

**J A P A N E S E A M E R I C A N
I N T E R N M E N T U N I T F O R
M O D E R N H I S T O R Y O F H A W A I ' I
(2 0 0 8)**

Lesson Overview

Lesson One

Events Leading to the Bombing of Pearl Harbor

Lesson Two

Cultural Values and Traditions of Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i

Lesson Three

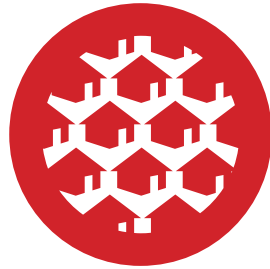
Internees' Stories

Lesson Four

Formulating Ideas

Lesson Five

Loyalty Undenied: 100th Battalion &
442nd Regimental Combat Team Additional Resources



**LESSON
OVERVIEW**

LESSON OVERVIEW

BIG IDEA(S) / MAJOR UNDERSTANDING(S):

Students will understand the events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and be able to describe its effects in Hawai'i. Through the human story, students will understand the similarities and differences between the WWII internment experiences in Hawai'i and on the mainland.

HCPS III Benchmark: MMH 9.3.7 | Identify events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and describe its effects in Hawai'i, such as the role of the U.S. military and anti-Japanese sentiments (including the internment camps and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.)

Essential Question

What effect did the bombing of Pearl Harbor have on Hawai'i and what were the responses to them?

Taxonomic level

Level I: Retrieval- Identify, list

Level II: Comprehension- describe, explain

Level IV: Analyze with evidence

CONTENT

Step 1c

- Japan's rise of militarism in the Pacific
- bombing of Pearl Harbor
- Executive Order 9066
- writ of Habeas Corpus
- martial law
- internment camps
- internee
- Go For Broke
- stereotypes
- racial profiling
- 100th Battalion
- 442nd Regimental Combat Team
- Military Intelligence Service
- Issei
- Nisei
- Nikkei
- Kibei
- Ganbare
- Okage sama de

SKILLS

Step 1d

- Identify the cause and effect relationships of events (Attack on Pearl Harbor)
- Describe events in history
- Summarize events
- Frame questions for research
- Compare and contrast similarities and differences
- Analyze the political, social, and economic climate during WWII
- Analyze primary and secondary source accounts

SUMMATIVE ASSESSMENT TASK(S)

Write an essay describing and explaining the impact of the bombing of Pearl Harbor on Hawai'i. Explain the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internees' experience compared to the mainland internees' experience. Explain why the treatment of the people of Japanese ancestry in Hawai'i was different than that of the mainland internees. Also, show how the people of Japanese ancestry responded to the anti-Japanese sentiments after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, i.e. 100th Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the MIS.

Other options:

Create a display board, power point, documentary, newspaper describing and explaining the events that led to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and its effects on Hawai'i: martial law and the Hawai'i internment process by comparing the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internees' experiences and that of the mainland internees' experience. Explain why the treatment of the people of Japanese ancestry in Hawai'i was different from that of the mainland internees. Also, show how the people of Japanese ancestry responded to the anti-Japanese sentiment through the voices of the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the MIS.

BENCHMARK RUBRIC FOR SUMMATIVE ASSESSMENT (STEP 2B)

Advanced

Identify events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and describe with clear and precise detail its effects in Hawai'i.

Proficient

Identify events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and describe with detail its effects in Hawai'i.

Partially Proficient

Identify events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and/or describe, with minimal detail, its effects in Hawai'i.

Novice

Inaccurately identify events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and/or ineffectively describe its effects in Hawai'i.

INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES (LESSON/UNIT PLAN)

1 | **LESSON ONE** — Events Leading to the Bombing of Pearl Harbor (50 minutes)

Purpose of Activity: To gain background information leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, particularly time and place.

Documentary Overview (Optional – If DVD is available; otherwise, see below)

1. View the documentary: *Silent Suffering*. Film can be viewed at www.hawaiiinternment.org.
2. Before showing *Silent Suffering*, pass out and read over the questionnaire entitled: Preparation for Viewing *Silent Suffering*. Have students verbally give answers to the questions as a quick K W L type activity.

3. Show documentary.
4. After the documentary is over, elicit comments from students about the documentary.
5. Have students complete the Preparation for Viewing “Silent Suffering” worksheet.

Reading and Discussion Activity of Events Leading to the Bombing of Pearl Harbor

1. Have students read materials of the historical events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.
2. Readings could be done in a jigsaw fashion where readings are divided up in groups. Allow quiet time for jigsaw reading (or have it done already assigned as homework). In groups, have students report to their jigsaw group what they read.

Possible reading sources include:

- Text: Menton, Linda and Eileen Tamura. A History of Hawai'i. University of Hawai'i, 1999. Pgs. 140 – 146.
 - “Chronology of World War II Hawai'i Internees” from JCCH WWII Folder: Life of Hawai'i Internees Section III. Timeline. Pgs. 1-2.
3. After sharing their summaries, have students create an annotated timeline of the events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Students may begin in class and complete it or do it as homework.

BENCHMARK RUBRIC FOR ANNOTATED TIMELINE OF EVENTS LEADING TO PEARL HARBOR

Advanced

Gives accurate & specific details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Proficient

Gives accurate details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Partially Proficient

Gives few details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Novice

Gives vague details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION – RESOURCES FOR TIMELINE CREATION

Scholastic articles: WWII timeline

- “1600s-1853 The “Black Ships” Open Japan.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time1.htm>
- “1860s Japan: A Strong & Independent Nation.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time2.htm>
- “1898 America Becomes a Pacific Power.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time3.htm>
- “1929 The Great Depression.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time4.htm>
- “1937 China in Flames.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time5.htm>
- “1940 Tripartite Pact.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time6.htm>
- “Fall 1941 The War Warning.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time7.htm>
- “Dec. 7, 1941 The Day of Infamy.” <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time8.htm>
- “WWII comprehensive summary of events.” <http://www.teacheroz.com/PearlHarbor.htm>

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LESSON TWO — Cultural Values and Traditions of Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i (50 min.)

Purpose of Activity: To assess prior knowledge of their understanding of cultural values and traditions of the Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i and to gain background information.

1. Conduct a K W L lesson on the effects of the bombing of Pearl Harbor on Hawai'i. Allow 5 minutes to complete.
2. The teacher will address key vocabulary of the terms, people and events of the Japanese in Hawai'i (Crossword activity). 10 minutes. Share answers.
3. The teacher will then provide a brief background of the Japanese immigrant population in Hawai'i and on the mainland with a lecture based on *Japanese*

American History: Before the War by Franklin Odo and *Japanese Internment and Relocation: the Hawai'i Experience (1983)* by Dennis Ogawa and Evarts C. Fox.

4. Give students the handout, “Cloze Reading Exercise.” Students could work individually or in a group.

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LESSON THREE—Internees' Stories

Purpose of Activity: To identify the similarities and differences of the Japanese American internees' experiences in Hawai'i and on the mainland using the human stories.

Materials Needed:

- “Treatment of Internees”
- “Life of Hawai'i Internees”
- Internment Sites in Hawai'i
- Internment Sites in Western U.S.
- JCCH Resources:
 - Tomita
 - Abe
 - Naitoh
 - Ozaki
 - Soga
- *Life Behind Barbed Wire* by Yasutaro Soga.

Reading sources for the mainland internees' experiences:

- Oppenheim, Joanne. *Dear Miss Breed: True Stories of the Japanese American Incarceration during World War II and a Librarian Who Made a Difference*. Scholastic Inc., New York, c2006.
 - This book contains many quotable quotes from internees giving testimony during the redress hearings as well as from the letters of children writing to Miss Breed from camp.
- Okubo, Mine. *Citizen 13660*. University of Washington Press, Seattle, c1983.
 - Drawings [b/w sketches] and text are by the author detailing her odyssey as an internee.
- Stuart, Colburn Cox, compiler. *Inside View: Japanese American Evacuee Center at Rohwer, Arkansas, 1941-1945*. McGehee, Arkansas, c1979.
 - Comments from students of Japanese ancestry made anonymously when asked by their teacher to write.

- Tunnell, Michael O. and George W. Chilcoat. *The Children of Topaz: The Story of a Japanese-American Internment Camp Based on a Classroom Diary*. New York, Holiday House, c1996.
- A child's account of the internment process.
- Tajiri, Vincent, editor. *Through Innocent Eyes: Writings and Art from the Japanese American Internment by Poston Schoolchildren*. Los Angeles, Keiro Services Press, c1990.

Activity 1: *Cooperative Groups or Read Aloud Teachers may use all or select a few accounts for students to read and analyze.*

1. Create jigsaw groups and pass out primary accounts to students to read in a jigsaw fashion. (For time constraints, teachers may opt to do a read-aloud and pass out selected primary source accounts from Hawai'i and mainland experiences.)
2. Teachers can display the included images of Sand Island Internment Camp, Honouliuli Internment Camp, Kilauea Internment Camp, as well as pass out copies or display the map "Internment Sites in Hawai'i" and the map of "Internment Sites in Western U.S."
3. Pass out the Guided Question sheets of Hawai'i internees' accounts. Students may work in groups to answer these questions or work individually. (Depending on the time, the sheets could be used for homework too.)
4. The Guided Question sheets can be used to generate discussion about internment in Hawai'i and on the mainland. Discussion could bring out responses to "Is there a common theme throughout the accounts? What is different about the Hawai'i accounts and the mainland accounts? Why?"
5. Teachers can sum up the discussion by stating how Hawai'i's economic condition, plantation work, and social connections may have contributed to why only a few people of Japanese ancestry were taken to internment camps, and why Hawai'i's internees' experience may be different from that of the mainland internees' experience. (See T/F activity sheets)

Activity 2: *T-Chart and Writing Assessment*

1. Pass out the T-Chart "Similarities and Differences of Hawai'i and mainland Internee Experiences" handout.
2. Tell students this is an individual assignment. Tell them to have all the primary articles out so that they can complete the T-Chart of Hawai'i Japanese internees' experiences & the mainland Japanese internees' experiences.

3. **Writing Assessment Task:** *Based on the accounts and readings, write an essay giving a generalization of the human impact/cost of the people of Japanese ancestry based on the primary source accounts. Explain why the experience of internment was different for Hawai'i internees than the experience of internment for the mainland internees.*

Sample Assessment Task(s) – Human Stories

- Read each primary account or Human Stories of each internee. Students will answer questions based on each primary account.
- Students will complete a T-Chart of the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internees' and the mainland internees' experiences.
- Students will write a generalization of the similarities and differences of Hawai'i internees' and the mainland internees' experiences. Include the human impact/cost (an effect of the bombing of Pearl Harbor) based on the primary accounts of the internees, (e.g. loss of leaders and the impact on the community). Explain why the experience of internment was different for Hawai'i internees than the experience of internment for the mainland internees.

BENCHMARK RUBRIC FOR THE T-CHART & WRITING ASSESSMENT TASK

Advanced

Identifies and describes, with clear and precise detail, the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

Proficient

Identifies and describes, with details, the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

Partially Proficient

Identifies and describes, with weak details, the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

Novice

Ineffectively identifies and describes the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

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LESSON FOUR — Formulating Ideas (50 minutes)

Purpose of Activity: The students will be able to weigh the information and formulate their own judgment about whether the U.S. Government had the right to incarcerate people of Japanese descent in War Relocation Centers.

1. Have the students examine the underlying premise(s) of evacuating Japanese Americans based on political, social, economic, and military beliefs from the perspectives of the Japanese Americans and U.S. Government officials.
2. Best suited with a T-bar visual organizer detailing supporting evidence for each side of the issues of incarceration.
3. In the last step of the exercise, have the students write a reflection on whether or not to intern the Japanese Americans and nationals after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Students will need to justify their position based upon factual information.

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LESSON FIVE — Loyalty Undenied: 100th Battalion & 442nd Regimental Combat Team (50 minutes)

Purpose of Activity: Trace the development of the 100th Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the MIS to broaden the students' knowledge and understanding about how young males enlisted in the U.S. Military as a testament to their patriotism and citizenship despite the fact that some members of their families were detained in internment camps. Students will understand how the people of Japanese ancestry responded to the negative impact of the bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i.

1. Have the students view documentaries:
 - Tom Coffinan's DVD *First Battle*
 - Or the Go For Broke Educational Foundation's DVD *Tradition & Honor*
- OR
- read text by Linda Menton & Eileen Tamura. *History of Hawai'i*. 1999. pages 154-155.
 - Or Franklin Odo's *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II*. 2004. Pages 221-251.

2. Prior to viewing the documentary, give students an overview of the content: Many servicemen (2,000) either lost their lives or were severely injured under the General Dahlquist charge in saving Texas' 230 men of the Lost Battalion. There were so many incidents of honor, loyalty, and sacrifice displayed by these men who were once classified as 4C or enemy soldiers.
3. After viewing the documentary or completing the reading(s), have students do a Quick-Write: The 100th /442nd Regimental Combat Team was the most decorated unit in American military history. In your opinion, what do you believe motivated these men to demonstrate such acts of courage under fire?

Sample Assessment Task

Quick-write: *The 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team was the most decorated unit in American military history. In your opinion, what do you believe motivated these men to demonstrate such acts of courage under fire?*

BENCHMARK RUBRIC FOR SUMMATIVE ASSESSMENT

Advanced

Identifies and describes, with clear and precise detail, the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

Proficient

Identifies and describes, with details, the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

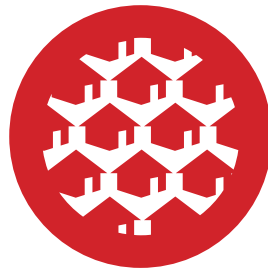
Partially proficient

Identifies and describes, with weak details, the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

Novice

Ineffectively identifies and describes the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

Other activities related to the content of this benchmark:
Crossword Puzzle Activity and Tanka Poem Activity



LESSON ONE

EVENTS LEADING TO THE
BOMBING OF PEARL HARBOR

EVENTS LEADING TO THE BOMBING OF PEARL HARBOR

50 MINUTES

Purpose of Activity: To gain background information leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, particularly time and place.

