Yet, none of the reports recommended their ranks be restored. In 1995, Senator Strom Thurmond with the support of Kimmel's and Short's families, formally requested a Defense Department inquiry that resulted in an investigation under the direct supervision of Edwin Dorn, then the undersecretary of defense with responsibility for manpower and readiness matters. The result was the Dorn report which found that "while Kimmel and Short were guilty of errors of judgment, they were not solely responsible for the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor, and others in Washington and on their staffs in Hawaii should share some of the blame."^[4] Efforts of the families of two men to restore the ranks of these two men have come close to being successful but Kimmel and Short have yet to be fully exonerated. Kimmel passed away at Groton, Connecticut, on May 14, 1968, after a heart attack and was survived by his wife Dorothy Kinkaid Kimmel and two sons, Capt. Thomas K. Kimmel, USN, and Edward Kimmel.

For More Information

"Admiral Kimmel." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 15, 1968, A-20.

Borch, Fred and Daniel Martinez. *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor: The Final Report Revealed*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2005.

Husband, Kimmel E. *Admiral Kimmel's Story*. Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1955.

"Rear Admiral Husband Edward Kimmel, USN, (1882–1968)." Naval Historical Center website, <http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/pers-us/uspers-k/h-kimml.htm>.

Prange, Gordon W. "Tora, Tora, Tora, the Untold Story of Pearl Harbor." *Reader's Digest* 83:499 (Nov. 1963): 274-324.

"'Scapegoat' of P.H. Attack Dies." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 15, 1968, A-1, A-4.

References

1. Fred Borch and Daniel Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor: The Final Report Revealed* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2005), ix.
2. "'Scapegoat' of P.H. Attack Dies," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 15, 1968, A-4.
3. Borch and Martinez, vii.
4. Borch and Martinez, ix.

["Husband E. Kimmel"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Ingram M. Stainback
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Lawyer, judge, and Hawai‘i's ninth governor, Ingram M. Stainback (1883–1961) fought against martial law during World War II.

Stainback was born on May 12, 1863, in Somerville, Tennessee. He graduated with honors from Princeton University and the University of Chicago where he obtained a doctor of jurisprudence law degree. He came to Hawai‘i in 1912 and after two years was named territorial attorney general, serving until 1917. Stainback resigned that year to serve in World War I and following his discharge at the rank of major, he was a member of the Territorial Food Board and Public Utilities Commission. In 1922, Stainback married Cecile White of Springfield, Missouri, in California and they returned to Hawai‘i where he practiced law. In June 1934, President Roosevelt named him U.S. district attorney succeeding Sanford B.D. Wood, and he held the post until September 1940 when he was appointed to the federal bench.

Between 1942 and 1951 Stainback was Governor of Hawai‘i, serving longer than any other chief executive. As governor, he fought against the military to lift martial law. William Francis Quinn in a statement paying tribute to Stainback said Stainback's term as governor during World War II, "was a most difficult period of great trial for Hawaii, and as Governor he showed great courage in facing the problems which the war and post-war re-adjustment created."^[1] Garner Anthony who served as territorial attorney general during World War II noted that Stainback's "insistence upon the supremacy of the civil power is sufficient to give him a lasting place in history. It required courage and statesmanship of a high order. On these large issues Governor Stainback stood firm in the face of powerful critics."^[2] Despite praise for his actions during World War II, during his career as governor, Stainback also earned the lifelong enmity of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) by signing the Dock Seizure Law that the union had been fighting in every session since 1949 to have repealed. It provided for the taking over of waterfront operations by territorial authority so that ships could sail to and from Hawaiian waters and bring to the Islands urgently needed supplies.^[3] He said later in a public talk that the law "prevented Communist from tying up the docks," as he took a firm stand against what he believed were Communist efforts to infiltrate Hawai‘i's economy and government.^[4] Thus, during Congressional hearings on Hawai‘i statehood in 1950, Stainback testified that while he has been "a very hearty advocate of statehood," he nevertheless felt that "that at this time there is considerable danger to the national government if Hawaii is admitted to statehood at this time" due to the threat of communism.^[5]

In 1951, President Truman appointed Stainback to serve as an associate justice of the territorial Supreme Court. Following his retirement from the bench Stainback was involved in two big stockholder battles with Olaa Sugar Co. and Pioneer Mill Co. He led the minority stockholders' fight that challenged American Factors' (Amfac) contract with Olaa Sugar Co. and was one of the major dissenters in the unsuccessful struggle to keep Pioneer Mills from

merging with Amfac. After battling a chronic illness, Stainback was found dead at his home by his housekeeper.

For More Information

"He Stood Up for Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 13 April 1961, 6.

Hollingsworth, Louise. "Wartime Fight for Isle Civil Control To Give Stainback Niche in History." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 April 1961, 12-A.

"Ingram M. Stainback," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 April 1961, B-2.

"Ingram Stainback Dies, Former Governor, Judge," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 April 1961, 1, 1-A.

Scheiber, Harry N., and Jane L. Scheiber. "Bayonets in Paradise: A Half-Century Retrospect on Martial Law in Hawaii, 1941–46." *University of Hawai'i Law Review* 19 (1998): 477–648.

Turner, Charles. "Death Ends Stainback's Colorful Career in Hawaii." *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 April 1961, A-17.

References

1. Charles Turner, "Death Ends Stainback's Colorful Career in Hawaii," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 April 1961, A-17.
2. Louise Hollingsworth, "Wartime Fight for Isle Civil Control To Give Stainback Niche in History," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 April 1961, 12-A.
3. "He Stood Up for Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 13 April 1961, 6.
4. "Ingram Stainback Dies, Former Governor, Judge," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 12 April 1961, 1-A.
5. Turner, A-17.

["Ingram M. Stainback"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

J. Garner Anthony
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

J. Garner Anthony (1899–1982) was a prominent lawyer and served as Hawai‘i's territorial attorney general and Hawai‘i Constitutional Convention delegate who fought against the imposition of martial law in the Islands during World War II.^[1]

Born in Philadelphia in 1899, Anthony served as a field artillery sergeant in World War I. Following his graduation from Pennsylvania's Swarthmore College in 1923, he received his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1926. That same year, he married the former Dorothy McClaren, moved to Hawai‘i and was admitted to the local bar. Anthony, who was president of the Bar Association of Hawai‘i from 1937 to 1939, was known primarily as a top business lawyer until the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor when he became one of the most outspoken opponents of martial law. In 1942, Anthony wrote in the *California Law Review*, "No statute authorizes the chief justice to close the courts, nor is there any authority in the Organic Act (the federal law under which Hawaii became a territory) for the complete delegation of power by the governor and the appointment of a military governor."^[2] In 1942, Anthony was appointed territorial attorney general and in this capacity continued to work for the return of civil government to Hawai‘i. In a talk before the University of Hawai‘i graduating class of 1943, Anthony was also critical of suggestions made soon after the start of World War II that persons of Japanese descent be removed from the Islands stating, "Those suggestions, which fortunately are no longer current, savor of fascism in one of its ugliest forms, the mass condemnation of people simply because of the accident of birth—their racial ancestry."^[3]

In late 1943, Anthony resigned as attorney general and became involved in a case to challenge the legality of convictions of civilians by military courts. On February 24, 1944, a Pearl Harbor civilian worker fought with a Marine sentry outside the navy base. A military provost court convicted the civilian of assault and sentenced him to six months in jail. As the attorney for the worker, Anthony sought the release of his client on the grounds that the military court had no authority over a civilian. Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger agreed with Anthony's argument and ruled that the military had no authority over a civilian and could not send him to jail. The Army appealed the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court and in 1946, two years after the incident, the Supreme Court upheld Metzger's ruling, establishing a legal landmark decision that all provost court convictions against civilians during the martial law period were illegal.

As a result of his experiences, Anthony wrote a book, *Hawaii Under Military Rule*, detailing the social, political, economic and legal implications of martial law. Later, Anthony was a member and chairman of the judiciary committee of the 1950 State Constitutional Convention. In 1958, he was appointed to the Hawai‘i Statehood Commission and the University of Hawai‘i Board of Regents by his former law partner, Governor William Quinn. Anthony also headed the 34-member committee appointed by the Hawai‘i Supreme Court in 1962 to help modernize procedures in Hawai‘i's courts. He served on the Hawaii Advisory committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission that was investigating voter registration in

the U.S. south and housing discrimination in New York City. In 1960, Anthony was a member of the policy making House of Delegates of the American Bar Association, served on its board of governors, and was one of ten U.S. delegates to the International Bar Association's biennial conference in Salzburg, Austria.

In addition to his national and international service to the legal profession, Anthony also served as president of Queen's Hospital, was a director of Foremost Dairies, served as chairman of the board of Honolulu Rapid Transit Co., and was a member of the Samuel Northrup and Mary Castle Foundation. Anthony died in 1962, survived by his wife Dorothy and a son, Garner, who was chairman of Cox Enterprises.

For More Information

"Anthony dies—argued against Isle martial law." *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 3, 1982, A-16.

Anthony, J. Garner. *Hawaii Under Army Rule*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.

---. "Martial Law in Hawaii." *California Law Review* 30.4 (May 1942): 371-396.

---. "Martial Law, Military Government, and the Writ of Habeas Corpus in Hawaii." *California Law Review* 31.5 (December 1943): 477-514.

"J.G. Anthony, Martial Law Foe, Is Dead at 82." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 2, 1982, A-1.

"J. Garner Anthony." *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 4, 1982, A-18.

"J. Garner Anthony, Distinguished Attorney." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 2, 1982, A-18.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. "Anthony dies—argued against Isle martial law," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 3, 1982, A-16.
3. "Anthony dies—argued against Isle martial law," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 3, 1982, A-16.

["J. Garner Anthony"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Japanese Language Schools

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Since the establishment of Japanese communities in Hawai‘i and on the mainland, many Japanese children have attended Japanese language schools that were often associated with Buddhist or Christian churches. However, Japanese language schools soon became sites of controversy as some whites perceived them as institutions that taught not just language but supported nationalistic Japanese sentiment.^[1]

Historical Background of Japanese Language Schools

To develop a more stable labor population and ensure Japanese children could easily transition to schools upon their return to Japan, both sugar planters in Hawai‘i and their Issei parents encouraged the growth of Japanese language schools that also provided needed childcare services for Japanese laborers who worked during the day.

In 1893, Reverend Shigefusa Kanda established the first Japanese language school at Kohala on the island of Hawai‘i, followed by Methodist missionary Reverend Tamaki Gomi's school on Maui. In Honolulu, Reverend Takie Okumura, a graduate of Dōshisha University of Theology began Honolulu's first Japanese school, the Honolulu Nihonjin Shōgakkō (Japanese Elementary School), with thirty students in 1896. Classes were held after public school for one to two hours and students six years and older could attend. Following the efforts of Christians, in 1898, the Hongwanji or Jōdoshinshū (the True Pure Land Buddhist sect) Honpa Hongwanji opened three Japanese schools on the Big Island, followed by one on Kaua‘i in 1900. In Honolulu, Reverend Hiseki Miyazaki started the Hongwanji Fuzoku Shōgakkō (elementary school attached to Hongwanji) in 1902 with 162 students. Although Christian and Buddhist schools competed for students, both of their curricula were based on the presumption that the children would return to Japan with their families.

The first Japanese language school in North America that was also one of the oldest non-religious Asian language schools in the United States was the Seattle Kokugo Gakkō or Japanese National Language School, established in July 1902. In California, a Christian couple, Mr. and Mrs. Keizō Sano, established the Nihon Shōgakkō (Japanese Elementary School) in 1902 at a San Francisco home between O'Farrell and Ellis streets; the following year Hongwanji Buddhist missionaries started Meiji Shōgakkō on Polk Street. In 1903, another Hongwanji-affiliated school, the Sakura Gakuen, opened at the southern end of Sacramento town. Despite the economic struggles of the schools and the lack of children, the schools became an integral part of the Japanese community.^[2]

At Japanese language schools, students studied Japanese language, culture, and other subjects from Japan's national curriculum. The schools were primarily supported by tuition and subsidized by the ethnic communities and by the sugar planters in Hawai‘i; occasionally the Japanese consulate also supported students. While some teachers were hired locally, many were recruited from Japan. Schools would submit a request to the Japanese consulate who forwarded their requests to the Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbushō). Those selected were usually certified, experienced teachers and in many cases, a couple were

recruited together to operate a language school.

Historical Controversy Surrounding the Japanese Language Schools

Despite their innocuous beginnings—other ethnic groups had their own language schools after all—Japanese language schools soon became embroiled in controversy as they became associated with labor movements, issues of loyalty and national allegiance, and growing local and national anti-Japanese sentiment. In Hawai‘i, Japanese Buddhist priests and language instructors played a significant role in the 1920 strike and officials subsequently believed that language schools were important institutions in the indoctrination of a

"Mikado-worship" that inculcated these migrants with anti-American attitudes.^[3]

In 1920, the Federal Commission of Education, reporting on the status of public instruction in Hawai‘i, noted the existence of 163 Japanese language schools educating nearly 20,000 students. The commission concluded that Nisei students who attended the schools "are being retarded in accepting American customs, manners, ideals, principles, and standards," as these schools formed considerable "obstacles" to the Americanization of the second-generation Japanese.^[4] The report recommended that the language schools' functions be assumed by the public education system. To many in Hawai‘i, such a suggestion coincided with their belief that the maintenance of the language schools was an un-American act by minorities who wished to preserve their ties to their homeland. As such, in April 1923, the legislature enacted the Clark Bill that imposed a yearly one-dollar tax per language school student. This bill was designed to curb the operations of the language schools and in response many schools temporarily closed their doors rather than pay the discriminatory tax.^[5]

The same critiques spread to California where the language school issue became tied to issues of land ownership as anti-Japanese exclusionists associated the language schools with pro-Japanese sentiment. In an effort to pass a more stringent alien land bill in 1919, exclusionists made the Nisei the focus of their anti-Japanese sentiment. On August 2, 1921, the Parker Bill went into effect that required that teachers and administrators at foreign language schools be licensed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, demonstrate knowledge of American history and English language skills, and pledge to make pupils good and loyal American citizens. Hours of operation were further restricted and the Superintendent of Public Instruction was given full control over the course of study, textbooks, and the right to issue and revoke teaching permits.^[6]

Collectively, these events and attitudes supported a growing anti-Japanese movement in the continental United States and Hawai‘i, as Japanese were increasingly confronted by a series of rulings and laws that federal and local authorities specifically enacted to control the Japanese "threat." In 1922, territorial officials charged and convicted the 1920 strike leaders for conspiracy, the same year that the United States Supreme Court denied the petition of Hawai‘i resident Takao Ozawa for the right to citizenship in the landmark case of *Ozawa v. United States*. Two years after the *Ozawa* ruling, Congress passed the 1924 Exclusion Act that effectively banned Japanese migration to Hawai‘i and the United States and prohibited travel to America. Collectively, these events signaled a new era of tighter

oppression by political and economic leaders in Hawai‘i and by federal officials in Washington. Eventually, Japanese language school teachers and principals would be among the first to be apprehended and incarcerated during World War II; that war also marked the closures of these schools to promote American attitudes and behaviors.

Japanese Language Schools and Nisei Identity

Despite white fears of the anti-American influence of the language schools, evidence suggests that Japanese language schools were far from effective in terms of importing language ability and allegiance to Japan. According to author Bill Hosokawa, "many Nisei resented the time they had to devote to Japanese language school as well as the discipline they had to endure."^[7] As such, language schools failed to impart sufficient fluency to the Nisei. During World War II, when military officials sought Japanese linguists skilled in interpretation, translation, and interrogation for intelligence activities, very few individuals qualified. In an initial survey of 3,700 Nisei, Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS) officials deemed only three percent accomplished linguists. They considered another four percent or so proficient and they found that another three percent could only be useful after a prolonged period of training.^[8] The vast majority of Nisei seemed more American than Japanese and were less fluent in Japanese than previously believed. These findings not only seemed to indicate the success of Americanization campaigns and Japanese language school closures, but also that American fears of Japanese espionage that were used to justify the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans were unfounded. Ironically, it became evident to military officials that a special training school would be required to transform the Nisei into competent Japanese linguists who would serve a critical role in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS).

After the war, the Japanese language schools reopened and students continued to attend Japanese language classes after attending English school although not to the degree or extent as earlier periods. Further research is needed on the importance of the Japanese schools in increasingly multicultural communities and its impact on future generations and Japanese American identity.

For More Information

Asato, Noriko. *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, California, and Washington, 1919-1927*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006.

Hanaoka, Yoichi. "The Japanese Language School; Is it a Help or a Hindrance to the Americanization of Hawaii's Young People." *Friend* xcvi (April 1927): 79-89.

Hosokawa, Bill. *Nisei: The Quiet Americans Revised Edition*. Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2002.

Ichioka, Yuji. *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006.

MacCaughey, Vaughan. "Some Outstanding Educational Problems of Hawaii." *School and Society* 9 (January 1919): 100-101.

Matsubayashi, Yoshihide. "The Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii and California from 1892 to 1941." Ed. D. diss., University of San Francisco, 1984. *MISLS Album, 1946*. Nashville: Battery Press, 1946.

Morimoto, Toyotomi. *Japanese Americans and Cultural Continuity: Maintaining Language and Heritage*. New York: Garland Pub., 1997.

Ogawa, Dennis M. *Kodomo no tame ni: For the sake of the children, The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978.

Tamura, Eileen H. "The Americanization Campaign and the Assimilation of the Nisei in Hawaii, 1920 to 1940." Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 1990.

United States. Office of Education. *A Survey of Education in Hawaii, Made Under the Direction of the Commissioner of Education*. Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1920.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Noriko Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, California, and Washington, 1919-1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 45. It is important to note that the social milieus in which Japanese language schools emerged was considerably different in each region due in part to the rate of attendance. In Hawai‘i, over 20,000 Nisei, or 97 percent of the school-aged population attended Japanese language schools in 1920. In contrast, only 3,000 California Nisei, or 42 percent of all Nisei students in public schools attended Japanese language schools and only 489 students in Washington representing approximately 30 percent of Japanese American students. Asato, 109.
3. Vaughan MacCaughey, "Some Outstanding Educational Problems of Hawaii," *School and Society* 9 (January 1919): 100-101; Eileen H. Tamura, "The Americanization Campaign and the Assimilation of the Nisei in Hawaii, 1920 to 1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 1990), 16.
4. United States Office of Education, *A Survey of Education in Hawaii, Made Under the Direction of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1920), 134.
5. Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo no tame ni: For the sake of the children, The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 143-144.

6. Asato, 67.
 7. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans Revised Edition* (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 159.
 8. *MISLS Album, 1946* (Nashville: Battery Press, 1946), 8
-

[“Japanese Language Schools”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

John Aiso
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

John Fujio Aiso (1909-87) was a renowned Nisei lawyer and judge who made invaluable military contributions during World War II as the head instructor of the Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS). After serving with distinction during the war and throughout the occupation of Japan, Aiso embarked upon a distinguished legal career in California, holding a number of judicial posts until his retirement in 1983. Tragically, Aiso died after a mugging attack a few years later, but he left behind a remarkable legacy of achievement.^[1]

Aiso's Early Life

John Aiso was born December 14, 1909, in the Los Angeles suburb of Burbank and experienced prejudice at a very young age. One of his earliest memories was being called a "Jap" by an elderly woman on a streetcar. He became an outstanding student to challenge those who made derogatory comments about his ancestry.^[2] In 1922, he successfully ran for the office of student body president at LeConte Junior High School in Hollywood. However, because of protests by parents, student government was suspended until Aiso graduated.

Aiso first attracted national attention in 1926 by winning the school's oratorical contest on the U.S. Constitution, but he was forced to withdraw from the state finals to coach his high school colleague, second-place winner Herbert Wenig, to a national championship in Washington D.C. Aiso had also been selected as the valedictorian of his class, and the school principal, Dr. Snyder, told him to forgo participating in the oratorical contest as it would be too much responsibility. Regarding this incident, the *Rafu Shimpo* at the time reported, "because of jealousy against two honor . . . John Aiso gives up participating in the speech contest . . . Son of our countryman is cursed by detestable racial discrimination. . . How sad, [that this occurs] even in the educational world."^[3]

Despite these setbacks, Aiso went on to graduate from Brown University and Harvard Law School, eventually establishing a successful law practice in New York. During the course of his legal career, Aiso travelled to Japan, where he pursued his study of legal Japanese, engaged in translations and interpretations, and taught English to prominent Japanese in business and community circles. Upon his return to the United States, after serving as legal advisor and director of the British American Tobacco Company in Manchuria from 1937 to 1941, he was conscripted into the army. Within months he was released from active duty to serve as chief instructor for the hastily-formed MISLS.

Aiso's Role at the MISLS

By the summer of 1941, a group of intelligence specialists in the Military Intelligence Division of the U.S. War Department were frantically preparing for an almost inevitable war with Japan. Colonel Carlisle Dusenberry, Wallace Moore, Rufus Bratton, and Clarence Heubener were convinced that Japanese Americans were loyal to America and that they were the only Americans capable of performing Japanese language military intelligence.

Approvals were obtained to establish a Japanese language military intelligence school at the Presidio in San Francisco with a budget of \$2,000. Lt. Col. John Weckerling, a former Japanese language assistant military attaché in Tokyo, was assigned to be General John DeWitt's assistant chief of staff for intelligence and commandant of the proposed school.

Scanning the results of Captain Kai Rasmussen's interviews of 4,000 draftees in army training camps along the West Coast, Weckerling selected Pvt. John Aiso at Camp Hahn in Riverside, California, to become the chief instructor of the new school because of his educational credentials and knowledge of Japanese. Although Aiso had been working in the motor pool at Camp Hahn, a job he was ill-suited for, Aiso was reluctant to take the appointment. Aiso agreed only after Weckerling told him, "John, your country needs you." Having been berated in America as a "Jap" and socially discriminated against in Japan as a "son of an emigrant," Aiso often felt like a "man without a country."^[4] Moved by the colonel's words, Aiso consented.

At the Presidio of San Francisco, Aiso was originally assigned as a student, but was soon promoted to assistant instructor and then head instructor. At this time, Aiso was introduced to Akira Oshida and Shigeya Kihara, who worked with Aiso as civilian Japanese instructors. Together with Oshida and Kihara and several other civilian instructors, Aiso prepared teaching materials and the school was formally opened on November 1, 1941.

Following the outbreak of war on December 7, 1941, and the forced removal of Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast to incarceration camps, the school was transferred from San Francisco to Camp Savage, Minnesota, and placed directly under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Army, Military Intelligence Division. The army provided personnel, logistical, and administrative support, but the doctrine, development, and implementation of the program remained with John Aiso, now the director of training.

MISLS Instructors and Students

During the formation of the school, Aiso combed Japanese communities and incarceration centers for instructors. Kibei with high school and university educations in Japan, particularly from Waseda and Meiji Universities were chosen. Similarly, 100th Battalion transferees from Camp McCoy were picked. Vernacular newspaper reporters and Japan-America trading company employees who had lost their jobs at the outbreak of war were also good candidates. Top students from each class were kept on for a year or so after graduating to serve as instructors. Eventually, Aiso developed a staff of over 150 supervisors, curriculum developers, and teachers. Shigeya "Shig" Kihara, one of the original four instructors of the Japanese language program recalled the diversity of the students at the language institute:

They came from varied backgrounds: nisei and kibei-nisei; city slickers and country boys; college grads and kids just out of high school; Hawaii buddhaheads and Mainland kotonks. There were Caucasians and BIJs (born in japan). ROTC officers and OCS students from the universities, Marine officer graduates, and even Canadian Japanese military

intelligence specialists. There were classes of Chinese American and Korean American GIs, as well as nisei and Caucasian WACs. Also had to somehow manage to fit them all into the constantly evolving mosaic of the MIS training program.[5]

In December 1942, 100 individuals were recruited from Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, where the 100th Infantry Battalion from Hawai'i was training. In June 1943, 250 more came from Camp Shelby, Mississippi, where the 442nd Regimental Combat Team was training. In September 1942, Sgt. Edwin Kawahara, Cpls. Kenji Goto, Benjamin Tashiro, Masaji Marumoto, and Randolph Ideue were sent to Hawai'i and came back with 350 volunteers. As the war dragged on, Aiso graduated class after class and, by the end of the war in 1945, Aiso had turned out over 6,000 military intelligence specialists. General Charles Willoughby stated that the MIS men shortened the war by two years and saved a million lives.

At the conclusion of the war, the curriculum was changed to civil affairs in order to prepare students for occupation duty in Japan. MIS men participated in the rebuilding of Japan as a democratic ally of the United States and laid the foundation for the economic revival of Japan.

In January 1946, Aiso was given a direct commission as major and was assigned to General Willoughby's Civil Information Section as a legal assistant. He retired from the army in 1947 and reentered the practice of law in Los Angeles. After the war, he served as a Superior Court Commissioner until 1952, when he was appointed a Los Angeles Municipal Court judge—the first Nisei to hold a U.S. judicial post. In 1957 he was elevated to Superior Court judge, and in 1968, Governor Ronald Reagan promoted him to the 2nd District Court of Appeals.

Aiso's Distinctions and Awards

Aiso would pass away in December 29, 1987, two weeks after a fatal mugging outside a mini-market gas station on Hollywood Boulevard, tragically ending a distinguished career marked by a number of accolades. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded Aiso the Legion of Merit for his service during World War II. In 1984, the Emperor of Japan awarded him the 3rd Class Order of the Rising Sun for his contributions to understanding and friendship between the United States and Japan. Aiso was also inducted into the Military Intelligence Corps Hall of Fame in 1991. Today, the Aiso Library at the Defense Language Institute (DLI) Foreign Language Center is named for his contributions as the chief instructor of the MISLS. In the Little Tokyo community of Los Angeles a one block segment of San Pedro Street between Temple Boulevard and 1st Street has been renamed Judge John F. Aiso Street in his honor.

For More Information

Aiso, John. "Japan's Military System Must Be Crushed." *Vital Speeches of the Day* 10: 5 (December 15, 1943): 136-138.

Bess, Demaree. "California's Amazing Japanese." *Saturday Evening Post* 227: 44 (April 3, 1955): 38-83.

California Courts. "John F. Aiso, Biography." <http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/AisoJ.pdf>.

Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center, Aiso Library.
<http://dlilibrary.monterey.army.mil/aisolib.htm>.

Japanese American Veterans Association. "Military Intelligence Hall of Fame."
<http://www.javadc.org/Hall%20of%20Famers.htm>.

Ichinokuchi, Tad, ed. *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II*. Los Angeles: The Club, 1988.

Kihara, Shig. "In Memory of John Aiso." *Hawaii Herald*, February 5, 1988, Section B.

Morrison, Patti, and Santiago O'Donnell. "John Aiso, Prominent Nisei and Jurist, Dies After Mugger's Attack." *Los Angeles Times* December 31, 1987.
http://articles.latimes.com/1987-12-31/local/me- 7802_1_john-aiso.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Tad Ichinokuchi, ed., *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II* (Los Angeles: The Club, 1988), 5.
3. Ichinokuchi, *John Aiso and the M.I.S.*, 6.
4. *Ibid.*, 15.
5. Shig Kihara, "In Memory of John Aiso," *Hawaii Herald*, February 5, 1988, Section B.

"[John Aiso](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

John Burns
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Governor of Hawai‘i, 1962-74. John Anthony Burns (1909–1975) dominated Hawai‘i's post-World War II politics by forging a coalition of returning Japanese American veterans and the membership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in the Democratic Party. As the territorial party chairman, Burns helped recruit candidates who won control of the Territorial Legislature for the Democrats in 1954. As a political candidate, Burns lost races in 1946, 1948, and 1954. In 1956, however, he became the first Democratic delegate to Congress since the Depression. Although he lost the 1959 state gubernatorial election to Republican William Quinn, Burns won by an overwhelming margin of victory three years later in 1962 and was reelected to two more terms.^[1]

Early Life

Burns was born into a military family at Fort Assiniboine, Montana, in 1909. The family followed Sergeant Major Harry Burns to Hawai‘i in 1913, only to be deserted by him shortly after he was discharged from the U.S. Army for stealing funds. From 1918, Burns and his three siblings were raised by his mother Anne Florida Burns, who gave her firstborn the religious foundation of his life. However, young Jack Burns was an indifferent student who frequently challenged the authority of St. Louis School. Eventually Burns was sent to Kansas to live with his uncle for two years. After dropping out of school and serving in the U.S. Army for a year, Burns returned to Hawai‘i, where he graduated from St. Louis School at the age of twenty-one. Burns enrolled in the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, but within a year married an army nurse, Beatrice (Bea) Van Vleet in 1931 and dropped out of school. With the start of the Great Depression, Burns took a number of jobs and moved from Hawai‘i to California and back.

In 1934, when Burns was twenty-five years old, he began his career as an officer in the Honolulu Police Department. However, on October 7, 1935, Bea Burns, seven months pregnant, was stricken with polio. Bea lost her third child and would be paralyzed and unable to use her legs for the rest of her life. As Bea tried to mitigate the paralysis, on December 14, 1935, the day after she returned home from the hospital, Burns was involved in an automobile accident amid reports that he had been drinking. At this crucial point in his life, his mother stepped forward and gave her son a large dose of "tough love" which changed his life.

Early Career and Political Aspirations

During World War II, Burns received an assignment that reshaped his destiny. In early 1941, Burns was made the head of the Honolulu Police Department's Espionage Bureau to assess the loyalty of the Japanese population in Hawai‘i which constituted 37 percent of the population. Through this assignment, Burns came to know the Japanese community and key individuals who later joined the Democratic Party.

By the end of World War II, Burns left the police department to become a politician to begin

a revolution to put an end to privilege and to give every citizen an equal opportunity. Achieving his "impossible dream" did not come quickly or easily.^[2] It would be nine years before "The Revolution of 1954" would take place in Hawai'i and eleven years before John Burns would win his first elective office. According to historians Dan Boylan and T. Michael Holmes, during this time, Burns built his political success on four pillars: the Democratic Party; the Japanese American war veterans; organized labor; and his religious faith which had been created from his personal tragedies.^[3]

Political Success and Legacy

Twice elected as Hawai'i's delegate to Congress, Burns lobbied for Hawai'i statehood that was achieved on March 12, 1959, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the statehood bill. He ran to become the first governor of the State of Hawai'i but lost the election to Territorial Governor William F. Quinn. Three years later in 1962, Burns won the election and became governor. As governor, Burns played a leading role in stimulating the state economy and attracting foreign tourism and investment. He promoted Hawai'i as a center for oceanography and oversaw the construction of the new state capitol building, Honolulu Stadium, and Interstate H-3. He spearheaded the expansion of Honolulu International Airport and transformed the University of Hawai'i, turning it into a first-class university by attracting students and faculty from all over the world.