DOCUMENTARY OVERVIEW

(Optional – If DVD is available; otherwise, see below)

1. View the documentary: *Silent Suffering*.
2. Before showing *Silent Suffering*, pass out and read over the questionnaire entitled: Preparation for Viewing *Silent Suffering*. Have students verbally give answers to the questions as a quick K W L type activity.
3. Show documentary.
4. After the documentary is over, elicit comments from students about the documentary.
5. Have students complete the Preparation for Viewing *Silent Suffering* worksheet.

READING AND DISCUSSION ACTIVITY OF EVENTS LEADING TO THE BOMBING OF PEARL HARBOR

1. Have students read materials of the historical events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.
2. Readings could be done in a jigsaw fashion where readings are divided up in groups. Allow quiet time for jigsaw reading (or have it done already assigned as homework). In groups, have students report to their jigsaw group what they read. Possible reading sources include:
 - Text: Menton, Linda and Eileen Tamura. A History of Hawai'i. University of Hawai'i, 1999. Pgs. 140 – 146.
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3. After sharing their summaries, have students create an annotated timeline of the events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Students may begin in class and complete it or do it as homework.

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Advanced

Gives accurate & specific details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Proficient

Gives accurate details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Partially Proficient

Gives few details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Novice

Gives vague details of events leading to the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION – RESOURCES FOR TIMELINE CREATION

Scholastic articles: WWII time line

- "1600s-1853 The "Black Ships" Open Japan." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time1.htm>
- "1860s Japan: A Strong & Independent Nation." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time2.htm>
- "1898 America Becomes a Pacific Power." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time3.htm>
- "1929 The Great Depression." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time4.htm>
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- "1940 Tripartite Pact." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time6.htm>
- "Fall 1941 The War Warning." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time7.htm>
- "Dec. 7, 1941 The Day of Infamy." <http://teacher.scholastic.com/pearl/timeline/time8.htm>
- "WWII comprehensive summary of events." <http://www.teacheroz.com/PearlHarbor.htm>



PREPARATION FOR VIEWING “SILENT SUFFERING FOR THE SAKE OF THE CHILDREN”

Name: _____ Period: _____ Date: _____

Definition of terms prior to viewing the DVD:

Issei: 1st generation Japanese, someone born in Japan who later moved to the U.S.

Nisei: 2nd generation Japanese American, born in the U.S. to Issei

Kibei: 2nd generation Japanese American, born in the U.S., educated in Japan

Japanese soldiers: Japanese invaders from Japan

1. What major events led to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and World War II?
2. Of this event/time period, what executive order was issued for the West Coast of the mainland? What were the effects?
3. Of this event/time period, what major military law was declared in Hawai'i? What were the effects?
4. What were the anti-Japanese perspectives during that time period and how did they affect the Japanese in America?
5. Since World War II, have perspectives on the Japanese American internment changed? If perspectives have changed, how? If not, why not?

CHRONOLOGY OF WORLD WAR II HAWAI‘I INTERNEES

PRE-WAR CONTEXT

- 1885 Large scale migration to Hawai‘i begins.
- 1898 The United States annexes Hawai‘i.
- 1908 The Gentlemen’s Agreement curtails the further migration of laborers from Japan to Hawai‘i.
- 1924 The Immigration Act of 1924 effectively ends Japanese immigration to the U.S.
- 1935-37 Lt. Col. George S. Patton, Jr.’s plan “Initial Seizure of Orange Nationals” outlines a response for Hawai‘i in the case of attack by Japan that includes “hostages” from among the local Japanese community. His plan includes specific names of ethnic community leader to be detained. It is one of several such lists of those to be detained in the event of war compiled by various intelligence agencies since 1933.
- 1940 Persons of Japanese descent in Hawai‘i numbered 157,905 making up 37.3% of the total population.

WORLD WAR II

1941

- Dec. 7 7:57 am: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor.
4:25 pm: Martial law declared by Gov. Joseph B. Poindexter. Detention of local Japanese begins.
- Dec. 8 Sand Island camp activated; it housed about 300 Issei and Nisei men and a handful of women. Camps are also activated on Hawai‘i (Kilauea Military Camp), Kaua‘i (Kalaheo Stockade), and Maui (Haiku Camp) over the next few days.
- Dec. 9 Total arrested as of Dec. 9: 473. Breakdown: 345 Issei, 22 Nisei, 74 German nationals, 19 citizens of German ancestry, 11 Italian nationals, 2 citizens of Italian ancestry.
- Dec. 18 Lt. Gen. Delos Emmons appointed as head of the Hawai‘i command.

1942

- Feb. 19 President Franklin Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066, laying the groundwork for the mass forced removal and detention of 110,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast.
- Feb. 21 199 prisoners at Sand Island are transported to mainland detention centers. Five more shipments take place in 1942 and three more in 1943. Meanwhile prisoners held in neighbor island detention centers are transported to Sand Island.
- Mar. 30 Total number of detainee by this date: 733. Breakdown: 515 Issei, 93 Nisei, the remainder German or Italians.
- June 5 1,432 members of the all Japanese American Hawai‘i Provisional Infantry Battalion leave Honolulu for San Francisco. These men would become the original members of famed 100th Infantry Battalion.
- June 6 The Battle of Midway ends with a resounding Allied victory, permanently turning the tide of the war.
- Nov. The first group of immediate family members of men interned in mainland camps leave Hawai‘i to join their husbands/fathers. By March 14, 1943, 1,037 family members had “voluntarily” left for mainland internment camps to rejoin their husbands/fathers.

1943

- Feb. 1 The 442nd Regimental Combat Team is activated. Nearly 10,000 Nisei from Hawai‘i volunteer and over 2,600 are accepted for induction. Over 100 of those accepted have fathers who are internees.
- Mar. 1 Sand Island closes; remaining detainees are transferred to a new camp in Honouliuli gulch.

1944

- Oct. 24 Martial law ends

1945

- Aug. 14 Japan surrenders
- Nov. 14 450 internees return to Hawai‘i; 300 more return on Dec. 19
Total number of Hawai‘i internees: approx. 2,400

POST WAR

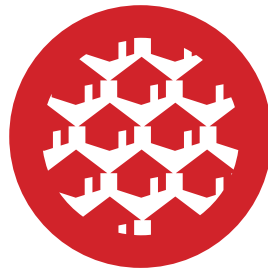
1952 Immigration Act of 1952 passes. Among other things, it allows for a token immigration quota for Japan and allows Issei to become naturalized citizens.

1959 Hawai'i becomes the 50th state.

1988 President Ronald Reagan signs the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 into law. Its provisions call for Japanese American survivors of the World War II internment to receive \$20,000 reparations payments and a letter of apology from the President. The first recipients of reparations receive their checks and letters on October 9, 1990.

2006 President Bush signs Public Law 109-441, a measure allotting \$38 million towards the preservation and acquisition of historic confinement sites where Japanese Americans were detained during World War II.

2007 The Hawai'i State Legislature approves SB 1228, calling for a plan for how best to memorialize World War II confinement sites in Hawai'i.



LESSON TWO

CULTURAL VALUES & TRADITIONS
OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS
IN HAWAI'I

LESSON 2



CULTURAL VALUES AND TRADITIONS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS IN HAWAII (50 MINUTES)

Purpose of Activity: To assess prior knowledge of their understanding of cultural values and traditions of the Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i and to gain background information.

1. Conduct a K W L lesson on the effects of the bombing of Pearl Harbor on Hawai'i. Allow 5 minutes to complete.
2. The teacher will address key vocabulary of the terms, people and events of the Japanese in Hawai'i. (Crossword activity). 10 minutes. Share answers.
3. The teacher will then provide a brief background of the Japanese immigrant population in Hawai'i and on the mainland with a lecture based on Japanese American History: *Before the War* by Franklin Odo and *Japanese Internment and Relocation: the Hawai'i Experience (1983)* by Dennis Ogawa and Evarts C. Fox.
4. Give students the handout, "Cloze Reading Exercise." Students could work individually or in a group.



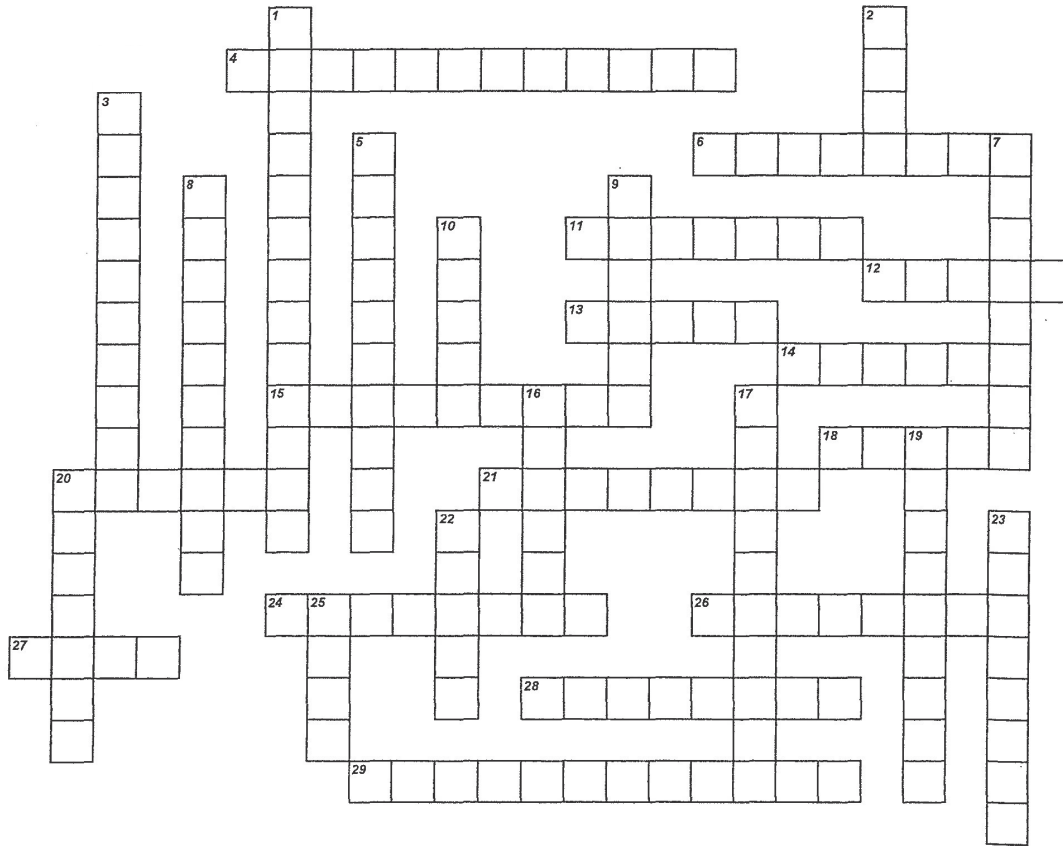
K W L CHART

Name: _____ Period: _____ Date: _____

What you KNOW	What you WANT to know	What you LEARNED

CROSSWORD

THINGS JAPANESE IN HAWAI'I



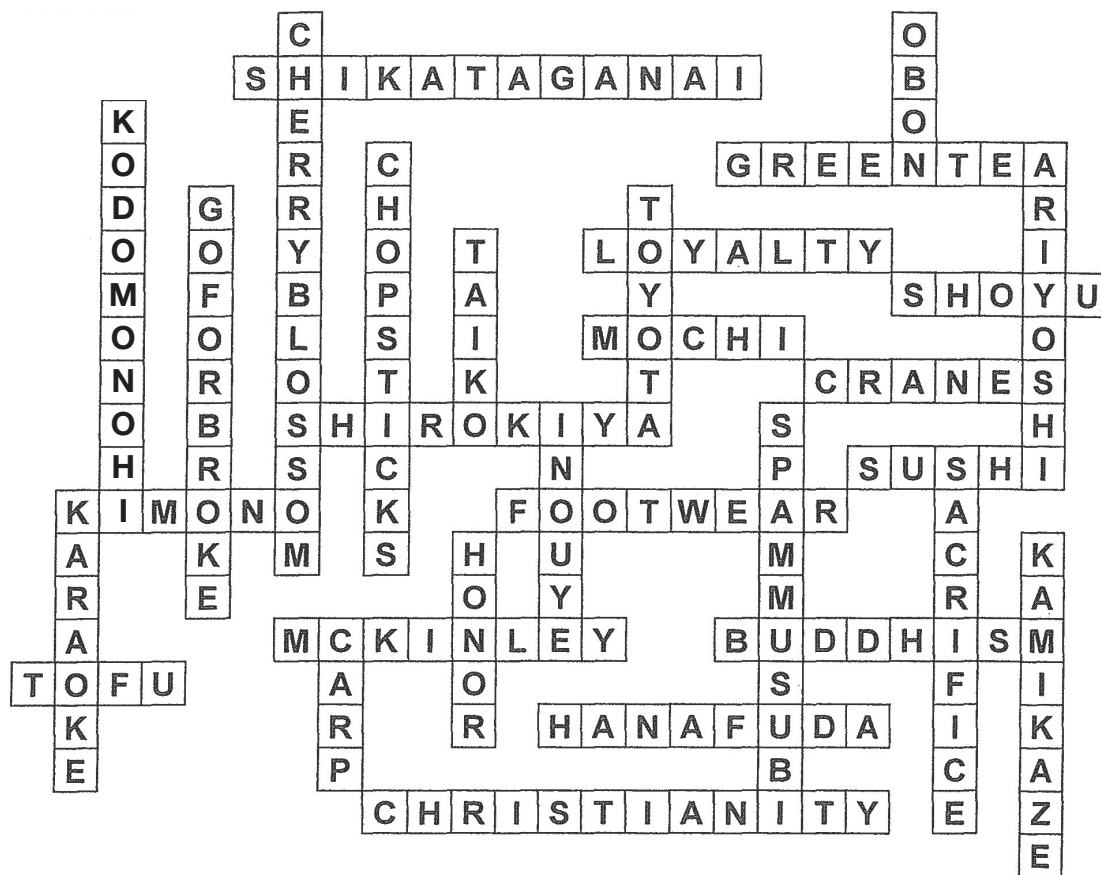
ACROSS

DOWN

- 4 Expression for “it can’t be helped.”
- 6 Anti-oxidant drink served hot or cold.
- 11 Faced with conflict, especially during the internment period, men questioned their ____.
- 12 Local’s favorite condiment on their foods.
- 13 Sticky, round, rice cakes.
- 14 “Sadako and the 1001 ____.”
- 15 Popular Japanese retail store on O’ahu.
- 18 Popular rice dish.
- 20 A type of clothing worn by Japanese people.
- 21 Upon entering some homes in Hawai’i, it is customary to leave ____ outside.
- 24 High school in Hawai’i nicknamed “Tokyo High.”
- 26 Issei practiced this religion.
- 27 White, block-shaped, firm or soft food product.
- 28 Japanese card game.
- 29 Many Americans of Japanese Ancestry converted to this religion during WWII.