Burns was re-elected in 1966 and 1970, with a different lieutenant governor as his running mate each time. However, in 1973, Burns was stricken with cancer and George Ariyoshi, Burns' third elected lieutenant governor became acting governor for the remainder of Burns' third term. He died of cancer on April 5, 1975, just six days after his sixty-sixth birthday, bringing an end to what some historians have called "The Burns Years" in Hawai'i's history. Thousands gathered at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific at Punchbowl to pay their respects.^[4] In an emotional eulogy, Ariyoshi, the nation's first Asian American governor, told the mourners that he had "lost another father."^[5] Ariyoshi focused upon his mentor's unselfish approach to the challenges he had faced stating, "In all his work, he sought no personal recognition. He wanted all of Hawaii's people to take part in the process by which his successes were achieved and he gave to them the full measure of credit for shaping their own destiny."

Burns was laid to rest in a private ceremony in a secluded corner of Punchbowl Cemetery. He was given a soldier's burial next to an army infantry private from the State of Michigan who died in World War II in the Pacific. His grave also lies close to a number of Japanese American veterans who died in Europe. The spot had been chosen for the convenience of Mrs. Burns so that she could visit her husband's final resting place in her wheelchair with maximum privacy. Still today the people of Hawai'i remember and honor the legacy of Burns whom they refer to as the "Father of the Democratic Party."^[6] The John A. Burns School of Medicine at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa is named for him as is the recently completed Interstate H- 3.

For More Information

Biographical Directory of the United States Congress. "BURNS, John Anthony, (1909–1975)." <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B001127>.

Boylan, Dan and T. Michael Holmes. *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Burns, John A. "Statehood and Hawaii's People." *State Government: The Journal of State Affairs* XXXII: 3 (summer 1959): 151-155.

Burns, Sheenagh M. "Jack Burns: A Daughter's Portrait." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 24 (1990): 163-183.

Crownenburg-Amalu, Samuel. *Jack Burns: a Portrait in Transition*. [Honolulu, Hawaii] Mamalahoa Foundation, 1974.

Hiura, Arnold T. "John A. Burns Remembered." *Hawaii Herald* 12:15 (August 2, 1991): A-1-A-7.

John A. Burns School of Medicine. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. <http://jabsom.hawaii.edu/jabsom/>.

Kim, Patricia. "John A. Burns' Contribution to Hawaiian Statehood as Seen by Himself and his Friends. A Thesis Presented to the Honors Faculty of the Department of Government, University of Hawaii in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the University of Hawaii's Senior Honors Program." Honolulu, 1962.

Newport, Tuck. "The Transition to Ariyoshi." *Hawaii Observer* 43 (November 5, 1974): 3.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Sheenagh M. Burns, "Jack Burns: A Daughter's Portrait," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 24 (1990): 183.
3. Dan Boylan and T. Michael Holmes, *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 3.
4. Ibid., 301.
5. Ibid., 4.
6. Arnold T. Hiura, "John A. Burns Remembered," *Hawaii Herald* 12:15 (August 2, 1991): A-1.

“John Burns” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Joseph Poindexter
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Attorney and governor of Hawai‘i at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Joseph B. Poindexter was born on April 14, 1869, in Canyon City, Oregon, the son of Thomas W. and Margaret Pipkin Poindexter, and attended public school in Montana. Upon graduating, he attended Ohio Wesleyan University and Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, where he received his LL.B (Bachelor of Laws) degree in 1892. That same year, he was admitted to the bar of the state of Montana on December 5 and five years later on April 22, 1897, Poindexter married Margaret Conger of Dillon, Montana. After practicing law in Dillon for several years, he was elected county attorney of Beaverhead county and served for three terms until 1903. During his career he served as a judge of the district court of the fifth judicial district of Montana from 1909 until 1915, and from 1915 to 1917 was the attorney general of Montana.

Poindexter came to Hawai‘i for the first time in 1917 after President Woodrow Wilson appointed him judge of the U.S. district court on May 14 and he served as a federal judge until February 16, 1924. For ten years, Poindexter engaged in private law practice in Honolulu and became an active leader in the territory's Democratic Party. He held a prominent place in legal circles and from 1932 at 1934 and served as the president of the Bar Association of Hawaii. Poindexter also belonged to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, the Commercial Club, and the American Bar Association. In 1934, President Roosevelt appointed Poindexter to become Hawai‘i's eighth governor, and he took over the duties of office on March 1 of that year, succeeding Lawrence M. Judd. Poindexter enjoyed the distinction of being Hawai‘i's first chief executive to welcome a president of the United States to the territory during a visit in July 1943 by President Roosevelt who later reappointed him governor in 1938.

On December 7th, 1941, Poindexter signed the proclamation that placed Hawai‘i under martial law after meetings with military leaders. In hindsight he mentioned, "I don't like martial law . . . never did. But at that time it seemed necessary." According to Poindexter, it was Major General Walter C. Short, U.S. military commander at the time, who convinced him of the necessity for the proclamation and added that a compelling reason for martial law was the general's expectation of an invasion by the Japanese that same night. At that time, Poindexter believed that the army would lift martial law, "in about 30 days." Instead, it continued with some modifications for more than three years. During his testimony before the Roberts Commission that investigated the Pearl Harbor attack, Poindexter challenged the belief that martial law had been declared upon his insistence and instead attributed its implementation to the army. Poindexter pointed out that "the large Japanese population we have in Hawaii was the reason that was advanced why that could be better handled through martial law than by civilian authorities." Poindexter would later give the same testimony in the 1950 civil suit for damages brought by Dr. Hans Zimmerman who was picked up after the Pearl Harbor attack and detained as a security risk. In 1942, Poindexter retired from office and was succeeded by Ingram M. Stainback who was also appointed by Roosevelt.

Poindexter later served as a Bishop Estate trustee and was survived by a daughter Miss Helen Poindexter who served as his hostess at Washington Place during his governorship and by a son, Everton G. G. Poindexter of New York City. His wife had died earlier in 1918. The former attorney, judge, and Hawai'i governor passed away at Queen's hospital following an extended illness. Poindexter was buried in the family plot in Montana following his cremation.

For More Information

Anthony, J. Garner. *Hawaii Under Army Rule*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1975.

"Ex-Governor Poindexter Dies as 82." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 3, 1951, 10.

"Services Set Thursday for Poindexter." *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 4, 1951, 8.

["Joseph Poindexter"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Kachigumi
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

For some Issei during World War II, the alienation, discrimination, isolation, and upheaval they experienced became overwhelming and they became susceptible to rumors connected to a belief in Japan's victory. Literally overnight they had lost the traditional leadership and status accorded to the older generation and were forbidden from Japanese cultural practices that had provided continuity and stability within the ethnic population. Respect for the older generation further declined with the emergence of "victory groups" composed of a small number of Issei who became vulnerable to notions of Japan's invincibility and refused to believe the news of Japan's unconditional surrender following the dropping of the atomic bombs.^[1]

Background

As early as 1942 and 1943, various Issei had formed underground kachigumi (victory groups) that disputed American "rumors" of Japanese defeats and strove to keep ethnic pride and confidence alive among Hawai'i's Issei.^[2] Even after Japan's official surrender, rumors persisted within the Issei population, such as those concerning the arrival of the Japanese fleet to take over Hawai'i, the impending visit of Prince Nobuhito Takamatsu—the younger brother of Emperor Hirohito—to the islands, and the transfer of Hawai'i to Japanese control.^[3] This notion of Japan's "invincibility" during and after the war was not only reflective of the extreme shock many experienced upon hearing the news of Japan's defeat, but it was also a perception fostered in part by Japanese radio propaganda that revealed a curious inconsistency in American war regulations.^[4] At the outbreak of war, all local Japanese radio and newspapers were restricted, although authorities still permitted direct radio broadcasts from Japan that were filled with propaganda and news of Japanese victories until February 1942.^[5] As many alien Japanese could not read or understand English well, they relied on the Japanese media for news of the war and subsequently many refused to accept the censored news of American war activities when the local Japanese press resumed publication on January 8, 1942. Scholar Andrew Lind noted that during this critical period early in the war, the prohibitions regarding the use of Japanese in radio and print deprived the Issei of "a most effective means of news dissemination and of potential Americanizing influence."^[6] In essence, inconsistency in government policy as well as the upheaval experienced by the Japanese who were subject to harsh governmental policies and regulations designed to deter these nationalistic activities, inadvertently contributed to the rise of pro-Japanese sentiment.

In lieu of local Japanese newspapers such as the *Hawaii Hochi* and *Nippu Jiji* that had been traditional sources of news and events, but which officials had suspended as part of the new war restrictions, some individuals became subscribers to mainland Japanese newspapers such as the *Colorado Times*, *Utah Nippo*, and *Rocky Shimpō*. These papers propagated false reports of Japanese victories and celebrated Japan's "invincible tactics" and "fighting spirit."^[7] To certain portions of the population, the existence of these papers, like the radio

broadcasts from Tokyo that were permitted in an environment where officials restricted the local Japanese media and newspapers, seemed to confirm these stories and sanction pro-Japanese sentiment.

Rise of Seichō-no-Ie

Still another factor that contributed to nationalistic Japanese attitudes was the rise of a religious sect called Seichō-no-Ie ("House of Growth"), which likewise helped to promote notions of Japan's invincibility and inevitable victory. Despite its obscure origins in Japan and its small number of converts before the war, this group was able to increase its membership dramatically since it was the only religious group authorized to operate in November 1944 due to its stated objective of providing memorial services for Japanese-American servicemen killed on the battlefield.^[8] With the closing of other Japanese religious organizations and the internment of traditional religious leaders, many in the community sought other avenues of religious support and guidance during this period of chaos and anxiety. This group attracted a large number of followers given the syncretic nature of Seichō-no Ie, which allowed adherents of different religions to belong to this sect while remaining devoted to their own faiths. The activities of Seichō-no Ie similarly increased in popularity among the anxious parents of Nisei soldiers as the organization's leaders provided prayers for Nisei soldiers, along with claims that they could ensure their safety. According to government statistics, by March 1946 an estimated 400 members belonged to the Honolulu branch of Seichō-no Ie, with over 1,000 adherents in the territory; observers noted that number was steadily increasing.^[9]

Kachigumi

In this atmosphere of heightened anxiety and pro-Japanese sentiment among the Issei population, various victory organizations emerged and encompassed membership from various locations in the island. They included Tōbu Dōshi-Kai (東部同志会 "Eastern Association of Kindred Spirits") in Waialae, Kōsei-Kai (更生会 "Association for Rehabilitation") in Palama, and Hakkō-Kai (八紘会 "Association of Brotherhood") in Kalihi.^[10] While disputing claims of Japan's defeat, the main purpose of these organizations was to provide Japanese lunch for prisoners of war every day for nearly two years. Many of these members had split from Hawaii Dōshi-Kai (ハワイ同志会 "Hawaii Association of Kindred Spirits") and Shosei-Kai (処世会 "Holy Righteous Association"), which were originally organized to help "bewildered" Japanese during the period of "mental and emotional confusion" following the war, and to help them "pursue the proper course as Japanese and to educate other Japanese following erroneous paths."^[11] One of the activities embraced by these organizations was the entertainment of Japanese prisoners of war incarcerated in Hawai'i.^[12] The most aggressive group in propagating pro-Japanese notions was Hisshō-Kai (必勝会 "Absolute Victory Group"), which was known as a "kattagumi," an organization which believed victory had been achieved. According to Tokuzo Shibayama, an

advisor to Hisshō-Kai, the purpose of the organization was "to give comfort and encouragement to the Japanese by telling them the truth."^[13]

In spite of these outrageous claims, some Issei did pay membership dues and belonged to this group. Although exact figures are unavailable, the president of Hisshō-Kai claimed that there were between 3,500 and 4,000 members in the organization.^[14] Others have provided more conservative figures of 1,000 total participants, with many holding membership in other organizations.^[15] While only formally disbanded in 1977—thirty-two years after Japan's official surrender—many of Hisshō-Kai's members became discouraged much earlier by the evident lack of truth in the claims espoused by its leaders and given the exposés by former members and scathing articles and editorials published by the *Hawaii Times* that led to a dramatic drop in membership.^[16]

Ending of Kachigumi

A decline in participation also stemmed from the disorganization and disagreements among the various groups and leaders that resulted in numerous split factions, many of which were left without a purpose after the departure of Japanese prisoners of war. The subsequent arrival in March 1946 of Earl M. Finch, the "patron saint" of Japanese American soldiers, whose generosity and kindness to the Nisei from Hawai'i in training at Mississippi was extensively publicized by all the major newspapers in the territory—both the English language and Japanese presses—also contributed to the decline of these organizations.^[17] This made it impossible for many individuals—some of whom were parents of veterans or knew families of veterans—to express their gratitude and appreciation while maintaining a pro-Japan stance.^[18] Further, the publicity surrounding Finch's visit in both the English and Japanese language presses included the first mention among nationalist groups of the merits of Nisei soldiers as opposed to Japanese soldiers fighting for the emperor.^[19]

Finally, the arrival of returning internees and veterans further eroded support for nationalistic movements among the Issei as these groups expected public criticism of these activities.^[20] Many internees whose families experienced discrimination and alienation from the larger Japanese community, wondered why authorities had not arrested these fanatical leaders while they themselves were interned without any explanation save that they were considered potentially dangerous because of their prominent positions in the prewar Japanese community. Most prewar leaders, including businessmen, newspaper editors, language school teachers, and priests, joined in the criticism of these nationalistic groups. They were seen as damaging to the reputation of the Japanese community, to the reintegration of Japanese back into society, and to the hard-fought gains made by the Nisei who were also returning to the Islands.^[21] Some, who had fought in the Pacific theater of the war and who were active during the occupation of Japan—such as the Nisei in the Military Intelligence Service—also brought back newspapers, letters, and magazines from Japan which revealed the "destruction and misery in Japan," clearly contradicting stories of Japan's success.^[22]

To some the emergence of these kachigumi possibly suggests support for fears of pro-Japan

sentiment prior to and during World War II. A more accurate understanding of these victory organizations would contextualize the actions of these members with the alienation and disillusionment many Japanese experienced as a result of the upheaval of this period as they were confronted by suspicion, fear, and the possibility of internment.

For More Information

Kimura, Yukiko. "A Comparative Study of the Collective Adjustment of the Issei, the First Generation Japanese, in Hawaii and the Mainland United States Since Pearl Harbor." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1952.

———. "Rumor Among the Japanese." *Social Process in Hawaii* 11 (May 1947): 84-92.

———. "A Sociological Analysis of Types of Social Readjustment of Alien Japanese in Hawaii Since the War." Master's thesis, University of Hawaii at Mānoa, 1947.

Lind, Andrew W. *The Japanese in Hawaii Under Wartime Conditions*. Honolulu, New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

Stephan, John J. *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 172.
3. Yukiko Kimura, "Rumor Among the Japanese," *Social Process in Hawaii* 11 (May 1947): 84-85.
4. Yukiko Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis of Types of Social Readjustment of Alien Japanese in Hawaii Since the War" (master's thesis, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1947), 29; Yukiko Kimura, "A Comparative Study of the Collective Adjustment of the Issei, the First Generation Japanese, in Hawaii and the Mainland United States Since Pearl Harbor" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago 1952), 330.
5. Andrew W. Lind, *The Japanese in Hawaii Under Wartime Conditions* (Honolulu, New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943), 19.
6. Lind, *Japanese in Hawaii*, 21.
7. Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 51, 202, 207.

8. Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 62-65; *What People In Hawaii are Saying and Doing, War Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii, March 1, 1946 Report No. 8* ([Honolulu]: n.p., 1952).
9. Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 69.
10. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, "Mr. Y., Waialae Ave., April 11, 1947," 3; Yukiko Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 136.
11. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, A FORMER HISSHO-KAI LEADER AIDING RELIEF PROJECTS FOR JAPAN: Exposes Inner Activities of 'Katta-to,'" 22 July 1948.
12. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, "Mr. Inokuchi, Hawaii Doshi-kai, April 8, 1947," 1.
13. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, "Interview with Mr. Tokuzo Shibayama—advisor of Hissho Kai," July 9, 1948, 1.
14. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, "MEMBERSHIP FEE OF HISSHO-KAI IS \$10.00—4,000 PAID-UP MEMBERS," July 26, 1948.
15. Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 126.
16. "ハワイ島必勝会解の辞," *Hawaii Hochi*, November 17, 1977, 4. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, "KAHALUU MEMBER OF HISSHO-KAI EVICTED FROM FARM: Refused to Re-new Lease Because He Believed Rumours," July 9, 1948; The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, "HISSHO- KAI SHOULD DISBAND—PAU: We Should All Try to Get Along Happily," June 30, 1948; The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL), A-1989: 006, Box 10-11, A FORMER HISSHO-KAI LEADER AIDING RELIEF PROJECTS FOR JAPAN: Exposes Inner Activities of 'Katta-to,'" July 22, 1948.
17. "Earl Finch Given Rousing Reception," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, March 5, 1946, 1.
18. Elizabeth Jones, "AJAs Fete Finch At Luau In Palama Auditorium," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 7, 1946, 1; "Earl Finch Given Honorary Life Membership in C of C," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 26, 1946, 1.
19. Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 139.
20. "Nisei Officer Shocked At Local Skepticism On Japan Defeat," *Honolulu Advertiser*,

December 6, 1946, 6.

21. Kimura, "A Comparative Study," 367-369.
 22. Kimura, "A Sociological Analysis," 142-143.
-

["Kachigumi"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Kazuo Miyamoto
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Kazuo Miyamoto (1897–1988) was a Nisei doctor and author who was interned at various incarceration camps for the duration of World War II as a result of the publication of his observations during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). Due to military fears of his possible loyalty to Japan, Miyamoto as well as other leaders within the Japanese community were interned following the Pearl Harbor attack as part of a strategy to weaken the leadership of the Japanese community. Following his incarceration at Tule Lake, Miyamoto returned to Hawai‘i where he continued to practice medicine and publish further writings and was an active member of the Honpa Hongwanji until his death in 1988.

Early Life and Career

Born in ‘O‘okala, Hawai‘i, Miyamoto grew up in a family that included two brothers and three sisters. Miyamoto attended Stanford University and studied medicine at Washington University Medical School in St. Louis, Missouri. At Stanford University he joined the Student Army Corps and although he did not see action during World War I, he was honorably discharged from the U.S. Army with burial entitlement at Punchbowl National Cemetery.

Following his graduation, Miyamoto spent nine years in Honolulu as a general practitioner and then traveled to Japan to further pursue his medical career during two years of study.^[1] Through acquaintances that he made at Stanford, Miyamoto enrolled at Tokyo's Jikeikai Medical College where he earned a PhD in allergy and during his free time, he traveled as much as he could. "In my travels over the weekends, I would record my impressions of the places visited," said Miyamoto.^[2] In the midst of the Second Sino- Japanese war, Miyamoto was able to accompany a friend's father who was a Diet (parliamentary) member on a two-month trip to China. During these two months, he recorded his observations for future publication. "I was able to see, first hand, how the people suffered," Miyamoto recalled as "the Chinese just didn't evacuate from the war zone."^[3] Although it was difficult to publish the book because of the shortage of paper during the war, Miyamoto was able to obtain enough paper to print 700 issues of *Glimpses of Formosa and China under Japanese Occupation 1937-1939* through a friend at Heibonsha (a Tokyo publishing house). As Miyamoto recalled "I had to convince him that the book would be of service to Japan when I distributed it on the mainland and Hawaii."^[4] However, this publication would have far reaching consequences as it would become the justification for his internment. With the outbreak of World War II, his friends, to whom he had distributed the publication, burned the book for fear of being implicated with Japan's war efforts.

World War II and Internment

On December 7, 1941, Miyamoto was called to Fort Shafter to help treat the wounded coming in from Hickam Field. That night, after returning home, FBI officials picked him up and took him to the immigration station on Sand Island. According to Miyamoto, "At Sand

Island, there were many who were picked up for flimsy reasons. There was Iwasaki from Waianae who couldn't speak decent Japanese" but was arrested because his father was a *toritsugi-nin* (intermediary agent) for the Japanese consulate.^[5] Although his father only recorded statements that were forwarded to Japan, these actions made Iwasaki himself suspect. Miyamoto recalled that there was another veteran at Sand Island, Futoshiro Arakawa, who was a first lieutenant at Schofield Barracks during World War I. "He was picked up because he was a leading Japanese figure in Hilo," Miyamoto recalled.^[6] Miyamoto notes that in his particular case, the FBI never investigated the charges against him. "They had a lot of time to investigate me, but they just put me on their blacklist. There were other doctors who went through a similar process—minus the publication—who were not pulled in," Miyamoto recalled.^[7] Miyamoto also pointed out that all of the fishermen who were arrested and brought in for interrogation were investigated and released but officials never investigated his case.

After the initial adjustment to confinement and realization of the futility of resisting, Miyamoto reconciled himself to his fate. He and a group of internees who included Kazuo Sakamaki, the first Japanese prisoner of war who commanded one of the mini-submarines that attacked Pearl Harbor, were soon sent to a succession of mainland incarceration camps: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin; Camp Forrest, Tennessee; and Camp Livingston, Mississippi. In Mississippi, however, the sixteen U.S. citizens of the group were called out and brought back to Hawai'i. Another Nisei from a different camp later joined them. From Mississippi, the group was taken to Los Angeles where Miyamoto noticed a change in attitude and behavior once they arrived in San Francisco. Miyamoto recalled, "They even escorted us when dining in Los Angeles. But when we went to San Francisco, we were thrown in to the brig."^[8] Upon the group's return to Hawai'i, they were met by military officials, only to be re-arrested.

According to Miyamoto, Sand Island had changed significantly since his departure. It was filled with internees from the Islands and "youngsters" also made up another group. Restrictions were also relaxed as it was after the battle of Midway and with the diminishing possibility of a Japanese invasions, families could also visit internees. During his second tenure at Sand Island, Miyamoto began writing *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow*, which took him seventeen years to complete.

Return to the Mainland

In November 1943, Miyamoto was again transferred to the mainland. This time he was accompanied by his family. The first contingent of 107 Kibei Nisei were sent to Jerome, Arkansas, with Miyamoto heading the group. However, the humid conditions of Arkansas affected his wife's asthma and Miyamoto requested to be transferred to Tule Lake with its altitude of 5,000 feet for his wife's health sake. According to Miyamoto, Tule Lake was the best medical training institute with the exception of Bethesda Hospital. Under the leadership of Dr. George Hashiba of Fresno, California, Miyamoto learned quite a bit during his tenure at Tule Lake due to its large population of 18,000 people. The medical staff consisted of three Japanese doctors and two Caucasians who had a " broad outlook on life," recalled

Miyamoto.^[9] Although he and the other medical staff members "worked like the devil out there" with major surgery being conducted every day, they received invaluable medical training and were able to do autopsies with the consent of family members to ensure that they became better doctors.^[10] "Personally, I would not have minded if the war was a year or two longer," Miyamoto remarked as "I was learning" and expanding his medical knowledge.^[11] Even if he was allowed to relocate to other areas outside the Pacific Coast, he chose to remain in the camp because "as a physician, I was most needed there."^[12]

Final Return to Hawaii and Later Career

Following the conclusion of the war, Miyamoto recalled that there was quite a bit of friction when the internees returned to Hawai'i. Some of the men who remained in the Islands were accused of being *inu* without any actual evidence. "It was an unpleasant time," he remarked. "We were invited to a party when he came back. This man who was involved in the category (*inu*) was very active in the party organizing. We could see how uncomfortable he was. We, who were the returnees, could slap each other on our backs and talk about old times. He was left out."^[13] Ironically, a few years later in 1951, Miyamoto was appointed as a medical consultant by the Surgeon General of the Air Force and given the rating of GS-16 (equivalent to a one star general). As he traveled attending meetings and speaking to doctors at various military outposts, he was treated like a general despite the fact he was once an internee. Miyamoto remarked, "I think that's the strength of America."^[14] Miyamoto continued to practice medicine and publish additional writings until his death in 1988.

For More Information

"Before the bombs fell: A look at pre-war Hawaii." *Hawaii Herald* 1:14 (December 5, 1980): 1- 6. "Kazuo Miyamoto," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 19 February 1988, D-2.

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow*. Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1964. Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Glimpses of Formosa and China Under Japanese Occupation in 1939*. [Tokyo, 1939].

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *One Man's Journey: a Spiritual Autobiography*. Honolulu: The Buddhist Study Center, 1981.

Miyamoto, Kazuo. *Vikings of the Far East*, New York: Vantage Press, 1975.

Okihiro, Michael M. "Japanese Doctors in Hawai'i" *Hawaiian Journal of History* 36 (2002): 105-117.

References

1. Kazuo Miyamoto, *Vikings of the Far East* (New York: Vantage Press, 1975), About the Author; Kazuo Miyamoto, *One Man's Journey: a Spiritual*

Autobiography (Honolulu: The Buddhist Study Center, 1981), 84-85.

2. "Before the bombs fell: A look at pre-war Hawaii" *Hawaii Herald* 1:14 (December 5, 1980): 4-5.
 3. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 4. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 5. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 6. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 7. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 8. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 9. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 10. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 11. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 12. Kazuo Miyamoto, *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow* (Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1964), 8.
 13. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
 14. "Before the bombs fell," 4-5.
-

["Kazuo Miyamoto"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Kenjinkai
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Issei immigrants often organized and joined prefectoral associations called *kenjinkai* for mutual aid in time of illness or death, as well as for various kinds of misfortune. *Ken* refers to the prefecture from which the immigrants came in Japan. Particularly during the early years of immigration when most Japanese were single men, the *kenjinkai* provided collective assistance to individuals from the same *ken* or prefecture in Japan. In both Hawai‘i and the Mainland, *kenjinkai* provided aid, fellowship, and a sense of community for immigrant workers thousands of miles from Japan.^[1]

Background of *Kenjinkai*

Large prefectoral groups often organized numerous local clubs for those from the same village, town, or county for mutual aid and fellowship. In most instances such local clubs were formed before the *kenjinkai* were organized. Some *kenjinkai* were established when a need arose; for instance, *Etsuyukai* (Association of Friends from Echigo Province) was formed when the immigrants from Niigata-ken began to migrate to different parts of the island of Hawai‘i. The *Niigata Kenjinkai* of Honolulu was organized in 1909 with 205 members to help unify Niigata immigrants on O‘ahu. The origin of its formation is explained by Rinji Maeyama:

The Niigata Kenjin-kai of Honolulu was organized to collect donations from those from Niigata-ken to buy a set of new clothes for a man from our ken who committed murder and was sentenced to death. Those from Niigata-ken felt that he should at least wear respectable clothes to end his life. After that, when there were some sailors of Niigata-ken background on the Japanese naval training ships which visited Honolulu, our Kenjin-kai gave a welcome party for them.^[2]

While immigrants from Niigata and Kagoshima had little difficulty establishing independent *kenjinkai* because of their small numbers, the large number of Japanese from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi made it difficult for these clubs to organize themselves. According to scholar Yukiko Kimura, "While their locality clubs provided them mutual identification and assistance at the village and town levels, they tended to be rather impersonal and even competitive on the prefectoral level."^[3] While different *kenjinkai* existed for immigrants from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi, there was no one organizing entity that united all the immigrants from these two regions.

The *kenjinkai* provided the means for not only mutual assistance and aid but also social opportunities for people who shared the same dialects and experiences. Although some Issei were never a part of any *kenjinkai* because their prefectoral groups were too small to organize, the *kenjinkai* was an essential part of the Issei experience. Even when the Nisei joined their parents' *kenjinkai*, they did not share the memories of the prefecture or the needs that brought the immigrants together.

Transformation of the *Kenjinkai*

Prior to World War II, *kenjinkai* were primarily limited to immigrants from the same prefecture. However, after the war, many *kenjinkai* became more open in membership and "Americanized" in name and activities. For example, the *Hiroshima Gōyū Kai* became the *Shinyū Aloha Kai* after the war. Along with the name, membership rules were changed. Even today, many organizations—particularly those in Hawai‘i—hold *kenjinkai* picnics where multi-generation Japanese Americans attend and speak a mixture of Japanese and English, sing popular tunes and folksongs, play favorite games and pastimes, and celebrate an ever-evolving Japanese American culture. Scholar Dennis Ogawa points out that "rather than only trying to rekindle affections for Japan," these picnics and events organized by the *kenjinkai* currently "serve to bring Island communities or organizations together."^[4] Yet as the political and cultural landscape of Japanese American communities both in Hawai‘i and the Mainland shifts away from the past, the challenge facing many *kenjinkai* today is maintaining their relevance for future generations.

For More Information

Haenschke, Kristine. "Does the Kenjinkai Have a Future." *Discover Nikkei*, May 6, 2009. <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2009/5/6/kenjinkai/>

Sekiya, Raymond T. "Celebrating Roots in Fukuoka." *Hawaii Herald* 32: 2 (January 21, 2011): 6-7.

Yoshinaga, Ida. "Staying Alive, Part II." *Hawaii Herald* 17:6 (March 15, 1996): A-16, 17.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 25-26.
3. Ibid., 27.
4. Dennis M. Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po: The World of Hawaii's Japanese Americans* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973), 10.

"[Kenjinkai](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Massie Case

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

"The Massie Case" remains one of the most notorious criminal incidents in the modern history of Hawai‘i, especially as it reinforced suspicions about ethnic groups in Hawai‘i generally, and the Japanese in particular in the pre-World War II period.^[1] On 12 September 1931, Thalia Massie, a Navy wife from a prominent east coast family, arrived at the police station to report a rape by a group of "Hawaiians" on an unpaved road in Waikīkī one fateful September evening.^[2] Due to the lack of credible evidence and the shifting testimony of the key witnesses including Massie herself, the Ala Moana assault trial ended in a mistrial on 6 December 1931. In the ensuing outrage by many members of the white community and the military who regarded the decision as a miscarriage of justice, one of the Japanese defendants, Horace Shomatsu Ida, was kidnapped and whipped by a group of navy personnel and another, Joseph Kahahawai, was killed. Yet unlike the local men who underwent a lengthy legal process and who were victims of retaliatory violence, authorities never arrested those responsible for these crimes and, in the case of the murder of Kahahawai, the governor commuted the perpetrators' sentences to "one hour in custody of the Territorial High Sheriff."^[3]

Despite this legal imbalance, local officials were no longer trusted with preserving "American womanhood," and military officials publicly joined with civilian white elites in calls for greater military control over the local population that included the institution of martial law.^[4] At this time, fears of the Japanese who had spearheaded community resistance during the largest labor strikes and in other highly publicized criminal trials had merged with suspicions of the growing ethnic population, which—like the group of defendants—was perceived as "local" or as part of the "darker stained races" increasingly aligned with one another against white authority.^[5] According to scholar John Patrick Rosa, the narrative of the Massie case was used to support an understanding of local identity in Hawai‘i, elaborating on the idea first proposed by sociologist Andrew Lind, who suggested that the Massie case was the first time that the term "local" was used with any salience in the Islands. Most recently, scholar David Stannard argued that these events resulted in a "growing sense of multiethnic solidarity" in Hawai‘i that led not only to whites challenging the "arrogance" of the planter elite but also to the building of close ties among the Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino communities that had long-lasting historic repercussions.^[6] The Massie Case signaled growing tensions between whites and non-whites, the military and the local population, and between the upper and lower classes in the islands that took place on a local and national stage, advertising to many Americans the threat that existed in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.