- 1 Young women of Japanese ancestry can vie for festival queen.
- 2 Women and children clad in kimono at these dances.
- 3 Children’s Day
- 5 Take-out restaurants offer forks or these eating utensils.
- 7 First AJA Govenor of Hawai’i.
- 8 Expression by 442nd Soldiers.
- 9 Popular Japanese Automobile.
- 10 Young, old, boys and girls play this instrument.
- 16 Former U.S. Senator from Hawai’i.
- 17 Made with canned meat product, rice, and wrapped in seaweed.
- 19 Issei often ____ their lifestyles while saving for their children’s future
- 20 Music sung by locals.
- 22 It was an ____ for the Nisei to serve in the army.
- 23 When someone appears to drive recklessly, people associate them to the Japanese war pilots.
- 25 On Boy’s Day, banners with pictures of these can be seen flying.

CROSSWORD KEY



JAPANESE INTERNMENT AND RELOCATION: THE HAWAI'I EXPERIENCE



By Dennis M. Ogawa and Everts C. Fox, Jr.

Presented at the International Conference of Relocation and Redress: The Japanese American Experience. March 10-13, 1983.

On Sunday, December 7, 1941, as a startled nation learned what happened at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Americans both in Hawai'i and on the mainland frightfully wondered what the next few years would hold in store for their lives. How could a population of aliens and their American children fare in a nation which was race conscious and at full war with Japan? The problem of the Japanese Americans was especially acute since, for the past thirty years, they were depicted as a people who were racially and inherently un-American. Their affiliative ties rested and would forever rest with The Emperor of Japan.

Much attention, and rightfully so, has been given to the wartime plight of the Japanese Americans on the mainland. The concentration camps stand as one of the greatest injustices committed by the United States government against its own citizens. However, what of the Japanese Americans in Hawai'i? It is known that they constituted a large portion of Hawai'i's population, but little is known about their internment experience shortly after the attack and the period till the end of the war.

An immediate result of the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor by Imperial Japanese military forces was the declaration of a state of martial law in the Territory of Hawai'i. Included under the authority of this declaration were the means to affect control over the civilian population.

This population, according to the U.S. Census of 1940, numbered 421,000 and of that number, 157,000 were persons of Japanese ancestry, both aliens and American citizens. There were about 35,000 aliens and approximately 68,000 individuals holding dual citizenship.¹

The state of martial law in the islands lasted from December 7, 1941 to October 24, 1944 when a modified system of military control was placed in effect allowing civilian control of most governmental functions excepting security and military related activities. This modified authority existed until October 24, 1945 when it was suspended by the President and all governmental functions reverted to civilian authority.²

During the period of military control, approximately 10,000 people living in the Hawaiian Islands were investigated for security reasons. These investigations resulted in the apprehension of 1,569 individuals of which 1,466 were Japanese.³ As a result, the number of Japanese interned during the war was 1,250, or slightly less than one percent of Hawai'i's total Japanese population.⁴

It was recognized that, because a significant portion of the territory's economy was dependent upon the continuing work of Hawai'i's civilian Japanese population, a mass internment or a relocation based upon the West Coast model was not practical. Consequently, most of the Japanese were permitted to remain in the islands and function under a system of strict control and surveillance.

While all civilians in the territory were subject to numerous restrictions relative to security, travel, curfew and rationing, members of the Japanese population were required to comply with additional regulations and restrictions. These included turning in weapons, ammunition and explosives, alien registration, expanded curfews, reporting of foreign military service, restriction from entry into certain security areas, tighter than normal travel restriction, restricted access to communications equipment, and a prohibition upon writing or printing attacks against the government. In addition, no alien could engage

¹Office of the Chief of Military History, *United States Army Forces Middle Pacific and Predecessor Commands During World War II, 7 December 1941 - 2 September 1945, History of the Provost Marshal's Office*, Vol. 24, Pt. 1, p. 11.

²Ibid, p. 12.

³Office of the Chief of Military History, *United States Armed Forces Middle Pacific and Predecessor Commands During World War II, 7 December 1941 - 2 September 1945, Civil Affairs and Military Government*, Vol. 8, Pt. 2, p. 16.

⁴Office of the Chief of Military History, *United States Army Forces Middle Pacific and Predecessor Commands During World War II, 7 December 1941 - 2 September 1945, History of the Provost Marshal's Office*, Vol. 24, Pt. 2, p. 196.

in fishing activities and the Japanese fishing fleet was impounded. Japanese were not prohibited from attending gatherings or meetings, but the population in general was asked to report to the Provost Marshal any gathering at which aliens were present. Buddhist meetings were specifically mentioned.⁵

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the possibility that the local Japanese population might engage in acts of sabotage or espionage was investigated. Most counter intelligence agencies concluded that active disloyalty by Hawai'i's Japanese would only be likely in the case of a Japanese landing and partial or complete occupation of the islands.⁶ Nevertheless, a pickup list of individuals who were considered to be potentially dangerous to the United States was assembled. This list was divided into two categories of suspects. Everyone included on List 1-A was to be apprehended immediately upon the beginning of hostilities between the United States and Axis powers. Those on list 1-B were to be placed under surveillance and their activities curtailed. Army Intelligence (G-2) estimated that there were about 300 persons in each group, most of them Japanese. This list was the basis of a carefully planned procedure for the detention of suspect civilians.

Following the Declaration of Martial Law, Army Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) assisted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) and Honolulu Police Reservists began the apprehension of those on List 1-A. The first pick up took place at 11:00 A.M. December 7, 1941 and about 200 individuals had been interned at the Honolulu Immigration Building at day's end. By December 10th there were 400 people, three-fourths of them Japanese, detained at the Immigration Station.⁷

On December 8, 1941 the Sand Island Detention Camp was activated. Its location in Honolulu Harbor along with the existing facilities of the Territorial Quarantine Hospital made the island an attractive first site for a detention camp. Within one week after the start of the war, approximately 300 Japanese had been transferred from the Immigration Station to Sand Island.⁸

The Sand Island Detention Camp was used for 15 months and during that time about \$500,000 was spent on various additions and improvements. The camp was divided into four compounds: two at 250 person capacity for male Japanese, one for 40 females of mixed races and one for 25 German and Italian males. On

March 1, 1943 all remaining internees were moved from Sand Island to the new Honouliuli Internment Camp and Sand Island became part of the expanded Honolulu Port of Embarkation. The Immigration Station continued to be used for temporary custody of aliens pending interrogation and internment hearings.⁹

Investigations and apprehensions continued until shortly before the end of the war. During the time when full martial law was in effect, the Counter Intelligence operation took place with unique advantages in that CIC personnel had the right to search and seizure in civilian areas and they had the power to arrest individual civilians. The greatest amount of this Counter Intelligence activity took place during the first year of the war and the majority of individuals interned were Buddhist and Shinto priests, consular agents, language school officials, commercial fishermen and Kibei. Almost all of the 5,000 Kibei living in Hawai'i were processed during this time.¹⁰

The Counter Intelligence operations were regarded by the military authorities as defensive in nature in that the purpose was to disrupt any program of sabotage or espionage which the enemy might mount in Hawai'i. CIC personnel believed that their actions resulted in the apprehension of the majority of individuals who were possibly dangerous, and most importantly they felt that the constant threat of investigation, apprehension and detention was a powerful deterrent to any who would be subversive.¹¹ The internment of individuals along with the exercise of strict controls over the remaining Japanese population was considered to be more effective and more practical than other proposals which included locking all Japanese in stockades overnight while permitting daytime freedom or evacuating of all Hawai'i's Japanese to the mainland or to an isolated part of the islands.¹²

⁵Op. Cit. History of the Provost Marshal's Office, Vol 24. Pt. 1, pp. 17-26.

⁶Office of the Chief of Military History, *United States Army Forces Middle Pacific and Predecessor Commands During World War II, 7 December 1941- 2 September 1945*, History of G-2 Section, Vol. 10, Pt. 1, p. 8.

⁷Office of the Chief of Military History, *United States Army Forces Middle Pacific and Predecessor Commands During World War II, 7 December 1941- 2 September 1945*. History of G-2 Section, Vol. 10, Pt. 2, p. 23.

⁸Op. Cit. History of the Provost Marshal's Office, Vol. 24, Pt. 2, p. 188.

⁹Ibid., p. 191.

¹⁰Op. Cit. History of G-2 Section, Vol. 10, Pt. 2, pp. 24, 25.

¹¹Ibid., p. 19.

¹²Op. Cit. History of G-2 Section, Vol. 10. Pt. 1 p. 7.

The military authorities in their actions against the Japanese population were troubled by the thought that they did not know what they could expect in a given situation from a group which comprised almost one-third of the Territory's population. The pick-up lists were put together with this problem in mind. Shinto and Buddhist priests were viewed with suspicion because of nationalistic and religious ties to Japan. Consular agents working with a very active Japanese Consulate in Hawai'i were looked upon as, at the least, unofficial Imperial conduits to the Japanese people living in Hawai'i. These agents registered new births with the Consulate, conducted censuses and helped local Japanese apply for military deferment with the Japanese Government. As a result, the Consulate had fairly complete records on all Japanese in Hawai'i and presumably had a working knowledge of individual qualifications and loyalties. The language school officials taught Japanese and ideology. It was possible that this strengthened loyalty to the Emperor. Members of various organizations and societies which contributed to Japanese war relief, entertained visiting Japanese naval training vessels and bought Japanese war bonds were demonstrating questionable loyalty. The fact that Japanese businessmen had their own Chamber of Commerce could not be overlooked. Finally the Kibei, who spent their formative years studying in Japan, were considered to be potentially the most dangerous group. Not only had they been subjected to pure Japanese thought during their schooling, they were young and strong and therefore were felt to pose a threat to internal security.

With these considerations in mind, investigation and apprehensions were made until the end of the war. Each person was brought before a Hearing Board made up of representatives from CIC, FBI, and ONI. If this Board decided that someone should be interned, his case was placed before a Civilian Hearing Board which was made up of two army officers and three civilians. The recommendations of the Hearing Board were reviewed by the Intelligence Review Board which was made up of the heads of the three Counter Intelligence Agencies: the CIC, FBI and ONI. This group would either concur or make its own recommendation for disposition. The case was then sent to the Military Governor's Review Board where final recommendation was made. That recommendation, signed by the Military Governor, ended the procedure. The subject was interned or released.¹³

By February 1942, facilities were made available on the mainland to confine Hawai'i internees. Consequently on February 19, 1942, the first group left Sand Island. There were 200 individuals in the transfer; 175 were Japanese. There were a total of 6 internee shipments during 1942 and 1943. There were altogether 700 aliens sent to mainland internment camps during that period. Included in this number were 675 Japanese.¹⁴

At the outbreak of the war the authorities had to deal with the issue of evacuating civilians of all kinds from Hawai'i. The evacuations would be for both safety and security considerations. To a War Department inquiry concerning how many Japanese should be evacuated if only military security considerations were involved, General Emmons replied that he felt in order to be absolutely sure that disloyal individuals were removed, it would require the movement from Hawai'i of 100,000 persons.¹⁵

In addition, Washington gave consideration to the possibility of using Hawai'i Japanese in a repatriation agreement between the United States and Japan. But, military authorities in the islands objected to people from Hawai'i being included on two counts: one, that anyone from Hawai'i would have knowledge of military bases on the islands and would likely be of help to Japanese Intelligence; two, that repatriation would have a serious effect on the morale of the Japanese living in Hawai'i.

There were, however, three groups of Japanese civilians who were evacuated from Hawai'i and sent to mainland relocation centers. These individuals were volunteers and the motivating factor was predominately one of hope of being united with an interned family member. The first evacuation took place on December 28, 1942 and consisted of 443 individuals. There was another shipment of 261 on January 26, 1943 and a final group of 226 departed on March 3, 1943. Following this last embarkation, the Hawaiian Military Authority recommended suspension of evacuation of the civilian Japanese population. The War Department concurred and only those who were to be interned were then sent on.¹⁶

¹³Op. Cit. History of G-2 Section, Vol. 10, Pt. 2, p. 24.

¹⁴Op. Cit. History of the Provost Marshal's Office, Vol. 24, Pt. 2, p. 202

¹⁵Op. Cit. Civil Affairs and Military Government. p. 7.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

During the period of martial law, some internees in Hawai'i were released on parole upon their Hearing Board recommendations. With the removal of martial law on October 24, 1944, there was no remaining legal authority to hold American citizens of Japanese ancestry in internment. However, Presidential Order 9489, which lifted martial law, gave the Commanding General of the Territory of Hawai'i Military Area authority to exclude anyone from Hawai'i who was considered to be dangerous to security for sabotage or espionage reasons. Authority was also given to detain individuals pending exclusion.

On October 24, 1944 there remained 67 citizens of Japanese ancestry and 50 aliens at the Honouliuli Internment Facility. The 67 Japanese Americans were sent to Tule Lake on November 9, 1944 and the 50 aliens were gradually released on parole. At V-J Day, 22 aliens were still in camp and were released then. During 1945, 12 Japanese civilians were apprehended and placed in custody pending exclusion from the Territory.¹⁷

Overall for the Hawai'i experience, less than one percent of the island's population was interned during World War II. Compared to the mainland episode, such a figure would hardly appear to be significant. However, numbers alone may not indicate the possible loss and cultural damage, particularly in the area of the humanities which the internment created. In closing, it should be noted that many of those who were interned were not only the outspoken and distinguished Issei in the Hawaiian community, but the major leaders in the humanities. The Issei were the spiritual, cultural and literary figures of the Japanese population. Their removal may have very well created a major void in the quality of ethnic cultural life among Hawai'i's Japanese and contributed to the problems of ethnic identity and cultural continuity of succeeding generations of Japanese Americans. Indeed, "What happens to an ethnic community when its ministers, artists, teachers, writers and philosophers are taken away?" An answer to this question invites future inquiry and provides more insight than the figure of less than one percent quantifying the internment experience itself.

¹⁷Op. Cit. History of the Provost Marshal's Office, Vol. 24. Pt. 2, pp. 203, 204.

CLOZE READING ACTIVITY



INSTRUCTIONS: The following passages are a general overview about the outbreak of WWII and its impact on the Japanese community in Hawai'i. Fill in the passages with the term that best completes the sentence from the accompanied word keys. Have fun!

WORD KEY

Pearl Harbor	Day of Infamy
Sabotage	Franklin D. Roosevelt
Intelligence	Japanese
Martial law	Espionage
Criminal	Writ of habeas corpus
1,800	

On Dec, 7th, 1941, at 7:55 a.m. Japan attacked the U.S. Naval fleet at _____, instantly destroying naval vessels, and causing _____ casualties. Then, the Hawai'i Governor called President _____ and said that U.S. army commander Short had asked for _____. On this _____, martial law, suspension of _____ and restrictions on civil liberties were put into place.



Thousands of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i feared being questioned, feared being suspected of disloyalty, and most of all, feared being _____. The unsuspecting attack created suspicion, fear, anger and distrust among the local peoples.

According to historian Gary Okihiro, "An extreme degree of fear was present". An observer of the Japanese community in Hawai'i wrote, "their state of mind was comparable to that of a _____ expecting a severe punishment for a major offense." The difference, however, was that Japanese Americans, both as a group and as individuals, were not convicted of any criminal or civil offense, and although Hawai'i's people did not know this at the time, even military and civilian _____ knew that those on their suspect list had not committed any

act of _____ or _____ but were there simply because they were leaders of the Japanese American community.

WORD KEY

Sand Island	Solitary confinement
Armed	Martial law
Newspaper editors	Tribunals
Japanese language teachers	Palace
Buddhist priests	Punishment

Within 48 hours of the attack, government officials were readily able to arrest and detain several hundred local Japanese. They were kept in local jails or held in one of five temporary camps, Kalaheo Stockade (Kaua'i), Haiku Camp (Maui), Kilauea Military Camp (Big Island) and Sand Island (O'ahu). Among those arrested were male leaders of the community, like _____, _____, and _____. They were given no reason for their arrest, and were not told where they were being taken to or for how long. For many of them, life was routine and stressful at _____ on O'ahu; oftentimes, in order to invoke submission and obedience, the _____ guards frequently used terror and _____.

The main mission of Sand Island was to "break the spirit of the internees." Strip searches were common, as well as _____ and insistent interrogations. The Office of the Military Governor delivered general orders and presided over military _____ at 'Iolani _____ and enforced _____ and curfews. All citizens in Hawai'i were subjected to controls over wages, rents and prices, and rationing.

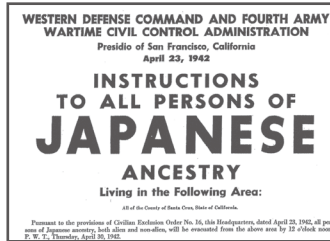


Sand Island Relocation Center, www.nps.gov

WORD KEY

Internment
Treason
Army
Executive Order 9066

Sedition
40%
Subversive
Population



The Army's Counter Intelligence Corps was created in January 1, 1942, to uncover

_____ ,
_____ ,
subversive activity

and disaffection” among the Japanese community in Hawai'i. As a result, the Army Corps compiled more than 60,000 files and researched some 20,000 names of Japanese Americans on index cards for possible _____ .

By the 20th century, Japanese immigrants and their descendants comprised nearly _____ of the population in the islands. Historian Dennis Ogawa noted that according to the U.S. Census of 1940, Hawai'i's _____ numbered 421,000, of which 157,000 were persons of Japanese ancestry. While 68,000 of them held dual citizenship, 35,000 were aliens. In fact, to further prove their loyalty to America, they were highly encouraged and persuaded to provide names to the _____ and the FBI agents for investigation of _____ activities.



War time hysteria and anti-Japanese propaganda quickly spread throughout the islands and U.S. depicting the Japanese as 'aliens' and not to be trusted. In February 1942, President F.D.R.

issued _____ , which authorized the army to designate military areas from which “any or all persons may be excluded” and to provide for the “transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary” for those excluded persons. As a result, this amounted to the mass exclusion and removal of 120,000 Japanese Americans along the West Coast of the United States.

WORD KEY

Mainland
California
Texas
Germans
Italians

Prisoners of War
Barbed wire
Guards
Justice
Honouliuli



Thus, detainees at Sand Island were only beginning their plight of transferring to one of several internment camps on the mainland U.S. administered by the army and the _____ Department. In that same year, dependent family members of the interned men were given an option to reunite with their husbands/fathers. Over 1,000 wives and children relocated to Crystal City, _____ , while others ended up in War Relocation Authority administered camps in Tule Lake, _____ , or Jerome, Arkansas. Subsequently, other Japanese Americans from the neighbor islands were transferred to Sand Island in the spring and summer of 1942. About a year later, on March 1, 1943, Sand Island relocation center was closed and the remaining internees were transferred to a new camp at _____ gulch, located in central O'ahu. Originally built on 160 acres of land and able to hold 3,000 people, its peak internee population was only 320. Besides the Japanese Americans held there, there were also _____ , _____ , and some _____ . Like other evacuation centers, and internment camps, Honouliuli was supervised by armed _____ and was surrounded with _____ fences and guard towers. Family members were allowed to visit twice a month.

WORD KEY

New Year's Day
Issei
Western
Homes
Militia
Nisei

Aliens
Shikata ga nai
Homes
Brothers
"American-ness"

Prominent family and community-based festivals such as _____, Girl's and Boy's Day, Obon, and Japanese-style weddings, went unobserved during the war years. For many of the first generation Japanese, or _____, their cultural habits and traditions became a stigma of enemy _____. The second generation, or _____, needed to prove their "American-ness" by adopting the _____ culture in order to be accepted by the land of their birth. Under the dark clouds of paradise, the Issei remained trapped in their own _____ while the Nisei were being constantly scrutinized by the _____ for their "American-ness." Many Issei felt that they needed to just "accept life's circumstances." This Japanese cultural value is translated as "_____." For the younger generation, this burden of belonging and representing a racial group tested their own conscience of national identity. To prove their loyalty in a country of their birth, they dismissed their culture for American food, clothing, language, music, and religion, and they enlisted to serve their country in a war against their parents' native land. For some families, it could mean "brothers fighting against _____."

WORD KEY

Relative
Impact
Population
Leaders

Interned
Culture
Hysteria
Nail

Though the total number of local Japanese detained from Hawai'i was _____ in comparison to the overall _____ of the Japanese in Hawai'i the _____ of their internment was disproportionately large. Without their _____, the community was left in a vacuum. Community institutions such as Japanese language schools, radio programming, newspaper circulations, Buddhist temples, and Japanese Christian Churches were all affected. Under wartime _____, any form of Japanese _____ (clothing, language, customs) would be associated with a Japanese political affiliation and thus no one risked taking chances. Just like the familiar saying "the _____ that sticks up, gets hammered down," the Japanese tried not to stick out. In all, between 1,200 and 1,400 local Japanese were _____ (or slightly less than one percent of Hawai'i's total population) along with about 1,000 family members.



Drawing of Honouliuli Mess Hall, 1942, by Dan Nishikawa

Sources:

Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i. "Never Again: From Executive Order 9066 to Honouliuli." Sunday, March 2, 2008. 65th Anniversary.

Odo, Franklin. *Japanese American History: Before the War*. The Go For Broke Educational Foundation.

Ogawa, Dennis and Evarts C. Fox, Jr. *Japanese Internment and Relocation: The Hawai'i Experience*. International Conference of Relocation and Redress: the Japanese-American Experience, March 10-13, 1983.

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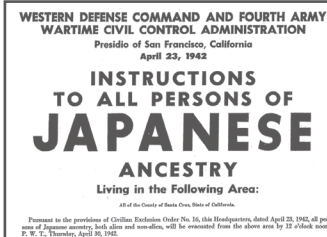


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Militia
Nisei

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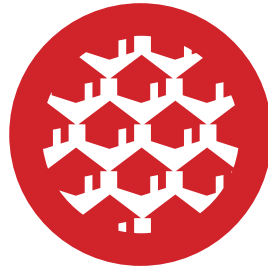
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Okiihiro, Gary. *The Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*.



LESSON THREE

INTERNEES' STORIES

INTERNEES' STORIES



Purpose of Activity: To identify the similarities and differences of the Japanese American internees' experiences in Hawai'i and on the mainland using the human stories.

Materials Needed:

- "Treatment of Internees"
- "Life of Hawai'i Internees"
- Internment Sites in Hawai'i
- Internment Sites in Western U.S.
- JCCH Resources:
 - Tomita
 - Abe
 - Naitoh
 - Ozaki
 - Soga
- *Life Behind Barbed Wire* by Yasutaro Soga.

Reading sources for the mainland internees' experiences:

- Oppenheim, Joanne. *Dear Miss Breed: True Stories of the Japanese American Incarceration during World War II* and a *Librarian Who Made a Difference*. Scholastic Inc., New York, c2006.
 - This book contains many quotable quotes from internees giving testimony during the redress hearings as well as from the letters of children writing to Miss Breed from camp.
- Okubo, Mine. *Citizen 13660*. University of Washington Press, Seattle, c1983.
 - Drawings [b/w sketches] and text are by the author detailing her odyssey as an internee.
- Stuart, Colburn Cox, compiler. *Inside View: Japanese American Evacuee Center at Rohwer, Arkansas, 1941-1945*. McGehee, Arkansas, c1979.
 - Comments from students of Japanese ancestry made anonymously when asked by their teacher to write.
- Tunnell, Michael O. and George W. Chilcoat. *The Children of Topaz: The Story of a Japanese-American Internment Camp Based on a Classroom Diary*. New York, Holiday House, c1996.
 - A child's account of the internment process.
- Tajiri, Vincent, editor. *Through Innocent Eyes: Writings and Art from the Japanese American Internment by Poston Schoolchildren*. Los Angeles, Keiro Services Press, c1990.

Activity 1: Cooperative Groups or Read Aloud

Teachers may use all or select a few accounts for students to read and analyze.

1. Create jigsaw groups and pass out primary accounts to students to read in a jigsaw fashion. (For time constraints, teachers may opt to do a read-aloud and pass out selected primary source accounts from Hawai'i and mainland experiences.)
2. Teachers can display the included images of Sand Island Internment Camp, Honouliuli Internment Camp, Kilauea Internment Camp, as well as pass out copies or display the map "Internment Sites in Hawai'i" and the map of "Internment Sites in Western U.S."
3. Pass out the Guided Question sheets of Hawai'i internees' accounts. Students may work in groups to answer these questions or work individually. (Depending on the time, the sheets could be used for homework too.)
4. The Guided Question sheets can be used to generate discussion about internment in Hawai'i and on the mainland. Discussion could bring out responses to "Is there a common theme throughout the accounts? What is different about the Hawai'i accounts and the mainland accounts? Why?"
5. Teachers can sum up the discussion by stating how Hawai'i's economic condition, plantation work, and social connections may have contributed to why only a few people of Japanese ancestry were taken to internment camps, and why Hawai'i's internees' experience may be different from that of the mainland internees' experience. (See T/F activity sheets)

Activity 2: T-Chart and Writing Assessment

1. Pass out the T-Chart "Similarities and Differences of Hawai'i and Mainland Internee Experiences" handout.
2. Tell students this is an individual assignment. Tell them to have all the primary articles out so that they can complete the T-Chart of Hawai'i Japanese internees' experiences & the mainland Japanese internees' experiences.