For More Information

Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd. *The Navy and the Massie-Kahahawai Case. A Timely Account of a Dark Page in Hawaiian History Worthy of Study*. Honolulu: Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd., [1951].

Landauer, Lyndall and Donald Landauer. *Pearl: The History of the United States Navy in Pearl Harbor*. S Lake Tahoe, California: Flying Cloud Press, 1999.

Marumoto, Masaji. "The Ala Moana Assault Case And The Massie Fortescue Case Revisited After Half a Century." *University of Hawaii Law Review* 5.2 (Winter 1983): 271-287.

Pinkerton National Detective Agency. *Ala Moana Assault Case*. New York: n.p., 1932.

Rosa, John Patrick. "Local Story: The Massie Case and the Politics of Local Identity in Hawai'i." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Irvine, 1999.

Stannard, David E. *Honor Killing: How the Infamous "Massie Affair" Transformed Hawai'i*. New York: Penguin Group, 2005.

Takayama, Eric. "Error in Paradise: Race, Sex and the Massie-Kahahawai Affair of 1930s Hawaii." Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, May 1997.

Van Slingerland, Peter. *Something Terrible Has Happened*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Incorporated, 1966.

Wright, Theon. *Rape in Paradise*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1966.

Yamamoto, Eric. "From 'Japanee' to Local: Community Change and the Redefinition of Sansei Identity in Hawaii." Honolulu: n.p., 1975.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Pinkerton National Detective Agency, *Ala Moana Assault Case* (New York: n.p., 1932), 8.
3. Chuck Frankel, "'Pressured' in Massie Case, Says Ex-Governor," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, February 13, 1967, A-1.
4. Peter Van Slingerland, *Something Terrible Has Happened* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Incorporated, 1966), 283.
5. John Patrick Rosa, "Local Story: The Massie Case and the Politics of Local Identity in Hawai'i" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Irvine, 1999); Eric Yamamoto, "From 'Japanee' to Local: Community Change and the Redefinition of Sansei Identity in Hawaii" (Honolulu: n.p., 1975).
6. David E. Stannard, *Honor Killing: How the Infamous "Massie Affair" Transformed Hawai'i* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 410, 414.

“Massie Case” by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 by rights owner
Densho

McKinley High School
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Honolulu public high school that the majority of Nisei in Hawai‘i attended in the 1920s and 1930s; often referred to as "Tokyo High," it was credited with Americanizing young Japanese Americans.

In 1865, Maurice B. Beckwith established the Fort Street English Day School in the basement of the old Fort Street Church. In November 1869, it moved to a new stone building on the corner of Fort and School Streets. The Fort Street School later moved to the Princess Ruth's Palace in 1895 and was renamed Honolulu High School. In 1907, it moved to the corner of Beretania and Victoria streets and renamed President William McKinley High School. To meet the needs of growing enrollment, the school was moved to its current location in 1923. The majority of Nisei in Hawai‘i at the time attended public schools and as O‘ahu's only public high school, it was often called "Tokyo High."^[1]

In 1924, Miles E. Cary was appointed as principal and seven years later he introduced Core Studies, replacing vocational training with a core curriculum that emphasized citizenship, leadership, and critical thinking.^[2] During this time, students were influenced by two ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence: "That all men are created equal in the sight of God and are entitled to an equal opportunity to make the most of their talents; and that when the existing social order is inimical to equal opportunity, the system should be overturned."^[3] As a result of the acculturation and Americanization of the second generation, during World War II, the student body, comprise largely of Nisei, conducted a savings bond drive that raised over \$200,000. Another fundraising effort resulted in the purchase of over \$350,000 in war bonds for a Liberator bomber named "Madame Pele" that students presented to the U.S. Air Force in February 1944.^[4]

Distinguished alumni include Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Governor George Ariyoshi, University of Hawai‘i President Dr. Fujio Matsuda, and Hawai‘i Supreme Court Justices Bert Kobayashi Sr., Wilfred Tsukiyama, and Masaji Marumoto. Currently, McKinley enrolls over 1,700 students annually and the majority of the student body is of Asian/Pacific Islander ancestry.^[5] Japanese Americans are only one of many ethnic groups, however, that comprise the student body.

For More Information

Fuchs, Lawrence H. *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*. New York: Hardcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961. "History," President William McKinley High School website.
<http://www.mckinley.k12.hi.us/history.html>

Santoki, Mark M. "Iwao Mizuta: Reflections on the McKinley Class of '34 and the Legacy of Miles Cary." *Hawaii Herald*, November 1, 1991, p. 1.

Williams, Shirley JoAnn. "The Educational Theory and Philosophy of Education of Miles Elwood Cary: Implications for Democracy in a Global Civic Culture." Ed.D. diss, Northern Illinois University, 1991.

References

1. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.), 129.
2. Mark K. Santoki, "Iwao Mizuta: Reflection on the McKinley Class of '34 and the Legacy of Miles Cary," *Hawaii Herald*, November 1, 1991, p. 1.
3. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 129.
4. See photograph HWRD 1368, Hawaii War Records Depository Photos, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, <http://digicoll.manoa.hawaii.edu/hwrd/Pages/viewtext.php?s=browse&by=title&route=browseby.php&tid=552>.
5. National Center for Education Statistics, http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/schoolsearch/school_detail.asp?Search=1&SchoolID=150003000193&ID=150003000193.

"McKinley High School" by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 by rights owner Densho

Miles E. Cary
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Teacher, education reformer, and principal of McKinley High School in Honolulu, Hawai'i.

Personal Background

Miles Elwood Cary was born November 1, 1894, in Orting, Washington, and after his father's death at age seven, he and four other siblings were raised by his mother, Anna Cary. In 1912, Cary graduated from Edmonds High School where he met his future wife Edith Brackett, and after serving in World War I for six months, he returned to graduate from the University of Washington in 1917. That same year, he became principal and teacher in Morton, a town south of Seattle, and later worked in Ferndale, Washington, where Edith was employed as an elementary school teacher. During Cary's teaching career in Washington, he became exposed to revitalizing texts and teacher methodologies, emphasizing social and civic responsibility in the classroom, and promoting the idea of the school as the center of a community from which socialization and cooperative efforts could promote intellectual and civic growth.

After placement agencies recruited teachers in the Pacific Northwest to teach in Hawai'i, in 1921 the Carys decided to visit the Islands and soon relocated. Cary began working at McKinley High School—known as "Tokyo High" for its large numbers of Nisei students—in September 1921 as a history teacher and coach of the junior football, track, and basketball teams.^[1] He later served as an advisor for the newly formed school newspaper, *The Pinion*. After a brief stint as principal of Maui High School, Cary returned to McKinley in 1924 as principal—a position that he would hold for the next twenty-four years. Cary would be a critical figure in the Americanization of Hawai'i's Nisei who embraced notions of equality and civic duty taught at McKinley explaining in part their activism during World War II.

Cary and McKinley High School

During his career at McKinley, Cary dramatically transformed the nature of public education with his radical educational philosophy that was influenced by his experience in Washington. While business leaders in Hawai'i encouraged vocational and agricultural education in public schools for the children of immigrant plantation workers, Cary advocated radical curriculum revision. Cary's progressive educational program replaced vocational training with a core curriculum that stressed the values of citizenship, initiative, individuality, leadership, and self-reliance while respecting the multicultural composition of the student body. According to historian Lawrence Fuchs, "the objectives were twofold: first, to center the teaching of English around real social problems; and second, to encourage democratic participation by students as they learned."^[2] Thus, during Cary's administration, there were more than sixty extra-curricular clubs and organizations including the Debate Club, the Citizenship Club, student government, and the student newspaper. By 1929, half of the students belonged to one or more of its clubs.^[3] As Iwao Mizuta, class of 1942 historian recalled, Cary engaged the students by "using the extra-curricular activities as a laboratory for the academic work and citizenship," communicating the ideals of democracy in

practice.^[4]

Poston and Postwar Activities

Following the outbreak of war, in 1942 Cary was asked to serve as the director of education for the euphemistically named Poston Relocation Center in Arizona. Although Cary believed that incarceration was an "immoral act," he organized educational programs at Poston that served more than 4,000 Japanese Americans.^[5] When questioned about his work in Arizona, Cary noted some of the challenges that inmates faced:

It was a great privilege to work with those people. I had an opportunity to make those people understand what true democracy means to the common people all over the world. I tried to help them to be patient with people who have temporarily lost their heads. I tried to help them to keep faith in the future possibilities of life in America. It was an interesting year and a rough and tumble year. I found the youngsters over there grand to work with. In behavior, they are quite like the young people of Hawaii. Naturally, they were bewildered at first but made a fine comeback during the year.^[6]

After one year, Cary returned to McKinley but his return to Hawai‘i lasted only four more years. In September 1947, Cary left the Islands to assume a professional role in teacher education at the University of Minnesota. Four years later, he became director of the Ethical Culture/Fieldston Schools in New York but after two years, his contact was not renewed. Cary spent his remaining professional career working with both the University of Tennessee and the University of Virginia. He passed away on August 12, 1959, on the anniversary of Hawai‘i's annexation fondly remembered by the students whose lives he impacted.

For More Information

Cary, Miles E. "A Vitalized Curriculum for McKinley High School." Master's Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1930.

---. "Educating for Democratic Living." *Hawaii Educational Review* 26.10 (June 1938): 293-95, 313-315.

---. "Education in Hawaii." *Progressive Education* 24 (April 1947): 218-21.

---. "Initiating Creative Curriculum Development." *The North Central Education Quarterly* 23.4 (April 1949): 345-46.

---. "Integration and the High School Curriculum." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1937.

---. "Intergroup and Interracial Education." *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals* 32 (March 1948): 39-44.

- . "Learning Comes Through Living." *Educational Leadership* 4 (May 1947): 491-95.
- . "Purposeful Activities in the McKinley Senior High School, Honolulu." *Education* 53 (September 1932- June 1933): 261-68.
- . "The Core Studies and Community Activities." *Educational Method* 18 (March 1939): 272-75.
- Creamer, Beverly. "Miles E. Cary." *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 2, 2006.
<http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/150/sesq6cary>.
- Fuchs, Lawrence H. *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961. "History," President William McKinley High School website.
<http://www.mckinley.k12.hi.us/history.html>.
- Robles de Melendez, Wilma J. *Teaching Young Children in Multicultural Classrooms: Issues, Concepts, and Strategies*. Clifton Park, NY: Thomson Delmar Learning, 2007.
- Santoki, Mark M. "Iwao Mizuta: Reflections on the McKinley Class of '34 and the Legacy of Miles Cary." *Hawaii Herald*, November 1, 1991, p. 1.
- Williams, Shirley JoAnn. "The Educational Theory and Philosophy of Education of Miles Elwood Cary: Implications for Democracy in a Global Civic Culture." Ed.D. diss, Northern Illinois University, 1991.
- ## References
1. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.), 129.
 2. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 287.
 3. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 286.
 4. Mark M. Santoki, "Iwao Mizuta: Reflections on the McKinley Class of '34 and the Legacy of Miles Cary," *Hawaii Herald*, November 1, 1991, p. 1.
 5. Wilma J. Robles de Melendez, *Teaching Young Children in Multicultural Classrooms: Issues, Concepts, and Strategies* (Clifton Park, NY: Thomson Delmar Learning, 2007), 170; Shirley JoAnn Williams, "The Educational Theory and Philosophy of Education of Miles Elwood Cary: Implications for Democracy in a Global Civic Culture" (Ed.D. diss, Northern Illinois University, 1991), 102.
 6. Williams, "Miles Elwood Cary," 101.

“[Miles E. Cary](#)” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Military Intelligence Service Language School
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

During World War II, fighting in the Pacific theater of the war necessitated Japanese linguists for translation, interpretation, and combat purposes. When American military officials discovered the lack of skilled Japanese linguists among Caucasian personnel, they recruited Nisei soldiers to attend the Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS) that was first established in the Presidio in San Francisco and later at Camp Savage and Fort Snelling, Minnesota. The MISLS was critical in producing skilled linguists who were essential in World War II and later the occupation of Japan.^[1]

The Creation of the MIS Language School

On the eve of World War II, diplomatic talks between Japan and the United States slowly deteriorated. As the possibility of war with Japan steadily grew during the summer of 1941, officials in the United States War Department realized significant deficiencies in America's intelligence capabilities regarding Japan. There were dishearteningly few Caucasian personnel qualified in the Japanese language, and there was little time to train additional translators given the rapid approach of war.^[2] While military officials recognized that second-generation Japanese Americans likely comprised the best candidates for intelligence training, officials initially distrusted the Nisei and resisted their inclusion in the armed forces. Further, even within these small numbers of Japanese Americans in the military, Japanese linguists skilled in interpretation, translation, and interrogation proved alarmingly scarce. In an initial survey of 3,700 Nisei, MISLS officials deemed only three percent as accomplished linguists. They considered another four percent or so proficient and found that another three percent could only be useful after a prolonged period of training.^[3] The vast majority of Nisei seemed more American than Japanese and were less fluent in Japanese than previously believed. It became evident to military officials that a special training school would be required to transform the Nisei into competent Japanese linguists.

Given the importance of discovering or developing qualified Japanese interpreters, a small group of army officers pushed for the creation of an intelligence unit in anticipation of war with Japan. Among them were Major Carlisle C. Dusenbury, a former Japanese language student on duty in the Intelligence Division, and Lieutenant Colonel Wallace Moore, whose missionary family had served in Japan.^[4] Colonel Rufus S. Bratton, also a former language student and military attaché in Tokyo, served as chief of the Far Eastern Branch, Intelligence Division, and subsequently approved the plans formulated by these two men. The Training and Operations Division (G-3), which supervised the army's school system, also provided support. In the latter part of 1941, War Department officials reluctantly budgeted \$2,000 to start the first Army Japanese Language School under the authority of Lieutenant Colonel (later Brigadier General) John Weckerling.^[5] After securing meager funds for the school, officials searched for eligible candidates to enroll in intensive language training. Nisei personnel were conscripted through the Selective Service, screened, and stationed at various army units on the Pacific coast. Each soldier was personally interviewed and examined before being allowed to join the ranks of one of the most selective military units.^[6]

The First Language School Classes

On November 1, 1941, a little over a month before the outbreak of war, the first class of sixty students taught by four Nisei instructors began training in a small abandoned aircraft hangar on Crissy Field at the Presidio in San Francisco. The hangar served as the office, faculty room, classrooms, and barracks. Initially orange crates and boxes functioned as desks and chairs and, given the short supply of texts, trainees studied from mimeographed sheets. Among the sixty students were fifty-eight Nisei and two Caucasian soldiers, E. David Swift and John Alfred Burden.^[7] Although Burden was fluent in Japanese, like many of his classmates he had no prior knowledge of military terminology and struggled in his studies. As Burden recalled:

I didn't know anything about the Japanese military, so I had to study very hard. Head Instructor John Aiso hounded me. At first I got frustrated. I would ask a question, and his explanation would be even worse than the original problem. Later, he told me, "If I gave you a pat answer, you wouldn't learn anything. By pushing you, you're forced to get that much better." He was a good man. He really worked on me.^[8]

The instructors, both Caucasians and Japanese, pushed the recruits to become proficient in their linguistic skills in an unprecedentedly short period of time. Burden himself went overseas after a five month "crash course" in Japanese military vocabulary, as did two brothers, Takashi and Takeo Kubo, and ten Counter Intelligence Corps men. Eventually only forty-five students graduated in May 1942, as one-quarter of the class failed due to the rigorousness of the program and the considerable demands placed on the soldiers.

The intensity of the training at the language school and the urgency of war placed additional pressures on both instructors and students. Classes began at 8:00 a.m., ran for ten hours a day, and many students studied until "lights out" at 11:00 p.m. Despite this regulation, some trainees studied by flashlight under their blankets. Others continued their language work in the latrine, the only place lit at night. This tradition persisted at the next location of the language school, where it became necessary for officers at Camp Savage to patrol the school area to prevent extra studying after lights were extinguished at night. Those already proficient in their studies helped those who were struggling, and many put in long hours teaching and learning Japanese. The diligence of the students not only reflected their determination to succeed but also the difficulty of the coursework.

Language School Curriculum

The basic curriculum of the language school included reading, writing, and conversation, and extended to the study of Japanese law, society, and culture. An understanding of Japanese army jargon, military codes, and tactics was also required. In addition, soldiers had to master techniques in intercepting communications, interrogating, and interpreting that required knowledge in *sōrōbun*, a style for personal letters that originated in the Edo period (1600–1868). Ordinary soldiers and even non-commissioned officers in the Japanese army

used *sōrōbun*, necessitating knowledge of this language. In order to analyze seized documents, soldiers additionally needed to learn to read *sōsho*, a flowing cursive Japanese writing that was difficult to master even for students who had studied Japanese for years.^[9] By the time the first class of recruits completed the program, the staff had increased to eight civilian instructors, who were in turn joined by recent graduates. Owing to the need for larger teaching facilities, and because of the mass exclusion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast, the Fourth Army Intelligence School moved to Camp Savage in Minnesota, where it came under the direct jurisdiction of the War Department. The first official MISLS class began in Minnesota on June 1, 1942, with 200 students and eighteen instructors laboring in cabins formerly used as state homes for indigent elderly men. Colonel Kai E. Rasmussen gained the appointment as the commandant of the school.

The Contributions of MIS Linguists

Close bonds of brotherhood developed among the men at the language school that remained with them even as they departed for different areas of combat. As the importance of their services in the successful prosecution of the war against Japan became recognized, field commanders began to demand additional MIS linguists. The plea for MIS personnel came not only from all branches of the American forces but also from the larger Allied forces throughout the Pacific and Southeast Asia. To meet this increasing need for linguists, the MISLS recruited several hundred volunteers from the mainland detention camps and from Hawai‘i. In addition, 200 members of the 100th Infantry Battalion training at Fort McCoy, Wisconsin, were transferred to the MISLS in December 1942. In 1943, MIS students were also recruited from the 442nd Regimental Combat Team training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi.

In August 1944, the language school had outgrown Camp Savage and relocated to the larger facilities at nearby Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Compared to earlier enlistees, the students currently entering the program were younger, averaging twenty-three years of age. Many of these Nisei were draftees or volunteers from the detention camps or from the "free" zones outside the camps. The MIS added a Chinese language division and a Korean language class in 1945. The largest demand for MIS personnel came after the defeat of Germany in Europe in May 1945, as the war against Japan now became the central focus of United States military efforts. Once Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, officials revised the curriculum of the language school and civil affairs rather than military courses centered studies for those linguists needed in the United States occupation of Japan. At its peak in early 1946, the MISLS had 160 instructors and 3,000 students studying in more than 125 classrooms.^[10]

The twenty-first and final commencement at Fort Snelling in June 1946 featured the graduation of 307 students, bringing the total number of MISLS graduates to more than 6,000. What began as an experimental military intelligence language-training program launched on a budget of \$2,000 eventually became the forerunner of an established Defense Department language institute for thousands of linguists who served American interests throughout the world.

Preservation Efforts

Currently, there are a number of efforts underway to preserve the remaining structures of the language school and memorialize the efforts of the men of the MIS. In 1991, on the 50th anniversary of the MIS, the plight of Building 640, the site of the Military Intelligence Service Language School came to the attention of the National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS) by the MIS Association of NorCal. Since that time, NJAHS has advocated to preserve the building and the history of the Japanese Americans at the Presidio of San Francisco by developing it into the Military Intelligence Service Historic Learning Center.

In Minnesota, there is presently little left of Camp Savage except for one building currently being used by the Minnesota Department of Transportation Highway Department. The land adjacent to the building has been returned to the City and is being used as a training facility for the Savage Police Department's K-9 unit. A historical marker erected in 1993 identifies the site. Currently, Fort Snelling has been transformed into a historical park although evidence of the MISLS that once was located there remains unclear.

See also Military Intelligence Service

For More Information

Battad, Gwen. "Masao 'Harold' Onishi: Former MIS Instructor Shares Memories." *The Hawaii Herald* 14, 13 (July 2, 1993): A-16.

Central Intelligence Agency. "Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service During World War II." Last modified January 7, 2009.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol-52-no-4/nisei-linguists.html>

City of Savage, Minnesota. "World War II Camp Savage."
<http://www.cityofsavage.com/world-war-ii>.

The Historical Marker Database. "Camp Savage." Last modified May 5, 2011.
<http://www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=41673>.

Hiura, Arnold T. "John Alfred Burden: Plantation Doctor Pioneered MIS Efforts in the Pacific and Asia." *The Hawaii Herald* 14, 13 (July 2, 1993): A-14.

Go for Broke National Education Center. "School and Training Camps."
http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_campaigns_mis_school.asp.

Ichinokuchi, Tad and Daniel Aiso, eds. *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II*. Los Angeles: The Club, 1988.

Ishimaru, Stone S. *Military Intelligence Service Language School, U.S. Army, Fort Snelling, Minnesota*. Los Angeles: Tec Com Production, 1991.

Kikuchi, Yuki. *The Pacific War of the Nisei in Hawaii*. Translated by Yoko Hayashi Horiuchi. Pearl City, Hawaii: n.p., 1999.

Minnesota Historical Society. "Historic Fort Snelling: History." <http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history>.

Minnesota Historical Society. "History Topics: Military Intelligence Service Language School at Fort Snelling." http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history_topics/120language_school.html.

MIS Historical Committee. *The Nisei Intelligence War Against Japan*. Honolulu: n.p., 199?.

MISLS Album, 1946. Nashville: Battery Press, 1946.

National Japanese American Historical Society. "Building 640 Communique: Information Source for the Military Intelligence Service Historic Learning Center." <http://njahs.org/640/about.html>.

Oguro, Richard S. *Senpai Gumi*. Honolulu: n.p., 1982?.

The Pacific War and Peace: Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Military Intelligence Service 1941 to 1952. San Francisco: Military Intelligence Service Association of Northern California and the National Japanese American Historical Society, 1991.

A Tradition of Honor. DVD. Produced by Craig Yahata and David Yoneshige. Go For Broke Educational Foundation in Association with Hanashi Oral History Program. 2003.
"The Unsung Heroes." *The Hawaii Herald* 2, 21 (November 6, 1981): A-2.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. According to Brigadier General John Weckerling, who was the co-founder of the Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS) at the Presidio, "The only known source of procurement of Japanese linguists before the war were: (a) the small group of officers who had studied the Japanese language in Japan, many of whom had either been retired, incapacitated or were beyond the age and rank of interpreters, and (b) a negligible number of U.S. citizens, missionaries, businessmen and others, qualified in Japanese." Richard S. Oguro, *Senpai Gumi* (Honolulu: n.p., 1982?), 41.
3. *MISLS Album, 1946* (Nashville: Battery Press, 1946), 8.
4. *The Nisei Intelligence War Against Japan*, comp. MIS Historical Committee (Honolulu: n.p., 199?), 2.

5. *The Pacific War and Peace: Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Military Intelligence Service 1941 to 1952* (San Francisco: Military Intelligence Service Association of Northern California and the National Japanese American Historical Society, 1991), 2.
6. Stone S. Ishimaru, *Military Intelligence Service Language School, U.S. Army, Fort Snelling, Minnesota* (Los Angeles: Tec Com Production, 1991), 6.
7. Arnold T. Hiura, "John Alfred Burden: Plantation Doctor Pioneered MIS Efforts in the Pacific and Asia," *The Hawaii Herald* 14, 13 (July 2, 1993): A-14.
8. Ibid.
9. Yuki Kikuchi, *The Pacific War of the Nisei in Hawaii*, trans. Yoko Hayashi Horiuchi (Pearl City, Hawaii: n.p., 1999), 79.
10. MIS Historical Committee, *The Nisei Intelligence War Against Japan* (Honolulu: n.p., 199?), 5.

"[Military Intelligence Service Language School](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Military Intelligence Service
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Under a shroud of secrecy and with the backing of the United States War Department, the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) trained and graduated nearly 6,000 linguists—the majority of whom were Japanese Americans. Due to the security-classified nature of their activities, Nisei members of the MIS never received as much publicity as their counterparts in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RTC) and 100th Infantry Battalion. They ultimately played a decisive role in the victory of American forces over Japan in the Pacific. They were among the first soldiers to arrive in Japan after its surrender, and they became some of the first American observers to witness the destructive effects of the atomic bombs that had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Nisei later served in important positions in the occupation of Japan and more than seventy MIS linguists provided translation and interpreter services for the war crimes trials held in Japan, China, the Philippines, French Indochina, and the East Indies. As Japanese Americans, these linguists turned out to be instrumental in bridging cultural and linguistic differences and helped to establish the foundations for postwar relations between Japan and the United States.^[1]

Role of the MIS in World War II

During World War II, MIS graduates took on active service in every combat theater and engaged in every major battle launched against Japanese military forces. According to Major General Charles Willoughby, G2 Intelligence Chief for General Douglas MacArthur, these Nisei "shortened the Pacific war by two years."^[2] They served with the United States Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force as well as with British, Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, Chinese, and Indian combat units fighting the Japanese. Trained as interrogators, interpreters, translators, radio announcers, and propaganda writers at the Military Intelligence Service Language School at the Presidio in San Francisco, and at Camp Savage and Fort Snelling in Minnesota, MIS graduates came to be considered the "eyes and ears" of American and Allied Forces in the war against Japan. By September 1945, they had translated 18,000 captured enemy documents, printed 16,000 propaganda leaflets, and interrogated more than 10,000 Japanese prisoners of war.^[3] These men faced some of the most dangerous situations during the war, often being placed on the front lines of battle against the Japanese while simultaneously trying to avoid "friendly fire" from American soldiers who could not distinguish them from enemy Japanese. According to John Aiso, an MIS veteran, "We may have been the only soldiers in history to have bodyguards to protect us from our own forces in combat zones so we would not be mistaken for the enemy."^[4] More than one MIS soldier became a casualty from "friendly fire," and many MIS personnel had to ensure that Caucasian soldiers who could vouch for their loyalty accompanied them into battle.

Besides the constant danger of "friendly fire," the Nisei were well aware that imperial forces considered them to be Japanese nationals, and capture meant certain execution as traitors. Their identities doubled the dangers they faced in battle from both Japanese and American soldiers, both of whom perceived them as the enemy. Unlike the Navajo Code Talkers also

utilized by the American military, these linguists who operated in the Pacific were confronted by the very real possibility of encountering and fighting against friends, acquaintances, and family members. Many of them had close personal ties to Japan or had attended school in Japan. Throughout the war, many had unexpected meetings and spontaneous reunions with former teachers, classmates, and family members, emphasizing the complicated and personal nature of war for the men of the MIS, particularly as combat came closer to Japan. Takejiro Higa, for example, wondered what would happen if "I meet somebody I know, or my relative, my classmate" in battle or in the prisoner of war (POW) camps.^[5] This was Higa's biggest concern—one that weighed heavily on his mind since contact between siblings or former classmates fighting on opposing sides took place fairly regularly. During the Battle of Okinawa, Higa unexpectedly encountered two of his childhood friends as well as his seventh and eighth grade teacher, Shunso Nakamura, who was "dumbstruck, never dreaming he would see one of his former students with the invading forces."^[6]

The war took on a very personal element as these soldiers also encountered civilian populations with familiar faces and family ties. One of the most dangerous yet valuable services the men of the MIS provided in Okinawa was to persuade people who were hiding in the numerous deep caves on the island to surrender. If they did not, the Americans would dynamite the caves to prevent Japanese soldiers from using them as hideouts. During the Battle of Okinawa, the men of Okinawan descent, such as Seiyu Higashi, Jiro Arakaki, and Shiney Gima, would often ask for permission to search for their parents or relatives in the mountains or civilian compounds.

Throughout the war these linguists were often present at the most critical encounters—both military and diplomatic—between Japanese and American forces. MIS personnel had the greatest impact in the Pacific Theater where they participated in every major battle and campaign against Japan. MIS soldiers served as undercover agents in the Philippines, fought behind enemy lines with Merrill's Marauders in Burma, experienced jungle warfare in New Guinea, landed with the Marines on the beaches of Iwo Jima, and crawled into the caves of Saipan to persuade suicidal enemy forces to surrender. Throughout their experiences, they confronted their dual identity as American citizens of Japanese ethnicity, fighting to prove their loyalty against the country of their parents. Numerous soldiers had family members within the incarceration camps, while others knew of relatives still residing in Japan. When the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima on August 6 and on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, all but ending the war, many Nisei experienced mixed emotions, as many had family members still living in these two Japanese cities.

The Occupation of Japan

According to Nisei veteran Hideo Uto, the "tremendous task of occupying the Japanese homeland" fell upon linguists skilled in communicating in Japanese, including second-generation Japanese Americans who were put to work in all phases of the occupation program and in all parts of Japan.^[7] During the occupation of Japan, Nisei interpreters worked closely with both the Marine officers in charge of restoring Nagasaki and Nagasaki City and prefectural officials. In addition to issues related to public welfare and the rebuilding of cities, they were also responsible for the demobilization of Japanese military

personnel from various overseas posts in Siberia.

Another important concern for American forces was the arrest and prosecution of Japan's military leaders—a task which also involved Nisei personnel. Many Nisei participated in the prosecution of the individuals housed in Sugamo Prison during the war trials that began in December 1945 and lasted until 1948.^[8] More than seventy linguists, most of them members of the MIS, provided translation services for the war crimes tribunals and served as the interpreters for the trials held in Japan, China, the Philippines, French Indochina, and the East Indies. In addition to working directly with Japanese and Japanese officials, many Nisei officers were assigned as language aides and cultural liaisons to key General Headquarters (GHQ) officers.

Administrative matters also constituted an important concern for American forces as a new Japanese constitution needed to be written. MIS graduate George Koshi became intimately involved in this historic undertaking, which forever renounced war as a "sovereign right of the nation."^[9] The new constitution also forbade the existence of a Japanese military. To maintain internal security, the constitution provided for a national Police Reserve force, which came about with the assistance of MIS personnel such as Raymond Aka. Further, members of the MIS, including Shiro Tokuno and Shigehara Takahashi, participated in the implementation of the compulsory agrarian land law throughout Japan in October 1946. This revolutionary piece of legislation remanded nearly six million acres of farmland to individual farmers and eliminated the prewar rural domination by large landowners.