3. **Writing Assessment Task:** *Based on the accounts and readings, write an essay giving a generalization of the human impact/cost of the people of Japanese ancestry based on the primary source accounts. Explain why the experience of internment was different for Hawai'i internees than the experience of internment for the mainland internees.*

Sample Assessment Task(s) – Human Stories

- Read each primary account or Human Stories of each internee. Students will answer questions based on each primary account.
- Students will complete a T-Chart of the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internees' and the mainland internees' experiences.
- Students will write a generalization of the similarities and differences of Hawai'i internees' and the mainland internees' experiences. Include the human impact/cost (an effect of the bombing of Pearl Harbor) based on the primary accounts of the internees, (e.g. loss of leaders and the impact on the community). Explain why the experience of internment was different for Hawai'i internees than the experience of internment for the mainland internees.

BENCHMARK RUBRIC FOR THE T-CHART AND WRITING ASSESSMENT TASK

Advanced

Identifies and describes, with clear and precise detail, the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

Proficient

Identifies and describes, with details, the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

Partially Proficient

Identifies and describes, with weak details, the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

Novice

Ineffectively identifies and describes the similarities and differences of the Hawai'i internee experiences with the internee experiences on the mainland supported by primary source documents.

2009 ADDENDUM: THE INTERNMENT OF LOCAL JAPANESE IN HAWAII



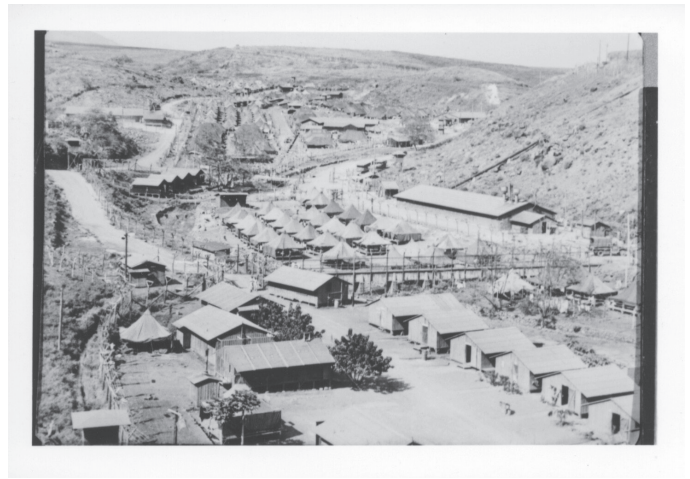
By the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i

On March 1, 1943, the Honouliuli internment camp, located in a gulch in Central O'ahu, opened. This camp was one of at least five sites in the Hawaiian Islands that were used to house local Japanese who were detained by the Federal Government in the days after the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. None of those detained were accused nor convicted of any specific crime. Most were influential male leaders of the Japanese immigrant community in Hawai'i. Though some were released after a short imprisonment, the majority were detained for the duration of the war, with most eventually transferred to camps on the continental United States. The number of Japanese in Hawai'i who were detained was small relative to the total Japanese population here: less than 1%. By contrast, Executive Order 9066, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, authorized the mass exclusion and detention of all Japanese Americans living in the West Coast states, resulting in the eventual incarceration of 120,000 people. However, despite the relatively small numbers of local Japanese who were interned here, the impact was significant.

The story of Honouliuli is wrapped up in a larger story of Hawai'i under martial law. Given its strategic location in the middle of Pacific Ocean, the Hawaiian Islands had long been seen as a key American military outpost. Not long after larger numbers of Japanese laborers began to migrate to Hawai'i beginning in 1885, Japan began to emerge as a military threat to the United States. By the early years of the 20th century, many believed that Japan and the United States were on a collision course to war. At the same time, the Japanese population in Hawai'i continued to grow; by 1920, Japanese immigrants and their descendants made up over 40% of the population of Hawai'i. This combination of circumstances alarmed many: what would this large Japanese population in Hawai'i do in the event of war between the United States and Japan?

Beginning in the late 1920s and continuing through the 1930s, various U.S. governmental bodies conducted studies and made plans to address this question. As a result of this planning, detailed lists were produced that allowed local authorities to swiftly arrest several

hundred local Japanese within 48 hours of the attack, after the declaration of martial law. Almost all of those arrested were male leaders of the immigrant community—Buddhist priests, Japanese language school officials, newspaper editors, and leaders of immigrant community organizations, among others. There were a handful of women arrested as well as some Nisei. (Most of the Nisei were Kibei, those who were born in the United States, but educated in Japan. The numbers of Kibei who were arrested increased in the subsequent months and years.) In addition to the 1,200 or so local Japanese who were eventually arrested, there were also about 100 local Germans and Italians who were arrested and interned.



View of Honouliuli Camp looking into the gulch. The long building in the middle of the photo next to the hillside is where the Board of Water Supply building is today. Photo by R.H. Lodge, Courtesy of Hawai'i's Plantation Village.

In the hours after the Pearl Harbor attack, the arrested were initially kept in local jails or holding cells for a day or two. On O'ahu, the holding area was at the immigration station building just outside downtown Honolulu. After a couple of days, they were transferred to temporary camps on the various islands that had been set up to hold them. These included Kalaheo Stockade (Kaua'i), Haiku Camp (Maui), Kilauea Military Camp (Big Island) and Sand Island (O'ahu).

Opening on December 9, Sand Island became the camp that all the Hawai'i internees passed through. Located on an island in Honolulu Harbor—there was no bridge to the island back then—it was both close to Honolulu and yet so far away. Internees were initially housed

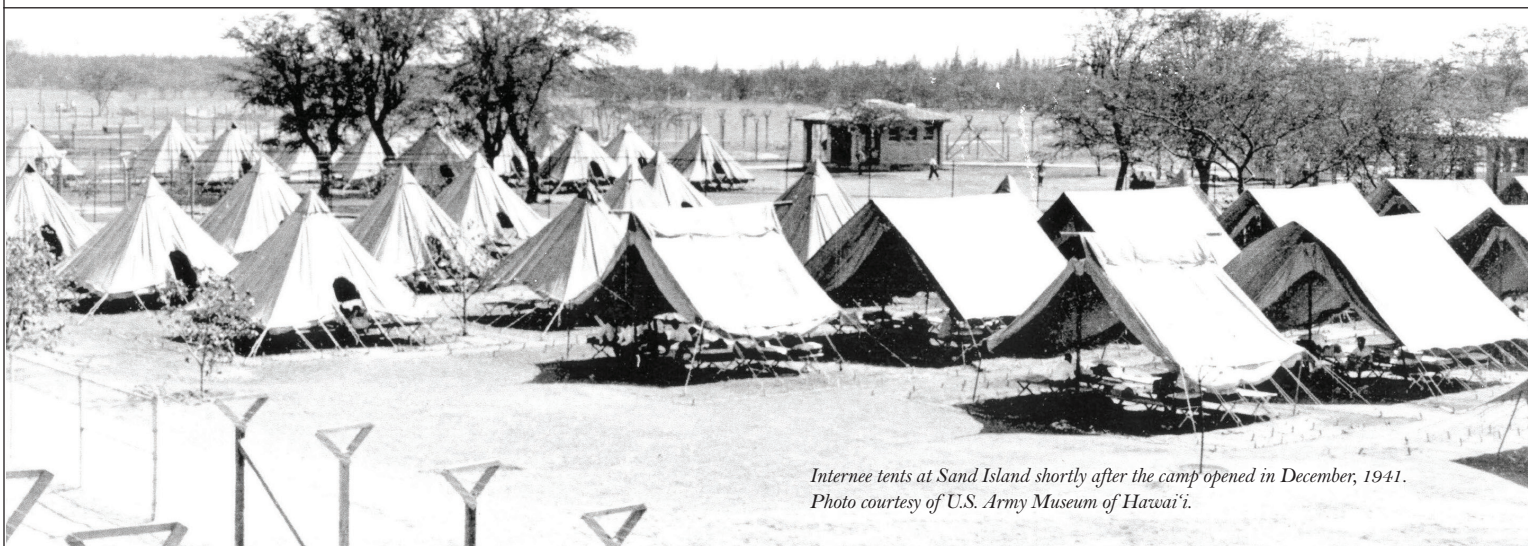
in tents for the first six months before barracks were built. Conditions were initially harsh; in his memoir of internment, Issei journalist Yasutaro Soga wrote of forced labor, strip searches, and other indignities aimed at the leaders of the Japanese immigrant community. Families were initially kept in the dark about their husbands and fathers, not knowing for weeks if the men were even alive. In February of 1942, Sand Island internees began to be transferred to internment camps on the continental United States administered by the army and the Justice Department. Later in 1942, dependent family members of the interned men were given the option of “voluntarily” joining their husbands/fathers in internment camps. Over 1,000 wives and children did just that, many of them ending up in a camp in Crystal City, Texas, while others ended up in War Relocation Authority administered camps in Tule Lake, California or Jerome, Arkansas. As internees were transferred from Sand Island to the mainland, neighbor island internees were transferred to Sand Island in the spring and summer of 1942. Most of these men also were transferred to mainland camps in late 1942 and early 1943.

On March 1, 1943, Sand Island was closed and the remaining internees were transferred to a new camp in Honouliuli gulch. The Honouliuli camp was built on 160 acres of land in Central O‘ahu. Built to hold 3,000 people, its peak internee population was only around 320. Most of those transferred from Sand Island were Nisei, and thus American citizens by birth. There were also a handful of local Germans and Italians and some prisoners of war. Internees were housed in wooden barracks and tents. The camp was patrolled by armed guards and ringed with double barbed-wire fences and guard towers. Family members were allowed to visit twice a month.

Among the prominent members of the local Japanese community interned at Honouliuli were Thomas T. Sakakihara, a former territorial representative, and Sanji Abe, a former territorial senator. The latter was the first AJA to be elected to the Senate when he was elected in 1940 as a Republican from South Hilo. He had attended one legislative session before being interned in 1942.

Though the number of local Japanese from Hawai‘i who were interned was small relative to the total Japanese population, the impact of their internment was disproportionately large. Because the interned were community leaders and often family men, their internment affected family members and large community institutions such as Japanese language schools, Buddhist temples, and even a handful of Japanese Christian churches. Because arrests and detentions continued through the war, the community remained on edge, fearful as to who might be next. Japanese culture became equated with Japanese political affiliation, and Japanese language, clothing, and customs suddenly disappeared. The local Japanese community would never quite be the same again.

In all, between 1,200 and 1,400 local Japanese were interned, along with about 1,000 family members. Most of the Hawai‘i internees remained in detention for the duration of the war and beyond, a period approaching four years. Most eventually returned to Hawai‘i after the war, their stories largely forgotten in the dramatic changes of the postwar years.



*Internee tents at Sand Island shortly after the camp opened in December, 1941.
Photo courtesy of U.S. Army Museum of Hawai‘i.*



Drawing of internment at Kilauea Military Camp, 1942, by George Hoshida

REMEMBERING INTERNMENT

Beginning in the 1970s, Japanese American community activists living on the West Coast began a movement to seek reparations for the World War II internment. At around the same time, the community began to organize pilgrimages to former camp sites. The first was a pilgrimage to Manzanar in east-central California in 1969, an event that eventually became an annual one. In the late 1970s, Japanese American communities began organizing Days of Remembrance (DoRs) on or around February 19 to commemorate President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066. Today, DoRs are annual events in communities across the country. In 2009, there were over twenty such commemorations in cities ranging from Philadelphia to Fresno, including Honolulu.

The redress movement led to the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. Under the provisions of this legislation, surviving Japanese American former internees received a presidential apology and a reparations payment of \$20,000. In Hawai'i, this legislation also led to the 1990s discovery of well over 1,000 local Japanese who

were not interned but who were denied access to their land during the war as well as renewed interest in the story of Hawai'i internees.

Perhaps as a result of these developments, a local television station asked the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i (JCCH) about the location and current status of Honouliuli. This inquiry has led JCCH to focus its research efforts on these questions over the past few years. As a result, the site of the camp has been located, and several visits to the site have taken place. Honouliuli is specifically mentioned in the Camp Preservation Bill (HR 1492), signed by President Bush in 2006. This legislation authorizes \$38 million in funding for the preservation of former World War II confinement sites. \$1 million was appropriated for grants under this legislation in 2009, and four Hawai'i-based research, exhibition or preservation related projects were funded for nearly \$150,000. State legislation passed in 2007 also approved funding for a study of how these sites in Hawai'i might best be memorialized, though this funding was never released by the governor. JCCH has also produced an exhibition on the Hawai'i internees' story and is working on a series of three books centering on internment, the first of which, an English translation of Yasutaro

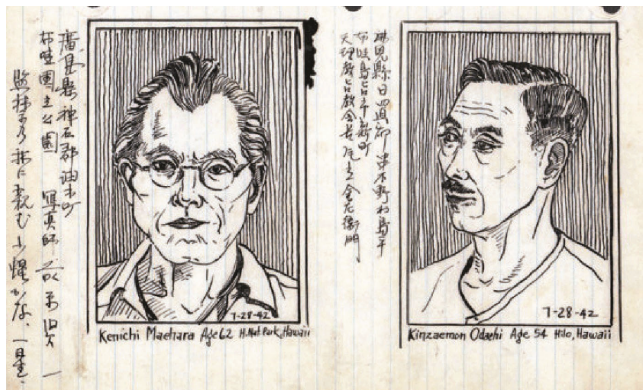
Soga's *Life Behind Barbed Wire*, was published by the University of Hawai'i Press in December 2007. Finally, JCCH has also worked to integrate the Hawai'i internees' story into our educational system through an internment discovery box and a folder of resource material on the topic that was distributed to every public high school in the state in 2007. JCCH received a federal grant in 2008 to produce curriculum material on Hawai'i internment in collaboration with the state Department of Education and to produce a website, work that will be completed by the end of 2009.