During this period of upheaval and reorganization in Japan, two organizations staffed by MIS personnel proved critical to maintaining order. The first, the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), extracted civil intelligence information from various mass media sources in Japan to monitor and ensure the orderly implementation of occupation policies originating from MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo. The CCD was responsible for censoring all forms of Japanese communication. The other important organization in the occupation was the Counter Intelligence Corps, or CIC, which had offices in all major Japanese cities. Several hundred Nisei special agents and investigators worked throughout Japan to detect and prevent subversive activities.

According to the dominant literature, the efforts made by Nisei of the MIS during the occupation of Japan contributed to the rebuilding of Japan through the development of personal relationships between Japanese and Americans. As members of both cultures, they exploited their dual identity to bridge cultural differences and create understanding and reconciliation between the two nations. Many scholars as well as veterans themselves have argued that their loyalty arguably belonged to both Japan and the United States: while they worked for an American military victory and were active during the occupation of Japan, they also possessed a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the Japanese people during the rebuilding of Japan. Other scholars like Eiichiro Azuma offer a more critical perspective of the actions of the MIS during the occupation of Japan as Nisei soldiers were also used as direct enforcers of United States military domination against Japanese nationals. Thus, to protect their reputation of uncompromised loyalty, some Nisei soldiers also behaved in a most "undemocratic" manner to Japanese citizens as they served as "middlemen" between

occupying forces and the general population.^[10]

Both perspectives, however, recognize the challenges facing Nisei soldiers of the MIS who held American citizenship yet possessed ethnic and cultural ties to Japan. As "cultural brokers" between Japan and America, their dualistic identities posed a challenge both in the United States and Japan as they were identified as cultural liaisons but were never really embraced by both sides. The nebulous position occupied by members of the MIS enabled these soldiers to engage in a wide variety of activities and behaviors that were both celebrated and criticized by American and Japanese officials during and after the war. As such, a nuanced perspective of the role of the MIS is necessary to understand the diversity of their experiences and actions particularly during the occupation of Japan.

For More Information

Americans of Japanese Ancestry and Their Contributions to the Second World War. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library (n.p., n.d.,) microfilm, 1972.

Azuma, Eiichiro. "Brokering Race, Culture, and Citizenship: Japanese Americans in Occupied Japan and Postwar National Inclusion." *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 16:3 (fall 2009): 183-211.

Go for Broke National Education Center. "History: Military Intelligence Service (MIS)." http://www.goforbroke.org/history/history_historical_veterans_mis.asp.

Harrington, Joseph D. *Yankee Samurai: The Secret Role of Nisei in America's Pacific Victory.* Detroit, Michigan: Pettigrew Enterprises, 1979.

Hellinger, Charles. "The Secrets Come Out for Nisei Soldiers: Japanese-American Role in Military Intelligence Service Finally Told." *The Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1982, Part V, 1.

Ichinokuchi, Tad and Daniel Aiso, eds. *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II.* Los Angeles: The Club, 1988.

Japanese American Veterans Association. "Military Intelligence Service." <http://www.javadc.org/index3.htm>.

Kikuchi, Yuki. *The Pacific War of the Nisei in Hawai'i.* Translated by Yoko Hayashi Horiuchi. Pearl City, Hawai'i: n.p., 1999.

Military Intelligence Service Veterans Club of Hawai'i. *Secret Valor: M.I.S. Personnel, World War II, Pacific Theater, Pre-Pearl Harbor to Sept. 8, 1951: 50th Anniversary Reunion, July 8-10, 1993 Military Intelligence Service Veterans Club of Hawai'i.* Honolulu: Military Intelligence Service Veterans of Hawai'i, 1993.

Nakasone, Edwin M. *The Nisei Soldier: Historical Essays on World War II and the Korean*

War. White Bear Lake, MN: J-Press, 1999.

National Japanese American Historical Society. <http://www.njahs.org/>.

The Pacific War and Peace: Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Military Intelligence Service 1941 to 1952. San Francisco: Military Intelligence Service Association of Northern California and the National Japanese American Historical Society, 1991.

Takemae, Eiji. *The Allied Occupation of Japan*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2002.

Tamura, Linda. *Nisei Soldiers Break Their Silence: Coming Home to Hood River*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

A Tradition of Honor. DVD. Produced by Craig Yahata and David Yoneshige. Go For Broke Educational Foundation in Association with Hanashi Oral History Program, 2003.

Tsai, Michael. "Sohei Yamate: Hawai'i Nisei Recalls Tojo's Imprisonment at Sugamo Prison." *The Hawai'i Herald* 14, 14 (1993): A-28.

Uto, Hideo. "The Nisei in Japan: Relationships Between Nisei and Japanese." *Social Process in Hawai'i* XII (August 1948): 43.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Tad Ichinokuchi and Daniel Aiso, eds., *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II* (Los Angeles: The Club, 1988), 177.
3. Eiji Takemae, *The Allied Occupation of Japan* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2002), 21.
4. Aiso, 177.
5. *A Tradition of Honor*, prod. Craig Yahata and David Yoneshige (Go For Broke Educational Foundation in Association with Hanashi Oral History Program, DVD, 2003).
6. Military Intelligence Service Veterans Club of Hawai'i, *Secret Valor: M.I.S. Personnel, World War II, Pacific Theater, Pre-Pearl Harbor to Sept. 8, 1951: 50th Anniversary Reunion, July 8–10, 1993 Military Intelligence Service Veterans Club of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Military Intelligence Service Veterans of Hawai'i, 1993), 101.

7. Hideo Uto, "The Nisei in Japan: Relationships Between Nisei and Japanese," *Social Process in Hawai'i* XII (August 1948): 43.
8. Michael Tsai, "Sohei Yamate: Hawai'i Nisei Recalls Tojo's Imprisonment at Sugamo Prison," *The Hawai'i Herald* 14, 14 (1993): A-28.
9. Koshi also served as defense counsel during the war crimes investigations and trials held from December 1945 to mid-1948 in Tokyo and Yokohama. *The Pacific War and Peace: Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Military Intelligence Service 1941 to 1952* (San Francisco: Military Intelligence Service Association of Northern California and the National Japanese American Historical Society, 1991), 72.
10. Eiichiro Azuma, "Brokering Race, Culture, and Citizenship: Japanese Americans in Occupied Japan and Postwar National Inclusion," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 16:3 (fall 2009): 187.

"[Military Intelligence Service](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Milton Murayama
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Milton Murayama is Japanese American short story writer, playwright, and novelist of books including *All I Asking for Is My Body*, *Five Years on a Rock*, and *Plantation Boy* that capture the different perspective of the Oyama family as they struggle to reconcile their Japanese heritage with their experiences growing up in Hawai‘i. Born on April 10, 1923, in Lāhainā, Maui, to Japanese immigrants from Kyūshū, Murayama grew up in a plantation camp in Pu‘ukoli‘i, that provided the setting for many of his early works.

Murayama graduated from Lahainaluna in 1941 and attended the University of Hawai‘i until the bombing of Pearl Harbor after which he served in the Territorial Guard. Although Murayama and other Japanese Americans were eventually discharged from the Territorial Guard, Murayama soon volunteered for the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) where he was assigned in the China-Burma-India Theater. In 1946, after facilitating the surrender and repatriation of Japanese troops from Taiwan, Murayama received his B.A. in English and Philosophy from the University of Hawai‘i in 1947. Later, he received a Master’s Degree in Chinese and Japanese from Columbia University in 1950 under the G.I. Bill.

After his studies at Columbia where he began his career as a creative writer, Murayama lived in Washington D.C. where he worked for the Armed Forces Medical Library from 1952 to 1956. Thereafter, Murayama moved to San Francisco where he worked for the public library and later for the U.S. Customs Office as an import specialist. Murayama continued to write and in 1980 *All I Asking for Is My Body* won the American Book Award of the Before Columbus Foundation. During this period, Murayama also wrote three plays, *Yoshitsune* (1977), *Althea* (1982), and *All I Asking for Is My Body* (1989). In 1991, Murayama received the Hawai‘i Award for Literature and in 1994 the University of Hawai‘i Press published *Five Years on a Rock* and later *Plantation Boy* in 1998.

According to Murayama, he has two motivations in writing.

The first, which he calls "history-writing" is driven by his need to "put into record a body of first- and second-hand experiences—growing up on Maui, schooling, working in the canefields, any number of things." His second motivation is that "a theme or story fascinates me," and for Murayama, "writing becomes an act of exploring and discovering, examining new territory, becoming familiar with it, then pushing on." His goal is to illuminate meaning, "breaking through my own ignorance, and good writing means capturing and sharing that surprise and joy of discovery."^[1] Murayama lives in San Francisco and continues to write about Hawai‘i's people and experiences.

For More Information

Day, A. Grove and Carl Stroven, ed. *The Spell of Hawaii*. New York: Meredith Press, 1968. Madsen, Deborah L. *Asian American Writers*. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005.

Murayama, Milton. *All I Asking for Is My Body*. 1959. San Francisco: Supa Press, 1975. Afterword by Franklin Odo. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

---. *Dying in a Strange Land*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.

- . *Five Years on a Rock*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.
- . *Plantation Boy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.
- Nelson, Emmanuel S. *Asian American Novelists: a Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Sumida, Stephen H. *And the View From the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai‘i*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.
- . *Two Novels of Hawaii: Waimea Summer by John Dominis Holt: All I Asking for Is My Body by Milton Murayama: A Critique*. Honolulu: Ku Pa‘a, Inc., 1989.

Wilson, Rob. "Milton Murayama's Working-Class Diaspora Across the Japanese/Hawaiian Pacific." *Postcolonial Studies* 11:4 (2008): 475-79.

References

1. Eric Chock and Jody Manabe ed., *Writers of Hawaii: A Focus on Our Literary Heritage* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1981), 59.

"[Milton Murayama](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Morale Committees

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Following the Pearl Harbor attack, a Morale Section was established in Hawai'i on December 18, 1941, that created various subcommittees within different ethnic communities to promote racial unity. The Emergency Service Committee, for example, was organized to work with the Japanese community. The formation of Morale Committees during the war indicate the underlying racial tensions in Hawai'i, as extensive efforts were made to mobilize the Japanese community as well as other ethnic groups in order to contribute to the overall war effort.^[1]

Background

Prior to World War II, some Nisei and non-Japanese had formed the Committee for Interracial Unity in Hawai'i, a multiethnic group of civic and military leaders that included YMCA leader Charles Loomis, Chinese American YMCA Secretary Hung Wai Ching, and Japanese American school principal Shigeo Yoshida. These highly articulate, educated individuals who would later comprise the Morale Section represented three of the major ethnic groups in Hawa'i—white, Japanese, and Chinese—but were not beholden to their own ethnic group. Loomis was a respected outsider from the mainland who was not part of the exclusive circles of the Islands' kama'aina (native-born) elite. Ching, the son of Chinese immigrants, was a YMCA administrator with strong ties to powerful individuals like University of Hawai'i Board of Regents Chair Charles Hemenway. Yoshida, who was born to Japanese immigrant parents, had excelled as a debater at the University of Hawai'i under the tutelage of individuals like Hemenway and had become one of the few Nisei administrators in the territory's Department of Public Instruction. As scholar Franklin Odo noted, "Unlike men who were executives of Big Five firms or ethnic organizations, these were leaders by virtue of their association beyond their own ethnic boundaries."^[2] As such, these men were uniquely qualified to direct their energies to the overall Morale Section effort rather than to one individual group.

During the Pearl Harbor attack, individuals connected with various community groups including the Committee of Interracial Unity reported to Robert L. Shivers, chief of the Honolulu office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) to implement the plans they helped to set up before the war. They also discussed their plans with the head of the local Office of Civilian Defense. As a result of these meetings, a Morale Section was created in the Office of Civilian Defense on December 18, 1941. This later became the Morale Section of the Office of Military Governor on January 26, 1942. According to Shivers, the Morale Section "was appointed by the Army and worked under the immediate supervision of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence [and] maintained a close liaison with the F.B.I. and the Military Governor's Office."^[3] The purpose of the Morale Section was to serve as an intermediary between the Army and civilian community on matters related to public morale and to work toward the maintenance of a "unified and cooperative community."^[4]

Under the Morale Section were several ethnic or national subcommittees that worked among their respective groups to disseminate military orders and alleviate any problems that arose. The Japanese subcommittee of the Morale Section was organized as the Emergency Service Committee (ESC) in February 1942 on O‘ahu. Similar groups were organized on the other islands—the Kaua‘i Morale Committee in May; the Maui Emergency Committee in August; the Lanai Emergency Service Committee in January 1943; and the Hawai‘i AJA Morale Committee in April 1944.^[5] In addition to thirteen Nisei men, Loomis and Ching of the Morale Section served as ex-officio members of the ESC. In the ESC alone there was also an advisory committee made up of about eighty men of Japanese ancestry who were leaders of their respective districts.^[6]

Besides the ESC, the Honolulu Police Contact Group and the Citizens' Council were organized to further promote racial unity in Hawai‘i. The Honolulu Police Contact Group was sponsored by the Honolulu Police Department and led by Captain John Anthony Burns who had headed its Espionage Division that worked under the direction of the F.B.I. Besides encouraging the active participation of Japanese Americans in the war effort, it "helped to ally the fears of the other racial groups where the Japanese were concerned, thus contributing to the overall unity of this community."^[7] Additionally, the Citizens' Council was created that was composed of leading professional and business leaders to keep Hawai‘i's citizens "united in purpose and action."^[8] Together, these groups that had emerged throughout the Territory helped to advert racial tensions in the various racial communities.

Actions of the Morale Committees

During the war, \$2.4 million dollars in frozen bank assets were confiscated from three leading Japanese banks in the territory. This money was converted into war bond purchases.^[9] Through letters and personal phone calls, the ESC collected \$147,408.75 that was invested in war bonds. In June 1943, ESC members raised over \$10,000 for the "Bombs on Tokyo Campaign."^[10] The money was presented to Lt. General Robert C. Richardson Jr., who succeeded General Delos Emmons.

In addition to collecting money, many Japanese also responded through individual demonstrations of loyalty. Often holding down more than one job, many Japanese served as block wardens, Red Cross workers, firefighters, medical workers, and laborers. They responded to urgent pleas for blood by hosting numerous blood drives and encouraged the purchase of war bonds. As block wardens, they were responsible for patrolling their areas, investigating fire hazards, and enforcing the 6 p.m. curfew and blackout regulations established under martial law. Volunteers also manned first-aid stations and the blood bank and provided emergency ambulance services. In fact, the 800 volunteers who had received emergency medical training under the United Japanese Society in Honolulu went directly from their December 7, 1941 certification ceremonies to the aid of the wounded at Pearl Harbor.

As members of the Kiawe Corps on O‘ahu and Kaua‘i, and of the Menehune Minutemen on the Big Island, Japanese volunteers cleared kiawe thickets for evacuation and military

camps, built trails, and strung barbed wire along the coastline.^[11] On Sundays, Japanese women devoted their free time to Red Cross activities, such as folding bandages and knitting woolen socks. Others joined the Women's Division of the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD), and studied safety measures, disseminated necessary information, and worked on special projects such as Christmas gifts for servicemen.^[12]

Although many of these activities were sincere expressions of patriotism, they were also efforts to deflect the suspicion focused on them as a result of their Japanese ancestry. Fear of and discrimination against the Japanese suffused popular public sentiment, and the military officials who now ruled Hawai'i closely monitored the actions of the Japanese community. The actions of the members of the Morale Committees revealed the extreme insecurity and racial tensions that existed in World War II Hawai'i.

For More Information

100th Infantry Battalion Veterans Education Center. "Honorary Members, Club 100." <http://www.100thbattalion.org/history/club-100/honorary-members/>.

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945*. Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd, 1950.

Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee. *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee*. Honolulu: n.p., 1946.

Kimura, Yukiko. *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

Lind, Andrew. *The Japanese in Hawaii Under War Conditions*. Honolulu: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943.

Odo, Franklin. *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i During World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004.

Shivers, Robert L. *Cooperation of Racial Groups in Hawaii During the War*. Honolulu: Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, 1946.

Yoshida, Shigeo. "Emergency Service Committee." Club 100 30th Anniversary Reunion, June 1972. <http://www.100thbattalion.org/archives/puka-puka-parades/wartime-hawaii/emergency-service-committee/>.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i During World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 120.

3. Robert L. Shivers, *Cooperation of Racial Groups in Hawaii During the War* (Honolulu: Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, 1946), 8-9.
 4. Shivers, *Cooperation of Racial Groups*, 9.
 5. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945* (Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd, 1950), 144.
 6. Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 227; Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee* (Honolulu: n.p., 1946), 48-49.
 7. Shivers, *Cooperation of Racial Groups*, 10.
 8. Ibid., 10.
 9. *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee*, 19.
 10. Ibid., 22.
 11. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 91.
 12. Ibid., 350.
-

“Morale Committees” by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

***Nippu Jiji* (newspaper)**
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

From 1895 to 1985, the *Nippu Jiji*, later known as the *Hawaii Times*, was the oldest and largest Japanese-language newspaper in Hawai‘i and the United States prior to World War II. Translated, *Nippu Jiji* means "newspaper for telling timely news." It was a critical source of local and international news and information in the Japanese American community and played a pivotal role in plantation history. In the early 1900s it advocated the improvement of the wages and working and living conditions of Japanese plantation workers and was critical in the 1909 and 1920 sugar strikes. One of its most famous editors and owners, Yasutaro Soga, was active in labor issues and the language school controversy and was interned during World War II. He was joined by a number of *Nippu Jiji* employees who were also suspected as Japanese activists in Hawai‘i. Despite wartime restrictions and the internment of staff members, the *Nippu Jiji* remained a critical source of information for Hawai‘i's Japanese community throughout its history until its close in 1985.^[1]

History of the *Nippu Jiji*

The *Nippu Jiji*, originally named the *Yamato* until ten years after its founding in 1895, was established during a period when large numbers of Japanese immigrants began to arrive in the Islands following the end of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. According to Yasutaro Soga, the *Yamato* which was then owned by Shintaro Anno, began as a six-page semi-weekly paper printed on a lithography machine "in a small, squalid shop, and had a circulation of only a few hundred."^[2] Between 1895 and 1905, its ownership and location changed four times, revealing the challenges of running a newspaper in the early immigrant community. In 1905, Soga became proprietor and editor and described the difficulties of gathering news in the early years of the paper:

The gathering of news in the early days was a slow process. There was no radio, no wireless. Cable service between Hawaii and America was not launched until January, 1903. In July of that year it was extended to Manila. Wireless service between Hawaii and the mainland was inaugurated in 1914, and the service between America and Japan was opened in 1916. There was trans-Pacific steamship service between the United States and Japan through Hawaii, but it cannot be compared to the present service with crack liners and air Clippers plying to and fro in days, instead of weeks.^[3]

As a result of the "slow and inadequate" means of procuring information, news that appeared in the columns of local papers was often several weeks or even a month or more old at times. Notwithstanding these challenges, the *Nippu Jiji* continued to grow in content and circulation. In 1896, the paper, then called the *Yamato Shimbun* and edited and owned by Hamon Mizuno, became a tri-weekly. Finally, six years later, it became a daily. "However," recalled Soga, "there were only about half a dozen employees then, and the circulation was about 350."^[4] When it came under the direct management of Soga in May 1905, it was "a four page affair with a circulation of approximately 500. It was soon enlarged to eight pages." On

November 3, 1906, on occasion of the birthday anniversary of Emperor Meiji, the *Yamato Shinbun* was renamed *Nippu Jiji*. As early as 1903, the paper allocated one or two English columns but this was later discontinued until January 1919, when a separate English section was inaugurated. "The object of this innovation," wrote Soga, was "to enable Americans to understand what was happening in the Japanese community, to acquaint the children born of Japanese parents in Hawai'i with what was occurring in their own community, and to promote better understanding between the Japanese and the Americans."^[5] During the 1930s, the *Nippu Jiji* became a member of two leading American news agencies, namely the Associated Press, the International News Service, and the powerful Domei News Agency of Japan.

As a result of the *Nippu Jiji's* efforts to provide news from Japan to its readership, the paper became involved in various fundraisers for Japan. During the great earthquake in Tōkyō and Yokohama in September 1924, the *Nippu Jiji* took prompt action, appealing for contributions for relief funds and clothes for the thousands of homeless victims. It also handled voluntary contributions from Japanese residents in Hawai'i during the Sino-Japanese conflict and approximately 1,000,000 yen was remitted up to June 1938. More than half of this amount was handled by the *Nippu Jiji* and the *Hawaii Hochi*. The *Nippu Jiji* also supported the Liberty Bond campaign during World War I and the campaign for the production and conservation of food to support American soldiers.

***Nippu Jiji* and Labor Movements**

The remarkable activism and progress made by the *Nippu Jiji* reflected the growth of the Japanese community in Hawai'i as a whole. At its height, the *Nippu Jiji* was a bilingual daily with twelve or more pages, printed on a rotary press "with a daily circulation of 15,000 and giving steady employment to 200 persons."^[6] The *Nippu Jiji* and other Japanese-language newspapers were essential to the early Japanese community in disseminating news and information to primarily plantation workers. Thus, these newspapers became active in labor and community movements, extensively publicizing the plight and experience of the common worker. According to historian Ernest Wakukawa, "had it not been for the initiative taken by the Japanese press" in calling attention to the unsanitary living and exploitative working conditions, "the status of semi-slavery of the laborers of the early days might have remained undisturbed even to this day."^[7] In 1909 and 1920, the *Nippu Jiji* and other leading newspapers of the day became involved in strike movements by Japanese laborers on the plantations. While both strikes failed and newspaper editors like Soga and Fred Makino of *Hawaii Hochi* were arrested for their activism, planters granted some concessions to the workers such as higher wages and improved living conditions. (See Plantations.)

The *Nippu Jiji* and other newspapers were also active in the foreign language school controversy in Hawai'i as language schools were accused of indoctrinating Mikadoism to Japanese American children as part of Japan's plan to colonize the United States. Government efforts to restrict the Japanese language schools in the Islands were met with fierce resistance within the Japanese community and divided the Japanese press. According to Wakukawa, the controversy "split the press and the Japanese community into two camps—the *Nippu Jiji* and its associates taking sides with the non-litigating schools and the

Hawaii Hochi and its allies in support of the litigating schools.^[8] Eventually the language schools were allowed to continue operations but the activism of the local Japanese press in this issue cannot be understated.

World War II and the Wartime Press

With the start of World War II, all Japanese-languages newspapers were forced to close on December 12, 1941. Soga and many of the employees of the *Nippu Jiji* were subsequently interned. A month after the papers were forced to close, the military government, having no way to communicate with Issei residents who could not read English, had to reverse its initial order to shut down these newspapers. On January 9, 1942, the government ordered the *Nippu Jiji* and the *Hawaii Hochi* to reopen and operate under its directives. After some resistance by editor Makino, the *Hochi* was finally renamed *Hawaii Herald* on October 23, 1942 and the *Nippu Jiji* became the *Hawaii Times* on November 2, 1942.

When the Japanese-language dailies resumed publication, the censorship office sent Bill Norwood and Kenneth Barr, a former *Seattle Times* newsman in the Honolulu insurance business, to the *Nippu Jiji* and the *Hawaii Hochi* respectively. Neither knew Japanese but read the English versions of the articles, many of which were written by Hugh Lytle and other newsmen who sometimes used the pejorative word "Jap." The articles were translated into Japanese by staff members and then read by army or FBI language experts. The English version was usually printed a day ahead of the Japanese version. These two papers' assigned roles were not just to provide essential information, but to exhort the Japanese community to American patriotism. Thus, throughout the war, the *Nippu Jiji* promoted American values and loyalty, attesting that it felt a "deep responsibility" toward its constituency "to live and work on American soil that warrants their loyalty as much as though they had received citizenship." It assured the Territory that the trust given to the paper was "rightly placed."^[9] During the war, the influence of the *Nippu Jiji* and other newspapers like it was significant. Their combined circulation in 1942 topped 20,000. According to newspaper scholar Helen Geracimos Chapin, "they were very much in the tradition of the immigrant press in America in expressing pride in its roots yet simultaneously helping to Americanize its ethnic group."^[10] Even under extreme wartime duress, the Japanese-language papers like the *Nippu Jiji* showed strong survival powers and became "unique symbols in American journalism."^[11] The *Nippu Jiji* continued to be published for decades after the war, revealing its resilience and importance in Hawai'i's Japanese community.

When the *Nippu Jiji* closed in 1985, nearly 30,000 photographs from the newspaper were left behind in boxes. Dr. Dennis Ogawa, Professor of American Studies in the Department of American Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa obtained the collection and he created the Hawaii Times Photo Archives Foundation. This entity oversees the development of a database that would allow people access to the *Nippu Jiji* images and their invaluable captions in Japanese and English.

For More Information

Asato, Noriko. *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, California, and Washington, 1919-1927*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.

Burlingame, Burl. "Holholo Honolulu: Nippu Jiji Bldg." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 30, 2003. <http://archives.starbulletin.com/2003/11/30/travel/index2.html>.

Chapin, Helen Geracimos. *Shaping History: the Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

"Editorial: A Deep Responsibility." *Nippu Jiji*, January 8, 1942, 1, 2. "Nippu Jiji Photograph Collection." University of Hawaii Virtual Museum.
http://www.museum.hawaii.edu/collections/nippu_jiji.php.

Sakamaki, Shunzo. "A History of the Japanese Press in Hawaii." Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1928.

Soga, Yasutaro. "The Japanese Press of Hawaii," *Pan-Pacific* 1:2 (April-June 1937): 14.

Storm, Birch. "Japanese Language Papers Here Unique," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 29, 1959, B-8.

Wakukawa, Ernest. *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*. Honolulu: The Toyo Shoin, 1938.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Ernest Wakukawa, *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (Honolulu, The Toyo Shoin, 1938), 327.
3. Yasutaro Soga, "The Japanese Press of Hawaii," *Pan-Pacific* 1:2 (April–June 1937): 14.
4. Soga, "The Japanese Press of Hawaii," 14.
5. Ibid.
6. Wakukawa, 329.
7. Ibid., 330.
8. Ibid., 331.

9. "Editorial: A Deep Responsibility," *Nippu Jiji*, January 8, 1942, 1, 2.
10. Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: the Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 183.
11. Birch Storm, "Japanese Language Papers Here Unique," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 29 November 1959, B-8.

["Nippu Jiji \(newspapers\)"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Advisory group of Japanese Americans organized in 1941 to promote the loyalty of Hawai'i's Japanese population and suppress subversive elements.^[1] Prior to World War II, advisory groups comprised of Japanese Americans were created to discuss issues of internal security within the Japanese community and the reaction of the Japanese population in Hawai'i in the event of war with Japan. The board of directors of the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense, led by Dr. Shunzo Sakamaki, was comprised of forty-one Honolulu men, six women, and twenty-eight rural O'ahu members.^[2] These individuals met with agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Director Robert L. Shivers at least once a week and helped to create plans to control subversive elements within the population. The Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense, an outgrowth of one of the advisory groups but with a wider range of members, contributed to the loyalty program along with the Committee for Inter-Racial Unity that was formed to minimize any friction among the Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese. According to Shivers, the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense embraced three specific purposes:

- a. To work with the constituted authorities in the continuing task of evaluating what went on in the Japanese community.
- b. To plan for and carry out the task of bringing out more positively the inherent loyalty of the Americans of Japanese ancestry toward the United States.
- c. To prepare the Japanese community psychologically to their responsibilities toward this country in the event of war and for the difficult position in which the war would place them in their relationship with the rest of the community.^[3]

On June 13, 1941, the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense organized a rally at McKinley High School to promote racial cooperation and unity in which over 2,000 Japanese and 200 special guests attended.^[4] At this event, army officials announced publicly for the first time their attitude toward the Japanese in Hawai'i in the event of war. Colonel (later Brigadier General) M.W. Marston, then assistant chief of staff for military intelligence, Hawaiian Department, U.S. Army, delivered a message on behalf of Lt. General Walter C. Short, the commanding general of the Hawaiian Department, on the official attitude of military officials toward the Japanese in the event of war. He encouraged individuals of all races to maintain their trust in authorities and "refrain from any acts which might disrupt a united citizenry and place the Army in the position of having to enforce peace and order in the civilian community."^[5] He also promised fair treatment for all citizens regardless of racial ancestry and severe punishment for those who engaged in acts of disloyalty. Marston also assured fair treatment to aliens of Japanese ancestry in the event of war if they did not engage in any subversive activities. Marston praised the actions of members of these advisory groups in promoting the loyalty of the Japanese in the Islands stating, "The fine spirit of interest and cooperation shows by Americans of Japanese ancestry in our national defense effort, as exemplified by this campaign of the Oahu

citizens committee for home defense, has made a profound impression upon everyone in Hawaii."^[6] According to Shivers, this meeting helped to allay much of the fear and insecurity in the community even as the prospect of war loomed ever closer. Many of the activities of these advisory groups were later replaced by the Morale Section of the Military Governor's Office after December 7, 1941. With the outbreak of war members went to the FBI office to "offer their assistance in putting into operation the plans they had helped to evolve during the months preceding the outbreak of hostilities."^[7] They also joined the Emergency Service Committee, the Police Contact Group, the Citizen's Council, and other groups organized to promote unity among the Japanese in the Islands.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1950.

Shivers, Robert L. *Cooperation of the Various Racial Groups with Each Other and the Constituted Authorities Before and After December 7, 1941*. Honolulu: Territorial Emergency Service Committees, 1946.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. "Dr. Sakamaki Chairman of Defense Unit," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 14, 1941, 3.
3. Robert L. Shivers, *Cooperation of the Various Racial Groups with Each Other and the Constituted Authorities Before and After December 7, 1941* (Honolulu: Territorial Emergency Service Committees, 1946), 4-5.
4. "Nisei Give Diplomatic New Pledge of Loyalty," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 14, 1941, 1, 5; "Col. Marston Sees Asset in Americans of Japanese Race," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 14, 1941, 3.
5. Shivers, *Cooperation of the Various Racial Groups*, 5.
6. "Col. Marston Sees Asset in Americans of Japanese Race," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 14, 1941, 3.
7. Shivers, *Cooperation of the Various Racial Groups*, 8.

"Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Office of Civilian Defense (Hawaii)
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

During World War II, the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) served as a special department of the territorial government to mobilize the civilian population in Hawai‘i. Many Japanese Americans participated in Morale Committees and later the Emergency Service Committee (ESC) which were sanctioned by the OCD. Initially, volunteers manned this office and were replaced by paid staffers ten days after the war began. On O‘ahu there were over seventeen divisions and subdivisions organized to serve informational, medical, and protective needs. For example, the organization of air raid wardens, transportation, demolition and repair, communication, evacuation, and emergency medical services were under the jurisdiction of the OCD.^[1] On the neighbor islands, the OCD had fewer divisions but greater responsibilities as the OCD was the major administrative agency of the military governor and other O‘ahu bureaus. As a result, there appears to have been some overlap in the directives and responsibilities of the military governor and according to scholar Gwenfread Allen, "the OCD complained that it was unable to find out from the Army where authority began and ended."^[2] By February 1942, 3,013 individuals were working for the OCD supported by nearly 14,000 volunteers due to the fear of an invasion. Nine months later when no invasion had occurred, drastic cuts were made to personnel and projects and volunteers replaced paid full-time employees.^[3]

In March 1943 the relaxing of martial law resulted in the transfer of several sections from the Office of the Military Governor to the Office of Civilian Defense including materials and supplies control, food control, land transportation control, food production, and civilian medical and poison control.^[4] By June 1944, only 381 persons were employed but with an expanded list of volunteers that had increased to 29,816 individuals.^[5] Even before the war was concluded, divisions of the OCD were closed and assets liquidated by December 1945. Civilian authorities were given buildings on public lands and eighty-five buildings on private lands including warden headquarters, evacuation buildings, and fire truck sheds were sold to the general public.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1950.

1. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1950), 168.
2. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 166.
3. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 171.
4. "Five Public Departments Shift from Military to OCD Control," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 9, 1943, 5.

5. Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 175.

[“Office of Civilian Defense \(Hawaii\)”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner Densho

Patsy Mink
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Lawyer, civil rights advocate, U.S. Representative, author of Title IX, member of Hawai'i's Democratic Party and the Revolution of 1954.

Patsy Takemoto Mink was born in Pā'ia, Maui, on December 6, 1927, to Suematsu and Mitama Takemoto and was Maui High School valedictorian and student body president. After graduation, she attended the University of Hawai'i and later transferred to the University of Nebraska where she challenged segregated student housing. Mink returned to Mānoa to graduate and later applied to various mainland medical schools but her application was denied because of her gender. Mink later entered law school at the University of Chicago where she met John F. Mink, a geology doctoral student. In 1951 they married and had one child, Gwendolyn. Later, they returned to the Islands and Mink began to practice law. However, as the first Japanese American female lawyer in Hawai'i she was not well accepted by the legal profession as a woman.

As a result of her experiences of gender discrimination, Mink became involved in politics, joining the Democratic Party of Hawai'i. "I didn't start off wanting to be in politics," she once told a reporter. "Not being able to get a job from anybody changed things."^[1] In 1956, Mink was elected to the Hawai'i Territorial House and two years later to the Territorial Senate where she later chaired the Education Committee. In 1964, Mink ran for Congress and was elected to her first term standing out in the House of Representatives not only because of her gender and race, but also because of her positions on issues such as public education and civil rights and her opposition to the Vietnam War.

During her career in the House, Mink joined Rep. Bella Abzug of New York to support feminist causes and was one of the authors of the revolutionary Women's Educational Equity Act, known as Title IX. This groundbreaking legislation mandated that any institution receiving federal funding equally support men and women in academics and athletics. The law resulted in a phenomenal growth in women's collegiate athletics programs. After twelve years in the U.S. House, Mink unsuccessfully ran for the Senate losing to Spark M. Matsunaga. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter named Mink assistant secretary of state for oceans and international, environmental and scientific affairs. Despite an unsuccessful mayoral campaign in 1988, Mink would later return to Congress to serve out Daniel Akaka's seat who had been appointed to fill the Senate vacancy following the death of Matsunaga. From 1990 to 2002, Mink once more served in the U.S. House of Representatives as a liberal voice for Hawai'i and the nation. After a month long illness, she died on September 28, 2002, at the age of seventy-four, survived by her husband and daughter.

For More Information

"Hawaii, nation lose 'a powerful voice.'" *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 29, 2002, A-1.

Matsuda, Mari J. ed. *Called From Within: Early Women Lawyers of Hawai'i*. Honolulu:

University of Hawaii Press, 1992.

Mink, Patsy. Congresswoman Patsy T. Mink. Washington, D.C.: Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, [2001].

"Mink, Patsy Takemoto, (1927–2002)." Biographical Directory of the United States Congress. <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=m000797>.

"Patsy Mink." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 29, 2002, A-1.

Patsy Mink: Ahead off the Majority. Documentary film directed by Kimberlee Bassford. Honolulu: Making Waves Films, 2008.

"Patsy T. Mink Papers at the Library of Congress." <http://www.loc.gov/rr/mss/mink/mink-about.html>.

References

1. "Hawaii, nation lose 'a powerful voice,'" *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 29, 2002, A-1.
-

["Patsy Mink"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Patsy Sumie Saiki
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Educator and author of books on Japanese Americans in Hawai'i.

Patsy Sumie Saiki was born on March 12, 1915, the daughter of Shukichi and Chise Okada Kawatachi from Hiroshima, Japan, who were among the first group of Japanese contract workers to arrive in the Islands. After her parents completed their three-year contract, they saved enough money and purchased a fifty-acre homestead in Āhualoa on the Island of Hawai'i. When Saiki was fifteen, she went to McKinley High School on O'ahu. However, before graduating, she returned to the Big Island to tend to her ailing mother who eventually died of cancer. Saiki married Kiyoto Saiki and before returning to school had four children. Despite her family responsibilities, Saiki took only three years to graduate from the University of Hawai'i with a degree in education in 1954. As an undergraduate, however, she won the Charles Eugene Banks creative writing contest twice in 1952 and 1953 in an unprecedented accomplishment. Saiki continued her education and eventually earned her master's degree in education from the University of Hawai'i in 1959. In 1967, she earned a doctorate from Columbia University specializing in curriculum design. She was awarded a *Wall Street Journal* summer fellowship to the University of Wisconsin in 1960. The next year, the *Wall Street Journal* recognized her as one of the top United States journalism teachers. From 1955 to 1959, Saiki taught English and journalism at Stevenson Middle School. In 1960, she worked as a journalism instructor at McKinley High School and eventually became a Department of Education (DOE) administrator and program specialist. Saiki retired from the DOE in 1975 and embarked upon a writing career that focused on the experiences of Japanese Americans in the Islands.

From 1979 to 1981, Saiki served as the research chair for the Honolulu Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League. In this capacity, she interviewed more than 100 Japanese Americans in Hawai'i who were incarcerated during World War II and wrote about their experiences in her book, *Ganbare: An Example of Japanese Spirit*. This was the first, and for many years the only book on internment in Hawai'i. Earlier she had written a collection of short narratives titled *Sachie, A Daughter of Hawaii* and later authored *Japanese Women in Hawaii: The First 100 Years* and *Early Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii*. Scholar Amy W.S. Lee noted Saiki's contribution to recording the experiences of Issei and Nisei in Hawai'i, among whom were her parents:

Through the documentation and re-telling of these individual stories of the immigrants, Saiki provides a vivid picture of the dreams and fears, joy, and hardship this group shared; the vast range of characters appearing in the stories, each with his or her own life and thoughts, makes the story collection insightful explorations of humanity.^[1]

As the author of multiple books, Saiki was also involved in the Japanese Women's Society and was the editor of United Japanese Society of Hawai'i's *Renkyo no ayumi: United Japanese Society of Hawaii 40th Anniversary Publication*.

As a result of her contributions to preserving the history of Hawai‘i's Japanese immigrants and fostering goodwill between America and Japan, the Japanese government awarded her The Order of the Sacred Treasure, Apricot in 1996. Earlier in 1981, she was honored with the Jefferson Award and the University of Hawai‘i Alumni Association distinguished service award in 1992. In 1999, Saiki established an award in the English department at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for the best short fiction work. On December 2, 2005, Saiki passed away at the age of 90, preceded in death by her husband Kiyoto Saiki who was also recognized an Order of Sacred Treasure. She left behind four children—Mae, Kathleen, Ken, and Dennis—as well as seven grandchildren and ten great-grandchildren.

For More Information

Huang, Guiyou, ed. *Asian American Short Story Writers*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Ohira, Rod. "Author and Educator Patsy S. Saiki, 90." *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 9, 2005, B-2.

Saiki, Patsy Sumie. *Early Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii, 1993.

---. *Ganbare! An Example of Japanese Spirit*. Honolulu: Kisaku, Inc., 1981.

---. *Japanese Women in Hawaii: The First 100 Years*. Honolulu: Kisaku, Inc., 1985.

---. *Sachie, Daughter of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Kisaku, Inc., 1977.

---. "Excerpt from 'Communion.'" Reading by Patsy Sumie Saiki.
http://www.getlit.net/vidtext_qt_comm.html.

United Japanese Society of Hawai‘i. *Renkyo no ayumi: United Japanese Society of Hawaii 40th Anniversary Publication*. Edited by Patsy Sumie Saiki. Honolulu: United Japanese Society of Hawaii, [2000].

References

1. Guiyou Huang, ed, *Asian American Short Story Writers* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003), 270.

"Patsy Sumie Saiki" by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Picture Brides

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

The term picture bride refers to a practice in the early twentieth century by immigrant workers who married women on the recommendation of a matchmaker who exchanged photographs between the prospective bride and groom. Arranged marriages were not unusual in Japan and originated in the warrior class of the late Tokugawa period (1603-1868). Men and women had different motivations for marrying or becoming a picture bride and despite these differences, these picture brides, or *shashin hanayome*, were critical to the establishment of the Japanese community in both Hawai‘i and America.

Origins of the Picture Bride Practice

In general, the picture bride practice conformed to traditional marriage customs as parents or relatives in Japan chose wives for single migrant men working in America and Hawai‘i. In Japan, heads of households selected marriage partners for family members through an intermediary. These go-betweens (*nakōdo* or *baishakunin*, and, in Hawai‘i, the term *shimpai* came into general use from its meaning "to worry or care about") arranged meetings between family heads who discussed and negotiated proposed unions with little input from the prospective spouses. An exchange of photographs sometimes occurred in the screening process, with family genealogy, wealth, education, and health figuring heavily in the selection criteria.^[1] Photographs were useful as a means to save embarrassment; if one party was rejected, the matter could be quietly resolved without anyone losing face.^[2] Along with photographs of themselves, the men forwarded information about their lives in America, which go-betweens used in negotiations with parents of eligible daughters. If the families mutually consented, engagement and marriage ensued.

Picture bride marriages deviated in only one important respect from conventional marriages: bridegrooms were physically absent at wedding ceremonies. Still, the practice satisfied all social and legal marriage requirements in Japan. Husbands simply had to enter the names of their brides into their family registries (*koseki tōhon*). Thus, men and women became legally betrothed no matter where they resided.

Motivations of the Men

Japanese men who had immigrated to Hawai‘i and America seeking economic opportunities actively encouraged the arrival of picture brides particularly after the passage of the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1908 that prohibited Japanese travel to the United States and Hawai‘i. As a result, the number of disaffected, impoverished Japanese workers who were unable to return to Japan and thus desired to start a family abroad dramatically increased. As there were a limited number of women—for every 100 females, there were 447 males in Hawai‘i—Japanese men sought the arrival of marriageable women.

Motivations of the Women

No single motive explains why Japanese women came to the United States as picture brides.

Women often conformed to familial obligations and social pressures and married women who had been left behind in Japan responded to their spouses' summons to join them. Other picture brides who were betrothed by parental arrangements simply obeyed parents. Abiding by parental dictates, they too came to join their spouses. Some picture brides were likely influenced by economic motives to help their families through hard times or to put a younger sibling through school. Families expected daughters to remit money from their work in Hawai‘i or America. For poverty-stricken women, marriage with men abroad offered an avenue of escape. Picture bride Kame Iwatani recalled, "It was said that in Hawaii, you can earn money. Everybody used to return home after making money [in Hawaii] . . . When I saw these people, I thought Hawaii had an inexhaustible amount of money."^[3] As a woman, she too had heard stories of economic opportunities in the Islands but recognized that "unless you were received as a bride, you couldn't come." Thus, she and many others faced with dire economic circumstances decided to become picture brides to unknown men thousands of miles away in hopes of a better financial future.

Many picture brides were genuinely shocked to see their husbands for the first time at the Immigration Station. "Picture brides were often disappointed in the man they came to marry," reminisces Kakuji Inokuchi, who remembers the day he went to claim his bride at the Immigration Station. Husbands were usually older than wives by ten to fifteen years, and occasionally more. Men often forwarded photographs taken in their youth or touched up ones that concealed their real age. Besides sending disingenuous photographs, Japanese men often exaggerated their own attractiveness as future husbands to enable parents or relatives to find wives more easily: sharecroppers described themselves as landowning farmers, small shopkeepers as wealthy merchants, and hotel bellboys as elevator engineers. Few men were culpable of more than hyperboles; they relayed utterly false information about themselves. Picture brides had no way of verifying information before meeting their spouses. In general, they believed what they heard from go-betweens until they arrived in the United States and learned otherwise.

"Some picture brides wanted to go back to Japan—they didn't like the looks of Hawai‘i and of the men they had married," remembers Inokuchi. Others who married distant relatives or men they had known in their villages as young girls were shocked and angered. To discourage them from returning, Mr. Katsunuma, the immigration inspector, told them, "Look, since you're in Hawaii, why don't you stay for a while? If you absolutely don't want to stay, then you can go back later. Or you might find another man, because there are lots of single men here. Stay for a few weeks and see how you like it."^[4] While some women did immediately return to Japan, others who did not have the financial resources to pay for such a trip tried to make the best of the situation by choosing a more appropriate partner. Women did have greater marital opportunities in Hawai‘i because of the gender disparity within the Japanese community and while some Issei marriages did end in divorce, the majority of men and women accepted the arranged marriage.

As a result of the picture bride practice, the majority of wives who entered immigrant society between 1910 and 1920 came as picture brides. Between 1911 and 1919, 9,500 Japanese brides arrived in the Islands, beginning a period termed *yobiyosei jidai*, the period of summoning families. The arrival of these women and the subsequent rise in the number

of Japanese births in Hawai‘i fostered an attitude of *eijū dochaku*— to live permanently on the soil.^[5] Women were charged with the responsibility of establishing a family that would create the foundations of a permanent community life.

Women's labor was also critical to the economic survival of their families explaining why most women were expected to work while they cared for their children and husbands. By 1920, Japanese women constituted about eighty percent of the women on O‘ahu plantations, and the percentage of Japanese women who worked for wages in Hawai‘i was higher than other ethnic groups.^[6] Japanese women were concentrated in field operations such as *hoe hana*, *hole hole* work (stripping dried cane leaves), cane cutting, and even the strenuous and backbreaking activity of cane loading. In 1915, Japanese women constituted thirty-eight percent of all Japanese cane loaders. Yet, while women were given many of the same work assignments as men, they were often paid less than their male counterparts. Japanese female field hands, for example, earned an average wage of only \$.55 per day in 1915 compared to the \$.78 Japanese male field hands received.^[7] Although many women did not think anything of the pay differential, the discrepancy in women's pay led them to seek out other forms of employment. To explain the decision to look for additional work, one Issei woman simply stated, "Without money, of course, can't eat—must earn money."^[8] Thus, many women sought other avenues of revenue in industries both on and off the plantation, embracing an egalitarian entrepreneurial spirit that enabled them to work with and for different ethnicities including whites, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Koreans, and Portuguese. They capitalized on gender inequities to work in traditional "female" occupations as laundresses, cooks, and seamstresses but also moved into previously male dominated industries such as bartering, where they took advantage of women's lower pay to dominate the industry. Some Issei women also had professional training in fields like midwifery and were respected and known throughout the plantations for their expertise and knowledge that helped sustain many communities. Finally, Issei women involuntary and voluntarily engaged in prostitution, a lucrative profession for both the women and their pimps. In both the United States and Hawai‘i, women's economic success, as well as their exploitation, was directly tied to their femininity with their sexuality giving rise to new identities and roles in the community.

Conclusion

As a result of the picture bride practice, thousands of women arrived in Hawai‘i and America seeking greater personal and economic opportunities through marriage to unknown men thousands of miles away. Although women were vulnerable to exploitation because of their unfamiliarity with foreign customs and language barriers, because of the gender imbalance, women did have increased marital opportunities. The necessity of their economic contributions to their families also allowed them to play a greater public role in the community. While the early history of Japanese immigrants has been dominated by Japanese men, picture brides also occupy an important role in understanding the agency and activities of Japanese women.

For More Information

Ethnic Studies Oral History Project. *Women Workers in Hawaii's Pineapple Industry Volume II*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1979.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Ichioka, Yuji. *The Issei: The World of the First Generation of Japanese Immigrant, 1885-1924*. New York: The Free Press, 1988.

Johnson, Colleen L. "The Japanese-American Family and Community in Honolulu: Generational Continuities in Ethnic Affiliation." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1972.

Kawakami, Barbara F. *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawai'i: 1885-1941*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.

Kimura, Yukiko. *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988.

Mengel, Laurie M. "Issei Women and Divorce in Hawai'i, 1885-1908." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 38 (1997): 19-39.

Ogawa, Dennis M. *Kodomo No Tame Ni: For the Sake of the Children*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1978.

Takaki, Ronald. *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984.

Yamamoto George K. and Tsuyoshi Ishida eds. *Selected Readings on Modern Japanese Society*. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1971.

References

1. Barbara F. Kawakami, *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawai'i: 1885-1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 10.
2. George K. Yamamoto and Tsuyoshi Ishida eds., *Selected Readings on Modern Japanese Society* (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1971), 16-17.
3. Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, *Women Workers in Hawaii's Pineapple Industry Volume II* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1979), 839.
4. Ibid.

5. In the years of 1920 and 1921, the Japanese birthrate climbed to a level exceeded only by part-Hawaiians. Between 1920 and 1937, the number of Nisei, or second generation rose from 38,127 to 113,289. Colleen L. Johnson, "The Japanese-American Family and Community in Honolulu: Generational Continuities in Ethnic Affiliation," (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1972), 58; Ogawa, 80.
6. Kawakami, 194.
7. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 78.
8. *Women Workers in Hawaii's Pineapple Industry*, 858.

"Picture Brides" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Plantations

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

For nearly one hundred years, cash crop production of sugar cane, pineapple, coffee, and other products dominated Hawai‘i's economy as eventually over eighty plantations sprung up throughout the Islands following the arrival of foreigners. The emergence of "King Sugar" in Hawai‘i initiated great social changes with the arrival of immigrant workers from China, Korea, Puerto Rico, and Japan. Long hours and harsh working conditions on many plantations, however, often created a contentious relationship between workers who sought greater autonomy and increased pay and owners who desired the maximization of their profits. While the Big Five, a collection of plantation conglomerates, was the driving force behind Hawai‘i's economy for many years, World War II ushered in the growing influence of the military and the tourism industry that eventually replaced commercialized agriculture.

The Creation of a Plantation Economy

In 1835, William Hooper of Boston arrived in Kōloa on the island of Kaua‘i to establish the first plantation in Hawai‘i. Faced with unfamiliar weather conditions, native workers who seemed resistant to work, and intense isolation, Hooper left Kōloa four years later. Despite his failure, Hooper's venture initiated great changes as it opened the way for the development of a corporate-dominated sugar economy and a paternalistic racial and class hierarchy in the Islands. After Hooper's departure, four events in Hawai‘i would lead to the enthronement of "King Sugar": the Great Mahele of 1848, which destroyed the traditional system of land ownership in Hawai‘i enabling foreigners to own land; the Gold Rush that created a new market for food products shipped from Hawai‘i; the American Civil War that increased the price of sugar eightfold, making sugar production in Hawai‘i economically profitable; and finally the Reciprocity Treaty that enabled Hawai‘i to export sugar, duty free, to the United States.^[1] However, as the plantations flourished, the need for labor increased given its short supply. Measles, smallpox, and venereal disease had significantly reduced the indigenous population, and by 1860, only approximately twenty-two percent (66,984) of the original 1778 Hawai‘i population remained. The number of native Hawaiians available to work as laborers would have been insufficient even if they had been inclined to work in the sugar industry, which they were not.^[2]

Utilization of Japanese Labor

After early efforts to utilize Chinese workers proved unsuccessful, members of the Bureau of Immigration in Hawai‘i increasingly looked to Japan as the solution to the worker shortages and worker difficulties in the Islands. Despite an early unsuccessful start in 1868, during the government-sponsored immigration period between 1885 to 1894, twenty-six ships carrying Japanese immigrants landed in Honolulu, bringing approximately 29,000 Japanese to Hawai‘i's shores.^[3] Many arrived looking for work, expecting to return to Japan after their labor contract expired, dreaming of wealth and easy riches. However, life on the plantations was debilitating even to those used to field work.

Plantation Life

Laborers worked from sunup to sundown for minimal pay; during the half-hour lunch break before noon, Japanese laborers ate their lunches of rice and daikon (Japanese radish) with some salted salmon, dried fish, or broiled codfish in the fields. Lacking a proper diet for the harsh plantation environment, Japanese workers were susceptible to beri-beri and other diseases. Many workers detested the harsh labor and substandard living conditions they were forced to endure, and their anger toward and resistance against authorities increased as well as self-destructive behaviors. Often, living quarters on many Hawaiian plantations were unfit for habitation. Laborers working ten to twelve hours a day in cane fields or mills returned exhausted at twilight to dismal, termite-ridden bunkhouses. Conditions varied from plantation to plantation but, typically, workers huddled together in barracks that accommodated anywhere from six to forty men, and rough, one-by-twelve wooden planks served as beds. Overcrowding particularly characterized the plantations along the Hāmākua coast, where as many as one hundred Japanese were cramped together in a single barrack. According to one observer, these conditions were "detrimental to morals as well as comfort."^[4] Married men were usually furnished with small rooms for their families, but sometimes bachelors shared these quarters. Privacy was a luxury enjoyed by few and the community bath and boarding house often functioned as gathering places for the early Japanese community. The decline of traditional values and communal control coupled with a disproportionate sex ratio led many to commit "immoral acts" as "they were free from communal punishment."^[5] The vast majority of the Japanese laborers were described as "ignorant and excitable," with "little knowledge of the ordinary decencies and proprieties of life," possessing a "heathenish recklessness of conduct" that was manifested in a number of ways.^[6]

Worker Resistance on the Plantations

On the plantations, workers were known to resort to violence as a way of protesting against harsh and unfair treatment. While most daily acts of violence and resistance went unrecorded, workers did not submissively accept ill treatment and often resorted to aggression, on collective as well as individual levels. Workers often engaged in violence against overseers; lunas were particular targets of worker violence as they imposed the will of the plantation owner and wielded fundamental control over their lives and bodies. Despite the penalties imposed by planters, fines, physical violence, verbal reprimands, arrests, and other methods proved inadequate in deterring violations by either party.

To protest harsh working conditions, workers also developed subtle day-to-day methods of resistance that were vexatious to plantation owners. Although workers did not control the means of production, they could control the pace and quality of their labor. Many workers were deliberately inefficient and sought to minimize their labor through recalcitrance, feigning illness, and work slowdowns. Workers also covertly smoked, gossiped, and rested when the watchful eyes of the luna were not upon them. They became skilled in the art of deception, appearing to be energetic while taking every opportunity to avoid real productivity.

To mitigate the daily drudgery of hard labor, many plantation workers also resorted to drugs, including opium, heroin, morphine, and alcohol. Although it is impossible to know the extent of alcohol and drug usage, many workers used these substances after work and on weekends as well as during their lunch breaks. In addition to drug use and drinking, workers often engaged in gambling in the camps through all hours of the night, to the consternation of plantation managers and lunas, who desired a rested and productive labor force. One plantation owner testified that the sixty to seventy Japanese he employed "are not so much addicted to drinking as to gambling," contributing to their inefficiency during the day and their sense of transiency and lawlessness as a predominantly bachelor labor force.^[7]

Some workers, despite repeated beatings and imprisonment, attempted to run away from the plantations to gain their freedom, even if they were unable to rise out of the ranks of exploited laborers. Those who did not have the educational background and work experience to enable them to escape became increasingly recalcitrant and resistant to the lunas. *Ha 'alele Hana*, or desertion from service, was particularly common during the nineteenth century. In 1892, authorities arrested 5,706 individuals for deserting their contract services on the plantations. Of these arrests, 5,387 were convicted. To control the problem of *Ha 'alele Hana*, planters formed surveillance networks and an informal system of mutual assistance for the capture of deserters. Others offered rewards for the capture of runaways as "incentives" to identify deserters and report suspicious individuals or "wandering laborers" to the authorities.

Conducted on both individual and collective levels, resistance against planter dominance characterized the early history of Japanese in the Islands. Despite the dual system of justice and federal and local legislation designed to restrict the rights and movements of the Japanese, numerous laborers remained defiant. Many plantation owners frequently clashed with Japanese workers and conflict on the plantations became a source of anxiety for many whites. Consequently, the plantations became a "contested terrain"; while planters tried to extract as much labor as possible from their workers, laborers sought to acquire greater control over their work, personal autonomy, and economic freedom.^[8]

Plantation Profits

Despite continuous problems with labor that resulted in major strikes in 1909 and 1920, plantations became the cornerstone of Hawai‘i's economy prior to World War II. Following the annexation of Hawai‘i, a group of family-owned corporations—Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer & Co., American Factors (now Amfac) and Theo H. Davies & Co.—collectively known as the Big Five dominated the economic and political landscape of the Islands.

"In no part of the United States is a single industry so predominant as the sugar industry is in Hawaii," wrote Ray Stannard Baker. A 1905 study elaborated on this statement: "Directly or indirectly, all individuals in the Territory of Hawaii are ultimately dependent upon the sugar industry. The social, the economic and the political structure of the islands alike are built upon a foundation of sugar." Acting as agents for thirty-six of the thirty-eight major sugar plantations, the Big Five openly monopolized the sugar trade. Twenty-nine firms, producing seven out of every eight tons of sugar exported from the Islands, refined, marketed, and

distributed their product through the Big Five's owned California and Hawaiian Sugar Company, whose refinery, the largest in the world, was located in San Francisco.

Although sugar profits varied with market price, plantations often generated great wealth that became concentrated in the hands of a small number of affluent white families while the thousands of workers they employed often struggled to make ends meet. In 1925, sugar interests made \$25 million dollars in profits on a \$100 million dollar crop. The Hawaiian Agricultural Company made a 30 percent profit in 1915, 67 percent in 1920, and 17 percent in 1925. An even larger Big Five firm, Maui's Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company, that controlled 35,000 acres and housed 3,200 workers, regularly returned a 20 percent profit to its stockholders. From 1894 through 1923, Castle and Cooke profits amounted to over \$12 million, out of which over \$6 million was paid as dividends—average yearly dividends being a substantial 36.2 percent.^[9]

Decline of the Plantations

Although plantation owners enjoyed decades of unfettered control and profits, World War II ultimately broke the monopoly enjoyed by the Big Five and ushered in dramatic social and economic changes for the people of Hawai‘i. During World War II, the military forced the Big Five to relinquish much of their traditional power with the establishment of martial law. The end of the war also consolidated the military presence in Hawai‘i, which became the center of United States expansion throughout the Pacific Basin. In the postwar period, sugar began to produce smaller profits, encouraging the expansion of American corporations into tourism and resort development. These changes, along with unprecedented opportunities for Nisei veterans who participated in the GI Bill, led many Japanese to enter into new areas of business and employment. Additionally, many Nisei became effective organizers in the emerging International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), which successfully brought workers of different nationalities together. In 1946 and 1949, the ILWU organized dock workers and all areas of sugar and pineapple production before calling major strikes that ended the era of almost total control by plantation managers and the emergence of new rights and opportunities for workers.

For More Information

The Alexander and Baldwin Sugar Museum. <http://www.sugarmuseum.com/>.

Beechert, Edward D. *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

"Better Housing for Plantation Laborers." *Friend*, May 1899, 36.

Hawai‘i's Plantation Village. <http://www.hawaiiplantationvillage.org/>.

Hawaiian Sugar Planter's Association. Plantation Archives. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Library. http://www2.hawaii.edu/~speccoll/m_about.html.

"The Hilo Court." *Daily Bulletin*, May 27, 1890, 4.

Kent, Noel J. *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.

Kodama-Nishimoto, Michi, Warren S. Nishimoto, and Cynthia A. Oshiro, eds. *Hanahana: An Oral History Anthology of Hawaii's Working People*. Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Oral History Project, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1984.

Masuoka, Jitsuichi. "Changing Moral Bases of the Japanese Family in Hawaii". *Sociology and Social Research* 21, 2 (November–December 1936): 158-169.

Moriyama, Alan Takeo. "Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894-1908." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

"Peril from Heathen Japanese." *Friend*, May 1899, 34.

Takaki, Ronald. *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983.

References

1. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 19.
2. Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 60.
3. Alan Takeo Moriyama, "Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894-1908" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles 1982), 35.
4. "Better Housing for Plantation Laborers," *Friend*, May 1899, 36.
5. Jitsuichi Masuoka, "Changing Moral Bases of the Japanese Family in Hawaii" *Sociology and Social Research* 21, 2 (November–December 1936): 166.
6. "Peril from Heathen Japanese," *Friend*, May 1899, 34.
7. "The Hilo Court," *Daily Bulletin*, May 27, 1890, 4.
8. Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979).
9. Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review

Press), 74-75.

[“Plantations”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Police Contact Group (Honolulu)
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Active during World War II, the Police Contact Group evolved from a rally at McKinley High School in June 1941 that 2,000 people had attended.^[1] Following that event, a group of Nisei went to the Honolulu Police Department (HPD) to volunteer their services. They were directed to a young police officer, John Burns, who organized them into a network of young Japanese Americans who would serve as contacts in Japanese neighborhoods. Once the war began, these Nisei were charged with the responsibility of "checking out scare rumors, quieting the sense of fear, outlining the harsh realities of martial law and translating information to those of the immigration generation who spoke no English."^[2] Working together with HPD Special Detail officers, Police Contact Group members assisted in the surveillance of Japanese communities in Hawai'i during the war.

Prewar Military Concerns of Japanese "Undesirables"^[3]

Long before the outbreak of war, there was concern that the large number of Japanese in Hawai'i posed a danger to territorial and national security, and this became one justification, among others, for the enactment of martial law and internment in Hawai'i.^[4] Suspicions about Japanese loyalty and tractability had been earlier confirmed by Japanese labor activism in the 1909 and 1920 strikes, which the media portrayed as nationalistic activities by a distinctly un-American ethnic group who resisted assimilation efforts. Additionally, the involvement of Japanese defendants in two high-profile crimes—the Jamieson murder and the Massie case—seemed to reflect the threat Japanese posed to the white elite and military population.

Thus, as early as 1935, the army established the Army Service Command, which created a partnership between "civil control forces" and the military to prevent sabotage and local uprisings.^[5] The army's plan for civilian warfare in Hawai'i also led to the creation of a paramilitary organization called the Provisional Police in July 1940. Led by plantation manager T.G.S. Walker, its mission was to prevent and suppress any emergency, such as "sudden and unpredicted overt acts by disloyal inhabitants."^[6] Through the efforts of the army, the Honolulu mayor, the chief of police, and plantation managers on O'ahu, the Provisional Police was established to allow civilians to participate in defending Hawai'i against possible attack. In addition to the army, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) also became interested in looking for subversives within Hawai'i's Japanese community. In August 1939, just before war broke out in Europe, the FBI reopened its Honolulu office, which it had closed years earlier. FBI agents joined the efforts of army and navy intelligence staffs, which had been compiling lists of anti-American suspects, mainly those of Japanese ancestry. Together, they developed more detailed information regarding the Japanese population in the Islands, focusing surveillance on both the older group of 35,000 Issei aliens and the younger 120,000 Nisei and Sansei, many of whom held dual citizenship.

The FBI also gained the assistance of the HPD, which at the FBI's request formed an Espionage Bureau. This entity was established in December 1940, following the approval of

Police Chief Gabrielson, the mayor, and Board of Supervisors. The police bureau employed a Japanese, Korean, Hawaiian, and "Hapa- Haole" (Japanese-White), all of whom spoke Japanese, to investigate matters for the FBI, army, and naval intelligence and to engage in undercover activities within Hawai'i's Japanese community. Police Captain John A. Burns served as the head of the Espionage Bureau from January 1, 1941, and was the liaison with certain Japanese who advised United States military and civilian intelligence bureaus on Japanese activities.^[7] Throughout 1941, a total of 550 investigations were made by the Bureau with the majority of cases (86%) referred through the FBI.^[8] Much of what the Espionage Bureau did, Burns recalled, was in response to questions raised by the FBI about people's background, general reputation, and activities to determine personal loyalties. Espionage Bureau personnel also examined general Japanese sentiments and potential racial tensions.^[9]

Despite the work of the Espionage Bureau, as relations between the United States and Japan deteriorated in 1941, the demand for intelligence on the Japanese community increased. Fortunately for Burns, six months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese community leaders of the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense called a public meeting at McKinley High School, where they proposed an organization of Japanese Americans to police the Japanese community in the event of war.^[10] The FBI and Chief Gabrielson agreed that such an organization was not acceptable. However, they did consent to an alternative proposal to create an organization called the Police Contact Group, a network of loyal Japanese Americans who would report regularly to the HPD through Burns.^[11] Gabrielson asked Burns to coordinate efforts and to submit names to the FBI for clearance. The first meeting was scheduled for Monday, December 8 and canceled after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Pearl Harbor Attack and Police Response

By noon, December 7, mere hours after the Pearl Harbor attack, Burns was closeted in meetings with Shivers and Colonel George W. Bicknell, head of counterintelligence for the U.S. Army in Hawai'i. Together they went over lists of possible security risks and each of the three men had a vote. "If two of us voted yes," Burns recalled, "he was a risk." Burns noted that these individuals had been "completely investigated" partly through the efforts of the Espionage Bureau.^[12] Thus, as arrests began that day of suspected individuals in the community, HPD officers provided critical manpower.

Within a week of the Pearl Harbor attack, federal authorities stopped consulting Burns and his Espionage Bureau about who should be interned; instead, they continued to use this unit to track down a number of rumors of evidence of Japanese disloyalty.^[13] None, however, led to any evidence of espionage. Yet, the Police Contact Group, which constituted "over fifty guys, scattered throughout the islands," continued to be active throughout 1942.^[14] Although its members were listed as part of the Emergency Service Committee (ESC), Burns noted that while the Group was "never organized," it became a "hellauva good idea" because it became a good method of "getting information out where the paper didn't get it,

or didn't put it rightly."^[1] Burns added that it served a critical purpose of "quieting rumors down, because the boys who in one district would pick up that their people in that community got a big rumor they could call me, get the straight information, and take it back and cut the rumor." Besides promoting blood bank donations and war bond sales, Burns noted that it "furnished a very valuable asset on what's going on in the community," giving him evidence of Japanese loyalty while he simultaneously pushed for allowing Japanese Americans entry into the armed services. However, in both his biography and oral history, Burns fails to note the police surveillance of the Japanese community that continued at least throughout 1942 that was in part based on the information obtained by his Police Contact Group. Additionally, from the Contact Group's more diligent workers came the leaders of the ESC, which served as the Morale Section of the Japanese community to spearhead various efforts to prove the loyalty of its members.

Collaboration and Internal Community Surveillance

While some may have appreciated the efforts of members of the Police Contact Group and the ESC, others in the Japanese community were not receptive to these efforts.^[15] Some members of the Japanese community referred to ESC and Police Contact Group members and Burns himself as *inu* (dogs) and accused them of trying to win favoritism by cooperating with the government as they were regarded as "patriotic zealots" and "self-appointed stool pigeons" for the military authorities.^[16] In the mainland incarceration camps, allegations of "informer" and "collaborator" used to identify alleged *inu* sparked beatings and riots at Poston and Manzanar; one incident resulted in two deaths and nine wounded.^[17] In Hawai‘i, similar violent incidents did not occur but the use of the word *inu* suggests that some did not fully embrace the Americanization efforts to prove the loyalty of the Japanese community. Possibly these efforts prevented the mass incarceration of the Japanese population and became the basis for the postwar activism of Hawai‘i's Democratic Party and Nisei politicians who had ties with the ESC and Burns.

Conclusion

The actions of the Police Contact Group, which have not been closely examined in the dominant literature, offer critical insights into the experiences of Japanese in Hawai‘i living under martial law—men and women military and civilian authorities extensively investigated throughout 1942. In addition to official military surveillance, some individuals within the Japanese community actively assisted authorities in monitoring ethnic neighborhoods. Thus, while some established their reputation during World War II through their efforts to mobilize the Japanese community by cooperating with authorities, others became targets of police visits to ensure compliance with military and civilian orders revealing the collusion of internal and external interests.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971.

Boylan, Dan and T. Michael Holmes. *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000.

Coffman, Tom. *Catch a Wave: Hawaii's New Politics*. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1972.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Hawaii, Office of the Military Governor, Morale Section, Emergency Service Committee, *Final Report of the Emergency Service Committee* (Honolulu: n.p., 1946).

Kotani, Roland. *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*. Honolulu: The Hawaii Hochi, Ltd.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Hawaii, 1865-1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

References

1. Tom Coffman, *Catch a Wave: Hawaii's New Politics* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1972), 17-19.
2. Coffman, 19.
3. "History of the G-2 Section Part II," Japanese Internment and Relocation: The Hawaii Experience, University of Hawai‘i, Hamilton Library, Special Collections [henceforth JIRHE] Item 230, 13.
4. Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 106.
5. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971), 65.
6. Okihiro, 196.
7. John Anthony Burns, *John A. Burns Oral History Project*. Tape No. 4, pg. 1.
8. Honolulu Police Department, *Annual Report: Police Department, City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii 1941*, "Police," 31.01. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL) Collection, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Archives, Hamilton Library [henceforth RASRL].

9. "General Information, Richard C. Miller Espionage Bureau, December 3 1941," RASRL.
10. Members of the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense who helped to identify "beat leaders" of certain districts included "Dr. [Shunzo] Sakamaki, Jack Wakayama, Lt. [Yoshio] Hasegawa, Mr.W. Amioka, Mr. G. Eguchi, Mr. Masatoshi Katagiri, Mr. M. Maneki, Mr. S. Higashino, Mr. Paul Morihara, Mr. Shigeo Yoshida, and Mr. Clifton Yamamoto." "Honolulu Police Department Contact Group," pg. 1. RASRL.
11. John Anthony Burns, *John A. Burns Oral History Project*. Tape No. 4, pg. 5-6.
12. John Anthony Burns, *John A. Burns Oral History Project*. Tape No. 4, pg. 2, 3.
13. Dan Boylan and T. Michael Holmes. *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 17.
14. John Anthony Burns, *John A. Burns Oral History Project*. Tape No. 4, pg. 6.
15. As the Emergency Service Committee was organizing meetings on O‘ahu, Hans L'Orange, manager of O‘ahu Sugar's plantation at Waipahu refused to allow Burns to organize any meetings on the premises believing that it would be disruptive to his workers. Both Burns and military intelligence felt that Waipahu, "a virtual Japanese ghetto," strategically located next to Pearl Harbor, had to participate in the program. After personally approaching L'Orange, who remained intransigent, Burns went to the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) and urged them to encourage L'Orange to participate. Within days, the HSPA notified Burns that L'Orange was more than happy to participate in the program. Boylan, 63-64.
16. Boylan, 64; Roland Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* (Honolulu: The Hawaii Hochi, Ltd.,) 99.
17. United States. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997) 179-180.

"Police Contact Group (Honolulu)" by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Revolution of 1954

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Popular term for the November 1954 Hawai'i territorial election that saw Democratic majorities in both the house and senate for the first time, upending decades of Republican rule. Many of the newly elected officials were Nisei veterans who were no longer willing to accept their second-class status in the Islands.^[1]

Nisei Veterans: "We Wanted Our Place in the Sun"^[2]

With the conclusion of World War II, many Nisei veterans returned to the Islands and faced the challenge of reentering civilian life. However, their experiences during the war had fundamentally changed these soldiers, and they were unwilling to accept their second-class status within society, particularly in light of the lives that had been lost in order to prove the loyalty of the Japanese community. The 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team accounted for sixty percent of Hawai'i's fighting forces and eighty percent of total Hawai'i casualties. Of the 7,500 men who joined either of these units, 5,000 were awarded medals, approximately 3,600 of which were for battle wounds. 700 hundred died, 700 were maimed, and another 1,000 were seriously wounded.^[3]

The Nisei who fought and died on the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific to defend the honor and loyalty of their people learned a great deal about Hawai'i and America in their experiences. Coming from an isolated island chain in the middle of the Pacific, they witnessed firsthand the racial segregation of southern towns while training in areas such as Camp Shelby, Mississippi. They observed the inferior position of poor whites who performed menial labor reserved for non-whites in the Islands, and saw the widespread discrimination experienced by African Americans.^[4] They also met the better-educated "kotonks," their fellow Nisei from the mainland who were also in the 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regiment, heard them describe the opportunities available on the mainland, and accompanied them when they visited their incarcerated families. "Most of all," according to one author, "they wondered quietly to themselves if they were fighting for mere acceptance or if, as warriors returning to Hawaii, they could assert their ambitions in politics and business."^[5] By fighting and dying on behalf of the United States to prove their loyalty—something no other ethnic group had been asked to do—Japanese American soldiers believed they had earned their rightful place as equals within society. 442nd Regimental Combat veteran and future Hawai'i senator Daniel Inouye explained this transformation:

Well obviously after going through an experience of that nature where you saw your friends die every day, get wounded every day, keep in mind that we had more purple hearts per capita than any other regiment in the United States Army . . . we received more decorations for valor than any other comparable unit in the United States Army... it showed that we were involved in a lot of action . . . and whenever you do involve yourself in action, there is a lot of blood and having spilled that blood . . . we weren't ready to go back to the plantations.^[6]

According to Inouye, after having experienced the horrors of war, and having sacrificed countless lives in an effort to prove their loyalty, many Nisei veterans returned to the Islands with a new perspective and desire for change. "So we knew we were expendable," explained Inouye, "but we knew that we had to pay that price . . . and we were willing to pay that price . . . but once we paid that price we wanted our place in the sun."^[7] This desire for political, social, and economic change led many veterans to support the Democratic Party and align themselves with other prominent Nisei who had emerged as leaders within the Japanese community during World War II. As a result of the absence of traditional Issei leaders who had been interned, and because of the war-spawned role reversal of traditional Japanese social patterns, prominent Nisei assumed the leadership roles within the Japanese community. They spearheaded organizations during the war such as the Council for Inter-Racial Unity, Morale Committees, and Emergency Service Committee. The latter organization led the way in demonstrations of loyalty and Americanization by in part encouraging Nisei with dual citizenship to renounce their Japanese citizenship. This group was mainly led by Nisei, including such prominent individuals as Supreme Court Justice Wilfred C. Tsukiyama, University of Hawai'i historian Shunzō Sakamaki, attorney Katsuro Miho, engineer Arthur Y. Akinaka, attorney Masaji Marumoto, and his one-time law partner Robert K. Murakami.^[8] During the war they had encouraged donations to blood banks and "Speak-American" campaigns, collected flowers from Japanese farmers for the graves of those killed on December 7, 1941, and removed Japanese signage. Their efforts were designed to focus the energies of the Japanese community on deflecting accusations of disloyalty.

John Burns and Nisei Veterans

Similar in aims to the Emergency and the Morale Committees was the Police Contact Group active on O'ahu during the early months of the war.^[9] It had evolved from a rally at McKinley High School in June 1941, which 2,000 people had attended.^[10] Following that event, a group of Nisei had gone to the Honolulu Police Department to volunteer their services. They were directed to a young police officer, John Burns, who organized them into a network of young Japanese Americans who would serve as contacts in Japanese neighborhoods. As a result of his work with the Police Contact Group, Burns grew increasingly involved within the Japanese community and efforts to publicize the military contributions of Japanese Americans who had served in the Varsity Victory Volunteers, the 100th Infantry Battalion, and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. In the process, Burns established key political alliances and critical community support within the ethnic population. One author commented:

*Bit by bit, the young police captain was backing into politics. His personal contacts were multiplying to the hundreds and thousands, ranging from his organizing campaigns to managing a Japanese baseball team, the Asahis (*Morning Sun*), who for wartime's sake changed their name to the Athletics.^[11]*

Through his efforts within the Japanese community, Burns became acquainted with prominent Nisei who became instrumental in his political aspirations, which came to fruition during the "Revolution of 1954" when Democrats seized control of the Territorial

Legislature and ushered in a new era of social and racial equality in Hawai‘i. The executive secretary of the Emergency Service Committee was Mitsuyuki "Mits" Kido, who in 1959 ran with Burns as a candidate for lieutenant governor. Kido first met Burns in the early days of the war and, by 1944, Burns, Kido, Edward Murai, Jack Kawano, and politician Chuck Mau met almost weekly to discuss plans for the postwar period.^[12] At that time, Kido recalled, "we asked each other, 'What the hell are we going to do when these kids come home'.... We said we would stand for equality of opportunity, regardless of race. We wanted acceptance as first-class citizens. Our second goal was to raise the standard of living and the standard of education."^[13] They settled on the Democratic Party as the vehicle for challenging the white oligarchy that had maintained its political dominance in Hawai‘i through the Republican Party.

Rise of the Democratic Party In Hawai‘i

After the war ended, Burns resigned from the Police Department, intent on reorganizing a party that had never controlled an elective body in the history of Hawai‘i. Key to his success was the alliance Burns formed with a young Nisei veteran, Daniel Inouye, who convinced Dan Aoki, president of the 442nd Veterans Club, that the energies of its members could be used to improve the social and political status of Japanese in Hawai‘i.^[14] By 1948, after serving six years as O‘ahu's Civil Defense director, Burns had gathered enough support to become the O‘ahu chairman of the Democratic Party. In the fall, he entered the nearly impossible race for delegate to Congress against the popular Republican incumbent, Joseph Farrington. Burns lost, but he had established a core group of supporters: Matsuo Takabuki and Mike Tokunaga, Nisei veterans who had been raised on the plantations and became key party leaders; William Richardson, a part-Hawaiian who envisioned a Japanese-Hawaiian voting bloc to weaken white political control; and Sakae Takahashi, who was a veteran of the 100th Infantry Battalion and who in 1950 won a seat on the Honolulu Board of Supervisors and became the first Japanese American treasurer of the Territory.^[15]

As Burns rose from O‘ahu chairman to territorial chairman of the Democratic Party, his supporters similarly gained in numbers and political positions as they "indefatigably exploited the accumulated resentments of Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiians, and Filipinos against the injustices, real and imagined, of the past."^[16] Many were inspired to break the influence of the Islands' haole (white) oligarchy who dominated the plantations and political and economic life of Hawai‘i. They became aligned with other whites such as Thomas P. Gill, O. Vincent Esposito, and Frank Fasi who as rising entrepreneurs and professionals found few opportunities in Big Five companies. Many other middle class professionals—realtors, lawyers, contractors, and others with jobs closely associated with politics—regarded the Democratic Party as a potential vehicle for economic success. The rise of the Democratic Party was also facilitated by the support of prominent Democrats such as Alan Saunders, Dr. Gregg Sinclair, Governor Oren Long, and Thomas Murphy of the University of Hawai‘i who openly maintained their political affiliation after arriving in the Islands. Collectively, with the support of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union leadership who rallied their membership against the Republican Party, the Democratic Party in Hawai‘i became revitalized as a formidable multi-ethnic challenge to the Republican

Party.

In 1954, thirteen years after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the now vital Democratic Party achieved victory, securing solid majorities in both houses of the legislature. After helping to secure statehood for Hawai‘i in 1959, Burns would be elected governor in 1962 after defeating Governor William Quinn in a landslide. The vote was tallied at 114,000 for Burns and 82,000 for Quinn. Burns's victory proved emblematic of the growing political influence in Hawai‘i of the Democratic Party, and of the rise of Japanese American veterans such as Daniel Inouye, Spark Matsunaga, and George Ariyoshi. For many, the 1950s marked a new era dominated by Nisei who had capitalized on the educational opportunities provided by the GI Bill and who had taken advantage of political and economic opportunities.

Conclusion

In the postwar period many Nisei entered professional occupations and became teachers, doctors, and lawyers, while others took advantage of the tourism boom in the 1950s to enjoy unprecedented profits from businesses catering to the burgeoning tourist industry.^[17] The rise of the second generation in education and business was also mirrored in their political assent within the Democratic Party as Nisei began to dominate political positions in Hawai‘i as a result of the Revolution of 1954. Still today Hawai‘i is controlled to a great extent by the Democratic interests that can be traced to the political activism of Nisei veterans who wanted to create a more egalitarian society.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii’s War Years: 1941-1945*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1950.

Coffman, Tom. *Catch a Wave: Hawaii’s New Politics*. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1972.

---. *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai‘i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003.

From Bullets to Ballots. VHS tape. Directed by Robert A. Nakamura. Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1997.

Fuchs, Lawrence H. *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1961.

Hazama, Dorothy Ochiai, and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawaii 1885- 1985*. Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986.

Lind, Andrew W. “Some Problems of Veteran Adjustment in Hawaii.” *Social Process in Hawaii* 12 (August 1948): 58-73.

Odo, Franklin S. *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003.

Ogawa, Dennis M. *Kodomo no tame ni: For the Sake of the Children*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1985.

Takabuki, Matsuo. *An Unlikely Revolutionary: Matsuo Takabuki and the Making of Modern Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. *From Bullets to Ballots*, VHS tape, directed by Robert A. Nakamura (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1997).
3. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1961), 306.
4. Andrew W. Lind, "Some Problems of Veteran Adjustment in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* 12 (August 1948): 67.
5. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 306-307.
6. *From Bullets to Ballots*.
7. *From Bullets to Ballots*.
8. "Katagiri Due for Presidency of Civic Group," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, June 27, 1940, 2; "New Citizen Conference Concluded," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, July 21, 1941, 3; "Civic Group Will Install New Officers," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, July 11, 1942, 9. Shunzō Sakamaki was the son of Jūzaburō Sakamaki, bombing victim during the 1920s strike. He was also chairman of the University of Hawaii History Department and served as dean of the University Summer Session for sixteen years. Robert Murakami was the defense attorney for Myles Fukunaga who was charged, sentenced, and executed for the brutal murder of Gill Jamieson.
9. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1950), 144.
10. Tom Coffman, *Catch a Wave: Hawaii's New Politics* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1972), 17- 19.
11. Coffman, *Catch a Wave*, 19.

12. Edward Murai had helped Burns organize the Police Contact Group and Jack Kawano was an International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) organizer who provided critical labor support when Burns and other Nisei ran for political office. Coffman, *Catch a Wave*, 23.
13. Coffman, *Catch a Wave*, 23.
14. Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo no tame ni: For the Sake of the Children* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1985), 381.
15. Coffman, *Catch a Wave*, 24. For more information on Matsuo Takabuki consult, Matsuo Takabuki, *An Unlikely Revolutionary: Matsuo Takabuki and the Making of Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).
16. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 318.
17. For more information on the postwar rise of the Nisei, consult Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawaii 1885-1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 177-218.

[“Revolution of 1954”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#) is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Richard Sakakida
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Richard Sakakida (1920–96) was a Hawai'i-born Nisei who was one of the first members of the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). As a result of his language skills, he was sent to the Philippines to gather Japanese military intelligence. However, with the outbreak of war, Japanese military officials arrested and tortured Sakakida as they had grown suspicious of his activities. Eventually Sakakida escaped but not before engineering one of the largest prison breaks during the war and surviving in the jungles for weeks before being rescued. Sakakida's actions, though disputed, reveal the critical contributions of Nisei linguists and CIC personnel in the Pacific War.^[1]

Background

Born in Pu‘unēnē, Maui, on November 19, 1920, Richard Motoso Sakakida was the third son of Isoji and Kiku Sakakida, immigrants from Hiroshima. The family moved to Honolulu when Richard was three years old and they lived in the Palama area. Sakakida attended Ka‘iulani Elementary School, Kalākaua Junior High, Central Intermediate School, and graduated from McKinley High School.^[2] He was also a top student at Fort Gakuen, a Japanese language school of the Honpa Hongwanji Mission on Fort Street (now Pali Highway).

Military Induction

In early 1941, while working at American Factors, Sakakida was approached by Col. Walter Gilbert, his former ROTC instructor at McKinley High School, who asked if he would be interested in work that would incorporate his knowledge of Japanese language and culture. As he welcomed the opportunity to travel and see the U.S. mainland, Sakakida agreed to take a three-day test. Two days later, the colonel called to tell Sakakida that he had placed at the top of the list of candidates. Sakakida interviewed at Fort Shafter where he was sworn in and accorded the rank of sergeant, even though he had had no basic training. After enrolling in an intensive course in army intelligence, he and fellow Nisei Arthur Komori were shipped off to the Philippines and assigned undercover work. Upon their arrival, the commanding officer of the Corps of Intelligence Police (CIP) detachment ordered them to infiltrate the Japanese community. Sakakida's mission was to befriend and penetrate the Japanese community to identify possible Japanese government and military agents. As part of his cover identity, Sakakida assumed the identity of a draft dodger who jumped ship to avoid conscription. After finding a job with a trading company, Sakakida made contacts with numerous Japanese businessmen and was able to gather a large volume of information for military intelligence.

Work in the Philippines

Immediately following the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941, four counterintelligence agents from the Philippine Constabulary took Sakakida to the Philippine Constabulary Headquarters for interrogation, where they subsequently identified him as a member of the U.S. Army counter intelligence. He was assigned to question Japanese

aviators, deciphering codes and forwarding intelligence to G-2. However, as the war situation deteriorated and as Japan began landing forces in the Philippines, Sakakida and Komori were ordered to leave the Philippines for Australia. Instead of leaving, however, Sakakida volunteered to let another Hawai'i-born Nisei, Clarence Yamagata, take his place as Yamagata's past activities as a trusted person among the Japanese posed a more serious threat if he was captured.

Sakakida was eventually captured along with other Americans when Corregidor fell and after the surrender, the Kempeitai (military police) took a special interest in Sakakida. He was taken to Bilibid prison where for five months he was interrogated, tortured, and accused of treason. According to Sakakida, he was hung from the rafters with his hand tied behind his back, stripped, beaten, and burned with cigarettes all over his body, "starting around my inner thighs, lower abdominal area and ending with my private parts."^[3] Eventually, the Japanese believed that he was a civilian and assigned him work at the 14th Army Headquarters where he was an English interpreter for a Japanese colonel. In this capacity, he studied the colonel's activities and read and memorized the classified material. Eventually Sakakida was sent back to live among the guerrillas held by the Japanese and passed on valuable information through a well-organized group he had contacted.

Taking advantage of the lax security among the Japanese guards, Sakakida made bold plans to engineer a prison break. By masquerading as an officer and barking commands to the guards in authoritative Japanese, he succeeded. It was the largest prison break of the war as 500 Filipino prisoners escaped into the mountains. Through the guerrillas, Sakakida was able to relay some of the intelligence information he had memorized while he worked in the Japanese colonel's office. The information covered troop movements, ship activities, and a portion of the plans of Japanese Expeditionary Forces preparing to invade Australia.

Escape and Postwar Fate

Eventually, when the Japanese army was forced to move further and further into the mountains, Sakakida decided to escape as he was coming under increased suspicion by the Japanese because of the successful American air attacks. He was able to find a guerrilla unit but was soon hit in cross-artillery fire between the Japanese and U.S. forces. For four months he struggled to survive on grass and wild berries. He suffered from malaria, beriberi, and dysentery until he was found by American soldiers weeks after the war ended. After recovering, Sakakida was assigned to the War Crimes Investigation team and helped to identify Japanese war criminals. In 1947, he transferred to the air force and stayed there until his retirement as a lieutenant colonel in 1975. While some have disputed Sakakida's actions in World War II, a CIC report on Sakakida's actions refutes these claims.^[4] After retiring in 1975, he lived in Fremont, California, with his wife Cherry M. Kiyosaki of Maui whom he had married on September 25, 1948. Sakakida died of lung cancer on January 23, 1996.

Awards and Honors

For his accomplishments, Sakakida was awarded the Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, and the Commendation Medal. On July 1, 1988, he was inducted into the Military Intelligence Corps

Hall of Fame at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. On October 23, 1993, the Japanese American Veterans Association awarded the American Patriot Award to Sakakida at the Military Intelligence Service National Capital Reunion for services to his country. Additionally, on April 15, 1994, at the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C., Ambassador Raul Ch. Rabe presented Sakakida with the presidential award, the Legion of Honor (Degree of Legionnaire).^[5] After Sakakida was denied the Medal of Honor that required a recommendation be filed by 1951, Hawai'i Senator Daniel Akaka introduced legislation to waive this condition. On February 17, 1999, Sakakida was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, the nation's third highest military award.

For More Information

Akaka, Daniel. "Statement on Award of the Distinguished Service Medal to Richard M. Sakakida." <http://akaka.senate.gov/press-releases.cfm?method=releases.view&id=00c25027-5f37-4821-a5bc-dd5811c138b9>.

Crost, Lyn. *Honor by Fire: Japanese Americans at War in Europe and the Pacific*. Novato, CA: Presidio, 1994.

Japanese American Veterans Association. "Lt Colonel Richard M. Sakakida." Accessed April 17, 2012. <http://www.javadc.org/Hall%20of%20Famers.htm>.

Kiyosaki, Wayne S. *A Spy in Their Midst: the World War II Struggle of a Japanese-American Hero: the Story of Richard Sakakida*. Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1995.

Nakasone, Edwin M. *The Nisei Soldier: Historical Essays on World War II and the Korean War*. White Bear Lake, MN: J-Press Pub., 1999.

National Japanese American Historical Society: *Mission in Manila: The Sakakida Story*. Documentary video, 28 min. 1994.

Sayer, Ian, and Douglas Botting. *America's Secret Army: the Untold Story of the Counter Intelligence Corps*. London: Grafton Books, 1989.

"Tribute to the Late Lt. Col. Richard Sakakida." *Congressional Record*, January 30, 1996. http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/1996_cr/s960130a.htm.

Yamate, Margaret. "Richard Sakakida—Secret Agent." *Hawaii Herald*, December 20, 1991, A-10.

Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).

References

1. Wayne S. Kiyosaki, *A Spy in Their Midst: the World War II Struggle of a Japanese-American Hero: the Story of Richard Sakakida* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1995), 25-26.
2. Margaret Yamate, "Richard Sakakida—Secret Agent," *Hawaii Herald*, December 20, 1991, A-10.
3. Kirk Spitzer, "Friend or Foe, Fact or Fiction? Vet's WWII Heroism Challenged," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 24, 1995, A-1, A-3; Kirk Spitzer, "Spy Never Sought Heroic Role," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 25, 1995, A-3; Henry Furuya and Ted Tsukiyama, "Local Veterans Defend Richard Sakakida," *Hawaii Herald*, October 20, 1995, A-8.
4. "Lt Colonel Richard M. Sakakida," accessed April 17, 2012,
<http://www.javadc.org/Hall%20of%20Famers.htm>.

"[Richard Sakakida](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Robert C. Richardson

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Career army officer and Hawai‘i's second military governor under martial law and successor to Delos Emmons.

Robert C. Richardson was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and graduated from Charleston college before he entered West Point. In 1904, he was commissioned from the United States Military Academy and attended the University of Grenoble, France, as well as the Army War College. He was a liaison officer in the American Expeditionary Force fighting in France during the first world war and also served as military attaché in the embassy in Rome. His last military command was in Hawai‘i where he was governor under martial law from June 1, 1943, to late 1945 when the government was returned to civil authorities. Richardson was also Commanding General of United States Army Forces in the Pacific Ocean Areas a job in which he was responsible for training and sending men into Pacific war theaters. He was credited with the construction of Tripler Army Medical Center, headquarters of the Pacific Regional Medical Command and the present headquarters at Fort Shafter, known as the Pineapple Pentagon.

In his job as military governor, Richardson often found himself in opposition to civil officials particularly during a court test of his suspension of the right of habeas corpus. Former Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger, in late 1943 ordered the general to produce in his court two Americans of German ancestry who had been incarcerated by the military. After Richardson refused to do so, Metzger found him in contempt of court and fined him \$5,000. Richardson was eventually pardoned by President Roosevelt and retired November 9, 1945. During his career, Richardson was awarded the Silver Star, the Purple Heart, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the Officer Legion of Honor from France. On March 2, 1954, Richardson passed away as a result of a heart attack while visiting Rome. He was eventually buried at West Point.

For More Information

"Gen. Richardson Dies in Rome of Heart Attack," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, March 2, 1954, 1.

"Lt. Gen. Robert C. Richardson." U.S. Army Pacific website,
http://www.usarpac.army.mil/history2/cg_richardson.asp

"Richardson, Wartime Boss Here, Dead." *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 3, 1954, A-5.

"Robert Charlwood Richardson, Jr." *Military Times Hall of Valor*.
<http://projects.militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=18088>.

Robinson, Greg. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Scheiber, Harry N., and Jane L. Scheiber. "Bayonets in Paradise: A Half-Century Retrospect on Martial Law in Hawaii, 1941–46." *University of Hawai‘i Law Review* 19 (1998): 477–

648.

Tripler Army Medical Center website. <http://www.tamc.amedd.army.mil/>.

[“Robert C. Richardson”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Samuel Wilder King

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Wartime delegate to Congress who was an outspoken critic of martial law. Samuel Wilder King (1886– 1959), a World War I and World War II veteran and a postwar territorial governor of Hawai‘i, supported statehood for Hawai‘i.