Formed in 2005, the Hawai'i Confinement Sites Committee at JCCH oversees all this internment related activity.

Our dream is for the Honouliuli site to become a public historical park where the Hawai'i internees' story can be shared with future generations. Legislation currently being considered by Congress would authorize the National Park Service to undertake a special resources study of Hawai'i confinement sites, the first step in what we hope will be a National Historic Site at Honouliuli. We hope you will join with us to help make this dream a reality.



Hawai'i internee group at Santa Fe Camp, ca. 1944. Yasutaro Soga, author of "Life Behind Barbed Wire," is in the front row, third from the right. Photo from JCCH Collection.



Kenichi Maehara, photographer, Hawai'i National Park
Kinzaemon Odachi, President of Tenrikyo, Hilo, Hawai'i

WORLD WAR II JAPANESE AMERICAN SITES IN HAWAI'I

On the Big Island, the FBI's custodial detention list included 82 persons to be arrested. All those arrested were sent to the Kilauea Military Camp (KMC) at Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park. An FBI memo states that on March 26, 1942, 59 aliens and 20 citizens were being held at Kilauea Military Camp.³⁹ But 106 had already been transferred from Kilauea Military Camp to Sand Island on March 6, 1942; another 25 internees were transferred to Sand Island on May 12.⁴⁰ It is not known how many were temporarily detained and released.

KILAUEA MILITARY CAMP

The most intact internment camp structures found in the Hawaiian Islands are at Kilauea Military Camp, which occupies about 50 acres of Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park. A comprehensive overview of the history and cultural resources of Kilauea Military Camp was completed for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1998, and the preliminary draft provides much of the background information summarized here.⁴¹

Kilauea Military Camp was established in 1916, the same year as the park, as a training ground for the National Guard and an Army vacation station. By 1937, Kilauea Military Camp had vacation accommodations

for 20 officers and their families, three non-commissioned officers and their families, and about 200 enlisted men, as well as the 14 officers and 100 enlisted men of the permanent detachment.⁴² But on December 7, 1941, "KMC changed from a recreation camp to an armed camp overnight":⁴³

Following the Pearl Harbor attack, the FBI, aided by Army Intelligence and the local police force, began the immediate arrest of suspected dangerous enemy aliens in Hilo and the outlying districts of the island, who were taken to KMC for detention.⁴⁴ The first began to arrive on the afternoon of December 7. These detainees included several prominent citizens of the island, including a number of school officials and merchants who had worked with and knew the officers and men of the camp...

Armed guards roamed the grounds and the guard towers were manned by observers with binoculars ... The alien detainees were kept in the barracks area and were only allowed out for meals...

On Feb 15, 1942, it was announced that immediate families could visit the detainees at KMC. But it was also announced that many of the detainees were to be sent to the U.S. mainland in the near future. Each detainee was entitled to \$50 in his possession, and families and friends were instructed to furnish that amount and also to provide warm clothes. The military authorities stated that interned aliens could not, under international law, be kept in a combat zone and must be taken to an area where hostilities are unlikely (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1942a). By summer, all detainees had been sent to Sand Island on O'ahu or to the U.S. mainland, thus freeing the barracks for military use.⁴⁵

³⁹R.L. Shivers, "Internal Security; Persons Appended for Custodial Detention in Territory of Hawaii Since December 7, 1942" (Memo from Special Agent in Charge, Honolulu, to Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C., March 30, 1942).

⁴⁰Soga, op. cit.

⁴¹Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier, op cit.

⁴²Ibid., p. III-44.

⁴³Ibid., p. III-49.

⁴⁴Ibid., page III-133; for full citation: AGF Hawai'i 1945, untitled manuscript prepared by Army Garrison Force, Hawai'i, Central Pacific Base Command, dated October 20, 1945. Ephemeral property no. 0186, U.S. Army Museum of Hawai'i, Fort DeRussy, Honolulu.

⁴⁵Ibid.

A similar description of internee life is provided by the Japanese American National Museum on their website: “At Kilauea, internees had to walk among soldiers armed with bayonets. While food was plentiful and nutritious, the dignity of the people was taken away. Internees were constantly accompanied by soldiers – even to the latrine.”⁴⁶

In George Hoshida’s autobiography,⁴⁷ he notes that the internee barracks was about 100 ft long and 50 ft wide, set about 5 or 6 ft above the gravel-covered ground, with a long verandah enclosed by wire mesh. Opposite the entrance door was a door leading to the shower and latrine, which were extensions off the back of the building. Hoshida notes that “a portion of the west end was partitioned off and a doorway led into a spacious lounge with a fireplace, lounging chairs, and couches.” Hoshida estimated there were about 100 internees at Kilauea Military Camp when he arrived. At meal time, inmates lined up to go to the mess hall, which was across the open ground from their barracks, between ten guards with guns and fixed bayonets.⁴⁸

“As if to relish
Each step I take
On this great earth,
I walk –
To the mess hall.
The only walk allowed.”

*Mu’in Otokichi Ozaki,
At The Volcano Internment Camp*

The Kilauea Military Camp overview and its cited source⁴⁹ are not precise about when the internment camp closed. Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier indicate the detainees were gone “by summer,” and that from March to October of 1942, Kilauea Military Camp served as Headquarters for the 27th Division of the Army.⁵⁰ Internee George Hoshida reportedly left Kilauea Military Camp May 23, 1942, suggesting that Japanese American internees may have been present for several weeks after the 27th Division arrived.⁵¹

Kilauea Military Camp housed both Japanese Americans and prisoners of war, but not at the same time. The prisoner of war camp at Kilauea Military Camp, where Okinawan and maybe Korean POWs were held, was added in 1944, on the west side of the camp. A 1944 layout plan reproduced in *Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier* depicts six 16-ft-by-60-ft barracks, a mess hall, a post exchange and dayroom, guards quarters, a

barbershop, and sentry boxes, surrounded by a double security fence (Figure 9).⁵² About 100 prisoners-of-war were present at Kilauea Military Camp in June of 1945, and between 80 and 140 were there when the war ended. The last group of Okinawan POWs left Kilauea Military Camp on December 5, 1956.⁵³ The POW camp would have been located where the fire station (Building 59), housekeeping (Building 81), and tours and transportation (Building 84) are now. This area was surveyed only cursorily for the Kilauea Military Camp overview, as modern disturbance and vegetation limited visibility.⁵⁴

PHYSICAL REMAINS

A drawing by George Hoshida can be matched up with existing buildings to a remarkable extent (Figure 10). The drawing’s view appears to have been from a point just east of the café and post office, but Hoshida’s perspective is looking down on the buildings, an imagined bird’s-eye view. The drawing shows the buildings used by internees with great detail and in the same locations and proportions as today. Three guards with rifles are patrolling on foot, and there is a soldier up in a guard tower. By combining information from Hoshida’s drawing and his written account, it appears that the internee barracks was the building that now houses the café, post office, and lava lounge (Building 34) and the internee mess hall is now the recreation lodge (Building 35). The guard tower depicted in Hoshida’s drawing is just south of what is now Building 34. Now, there is an anchor from a nineteenth-century whaling ship displayed in that area. The current dormitory/laundromat (Building 36) and a row of guest cottages to the west and part of the row of guest cottages to the south are also depicted in Hoshida’s drawing.

⁴⁶Japanese American National Museum, op cit.

⁴⁷George Y. Hoshida, *Life of a Japanese Immigrant Boy in Hawai’i and America: From Birth through WWII, 1907- 1945* (Ogawa collection, University of Hawai’i, Honolulu).

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 255-259.

⁴⁹Kent Warshauer, *History of KMC* (MS, Kilauea Military Camp, 1998), Chapters 1-18; cited in Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier, op cit.

⁵⁰Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier, op cit., p. III-47.

⁵¹Saiki, op cit., p. 78.

⁵²Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier, op cit., p. III-47.

⁵³Ibid., p. III-50.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. III-67, 71-72.

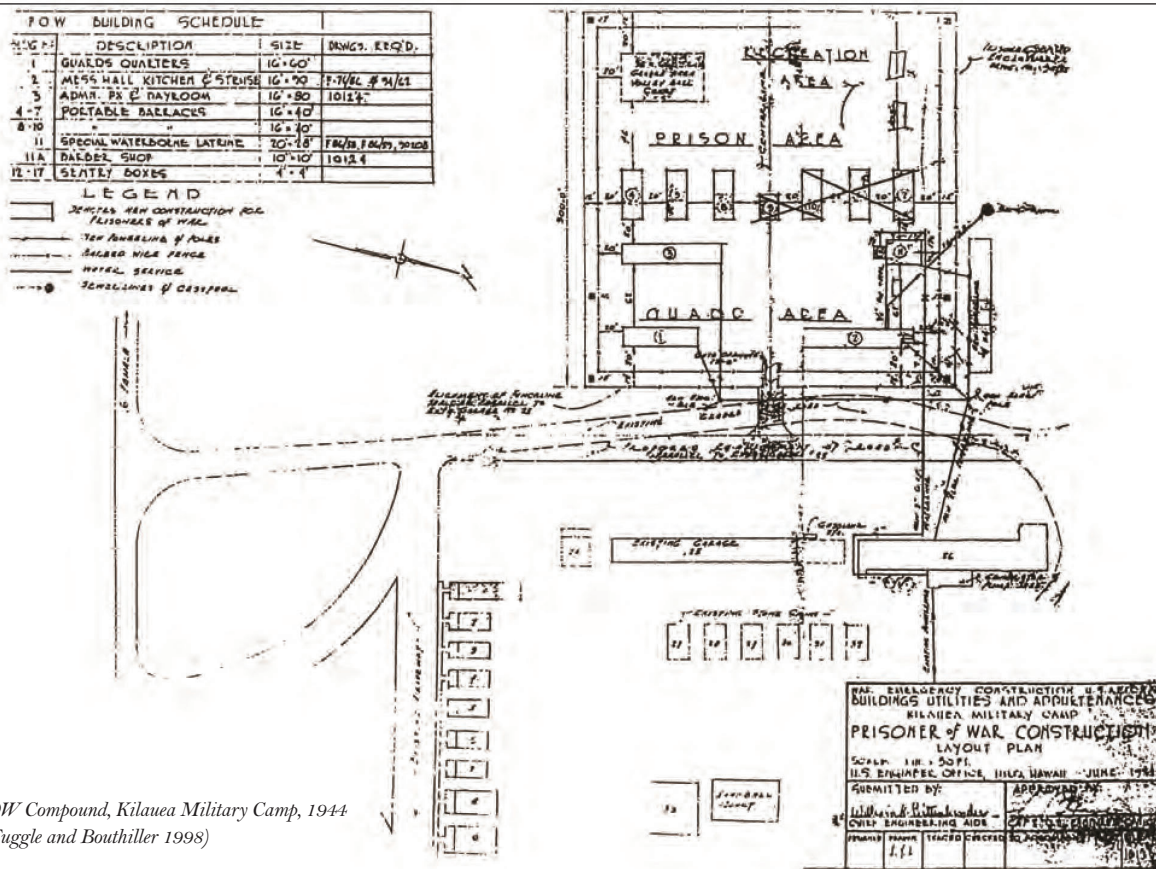


Figure 9. POW Compound, Kilauea Military Camp, 1944 (Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier 1998)

Most of the discrepancies between the drawing and the current condition of the camp reflect remodeling. Windows and siding have been replaced. The anchor exhibit south of Building 34 may have been installed over the guard tower's foundations. The large cisterns in the drawing collecting water from the building roofs are no longer present. Hoshida's drawing depicts the rooflines of the internment buildings as hipped, while the current recreation lodge and café are gable. One might suppose that the roofs were remodeled, too, but a 1935 photograph of Kilauea Military Camp also shows gable roofs.⁵⁵ This discrepancy may have arisen because Hoshida completed the drawing from memory: the date on the drawing is either 5-25-42 or 8-25-42, and he reportedly left Kilauea Military Camp on May 23, 1942.⁵⁶ In addition, in the limited circuit the internees were allowed to walk between the barracks and the mess hall, the ends of the roofs would not have been particularly noticeable.

According to *Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier*, Buildings 34 and 35 were both built in 1916 as part of the original Kilauea Military Camp. Building 34, which was used as the internee barracks, was originally a mess hall, measuring 50 by 154 feet, with an 8-ft-wide verandah on the south side. It was converted to offices in 1919, but reverted to its mess hall status in

1922, when the lava rock fireplace on the east part of the north side of the building was built. The original building foundation is post and pier with a rock perimeter; additions have concrete slab foundations. Building 35, now the recreation center, was built as an enlisted men's mess hall and converted to a dormitory in 1919.⁵⁷ It was used as the internee mess hall in 1943, but became the recreation hall in 1945.



Figure 10. Kilauea Military Detention Camp, 1942 (George Hoshida, JANM Collections).

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. III-45, photo III-6.

⁵⁶Saiki, op cit., p.78.

⁵⁷Tomonari-Tuggle and Bouthillier, op cit., pp. III-93-94.