Samuel Wilder King was born in Honolulu on December 17, 1886, and was educated at St. Louis College, the old Fort Street School, and Honolulu High School, now McKinley High School. He was the son of Captain James A. King, a pioneer in the inter-island shipping industry who arrived in Hawai‘i in the 1800s and later became minister of the interior in the Republic of Hawai‘i. King's mother was Charlotte Holmes Davis King, a descendant of a distinguished part-Hawaiian family founded by her great-grandfather Oliver Holmes, who came to Hawai‘i from Plymouth, Massachusetts, and settled on O‘ahu in 1793. Holmes married Mahi, a daughter of a high chief of O‘ahu who became governor of the island under Kamehameha I. King married Pauline Evans of Honolulu on March 18, 1912, and had three sons and two daughters.

King was one of the early appointees to the U.S. Naval Academy, nominated by Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, and went on to have a long and distinguished career in the navy, traveling throughout Asia and the Pacific and serving during World War I. He resigned his navy commission on December 31, 1924, and remained in the naval reserve until 1928 with the rank of lieutenant commander. King then entered the real estate business in Hawai‘i and devoted his time to public and civic business. After serving two years on the Board of Supervisors of Honolulu, in 1934 he was elected delegate to the United States Congress and was an outspoken critic of martial law, defending Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i against charges of disloyalty.^[1] However, following the entry of the United States into World War II, King decided to serve in the navy at the age of fifty-six with the rank of lieutenant commander. He served in the central Pacific area from January 4, 1943, to February 21, 1946, and in recognition of his contributions, King was awarded the Legion of Merit and promoted to captain, U.S. Naval Reserve.

In addition to his decorated military service, King also had a distinguished political career in the Islands. Beginning as a precinct club worker, King was a lifelong member of the Republican Party and served the territory in a variety of posts before he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of Honolulu from 1932 to 1934. King served as a delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1936, 1940, 1948, and 1952 and was a member of the Governor's Emergency Housing Committee in 1946. The following year, he was a member of the Hawaii Statehood Commission, serving as chairman from 1949 to 1953. In 1950, King was president of the constitutional convention and later President Eisenhower appointed him governor of Hawai‘i. In that capacity, King served the people of Hawai‘i from February 28, 1953, until his resignation on July 31, 1957.

After leaving the governorship, King resumed his real estate business and was appointed a trustee of the Bernice P. Bishop estate. But he returned active politics to run as a Republican representative from windward O‘ahu to become the first governor of the state of Hawai‘i.

King unexpectedly passed away during his campaign at the age of seventy-two and was buried at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific at Punchbowl.

For More Information

"King Led in Political, Military, Civic Fields." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 25, 1959, 1-A.

"King, Samuel Wilder." Biographical Directory of the United States Congress.
<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=K000214>.

Ohira, Rod. "King Refused '2nd-Class' Citizenship for Hawaii." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 27, 1999, <http://archives.starbulletin.com/1999/09/27/news/story9.html#jump>.

"Samuel Wilder King (R) 1935–1942." University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Library,
<http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content.php?pid=402866&sid=3298502>.

"Samuel Wilder King Dies in 72nd Year." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 25, 1959, 1.

Scheiber, Harry N. and Jane L. Scheiber, "Bayonets in Paradise: A Half-Century Retrospect on Martial Law in Hawai‘i, 1941-1946," *University of Hawai‘i Law Review* 19 (1997): 477-648.

References

1. Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber, "Bayonets in Paradise: A Half-Century Retrospect on Martial Law in Hawai‘i, 1941-1946," *University of Hawai‘i Law Review* 19 (1997), 528.

["Samuel Wilder King"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Sanji Abe
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Sanji Abe (1895–1982) was a Kailua-Kona-born Nisei who was the first territorial senator of Japanese ancestry in Hawai‘i. After being honorably discharged from the United States Army for his service during World War I, Abe became a successful businessman and community leader, owning the Yamato Za, a prominent movie theater in Hilo. During World War II, authorities arrested Abe after a Japanese flag was found in the theater. As a result of his incarceration during the war, Abe was forced to resign as a senator. Abe's experience reflected the challenges and suspicions facing the Japanese community in Hawai‘i during World War II and the large-scale purge of early Japanese candidates and politicians that subsequently occurred.^[1]

Abe's Early Career

Sanji Abe was born in Kailua-Kona on the island of Hawai‘i on May 10, 1895, just ten years after the arrival of the first *kanyaku imin*, Japanese contract laborers. His family, who had arrived from Fukuoka Prefecture in 1893, moved to Hilo when he was about twelve years old. Later, he began working at the Hilo Police Department. Along with other Japanese, Abe was drafted into the United States Army in World War I. At the time, not many Nisei met the age requirements for military service and of the 800 Japanese drafted, more than half were Issei.^[2] Abe continued to work at the police department during the war and started to venture into the growing theater business at this time. Abe purchased the Yamato Za from Takaharu Koizumi, who used to stage live Japanese plays at the theater. As Japanese films became more popular, Koizumi decided to convert the Yamato Za into a movie theater and sold the business to Abe. As movies became an increasingly popular source of entertainment, the Yamato Za and its nearby restaurants grew in popularity. The Mamo Theater, Shindo, Ginza Café, Hinode Café, Yamato Tei Restaurant, and Hama no Ya Restaurant all made Mamo Street a popular gathering place for Hilo's Japanese residents.

In addition to being a fixture in the entertainment business, Abe was also actively involved in the community as the father of six children. After his honorable discharge from the army, he joined the American Legion where he played an active role in the organization's "Americanization" movement as a charter member and then resident of the Hilo Forum of American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, popularly known as the Nisei Club.^[3] Abe also served as an adviser to the Big Island Japanese Baseball League and even took a Japanese baseball team to the mainland in 1921. Abe was also the vice chair of the Big Island Sumo Association and celebrated his 20th anniversary with the Hilo Police Department by building a monument for deceased immigrants at Hilo's 'Alae Cemetery as well as other cemeteries. As Abe's prominence began to grow in the community, so did suggestions that he run for political office.

Abe's Political Career

Abe's political ambitions coincided with the growing presence of Japanese in Hawaiian politics. The first person of Japanese ancestry to run for political office was Ryuichi

Hamada of Kaua'i, who ran for the Territorial House of Representatives in 1922, but lost. That year, there were only 1,035 registered voters in the Japanese community and Japanese candidates were uncommon.^[4] Despite this early failure, more Japanese candidates followed in 1926 and 1928. In 1930, Masayoshi "Andy" Yamashiro, a Democrat, and Tasaku Oka, a Republican, were elected to the Territorial House of Representatives, becoming the first Japanese elected to that body. In time, more Japanese Americans were elected. In November 1940, Sanji Abe, who by then had risen to the rank of assistant chief in the Hilo Police Department, decided to resign his position to run for the Territorial Senate despite the deterioration of relations between America and Japan by early 1940.

In response to growing anti-Japanese sentiment, Japanese American candidates began emphasizing their loyalty to the United States in their campaign speeches while also opposing those who attacked them for retaining their dual citizenship. Abe himself was a dual citizen as Nisei born prior to 1924 were also accorded Japanese citizenship. Abe tried to renounce his Japanese citizenship before the election, but his opponents, particularly the white-owned *Honolulu Advertiser* criticized his dual citizenship claiming that "his seeming indifference [to expatriation] is good neither for him nor for the Territory," as it was considered "un-American" to take "15 years membership in the American Legion, to decide which flag to haul down when he sought a seat in the territorial senate of Hawaii."^[5] Abe's supporters, in turn, accused his attackers of using race to discredit his campaign. A. T. Spalding, Chairman of the Republican Committee of the County of Hawai'i claimed that this amounted to an attack on his "racial origin" as well as an attack on "the entire population of Hawaii of Japanese ancestry."^[6] During this furor, Abe's Japanese citizenship was finally removed three days before the election, and Abe was victorious in the senate race, garnering 7,428 votes and making him the first territorial senator of Japanese ancestry.^[7]

Abe's Internment

In addition to his political responsibilities, Abe continued to operate the Yamato Za and expanded his business to Honolulu, becoming the president of Kokusai Kogyō. In May 1941, he opened the 1,200-seat Kokusai Theater, showing movies from Japan. However, Abe's business interests would be abruptly halted with the outbreak of war following the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. In August 1942, Abe was arrested after a Japanese flag was found at his Yamato Za Theater in Hilo. "I've never purchased or owned a Japanese flag and I didn't know of the existence of the one involved in my case," Abe claimed. "Possibly it was left at the theater by some show troupe appearing there long before the war started, although under my instructions employees of the theater searched the premises several times for just that very thing."^[8] Under martial law, the military had been ordered to confiscate all enemy flags, and it was against the law to have a flag in one's possession. Since the law banning anyone from possessing an enemy flag was to go into effect on August 20, the case against Abe was dismissed on August 18.

Despite the dismissal of the misdemeanor charge, a warrant for Abe's arrest was issued on September 1. The following day, authorities arrested Abe and held him at Sand Island for two months. During his incarceration, Abe was brought before the Board of Officers and Civilians

where Lt. Farrell B. Copland summarized the evidence against Abe: Abe's father was the "Kingpin of Bootleggers" during prohibition and operated stills at Kukuihaele; Abe attended Japanese language school for eight years and would later enroll his children; after his discharge from the army, he spent several months in Japan; he visited Japan in 1921 as a manager of the Japanese Athletic Club baseball team and returned in 1940; an informant claimed he took payoffs from brothels and bootleggers; he showed Japanese-language motion pictures at his theater; he received officers from Japanese training vessels and loaned his car to take officers on sightseeing tours. In response, Abe introduced into evidence sixteen exhibits consisting of newspaper articles and legislative enactments that he sponsored showing he was pro-American and called a number of witnesses to attest to his loyalty. Although the board found that Abe's "activities have been both pro-American and pro-Japanese, the latter not shown to be subversive, though in some instances, highly suspicious," it nonetheless recommended that he "be interned for the duration of the war."^[9] Abe was forced to resign from his senate seat in February 1943 and a month later was transferred to the Honouliuli internment camp, where he remained for the next seventeen months.

Throughout the war, other Japanese American politicians withdrew their candidacies or resigned fearing a similar fate as a result of the anti-Japanese sentiment in the Islands. Thus, between 1943 and 1945 with only one exception, there were no individuals of Japanese ancestry in elected office in the territory despite Japanese constituting nearly twenty-nine percent of the total voter pool.^[10] Only a few years earlier in 1941, there had been six representatives and one senator of Japanese ancestry in the Territorial Legislature, along with six Japanese on the county boards of supervisors. Many Japanese candidates who had previously been politically active elected not to run for public office during the war due to the politically volatile situation. In addition, Japanese voters hesitated supporting Japanese candidates for fear that the Japanese community would be seen as trying to take over the government. The Japanese community did not want to exacerbate already strained race relations in Hawai'i as the war provided the opportunity for other ethnicities to express long standing racial fears and hostilities toward the Japanese.^[11]

Finally, with Hawai'i about to be declared a noncombat zone, the Military Governors Reviewing Board paroled Abe to Wai'ala Ranch on March 22, 1944. As a condition of parole, Abe signed a statement discharging the government and any individuals of any liability as a result of his detention. Abe was finally released on February 16, 1945.

Abe's Postwar Life

After the war, Abe returned to importing and promoting Japanese movies. But he never returned to politics. In 1960, the Yamato Za was destroyed in the tsunami that hit Hilo. Battling diabetes, Abe decided to move to O'ahu where he lived out his remaining years. In 1968, blind and 73 years old, he said in an interview with the *Honolulu Advertiser*, "I can't kick too much about [internment]. During a war period, you have to expect anything. And of course times have changed."^[12] Sanji Abe died in Kāne'ohe on November 26, 1982, at the age of 87. Although the death of Abe was noted briefly in the newspapers, neither the injustices that he suffered nor the purge of loyal American office holders of Japanese ancestry

that had occurred during the war were publicly remembered. While the postwar rise of Democratic Party spearheaded by Japanese Americans such as George Ariyoshi, Daniel Inouye, and Spark Matsunaga has been well-documented, little attention has been paid to their Republican forerunners like Abe who became causalities of wartime anti-Japanese sentiment.

For More Information

Allen, Gwenfread. *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945*. Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd, 1950.

Dye, Bob. "How Bigots 'Cleansed' Legislature in 1942." *Honolulu Advertiser*, Sept. 16, 2001. <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2001/Sep/16/op/op06a.html>.

_____. "The Case of Sanji Abe." *Honolulu Magazine* 37.5 (November 2002): 38-46.

Emergency Service Committee. *The AJA—Their Present and Future.*" Honolulu: n.p., [1940?].

Kashima, Tetsuden. *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment During World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

"Sanji Abe." *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1982.
<http://www.nytimes.com/1982/12/03/obituaries/sanji-abe.html>.

Scheiber, Harry N. "Constitutional Liberty in World War II, Army Rule and Martial Law in Hawaii, 1941- 1946." *Western Legal History* 3.2 (summer/fall 1990): 341-378.

Suzuki, Kei. "Sanji Abe." *Hawaii Herald*, 17 October 2008, B-3.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Kei Suzuki, "Sanji Abe," *Hawaii Herald*, October 17, 2008, B-3.
3. Bob Dye, "The Case of Sanji Abe," *Honolulu Magazine*, 37.5 (November 2002), 38.
4. Suzuki, "Sanji Abe."
5. "Sanji Abe's Case," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 8, 1940, editorial page; "Un-

- American Reasoning," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 11, 1940, editorial page; "Hawaii, U.S.A.," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 2, 1940, editorial page.
6. "Chairman Spalding's Protest In Behalf Of Sanji Abe and The Advertiser's Answer," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 4, 1940, editorial page.
 7. "Sanji Abe's Expatriation," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 5, 1940, editorial page.
 8. Dye, "The Case of Sanji Abe," 42.
 9. In the collection of the Resource Center, Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i.
 10. Emergency Service Committee, *The AJA—Their Present and Future* (Honolulu: n.p., [1940?]), 9.
 11. Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945* (Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd, 1950), 350.
 12. "Sanji Abe, 87; first AJA in Isle senate," Abe, Sanji. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Microfiche D98050 Biographical.
-

["Sanji Abe"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Seabrook Farms

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Seabrook Farms, located in Cumberland County, New Jersey, was once one of the largest producers of canned, frozen, and dehydrated vegetables in America. By utilizing innovative farming, production, and distribution practices, it became a major food supplier to the U.S. military during World War II. To meet production needs, Seabrook hired immigrant workers as well as a large number of Japanese Americans recently released from concentration camps and "relocated" by War Relocation Authority (WRA) mandate. These Japanese American workers played a critical role in the Farms' success and even still today a Japanese presence exists in New Jersey.

Background

Charles Franklin Seabrook owned and operated Seabrook Farms after taking over his father's sixty-acre farm during World War I. By utilizing the newest technology to increase production such as installing overhead and movable irrigation pipes and introducing the use of tractors and trucks, Seabrook Farms became the first commercial growing enterprise in America with more than 250 acres devoted to intensive growing by 1920.^[1] Seabrook also built thirty-five miles of roads, including most of modern State Highway 77 that became the conduit for Seabrook trucks moving products to markets in Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere. He also constructed power and food-processing plants, a cold storage warehouse, several shops, a sawmill, dams for water storage, and the pipelines and pumping stations to supply the vast irrigation system he had designed. Additionally, Seabrook built houses for an increasing number of employees and two railroad connections that could compete for Seabrook Farms' business. In 1929, after the stock market crash, Seabrook made an agreement with General Foods that had purchased the Birdseye patent for quick-freezing food in retail packages to plant, pick, and freeze food. The Birdseye brand would dominate the frozen food market for many years thereafter and made Seabrook "the brightest spot in the economy of southern New Jersey."^[2] Later Seabrook produced food under its own label and after developing sixty square miles of rich farmland in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, became the "world's largest truck farm enterprise."^[3] By the start of World War II, Seabrook farms had become the first agri-industry in the world and B.C. Forbes, founder of *Forbes* magazine, described Seabrook as the "Henry Ford of agriculture."^[4]

Labor Needs and Imprisoned Japanese Americans

During its heyday during World War II, Seabrook Farms packaged 150 labels of frozen food and became the major supplier of vegetables to the military. Superior management teams, efficiency experts, and engineers were keys to Seabrook's success as it produced one-fifth of the nation's vegetables. However, the business suffered from the lack of a steady source of labor. Seabrook tried various measures to alleviate the labor shortage, hiring immigrants, women, students, disabled veterans, and persons deferred from the draft. The Farms even hired Jamaican workers and drew upon migrant workers: blacks from Florida and whites from West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

By 1944, Japanese Americans from West Coast concentration camps began to arrive for farm work as Seabrook's labor needs coincided with the WRA's mandate to "relocate" Japanese Americans. Throughout 1944, Seabrook officials brought in trial groups from the camps, sent recruiters to the camps, advertised for workers in camp newspapers, and placed favorable articles about Japanese Americans in local papers to calm the fears of residents about the arrival of a formerly incarcerated population. By August 1944, there were almost 300 Japanese Americans at Seabrook; 831 in December 1944 and by 1946 there was an average of 2,500 residents. The January 1947 estimate was between 2,300 and 2,700 persons and included 178 Japanese Latin Americans who had arrived from Crystal City internment camp.^[5] The large number of arrivals created housing shortages for the laborers and many former internees were dismayed at the poor quality of housing that was reminiscent of the concentration camps. Seiichi Higashide, a former Japanese-Peruvian internee, described Seabrook as a "town of chain-linked fences" explaining that "the transfer to this place from our former life behind barbed-wire fences was no more than a shift from complete confinement to partial confinement."^[6] Hours were long, work was difficult, and wages only started at fifty cents an hour although it depended on gender, type of work, and union status. There were also some complaints that white workers were being promoted over established Nisei workers.

Seabrook's Decline and Fate

For many Japanese Americans, working at Seabrook was a transitional phase as they began to leave to different areas including Chicago, New York, and the West Coast. By 1949, the Japanese American population had dwindled to 1,200 and by 1970s, there were just 530 Japanese Americans at Seabrook Farms. The decline in the number of workers coincided with the challenges the Farms later faced.

Seabrook farms primarily supplied the Atlantic coast and did not extend beyond the Mississippi River to compete with western processors. National distribution would have committed the company to provide products one year in advance, challenging the company's claim of sending fresh vegetables from field to freezer in three hours. According to Sawada, this decision caused the eventual demise of Seabrook Farms as "its size and gross capitalization were too small to keep apace of alterations in the food-processing industry and to combat eventual usurpation by larger neoconglomerates."^[7] By the mid-1970s, much of Seabrook's produce did not come from its own farmlands; instead it was imported from various parts of the United States including California, stored for an indefinite time, and later processed. Eventually the plant at Seabrook closed but a Japanese American presence at Seabrook continues to be felt as former and present Seabrook Japanese American community members founded the Seabrook Educational and Cultural Center.

For More Information

Chinen, Karleen. "Japanese Peruvians." *Hawaii Herald* 9:19 (October 7, 1988): 22-24.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*.

Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Gardiner, Harvey C. *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Harrison, Charles H. *Growing a Global Village: Making History at Seabrook Farms*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 2003.

Higashide, Seiichi. *Adios to Tears: the Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Jacobs, Meg. Review of *Seabrook at War: A Radio Documentary*. *The Journal for MultiMedia History* 2 (1999). <http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol2no1/seabrook.html>.

Thomas, Dorothy Swaine. *The Salvage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Sawada, Mitziko. "After the Camps: Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, and the Resettlement of Japanese Americans 1944-47." *Amerasia* 13:2 (1986-87): 117-136.

Seabrook Educational and Cultural Center. <http://www.seabrookeducation.org/>.

Shimada, Koji. "Education, Assimilation, and Acculturation: A Case Study of a Japanese American Community in New Jersey." Ph.D. diss. Temple University, 1975.

References

1. Charles H. Harrison, *Growing a Global Village: Making History at Seabrook Farms* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 2003), 4.
2. Harrison, *Growing a Global Village*, 7.
3. Mitziko Sawada, "After the Camps: Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, and the Resettlement of Japanese Americans 1944-47," *Amerasia* 13:2 (1986-87): 119.
4. Harrison, *Growing a Global Village*, 8.
5. Sawada, *After the Camps*, 121.
6. Seiichi Higashide, *Adios to Tears: the Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 182.
7. Sawada, *After the Camps*, 119.

owner [Densho](#)

Spark Matsunaga

By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Spark Masayuki Matsunaga (1916–90), a decorated World War II veteran, was known for his many accomplishments during his nearly four decades of public service first in the Territorial Legislature and later the United States Congress. He represented the state of Hawai'i in the House of Representatives and later the Senate and spearheaded efforts that led to the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. He paved the way for other Asian Americans to be elected to Congress and was an important supporter of civil rights legislation, space exploration, renewable energy resources, and the establishment of peace institutes.^[1]

Background and Military Experience

Matsunaga, a Representative and Senator from Kailua, Hawai'i, was born in Kukui'ula, Kaua'i on October 9, 1916, to immigrant plantation workers Kingoro and Chiyoro Matsunaga. As a child, he adopted the nickname "Spark" from a cartoon character, which he later legalized as his name.^[2] He graduated from Kaua'i High School in 1933 and received a B.Ed. degree from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 1941 and a J.D. degree from Harvard Law School in 1951. Matsunaga later pursued postgraduate studies at Northwestern University Traffic Institute in 1957 and at the Lawyers' Post-Graduate Clinics of Chicago in 1958.

Matsunaga was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Reserve in June 1941 and volunteered for active service in the U.S. Army on July 1941. He served as an original member of the Nisei 100th Infantry Battalion Separate (later 1st Battalion 442nd Regimental Combat Team). Matsunaga fought in North Africa and Europe and was twice wounded in battle. He also served as a company commander in the Military Intelligence Service. Matsunaga was released as captain on December 1945, and retired as a highly decorated lieutenant colonel, JAGC-USAR. After World War II, he worked as a veterans' counselor for the U.S. Department of the Interior until 1947 and later as a chief in the Priority Division of the War Assets Administration.

Matsunaga's Political Career

In 1948, Matsunaga married Helene Hatsumi Tokunaga and they had five children, Karen, Keene, Diane, Merle, and Matthew.^[3] After graduating from law school, Matsunaga became an assistant public prosecutor in Honolulu, eventually entering private law practice. In 1954, he was elected to the Hawai'i Territorial Legislature as part of the Democratic Revolution of 1954 along with Daniel Inouye and George Ariyoshi and served as the House majority leader in 1959. In 1959, after Hawai'i had achieved statehood, Matsunaga lost his bid to become the state's first lieutenant governor. His loss in the primary election was the only defeat of his political career. Three years later, Matsunaga was elected as a Democrat to the 88th Congress, and was reelected six times until his election to the Senate on November 2, 1976, after defeating his friend and colleague Patsy Takemoto Mink. As a Representative, he was elected the president of the 88th Congress Club and served on the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee and the Rules Committee. He was elected the chairman of

the Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing and Consumer Relations (Committee on Agriculture) and of the Subcommittee of the Select Committee on Aging. Author Richard Halloran describes Matsunaga's efforts as a senator who worked tirelessly with his colleagues to effectively pass legislation:

Rather than confront an issue in public, Sparky preferred what the Japanese call nemawashi, which loosely translated means "tending the garden" or "thorough preparation;" he would go around to colleagues behind the scenes to explain what he wanted and to seek their support. When he was ready, he would make public his proposal with its support already lined up.^[4]

As a longtime advocate for peace, Matsunaga lobbied for twenty-two years until he persuaded Congress to establish a U.S. Peace Institute in 1984. He also helped in the passage of the redress bill into law on August 19, 1988.

Civil Liberties Act of 1988

As a proponent for Asian American causes, Matsunaga along with Daniel Inouye introduced S. 1647, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) Act on August 2, 1979, that led to the creation of the commission. The CWRIC conducted an official governmental study of Executive Order 9066, and in 1983 issued its findings in *Personal Justice Denied*. The findings revealed that the incarceration of Japanese Americans had not been justified by military necessity. Rather, the report determined that the decision to incarcerate was based on "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."^[5] In its findings, the commission recommended legislative remedies consisting of an official government apology, redress payments, and a public education fund to help ensure that this would not happen again.

Following the findings of the commission, Matsunaga was the main Senate sponsor of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 that provided an official apology from President George H. Bush and \$20,000 in redress to surviving Japanese Americans who had been incarcerated during World War II. Matsunaga is credited with "almost single-handedly" getting the legislation passed in the 100th Congress despite severe health problems, personally lobbying all ninety-nine senators at least once, talking to many about the legislation two to three times.^[6] These lobbying efforts were particularly effective as Matsunaga was a decorated veteran of the 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat team and spoke about the importance of this legislation in addressing the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. Matsunaga also held considerable power as the second-ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee, chair of its international Trade Subcommittee, and was the Chief Deputy Majority Whip. As Matsunaga was known as one of the hardest-working and most personable senators around, he was not one to ask for favors from his colleagues and it was difficult to turn him down. According to scholar Leslie T. Hatamiya, "Matsunaga's efforts cannot be overemphasized" as thanks to his efforts, the act ultimately had seventy-five cosponsors, an unheard-of number of major civil-rights legislation assuring its passage in the Senate, and preventing a possible filibuster.^[7] Following the signing of this redress bill,

Matsunaga shared his thoughts on this historic event:

To me, it was one of great gratification for hard work. And as one of Japanese ancestry, I felt that here was final recognition of our loyalty to the United States. Those of us who fought in the 100th Infantry Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the Military Intelligence Service, we feel now that our efforts at the battlefield—giving up our lives and being wounded and maimed and disabled—all this was for a great cause, great ideals; that is to remove the one big blot on the Constitution that has been there for over 45 years.^[8]

Matsunaga was also instrumental in the passage of other civil rights legislation such as the 1971 repeal of the Emergency Detention Act, Title II of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950.^[9] This act had authorized the President to apprehend and detain any person suspected as a threat to internal security during a national emergency. He also took up the cause of Iva Ikuko Toguri D'Aquino, known as "Tokyo Rose," who had been accused of treason during World War II and helped her receive a pardon from President Gerald R. Ford.^[10] Matsunaga additionally sponsored bills relating to space exploration, renewable energy resources, and the establishment of the U.S. Institute for Peace in Washington D.C. After Matsunaga's passing on April 15, 1990, from cancer at the age of 73 while still in office, the Institute for Peace at the University of Hawai'i was renamed the Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace. In 1999, the U.S. Treasury's Bureau of Public Debt also honored Matsunaga in a ceremony in Honolulu by featuring a portrait of him on its new \$10,000 denomination Series I, inflation-indexed savings bond. In 2001, Matsunaga was memorialized in the naming of the Spark Matsunaga Elementary School in Germantown, MD, the first public school in the Washington D.C.-metropolitan area named after an Asian American.

For More Information

Chinen, Karleen. "Matsunaga VA Medical Center Nearing Completion." *Hawaii Herald*, February 19, 1990, A-5.

Chinen, Karleen and Reizo Watanabe. "U.S. Senator Spark Matsunaga," *Hawaii Herald*, October 7, 1988, 9.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Halloran, Richard. *Sparky: Warrior, Peacemaker, Poet, Patriot*. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2002. Hatamiya, Leslie T. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Hongo, Garrett. "Homage to Spark Matsunaga." *Hawaii Herald*, April 20, 1990: A-10-11.

Izumi, Masumi. "Prohibiting 'American Concentration Camps': Repeal of the Emergency Detention Act and the Public Historical Memory of Japanese American Internment." *The Pacific Historical Review* 74:2 (May 2005): 165-193.

Lum, Steve. "Spark Matsunaga." *Hawaii Herald*, October 5, 2007, C-16.

Matsunaga Institute for Peace & Conflict Resolution. <http://www.peaceinstitute.hawaii.edu/>.

Matsunaga, Spark M. *The Mars Project: Journeys Beyond the Cold War*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1986. Matsunaga, Spark M. and Ping Chen. *Rulemakers of the House*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

Memorial Services Held in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Together with Tributes Presented in Eulogy of Spark M. Matsunaga, Late a Senator From Hawaii. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992.

Murray, Alice Yang. *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

"Spark Masayuki Matsunaga." In *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000250>.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Steve Lum, "Spark Matsunaga," *Hawaii Herald*, October 5, 2007, C-16.
3. *Memorial Services Held in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Together with Tributes Presented in Eulogy of Spark M. Matsunaga, Late a Senator From Hawaii* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), VII.
4. Richard Halloran, *Sparky: Warrior, Peacemaker, Poet, Patriot* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2002), 3.
5. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington D.C.: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 18.
6. Leslie T. Hatamiya, *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 112; Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the*

Struggle for Redress (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 371.

7. Hatamiya, *Righting a Wrong*, 113.
8. Karleen Chinen and Reizo Watanabe, "U.S. Senator Spark Matsunaga," *Hawaii Herald*, October 7, 1988, 9.
9. Masumi Izumi, "Prohibiting 'American Concentration Camps': Repeal of the Emergency Detention Act and the Public Historical Memory of Japanese American Internment," *Pacific Historical Review* 74.2 (May 2005), 178.
10. Halloran, *Sparky*, 131.

"[Spark Matsunaga](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Takie Okumura
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Born in Okawa Machi, Kōchi shi, Kōchi ken (prefecture) in Japan to Matajuro Okumura, governor of a district in Tosa, Okumura (1864–1951) was baptized on September 9, 1888 and admitted to the Osaka Christian church. In September 1890, he entered Dōshisha University Theological Seminary in Kyoto to dedicate his life to Christian work. After graduation, he was influenced by Dr. Jerome Davis, father of Merle Davis, who was formerly with the local Institute of Pacific Relations and by Dr. John Gulick to accept an invitation to Hawai‘i. Okumura arrived in the Islands in August 1894 at the age of twenty-nine. Despite the challenges of preaching Christianity "in the midst of such a topsy-turvy community" where men "ridiculed and threw stones at me," Okumura continued his work of spreading the message of God to the Japanese immigrants.^[2] He was the pastor of the Japanese Christian Church, the predecessor of Nu‘uanu Congregational Church, from September 1894 to October 1902 when he resigned. He organized the Makiki Church on April 8, 1904 with twenty-four members. When he retired in 1937, the membership had reached 799 members.