Kazuto Takeda, trade and investment company president, Kaua‘i

WORLD WAR II JAPANESE AMERICAN SITES IN HAWAII

The FBI’s custodial detention list of December 4, 1942 listed 41 people on Kaua‘i to be arrested in the event of war. However, no provisions had been made to house potential internees, and it took a few days to gather the internees together.⁵⁸ One internee was held in solitary confinement in the Lihue Plantation Gymnasium shower room for a month.⁵⁹ Most internees were eventually housed at the Wailua County Jail or the Kalaheo Stockade. No maps or photographs have been located of the Kalaheo Stockade, and although historic photographs of the Wailua County Jail are available, no photographs of the dormitory built for the Japanese Americans have yet been found.

On March 5, 1942, forty-five internees from Kaua‘i were transferred to Sand Island.⁶⁰ Three weeks later an FBI memo reported that there were still 20 male aliens, nine male citizens, and one female citizen interned on Kaua‘i.⁶¹ However, the FBI memo does not specify where on Kaua‘i the internees were held. The one female citizen was Mrs. Umeno Harada, from Ni‘ihau, whose husband had killed himself after helping a Japanese pilot who had crash-landed on the island. Mrs. Harada was interned for 4 years, first at the Wailua County Jail for 2 months, then at the U.S. Immigration Station, then at Sand Island, and finally at Honouliuli. Mr. and Mrs. Harada’s daughter stayed with a relative on Kaua‘i.⁶² Mr. Ishimatsu Shintani, also from Ni‘ihau, was also interned for 4 years, initially on Kaua‘i and later on the mainland.

He’ll be home tomorrow,
My wife assures the children.
He’ll be home tomorrow,
As each lonely day goes by.

Muin Otokichi Ozaki, At The Volcano Internment Camp

WAILUA COUNTY JAIL

The Wailua County Jail was the first place on Kaua‘i where internees were assembled. Initially, conditions were so crowded that health and sanitation problems developed. To alleviate the overcrowding, as well as to separate the internees from regular jail inmates, a two-story dormitory with 48 bunks, a kitchen, and a latrine were constructed.⁶³ Reports suggest that the number of internees fluctuated as additional people were arrested, some were transferred to other internment camps, and some were released. For example, Henry Tokutaro Tanaka was arrested February 19, 1942 and taken to Wailua Jail where he met 10 to 15 others;⁶⁴ five days later, 45 detainees were turned over to the Military Police to be taken to Honolulu, leaving 24 detainees at the Wailua County Jail.⁶⁵ The jail was used at least until June 6, 1942, when internees, including Mrs. Harada, were moved to Sand Island.⁶⁶

A historic photograph shows the Wailua county jail as a single two-story concrete building (Figure 18). Destroyed by a hurricane and replaced with a sprawling modern facility of several one-story buildings, the jail is now known as the Kaua‘i Community Correctional Center (Figure 19).⁶⁷

⁵⁸U.S. Army, “An American Experiment,” (1942 Memo, Unknown Author, National Archives).

⁵⁹Saiki, op cit., p. 62.

⁶⁰Soga, op cit.

⁶¹Shivers, op cit.

⁶²Saiki, op cit., p. 55.

⁶³U.S. Army, 1942, op cit.

⁶⁴Saiki, op cit., pp. 170-171.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Soga, op cit.

⁶⁷Mike Ashman, *Kaua‘i As it Was in the 1940s and ‘50s* (Kaua‘i Historical Society, Lihue, Hawai‘i, 2004), pp. 8-9; Kaua‘i Community Correctional Center Master Plan update, December 2003.



Figure 18. Storm damaged and abandoned Wailua Country Jail in the 1950s (Kaua'i Museum).



Figure 19. Kaua'i Community Correctional Center.

KALAHEO STOCKADE

It is not clear when internees were first held at the Kalaheo Stockade, or even where exactly it was located. The term “stockade” often implies a jail within a military camp. The Kalaheo Stockade also jailed, in separate quarters, some 50 members of the U.S. Army who had been convicted of criminal offenses or misconduct.⁶⁸ The Kalaheo Stockade, then, seems likely to have been part of an established Army encampment. On Kaua'i, the U.S. Army established headquarters first at Kukuiolono Park and then in the McBryde plantation manager's home at Kalaheo. There was also an Army hospital set up at the Kalaheo School.⁶⁹ Given the heavy defenses on the island during World War II, other sites are also likely.

According to Saiki, internees at the Kalaheo Stockade were held in one structure large enough to house 20 to 25 people, with a mess hall, showers, and latrine adjacent.⁷⁰ A Mr. Senda, a professional photographer, was interned at Kalaheo Stockade; it is not known if he took any photographs of the stockade, either during or after his internment there. Gustaf W. Olson's report as vice-consul of Sweden notes that at his September 15, 1943 visit, the Kalaheo Stockade was much improved over its condition reported February 12, 1943. In September it had electric lights, landscaping, lawns, improved sanitary facilities, and land prepared for vegetable gardening. At that time, there was only one internee, a subject of Japan who had been recommended for release by the local hearing board.

⁶⁸Lester Chang, “Seeking Clues of Internment” (The Garden Island, February 11, 2006).

⁶⁹Allen, *op cit.*, pp. 223-226; 246.

⁷⁰Saiki, *op cit.*, p. 61.



GUIDED QUESTIONS: ELLA OHTA TOMITA

1. Where was Ella Ohta Tomita born and what was her father's position in the community?

2. At 9:00 p.m. on December 7, 1941, Ella Ohta Tomita's father was taken by the police. A week later, what did Ella's family find out about their father?

3. In the late summer, Ella's mother, Mrs. Ohta, received an official notice that she and all children under 18 years old must pack some clothing and be sent to the mainland. Through the perspective of Ella Ohta Tomita, what does the document interview convey about how Hawai'i internees felt towards the forced migration?

4. Trace the movement of Ella and her family once aboard the military ship. Where did Ella and her family end up? What was unique about her family and the Hawai'i group sent away?

5. How many camp sites did the Ohta family experience? Describe the living conditions of life in the mainland internment camps.

6. Describe the everyday activities of the children. Did the children in the internment camp receive education?

ELLA TOMITA, JAPANESE INTERNEE

OCTOBER 14, 2004



Interviewed by Kalei Ho and Mika Bailey Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i

Ella: I would like to tell you about myself first. I was born in Laupahoehoe on the Big Island. My Dad was the Buddhist Minister in charge of the Buddhist Temple. He was also the Principal of the Japanese School. He had close relationships with the English School Principal and staff there. Being in a leadership role, he also acted as a coordinator, interpreter and resource person for the community. He not only preached and taught reading and writing but he helped his temple members keep in contact with their relatives in Japan by writing letters for them and reading to his members correspondence received from their relatives in Japan.

On December 7, 1941, our family went to Kohala, a town in the northern part of the island of Hawai'i, for a memorial service of a friend. It was there we heard of the attack on Pearl Harbor. We were afraid and didn't know what would be happening. After the service, we tried to hurry home in our Ford Model T. We heard that a blackout was ordered. This meant no lights in the evening. We journeyed home, trying to get back before dark. But we were far away from home and Dad had to drive on the treacherous, very curvy roads without headlights. It was a spooky trip home. There was another family with us on this journey, but Dad couldn't stop on the way home to drop them off due to the blackout.

Soon after we reached home, possibly about 9:00 pm, we heard a loud knock at the front door. Two policemen, who were my dad's former students, were at the door and said that they came to get "Sensei" by FBI orders. They did not say why my dad and the other ministers were arrested. The two police officers were nice but only said that it may be a few days, so to bring a couple of things he might need. At least the men were able to change from PJ's to street clothes only after we all insisted that our fathers be given the courtesy of that.

About a week or so later we heard that our fathers were taken to the Kilauea Military Camp which is located in the Volcano area, which is very cold in December. We therefore sent some clothing and toiletries. After that we never heard from our fathers nor were notified as to their whereabouts. Since we could not survive if we stayed in Laupahoehoe, we moved to Honolulu on a cattle ship. My three brothers were there working and going to college. I believe there were eight of us living in an old quadruplex home in Kaka'ako.

In late summer, my mother received an official government notice saying that she and all children under 18 must pack some clothing and be sent to the mainland. We had no choice. Three older brothers and a sister remained in Honolulu and the war situation here. Again, there was no explanation or reason given to us. We were under the jurisdiction of the Department of Immigration and Naturalization Services. Others who were relocated were under the jurisdiction of the Department of War. We were taken to one of the back rooms at the Honolulu Immigration Station. We all had to be fingerprinted then given a long ID number to hold in front of us to have a mug-shot taken. The officials only then told us that our fathers were sent somewhere on the mainland.

They further informed us that we were headed to New York where there was an exchange ship we were to board. Then and only then we would be able to see our Dads. We were to be expatriated in the Singapore area via the S.S. Gripsholm which was to leave the port in New York. As young children, we did not know what was happening. "Not knowing" is one of the most depressing feelings one gets. When we left the port in Honolulu on Aug. 13, 1942, we were on the military ship USS Republic. Our quarters were in the hold of the ship. As I can remember, we were not allowed to be on deck and remained in the bottom of the ship for the entire trip in crossing the Pacific to San Francisco. We were told that it was for our safety as there may be some enemy subs lurking in the waters.

We docked in San Francisco two weeks later on August 26, 1942. We were immediately herded onto a train with all shades down. We traveled along the northern route of the United States. The Pullman train made a stop in Chicago where we were told that since the war activity in the Singapore area had heightened, we would have to be diverted to North Carolina. Upon our arrival we were then bussed to Grove Park Inn in Asheville, North Carolina. We stayed in Asheville about a month, where I became very close friends with a German girl who was already at Grove Park Inn with her parents. Grove Park Inn is a plush resort hotel.

We were moved to Assembly Inn, a smaller, less expensive hotel about a month later in Montreat, North Carolina. Both cities are in the Smoky Mountain Region where the weather is great and scenery beautiful!

So how old were you at the time?

Just made 13. I just finished 8th grade.

So the Germans were interned with you?

I became very close friends with a German girl who was at Grove Park Inn with her parents. She came from Bolivia and others from Peru. I don't know what happened to her to this day ... whether she is in Germany or even whether she is still living. Some of these Germans were the leading businessmen in their respective countries. My friend spoke a little English and her primary languages were German and Spanish. My primary language is English and Japanese, my secondary language. Our friendship bloomed with English and sign language until she "taught" me enough German and I helped her with her English. Montreat is about 60 miles northeast of Asheville. It's a small school town with a placid Lake Susan separating us from the Girl's School. The older boys and girls in the group from Hawai'i, who were already high school graduates, taught the younger ones basic courses. We were the very first all Hawai'i group to be sent to an internment camp.

Did you know any of these people before?

No, we didn't but we became very close friends being in the same situation. I had four brothers and two sisters. My sister and I were the youngest. We stayed at Montreat until April 1943. In April we were sent to the Crystal City, Texas Internment Camp. We were one of the first ones to enter that family camp which our fathers helped to build. Our fathers went through a lot of hardship too. We finally got to meet our fathers in May 1943 when we reached Crystal City. It took two years to see him. During those two years they were sent to various camps throughout the United States. My dad was sent to Fort Sill, Oklahoma and Camp Livingston, Louisiana, to name a few. We were considered "prisoners of war". Mail was censored. We found out later that some never reached us.

How were you able to take photos?

We ourselves were unable to have any cameras. The doctor from South America took some pictures. Evidently, they were allowed to have cameras. Copies were made and sent to us later.

What generation was your father?

My dad was the first. He came directly from Japan to start here. He came as a minister. We all learned Japanese and could speak it. My sister was in the first graduating class from Federal High School in Crystal City Internment Camp.

What were some of the conditions of the camp?

When we got to Crystal City, the Internment Camp was just started so it hardly had anything. We were in the "T-section," which was the triplex homes section. We had one bedroom and a smaller one because there were four of us. There was a little kitchen. The kitchen and living room area was just about the size of this room. There was housing for bigger families. They had a common bathroom and a separate building for showers. In our case, the three families shared one bathroom.

So it was like a little community?

Yes. There were different types of homes as the triplex, duplex just mentioned. We also had the Quonset homes often called the “Kamaboko” house due to its shape. It housed four families. There were guard towers atop the high fence corners and also in between. One side of the camp was more developed and as more people came, the camp expanded. The Germans had their own school in their little own group. There was also a smaller group of Italians. Majority was Japanese.

So you could carry on with your everyday activities?

To a limited point. We could travel freely within the compound. The Germans’ behavior seemed to be one of showing retaliation and anger for they engaged in daily rituals. Of the group, I met only about two of them after we were released.

So when you were moved, what did you take with you?

Actually, nothing except clothing. Our basic clothing was limited to one carry on.

Did you wear tags? (Identification)

Definitely, we were given ID numbers. Each of us was tagged and mugged before we left Hawai‘i.

What did you do with your furniture?

Nothing. We just left everything behind. We don’t know what happened to a lot of our things. I laugh about it now, but I was so sad when I had to leave my favorite doll behind. We had some real good stuff but I think they were just sold.

Were you inoculated?

Only after we were told that we would be expatriated. I already had a small pox shot, but some of the younger children had to get the shot there. The shots were given as a precaution. It was done here in Hawai‘i at the Immigration Station.

How did the government know which German people to detain?

From what I heard, the government already had a pre-list before Dec. 7, 1941 of leaders. I’m sure there were some Americans in there. The ones we knew were from South America. The girl that became my good friend in North Carolina did not come to Crystal City. I think her family was sent back to Germany. I gave her my address but never heard from her. I don’t even know if she was caught in any of those riots. I don’t even know whether she was dead or alive.

How long were you interned?

Almost four years. We returned in December 1945, after Europe’s war ceased.

So did you experience any prejudice before you were relocated?