As a prominent educator and activist in Hawai‘i, Okumura established a Japanese kindergarten and the Honolulu Japanese Elementary School (later Hawai‘i Chuō Gakuin and then Central Institute) in April 1896; the Japanese YMCA on April 28, 1900, which became a department of the Honolulu YMCA in 1912; the Temperance Society in May 1892; and the Benevolent Society in May 1889.^[3] In August of 1896, he founded the Okumura Boys and Girls Home, formerly known as the Japanese boarding school to provide affordable housing for young adult immigrants. Although he retired as a pastor from church work in 1937, he still served as head of the home until his death in 1951. Unlike many other Issei leaders in Hawai‘i, Okumura was not interned during World War II and continued his work under martial law. During his life, Okumura was also active in the Territorial educational campaign, New American Conferences, and the Japanese Language Education association, conducting language classes in the local public schools. Additionally, Okumura extensively wrote under the pen name "Roku Seki" publishing various periodical such as *The Tomo*, *The Hikari*, *The Kyoho*, *The Rakuen Jiho* (The Paradise Times), and until his death *The Rakuen no Ochiba*.

Although the Japanese government tried to award Okumura medals for meritorious service on three different occasions, Okumura declined declaring that his efforts were for his people and for the building of his program in Hawai‘i. His death in 1951 was attended by numerous prominent individuals in the Islands in revealing the influence of Okumura in the establishment of the Japanese community in Hawai‘i.^[4]

For More Information

Cataluna, Lee. "Minister's Care Lasts a Century." *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 20, 2004, <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2004/Feb/20/ln/ln53alee.html>

Kitano, Harry H. L. *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*. 1969. 2nd Edition.

Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.

Kotani, Roland. *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*. Honolulu: Hochi, Ltd., 1985.

Monobe, Hiromi. "Takie Okumura and the 'Americanization' of the Nisei in Hawaii." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2004.

Okumura, Takie. *Seventy Years of Divine Blessings*. Honolulu: T. Okumura, Shōwa 15 [1940].

Okumura, Takie. "Story of Okumura Home," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 25 (p. 8), 26 (6), 27 (6), and 29 (6), 1951.

"Rev. Okumura, Noted Island Educator, Dies." University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Microfiche "Okumura, Rev. Takie," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Microfiche D98050 Biographical.

"Takie Okumura, 86, Kamaaina Minister, Dies," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Microfiche "Okumura, Rev. Takie," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Microfiche D98050 Biographical.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the [Hawai'i Council for the Humanities](#).
2. Takie Okumura, *Seventy Years of Divine Blessings* (Honolulu: T. Okumura; Shōwa 15 [1940]), 3.
3. "Rev. Okumura, Noted Island Educator, Dies," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Microfiche "Okumura, Rev. Takie," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Microfiche D98050 Biographical.
4. Honorary pall bearers at Okumura's funeral included: Yasutaro Soga, Dr. Ichiro Katsuki, Kumatsuchi Nakamura, Nu'uuanu church; Masukichi Imai, Makiki church; Wade Warren Thayer, New Americans Conference; Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan, Hawaiian Board of Missions; the Rev. Phillip T. Fukao, Japanese Ministers' association; Katsutaro Yasumori, Japanese YMCA; Dr. Iga Mori, Japanese Benevolent association; Dr. Kikujiro C. Kondo, Japanese Language Education Association, and Chung K. Ai. Active pall bearers were: Dr. Bunji Tokioka, alumnus of the Okumura home; Yoshiharu Kondo; Taro Tabata, deacon of Makiki church; Goro Endo, member of Okumura Home; Clifton H. Yamamoto, New Americans Conference; the Rev. Harry S. Komuro, Ministers group; Tsunekichi Nagasaki from Tosa, Japan; and the Rev. Masayoshi Wakai, minister from the Okumura Home. "Takie Okumura, 86, Kamaaina Minister, Dies," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Microfiche "Okumura, Rev. Takie," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Microfiche D98050 Biographical.

“Takie Okumura” by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 by rights owner
Densho

***The Lost Years: 1942–1946* (book)**
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

The Lost Years, 1942-1946 edited by activist, writer, and educator Sueko Sue Kunitomi Embrey (1923– 2006) is a compilation of materials related to the incarceration of Japanese Americans that was used during the campaign to name the Manzanar Cemetery a National Historic Site.

Embrey's Background

Embrey was born to Issei parents, Gonhichi and Komika Kunitomi, who had emigrated from Okayama prefecture to California, and was the sixth of eight children. As a Nisei from Los Angeles, Embrey was incarcerated with her family at Manzanar during World War II and after a brief stint at Manzanar's camouflage net factory she worked as a reporter for the camp newspaper, the *Manzanar Free Press*. Following the closure of the camps, Embrey returned to Los Angeles in 1948 and worked at the Los Angeles Department of Education and later the Health Department. In 1950, she married Garland Embrey and soon had her first child. But her camp experience politicized Embrey and she joined a number of political groups including the Democratic Club and the Nisei Progressives.

In 1969, Sansei activist Warren Furutani invited Embrey to attend the pilgrimage to Manzanar as part of the civil rights movement. In December 1969, Embrey returned to Manzanar for the first time since her release. During the pilgrimage, Embrey spoke about her experiences with reporters and some in the Japanese community criticized her for speaking out about an event that some preferred to forget. Embrey would eventually chair the Manzanar Committee, an organization dedicated to educating individuals about the violation of the civil rights of Japanese Americans during World War II. For the next thirty-six years Embrey also led the annual pilgrimage to Manzanar and spearheaded efforts to establish Manzanar as a National Historic Site.

Publication Information

As part of her efforts to raise public awareness of the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II and to promote the designation of Manzanar as a National Historic Site, Embrey compiled a pamphlet of materials from both government publications and her own personal collection about camp experiences. *The Lost Years* begins with a chronology of events compiled from WRA publications and the *Manzanar Free Press*. Embrey also includes historian Roger Daniel's paper "Why It Happened Here" which was read at symposium titled "It Did Happen Here: The Japanese Evacuation of 1942" marking the 25th anniversary of Executive Order 9066 and held at the University of California at Los Angeles. Portions of his paper were also used for his book *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (1971). According to Embrey, Daniels' paper was specifically chosen for its "concise and honest presentation, and . . . because it parallels closely this editor's belief and feelings regarding the evacuation."^[1] Embrey also included excerpts from "OUTCASTS!—The Story of America's treatment of her Japanese American Minority," by Caleb Foote, published in the February 1944 issue of *Fellowship* magazine. This publication

was issued by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization that had protested against the incarceration of Japanese Americans. In addition, Embrey also included publications from the War Relocation Authority including "Segregation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry in Relocation Centers" a brochure outlining segregation procedures to determine who would be sent to Tule Lake and "Why Relocate?", a mimeographed instructional bulletin prepared by the Adult Education Office of the Department of Education in Manzanar to persuade Japanese to relocate outside the Western Defense Command. According to Embrey, although these materials may appear to be "mundane and unimportant," it should be understood that "behind the simple language lay months of pain, indecision, and heartaches for those who decided to leave the camps."^[2] The struggles of inmates with camp life and the ambiguity of their future are captured not just in the two short unpublished poems from members of the *Manzanar Free Press* but also in the photographs interspersed throughout the pamphlet from the collection of Bob Nakamura and Visual Communications, at the time, a committee of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). These images capture the impact of wartime hysteria and resulting government policies as they show the desolation of the barracks style housing, the irony of childhood innocence captured behind barbed wire, and the sense of foreboding that greeted inmates who daily passed beneath armed guard towers. In this short pamphlet Embrey offers a brief window into the incarceration of Japanese Americans and the violation of their civil rights at Manzanar and other incarceration centers during the war.

For More Information

Bahr, Diana Meyers. *The Unquiet Nisei: An Oral History of the Life of Sue Kunitomi Embrey*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Embrey, Sue Kunitomi. *The Lost Years, 1942-1946*. Los Angeles: Moonlight Publications, 1972.

"From Manzanar to the Present: A Personal Journey." In *Last Witnesses: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans*, edited by Erica Harth, 167–85. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Hansen, Arthur A. "Oral History and the Japanese American Evacuation." *Journal of American History* 82.2 (Sep. 1995): 625-39.

Mitson, Betty E. "Looking Back in Anguish: Oral History and Japanese-American Evacuation." *Oral History Review* 2 (1974): 24-51.

References

1. Sue Kunitomi Embrey, *The Lost Years, 1942-1946* (Los Angeles: Moonlight Publications, 1972), 2.
2. Embrey, *The Lost Years*, 51.

[“The Lost Years: 1942–1946 \(book\)”](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

***The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II* (book)**
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

A sociological study of the impact of mass incarceration on the Japanese family unit examining ten representative cases that trace their experiences in America from their prewar life, pre-incarceration experiences, relocation, and postwar adjustment.

Background of Authors and Publication History

Nisei John Itsuro Kitsuse (1923–2003) was born in Imperial Valley, California, before moving to Los Angeles as a child. In 1942, Kitsuse was incarcerated at Manzanar but after one year moved to Massachusetts where he attended Boston University and earned a B.A. He later graduated with a M.A. and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). As a sociologist focusing on issues of deviance, criminology, and social problems, he was a professor at San Diego State University, the University of Washington, and Northwestern University where he taught for sixteen years before he moved to the University of California, Santa Cruz. His work brought him into contact with fellow sociologist Leonard Broom (1911–2009) who was also known as Bloom. In 1941, Broom was the second sociologist hired in UCLA's newly established department of sociology and anthropology and as a result of his research on the effects of the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, Broom was highly critical of government policies during World War II. This event would shape his interest in discrimination and social inequality against minorities. Broom would collaborate with Ruth Riemer in 1949 to write *Removal and Return*, which describes the socio-economic impact of the war on Japanese Americans. In 1956, Kitsuse and Broom wrote *The Managed Casualty*, which examines the effects of the impact of incarceration on Japanese American families. This book was later republished in 1976 by the University of California Press.

Overview and Significance

As one of the first sociological studies on the impact of incarceration on the Japanese American family unit, *The Managed Casualty* was one the few studies that was not associated with any of the wartime sociology projects such as the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) or Bureau of Sociological Research (BSR). Broom and Kitsuse included a representative swath in their research in the categories of education, urbanization, religion, occupation, age, degree of acculturation, and generation composition within the ten case studies that comprise the majority of the book.

The first chapter details the social and cultural background of the Japanese American population, focusing on economic and family adjustment as well as political and religious participation. The second chapter examines the administrative context of relocation and incarceration, noting the impact of the war on incarceration policies and the formation of the War Relocation Authority. The authors describe the organization of the incarceration centers including the registration and segregation of the Japanese American population, and finally the closure of these centers. In the third chapter, the authors focus on the complexities of the family decision-making process and the impact of administrative policies before analyzing

these collective themes in the case studies. As Broom and Kitsuse note, the incarceration of the Japanese American population was based upon two irreconcilable approaches: "the logical orientation which regarded the movement of a civilian population . . . as if it were a military operation" and "a humanistic attitude which . . . was expressed in such decisions as the maintenance of the family unit and the ultimate objective of reintegrating the population into national life."^[1] As the case studies would demonstrate, these two contradictory aims would impact Japanese American families in different ways.

The majority of the book is comprised of case studies of ten Japanese American families and the impact of their incarceration during World War II. The cases themselves extensively detail family data such as religion, holidays, diet, and even reading matter and are told in such an impartial manner that one reviewer commented that "the facts in each case are given so compactly that the cultural and emotional conflicts that must have lain behind them often do not come through very sharply."^[2] The accompanying charts and maps that are part of each case do help to illustrate the fact that many of the participants spent much of their early life on the West Coast, particularly California, although some did travel between Hawai'i and Japan. Following their incarceration, a number of individuals moved to areas like the East Coast and Midwest as a result of their displacement. As Broom and Kitsuse note as a result of the war "original Japanese family forms . . . underwent change and all but the most conservative rural families lost authority" as the family became the scene of cultural conflict between generations that was exacerbated by war.^[3] While some families were able to successfully adjust as a group, others came to comprise the large group of "unrelocatables" revealing how variations within the family structure, cohesiveness, and cultural characteristics affected adjustment to administrative policies.^[4]

Although the individuals in the case studies are not specifically identified, contemporary authors such as Greg Robinson, John Howard, and Jere Takahashi have cited these case studies as they examine the transformative effect of incarceration on the Japanese American population in the postwar period. Broom and Kitsuse do not make any generalizations of the impact of incarceration on Japanese American families but rather "suggest the variety of individuals and families that passed through the experience of the evacuation."^[5] This book serves to illustrate the multiplicity of experiences and impacting variables that influenced Japanese Americans families prior to, during, and after World War II.

For More Information

"Broom Collection." National Library of Australia. <http://www.nla.gov.au/selected-library-collections/leonard-broom-collection>.

Broom, Leonard and Ruth Riener. *Removal and Return: the Socio-Economic Effects of the War on Japanese Americans*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949.

Leonard Broom, 1911–2009, Santa Barbara. Santa Barbara Independent, Nov. 23, 2009. <http://www.independent.com/obits/2009/nov/23/leonard-broom/>.

McNulty, Jennifer. "Sociologist John Kitsuse, Internment Camp Survivor, Dies at 80." University of Santa Cruz Newscenter, Dec. 3, 2003. <http://news.ucsc.edu/2003/12/432.html>.

Reinarman, Craig, et al. "In Memorium: John Itsuro Kitsuse." <http://senate.universityofcalifornia.edu/inmemoriam/JohnItsuroKitsuse.htm>.

Reviews

Caldwell, Russell L. *Pacific Historical Review* 26.3 (Aug. 1957): 304-05.

Caudill, William. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 60.4 (Aug. 1958): 798.

Ishino, Iwao. *American Sociological Review* 22.5 (Oct. 1957): 606–07.

Miyakawa, T. Scott. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 314 (Nov. 1957): 206– 07.

References

1. Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, *The Managed Causality: The Japanese-American Family in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 16.
2. William Caudill, review of *The Managed Causality: The Japanese-American Family in World War II*, by Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 60: 4 (Aug., 1958), 798.
3. Broom, 11.
4. Broom, 48.
5. Broom, 49.

"[The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II \(book\)](#)" by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Thomas H. Green
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Judge Advocate General, Hawaiian Department, and executive to the military governor in the Territory of Hawai'i during World War II; martial law proponent who advocated control over the civilian population in the Islands, particularly the Japanese.

Background

Thomas Henry Green was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and graduated from Boston University in 1915. Green first entered military service in 1916 when he joined a cavalry unit of the Massachusetts National Guard for service on the Mexican border. In 1917, he went overseas with the 15th cavalry as a second lieutenant and returned in command of the regiment. He later served with "Patsy Dugan's Horsemen," a cavalry regiment in Cheyenne, Wyoming.^[1] In 1921, Green married Ruth Cooper Tuthill of Moravia, New York. That same year, he was assigned to Washington where he worked in the office of the assistant secretary of war and earned his master's degree from George Washington University law school. Green was later assigned to duties on Governor's Island, New York with the First Division. Following the completion of his assignment he returned to Washington where he transferred to the judge advocate general's department in 1925. Green later served as executive secretary of the Muscle Shoals Commission and as a war department representative on the German-Austrian and British-American claims commissions. He first came to Hawai'i on August 24, 1940, as a department judge advocate at Ft. Shafter until the outbreak of World War II.

Proponent of Martial Law

Following the Pearl Harbor attack, Green was responsible for creating the martial law proclamation that bypassed the Hawaii Defense Act and gave the military governor absolute power. He also created an organizational plan that "left Hawaii with a status resembling that of a conquered province" as he drafted military orders that regulated life in the Islands.^[2] Under martial law, Green established military tribunals under General Order 4 whereby a network of military commissions tried all criminal cases. The military governor's office also established provost courts. Defendants were often not provided a copy of the charges against them, denied legal representation and trial by juries, and often given severe sentences with no opportunities for appeals. As a result of the suspension of habeas corpus, individuals could be held without being charged and Japanese Americans such as Sanji Abe were arrested and placed in "custodial detention."^[3] Eventually the civilian government was partially restored but the army continued to retain special emergency powers such as the regulation of labor in defense-related occupations, censorship powers, curfew enforcement, prostitution regulation, and control over the alien population, specifically the Japanese.

Following his career in the army, Green passed away in 1971 at the age of eighty-one.

For More Information

"Gen Thomas H. Green." Findagrave.com. <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=96849270>

Green, Maj. Gen. Thomas H. *Martial Law in Hawaii, December 7, 1941–April 4, 1943.* Unpublished manuscript. Library of Congress.
http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/Martial-Law-Hawaii_Green.html.

"Meet General Green." *The Judge Advocate Journal* 2.3 (Fall–Winter, 1945): 5, 22. http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/JAG_II-3.pdf

Robinson, Greg. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Staff of the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's School Library. *Martial Law in Hawaii: The Papers of Major General Thomas H. Green, Judge Advocate General's Corps, U.S. Army: A Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* Bethesda, Maryland: LexisNexis, 2003.
http://cisupa.proquest.com/ksc_assets/catalog/11212.pdf.

References

1. "Colonel Green Made General," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 21 May 1942, 1.
2. Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 226.
3. Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy*, 227.

“Thomas H. Green” by Nakamura, Kelli Y., is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 by rights owner Densho

Thomas Sakakihara
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Thomas Sakakihara was a former Big Island magistrate, legislator, and World War II internee. He began practicing law in the district courts in 1921 and served in the territorial legislature from 1932 to 1954. Despite being interned for the duration of World War II, he served as a magistrate in 1956 for the District Court of Ka‘u until 1959 when he was appointed to fill the position with the Hamakua and the North and South Kohala District Courts.^[1] He died February 22, 1989, in Honolulu at the age of 88.

Early Career and Internment Experience

Sakakihara, a Republican, served in the Territorial Legislature from 1932 to 1954 including two terms as finance chairman as one of the earliest Japanese American politicians in Hawai‘i despite previous unsuccessful bids. In 1933, he married Sadako Aileen Arizumi, a teacher at Kapoho School in Puna. During his career as a representative, however, Sakakihara was convicted of having falsely certified a claim against the territory in connection with his duties as chairman of the House Lands Committee and was reprimanded for his conduct.^[2] Yet, throughout his career, Sakakihara never wavered in his belief in the loyalty of the Japanese in the Islands. In October 1935, at a congressional committee at the statehood hearings, Sakakihara argued that the children of the territory are taught that "their first duty of loyalty to the Stars and Stripes," as they are taught "the fundamental principles of democracy" and "to live in the standards of the American community."^[3] After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Sakakihara was named special deputy sheriff to advise Hilo police and to act as a liaison between the police and the military. However, he was removed from the job and arrested "on suspicion of being an alien" although he was born in Hilo.^[4] Sakakihara was detailed at the Honouliuli internment camp for a period of time before his release in 1943.^[5]

Postwar Fate

Despite his incarceration during World War II, Sakakihara's career was not significantly affected. In 1957, Sakakihara was appointed magistrate for the Ka‘u district court, a position that he held until 1959 when he was appointed magistrate of the Hamakua and Kohala districts. He retired in 1968. Sakakihara passed away in 1989, predeceased by his wife Aileen and survived by his two daughters, Ruth and Jeanne along with two brothers, Haruo and Rufus and sister Dorothy.

For More Information

Sato, Hank. "Honouliuli: Oahu's Little-Known World War II Internment Camp." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 18, 1976, A-1-A-8.

"Thomas Sakakihara, Former Magistrate." *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 2, 1989, A-7.

References

1. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, "Sakakihara, Rep. Thomas T.-1937/1950" Microfiche D98050.
2. "Censure for Sakakihara is Vote in House," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 29, 1937, 1; "Suspension is Sakakihara's Possible Fate," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 28, 1937, 1; "4 House Men Attest Hiring of More Help," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 26, 1937, 1; "Mystery Note Added to Case of Sakakihara," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 27, 1937, 1; "Sakakihara's Kin Claimed He Received Pay," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, April 22, 1937, 1.
3. "Legislator's View Defense of Statehood," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, "Sakakihara, Rep. Thomas T.-1926-1937 1*" Microfiche D98050.
4. "Thomas Sakakihara, Former Magistrate," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 2, 1989, A-7.
5. Hank Sato, "Honouliuli: Oahu's Little-Known World War II Internment Camp," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 18, 1976, A-1-A-8.

"[Thomas Sakakihara](#)" by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Walter Dillingham
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

Noted businessman, developer who was involved in issues related to the Japanese in Hawai'i.

Early Life and Businesses

Walter F. Dillingham was born April 5, 1875, in Honolulu. His father was Benjamin Franklin D. Dillingham, a Massachusetts-born seaman who came to the Islands in 1865, and his mother was Emma Louise Smith Dillingham, daughter of Rev. Lowell Smith, a New England missionary. Dillingham was educated at Punahoa School, at Newton, Massachusetts high school, and at Harvard University where he graduated in 1902. He married Louise Gaylord of Chicago on May 2, 1910, in Florence, Italy.

Before the age of thirty, Dillingham took over as treasurer and financial director of Oahu Railway and Land Co., and other Dillingham businesses following his father's breakdown. He put business interests on a sound financial basis and paved the way for new undertakings including Hawaiian Dredging Co., Ltd., which Dillingham founded in 1902. It became the oldest general contracting firm in the Pacific with operations in Malaysia, Australia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Borneo, Texas, and California. The company built port and wharf facilities throughout the Islands to serve the rapidly growing sugar industry and was awarded lucrative government contracts including the building of Pearl Harbor. In 1939, Hawaiian Dredging entered into a joint venture with two eastern contracting firms to construct naval air bases at Kāne'ohe and Ford Island and at Palmyra, Johnson, and Midway Islands, building more than \$1.1 billion worth of military projects. Hawaiian Dredging also built theaters, schools, homes, hotels, business facilities and office buildings, banks, public housing projects, sugar facilities, power plants, dry docks, park pavilions, and sewer pumping plants. Some of its most well-known construction projects include the Federal Building, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, and the Dillingham Transportation Building which was constructed in 1930 in Honolulu as a monument to Dillingham's father. He also held directorships on a number of other island corporations including Bishop Trust Co., Bank of Hawaii, American Factors, Ltd., Oahu Sugar, Von Hamm-Young Corp., and the Advertiser.

Dillingham's Political Interests and Prewar Activism

Through the years, Dillingham played an active role in community affairs as a Republican and took a keen interest in issues involving Japanese. During the 1920 sugar strike, a high-level delegation chaired by Dillingham known as the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission arrived in Washington to support the resumption of Chinese labor importation.^[1] Dillingham, along with other Hawai'i dignitaries such as Attorney General Harry Irwin and Governor Wallace R. Farrington, testified before a U.S. Senate committee that federal legislation was essential to prevent Japanese control of the Islands as "the solidarity of the Japanese exceeds that of any other nationality that has ever been in Hawaii."^[2] When senators questioned Dillingham as to why white labor would not be an acceptable alternative, he replied: "The white farmer who can prosper everywhere throughout the continental United States is inherently

unable to work in the cane fields and on the pineapple and other plantations of the Territory."^[3] According to the "unquestionable results of many experiments" conducted during the past fifty years, the "peculiar conditions imposed by the tropical nature of the country" necessitated a non-white labor force.^[4] Ultimately, the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) sponsored plan to import Chinese migrants failed, but these efforts demonstrated the determination of the planters, leading political officials in the territory, and prominent businessmen including Dillingham to rid the Islands of "unreliable labor."

Dillingham also carefully monitored the 1932 Massie trial and its outcome as he and other businessmen were concerned about the impact of this trial on tourism and military spending in Hawai'i. Dillingham had intimate ties with the navy and spearheaded the effort to "defuse the situation and to make certain that the Islands' oligarchy kept control of the territorial government" as he recognized that the institution of martial law, which some quarters of the population were already demanding, would be detrimental to their political and financial influence.^[5] To allay hostilities and to explain what had happened in Honolulu, Dillingham wrote *A Memorandum*, which despite a statement cautioning that it was "For Private Circulation and Not for Publication," he sent to mainland newspaper editors and members of Congress.^[6] While arguing that it was "the greatest importance that this city, which is the playground of the personnel of the Army and Navy, be so operated and controlled as to keep it decent and safe," he held that "Honolulu is better able to cope with its problems through leaders and organizations made up from its citizens than by placing this important function of government under politically appointed officers from Washington."^[7] Given recent reforms made in territorial laws, he predicted a future where the "standards of American ideals" would be as high as in any mainland community.^[8]

Dillingham and World War II

During World War II, Dillingham was a staunch supporter of martial law and Lt. Gen. Delos Emmons appointed Dillingham as director of food production for the Hawaiian Islands.^[9] In this capacity, Dillingham noted that the majority of Hawai'i's food was produced by Japanese under military surveillance.^[10] Dillingham spoke out in defense of the loyalty of Hawai'i's Japanese noting that Japanese farmers were critical to the food production in the Islands, and "there is not a recorded case of sabotage to the American war effort. We have put the Japanese to work and they are doing a good job."^[11] Thus Dillingham intervened in the eviction of Japanese Americans farmers at Lualualei in Wai'anae on the leeward coast of O'ahu as he argued that these farmers were critical to food production on O'ahu.^[12] A few months after Pearl Harbor attack Dillingham also organized a luncheon with high ranking military personnel including Delos Emmons and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz after a meeting with Cecil Coggins.^[13] At this meeting, Coggins presented a statement of Japanese American loyalty that he had drafted with members of the Honolulu Civic Association, previously the Hawaiian Japanese Civic Association. Although the impact of this statement is unclear, it was published by *Harper's Magazine* in 1943 during a period of anti-Japanese sentiment in America and the mass

internment of Hawai‘i's Japanese was prevented.^[14] In the latter years of his life, Dillingham continually opposed statehood for Hawai‘i in part because of the alleged communist influence in the Islands until it was officially passed by the U.S. Congress.^[15] When statehood became a fact, he said that although he felt that it had been a mistake, he would support it as strongly as he had earlier opposed it. Dillingham passed away peacefully in his sleep on October 22, 1962, survived by his wife and two sons, Lowell and Benjamin, and a daughter, Mrs. Myron Wick of Greenwich, Connecticut. He was preceded in death by his youngest son, Air Force Captain H. Gaylord Dillingham, who was killed in action over Kawasaki, Japan, in 1945.

For More Information

Dillingham, Walter F. *A Memorandum*. Honolulu: n.p., 1932.

"Hawaii Leaders Hail Varied, Distinguished Career." *Honolulu Advertiser*, 23 October 1963, A-4.

"Leaders Cite Stature Of Walter F. Dillingham." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 23 October 1963, A-1.

Melendy, H. Brett. *Walter Francis Dillingham, 1875-1963, Hawaiian Entrepreneur and Statesman*. Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1996.

References

1. United States, Congress, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Labor Problems in Hawaii: Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 67th Congress, 1st session on H. J. Res. 158, A joint resolution providing an emergency remedy for the acute labor shortage in Hawaii and on H. J. Res. 171, A joint resolution providing for immigration to meet the emergency caused by an acute labor shortage in the Territory of Hawaii, Serial 7 - Part 1-2, June 21 to June 30 and July 7, July 22, 27 and 29, Aug. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, and 12, 1921* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1921), 225; John Ernest Reinecke, *Chronology: Activities of the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission and Related Activities* (n.d.), 1-36.
2. *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 230.
3. *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 223.
4. *Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 223.
5. H. Brett Melendy, *Walter Francis Dillingham, 1875-1963, Hawaiian Entrepreneur and Statesman* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1996), 209.
6. Melendy, *Walter Francis Dillingham*, 218.

7. Walter F. Dillingham, *A Memorandum* (Honolulu: n.p., 1932), 10.
 8. Dillingham, *A Memorandum*, 11.
 9. Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber, *Bayonets in Paradise: A Half-Century Retrospect on Martial Law in Hawai'i, 1941-1946*, 19 U.Haw. L. Rev. 477 (1997), accessed on October 13, 2013 at <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/facpubs/383>.
 10. "Hawaii's Food Largely Raised by Japanese," *Pacific Citizen*, May 13, 1943, 1.
 11. "Hawaii's Food," 1.
 12. Mark Santoki, "The Farmers of Lualualei," *Hawaii Herald*, August 2, 1991, A-6.
 13. Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 81-82.
 14. Cecil Hengy Coggins, "The Japanese-Americans in Hawaii," *Harper's Magazine* (June 1943): 75- 83.
 15. John S. Whitehead, "The Anti-Statehood Movement and the Legacy of Alice Kamokila Campbell," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993), 44.
-

["Walter Dillingham"](#) by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)

Walter Short
By: Kelli Y. Nakamura

As commander of the United States Army's Hawaiian Department, Walter Short was held responsible for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor; he and Husband Kimmel, commander-in-chief of the U.S. fleet were soon removed from command and blamed for America's unpreparedness.^[1]

Short was born in Fillmore, Illinois, on March 30, 1880, and in 1901 graduated from the University of Illinois. He taught mathematics at Western Military Academy before joining the army in March 1902. Short was first stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and later the Presidio in San Francisco before serving in other areas such as Oklahoma, Texas, the Philippines, and Mexico. During World War I, Short served in France on the general staff of the 1st Division and was an assistant chief of staff for the 3rd Army. Short continued to rise in the army hierarchy gaining experience as a troop commander and as a training and staff officer, and in February 1941, Short was appointed to command the army's Hawaiian Department. In this capacity, Short was promoted to the temporary rank of lieutenant general and was responsible for Hawai'i's aerial and ground defense.

Immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack, President Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated an investigation and subsequently both Short and Kimmel were relieved of their commands. The commission's report, issued in January 1942, cited both Short and Kimmel for mistakes. Short was reduced to the rank of major general and retired in early 1942. In later testimonies, Short argued he had made the right decisions considering the information and level of support he had received from Washington. Most recently in 1995, Senator Strom Thurmond with the support of Kimmel's and Short's families, formally requested a defense department inquiry that resulted in the Dorn report which found that "while Kimmel and Short were guilty of errors of judgment, they were not solely responsible for the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor, and others in Washington and on their staffs in Hawai'i should share some of the blame." Yet, both Short and Kimmel have yet to be fully exonerated.

After his retirement, Short worked at the Ford Motor Company in Dallas, Texas and passed away in 1949 survived by his wife, Isabel Dean Short and their son Walter Dean Short.

For More Information

Anderson, Charles Robert. *Day of Lightning, Years of Scorn: Walter C. Short and the Attack on Pearl Harbor*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2005.

Beach, Edward L. *Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1995.

Biography, United States Army website, http://www.usarpac.army.mil/history2/cg_short.asp.

Borch, Fred and Daniel Martinez. *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor: The Final Report Revealed*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2005.

Lambert, John W. and Norman Polmar. *Defenseless: Command Failure at Pearl Harbor*. St. Paul, Minnesota: MBI, 2003.

Worth, Roland H. *Pearl Harbor: Selected Testimonies, Fully Indexed, from the Congressional Hearings (1945-1946) and Prior Investigations of the Events Leading up to the Attack*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 1993.

References

1. Research for this article was supported by a grant from the Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities.

“[Walter Short](#)” by [Nakamura, Kelli Y.](#), is licensed under [CC BY-NC-SA 3.0](#) by rights owner [Densho](#)