No, because we were so confined. If there was any prejudice, we wouldn’t have known. The teachers that came to teach at Federal High School must have been cleared by the Federal Government because they were terrific! They really dedicated themselves to us. They weren’t originally from the area but they came from different parts of the U.S. They were Caucasians. They lived outside the camp and would come in everyday. So, every time they came in they had to go through a checkpoint. Do you know where I experienced the most prejudice? ... when we came back! I had a little over a year to graduate from high school. A leader of the school approached me and said, “Oh you guys are the bad ones.” I was very angry with his comment and yet felt sorry for his ignorance. We were incarcerated against our will and did nothing wrong except to be of Japanese ancestry. We had to “educate” our own Japanese people here. That was the worst feeling to hear that upon our return.

So they weren’t interned?

No, they were here and were particularly angry too, because I understand during the war young people had to go to the cane fields and pineapple fields to work because the older ones were in active duty. From schools, students were bused and taken to the fields to work.

Who watched over you in those towers?

Who? You know, we never got to really see who they were. But, they must have been with the Federal Government because it was a Federal place. So, it could have been some army, military police or somebody. I'm not sure who.

So did you have jobs?

Well, I didn't. Those over 18 could find work. They were paid ten cents per hour. With that one I bought clothing, etc. "Money" was red and green plastic tokens. These tokens were used to buy food, necessities and clothing.

So, you had to buy your own food and wash your own clothes?

No, certain foods were distributed and yes, we had to buy certain foods. In our case (the T-section), we had a central bathroom and tub. It's all handwash. No machine kind of thing.

Was there enough money for food?

Well, it wasn't a matter of enough. It was what you got or it was just a token payment kind of thing. It was enough and comfortable enough. Most of us were used to not having all the riches, having our background. Coming from a background of helping people, we lived comfortably. We weren't the luxury type. So, I think that had a lot to do with adapting easily.

How did you feel about being interned?

My dad's position in the community and our family as a whole always tried to help our community. We were able to adapt more easily than others but other friends were really angry. I was angry, of course, but I wasn't retaliating. There were some that retaliated by refusing to do things. In some of the camps it was even worse. Our camp was more subdued and more accepting. SHIKATA GA NAI! In something like this, one can't do anything about it. But I did miss my typical teenage experiences and also missed a year of schooling.

Where did you go after you were released?

The government gave us a trunk to put whatever belongings we accumulated. We were each given a hat. After our return, dad went back to the temple on Makiki Street. We have lived in Honolulu ever since.

Do you feel that internment was justified for security reasons?

Not from my stand point! Definitely not. We were forced to go. Even the adults didn't have a say. I guess during war one doesn't have a say. You probably lose some rights in the position you're in. I hope that doesn't happen to anyone again. That's what we're all trying to prevent.

Did your family get the \$20,000 reparation fee?

No, my parents and my sister all passed away by the time the government gave it out. I was the only one in our family who received it.

So, when did they give it to you?

I can't remember—not too long ago. I think it was in the early 90's because they didn't give everybody right away. The older ones got it first so, by the time my parents' turn came, they were gone and then my sister was gone too, when her turn came around.

Are you in contact with any of the people you met at the internment camp?

Oh yes! I have close friends since we went through so much together. The mainland California group has yearly reunions. It was not affordable for us to join them yearly. We still keep in touch via newsletters, letters, phones, etc.

From:

"Voices of WWII" Booklet
Linda Kay Smith
Oral History Project Coordinator
Kahuku High and Intermediate School

GUIDED QUESTIONS

SANJI ABE



1. According to Document 1 “... Personal Record”, what territorial position did Sanji Abe hold in 1940?

2. According to the primary document “M.G.R.B., SANJI ABE, ISN-HUS-1209 CI”, Abe “disclaimed any connection with the Japanese patriotic bond drive”. Analyze the statements of his witnesses below. What statement would make authorities question Abe’s loyalty? Cite from text and explain why it would be questionable.

3. From reading Sanji Abe’s family background, what would make you question his incarceration at Honouliuli?

4. Paraphrase the “Conclusions” on the document and give supporting facts in the decision to intern Sanji Abe.

5. Read the two letters by Sanji Abe while he was at the Honouliuli Internment Camp. What were the internees’ living conditions at the Honouliuli internment camp?

**TERRITORY OF HAWAI'I
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY GOVERNOR
IOLANI PALACE
HONOLULU, T.H.**

**MILITARY GOVERNOR'S REVIEWING BOARD
Review of Internee Case**

Name of Case:
SANJI ABE, ISN-HUS-1209-CI
Date of Review: Jan 20 1944

BASIS OF REVIEW:
Applications for parole submitted by the internee and his wife

REFERENCES:
Intelligence Files
Hearing Record
Applications

RECOMMENDATIONS:
Continued Internment

CASE HISTORY:

- I. SUBJECT'S LIFE.** SANJI ABE was born on the Island of Hawai'i in 1895 and is a dual citizen born of alien Japanese parents. He was expatriated from his Japanese nationality in November, 1940. He received all his education in the public schools of the Territory of Hawai'i, having attended high school for four years, but not having been graduated. He also attended Japanese language schools in the Territory for about eight years and was graduated therefrom. In 1916 he was employed by the Police Department of the County of Hawai'i and remained on said police force until October of 1940, at which time he was elected a member of the Senate of the Territory of Hawai'i. He left the Police Department in 1917 when he was drafted for service in World War I, but upon his discharge from the army some two years later, he resumed employment with the Police Department. He is married to a dual citizen and is the father of six children - three daughters and three sons - all of whom have attended Japanese language schools in the Territory. His

oldest daughter is presently a student at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. He has made two trips to Japan - one in 1921 when he went as the manager of a local baseball team which toured Japan, and the second time from June to August, 1940, which he claims was for business purposes. Besides being a member of the Police Department on Hawaii, he was also connected with several other business enterprises and, at the time of his apprehension, his assets amounted to about \$72,800.

II. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. The Hearing Board in this case found:

M.G.R.B., SANJI ABE, ISN-HUS-1209-CI,

1. That the internee is an exclusive citizen of the United States;
2. That his loyalty is questionable; and,
3. That his activities have been both pro-American and pro-Japanese and although the latter have not been shown to be subversive, they have been in some instances highly suspicious.

In view of those findings, the Hearing Board unanimously recommended that subject be interned for the duration of the war. The Intelligence Reviewing Board concurred in the recommendations of the Hearing Board and pursuant to an order dated February 19, 1943, The Commanding General, Hawaiian Department, ordered SANJI ABE's internment.

III. GOVERNMENT'S CASE. The following is a summary of the information presented by the Government to the Hearing Board against the subject:

1. He has been one of the outstanding leaders among the Japanese community on the Island of Hawai'i;
2. He was active in entertaining visiting Japanese naval personnel;
3. He was active in leading drives for Japanese war relief;
4. He made two trips to Japan, the second of which is surrounded with suspicious circumstances;
5. He was President of the International Theater Company, which dealt only with Japanese motion pictures, much of which spread Japanese propaganda;
6. He was expatriated from Japanese nationality under very unusual circumstances;

7. He is reported to have behaved mysteriously at a wedding party on December, 1941;
8. He has associated with the Japanese Consulates both in Honolulu and San Francisco;
9. He had been the director of a Japanese radio program on radio station KHBC, Hilo, which program featured Japanese patriotic music; and
10. He was President of Hilo enterprises which published the Japanese bilingual newspaper of the Island of Hawai'i, the Hawai'i Mainichi, which had been notorious for its pro-Japanese activities.

IV. COMMENTS. Leadership on Hawai'i: ABE's leadership on Hawai'i is self-evident. He was a member of the Police Department for over 20 years and rose to the rank of Deputy Sheriff there. In addition to his connections with several business enterprises, he was a member of the American Legion, director of the Nisei Japanese Softball team, advisor of the Japanese Athletic Club of Hilo, member of the Hawai'i Island Baseball League, member and at one time Vice-President of the Hawai'i Island Sumo Association, member and Vice-President of the Kodokan Judo Renmei, a judo club, member of several Japanese prefectural organizations, member of the Hawai'i Shima Budo Kyo Kai, which sponsored budo tournaments on Hawai'i, which was a sub-branch of the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai, and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hilo Higashi Hongwanji Mission (Buddhist); ONI report of 27 March 1942 indicates that subject was quite active in the Society of American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, being its director in 1937 and 1938, Vice-President in 1939, and President in 1940 and 1941. (MID File HAW-1-1207c dated 24 August 1942 and ONI report of 27 March 1942.)

With some of the foregoing organizations he denies any connection whatsoever, while with others he disclaims any active participation therein. (R-35 - 38)

It should be noted that in July, 1938, Japanese residents of the Island of Hawaii dedicated a monument to island Japanese who have died here and which contained the inscription "Organizer - Sanji Abe. 20th Anniversary of His Service with the Hilo Police Department. Erected by the Japanese Residents in July, 1938."

A photograph of the dedication ceremony was found on subject's premises by MID agents on July 21, 1942. (HAW-1-1207c, p.49) Subject's leadership is further established by the fact that he was elected Senator from the Island of Hawai'i in the Territorial Legislature of Hawaii in 1940, despite bitter opposition by one of the local Honolulu newspapers.

Entertainment of Japanese Naval Personnel: It was reported that at least on one occasion subject was very active in the entertainment of visiting Japanese naval personnel, and that in April, 1939, he sponsored a lecture given by the captain of one of the training ships, which lecture was given at his theater in Hilo. Subject himself denies having sponsored the lecture; claimed that he does not recall that the captain gave the lecture, and admitted that he knew the captain. When the Hearing Board pressed him on this point, saying that it has been definitely recorded that he sponsored this man's lecture, he continued to deny any connection therewith and claimed that he is positive that he had no connection with the lecture. He said he could not remember listening to such a lecture; admitted that he rented his hall on several occasions, but that he very seldom remained to listen to any talks given there. It should be noted that this same Captain Kinoshita took back to Japan \$20,000 from the Hawai'i Island Airplane Fund for Japanese airplanes, and also a great many comfort kits. (H-39 and 40; ONI reports 27 March and 30 July 1942)

Moreover, it has been reported that at the time the aforesaid training ship was at Hilo, 25 reels of Japanese propaganda films were removed from the flag ship and shown at the subject's theater in Hilo and at other places on the island. The list of films include such titles as "Armed Forces of Japan" - "Fighting Forces of Japan" - "Japanese Man of War" - "Japanese in China" - "Japanese Marine Forces" - newsreels and Japanese songs. (ONI report of July 30, 1942, pp. 3 and 4)

It was also reported at this time that a group of 24 leading Japanese on the island attended a meeting held in the officers' wardroom on one of the Japanese oil tankers, and that the subject was one of those present. The entire list of persons who attended this meeting can be found in ONI report of July 30, 1942, pp. 4, 5, and 6. When the subject was confronted with this information by the Hearing

Board he utterly denied having attended the meeting and swore that there was no such meeting. He claimed that once in a while he lent one of his automobiles to take Japanese around the island, but that was all. (R-4)

Japanese War Relief Activities: Although subject himself has not contributed a great deal towards Japanese-sponsored funds, he did donate the facilities of his theater there in Hilo during August of 1938, when a Japanese training ship was there, for the holding of an amateur contest to raise funds for the Japanese War Relief program. He claims that he does not remember having donated any money towards the entertaining of the members of that vessel, however. When he was told that it was reported that he had donated \$5.00 to the Hawai'i Budo club, he denied having made such donation. (R-38 and 39; HAW File 1-1207c, p. 8)

Mr. Kiyoshi Okubo, who was the subject's campaign manager, gave the following information to the MID on subject's expatriation. Okubo states that about October 1, 1940, he wrote to the Acting Japanese Consul to seek an expeditious way for ABE to expatriate and included with his letter applications for permission to expatriate, an old family record which was more than six months old, and ABE's passport (in place of a birth certificate which the subject had either lost or misplaced.) The Japanese Consul having failed to reply to this correspondence, Okubo telephoned, at ABE's expense, and explained subject's delicate position in the political campaign. The Japanese Consul refused to accept ABE's family record because it was more than six months old and was unwilling to follow the procedure suggested by Okubo because it was not according to the rules and regulations of the Consulate. However, the Consul's decision was not final and Okubo was told to wait for a few days. Within a week following the telephone call, Okubo was instructed by the Japanese Consulate to radio directly to the Home Ministry in Japan, thus bypassing the Consulate General in Honolulu and the Foreign Office in Tokyo. He was further instructed that ABE should sign his name in full on the radiogram and that it should be dated October 1, 1940. Okubo then sent a radiogram directly to the Ministry of Home Affairs. This radiogram is definitely known to have been sent on October 25, 1940. It was written in Japanese but in English characters, and it was a request for expatriation on behalf of SANJI ABE.

Early in November Okubo received word by telephone from the Consulate General in Honolulu that ABE had been officially expatriated as of November 2, 1940. The Japanese Consulate in Honolulu cooperated to the extent of sending ABE official notification thereof by air express in time for the announcement to be made at the final political rally for ABE on November 3, 1940. It is evident that the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu and the Japanese government felt ABE's expatriation to be of sufficient importance to warrant the irregular procedure followed in granting him expatriation. The subject at his hearing claimed that he is unable to explain why the Japanese government took such an interest in his expatriation. ABE stated to the Board that although he was a dual citizen he never recognized his Japanese citizenship, which was one of the reasons for his neglect in not expatriating earlier and that the agitation in the political campaign caused him to seek expatriation at that time. (Information on ABE's expatriation has been obtained from ONI report of 27 March 1942, pp. 8 and 9; MID memo of 2 November 1942; and, R-43 - 50.)

Mysterious Behavior at Wedding: It was reported that on the night of December 6, 1941, subject and his wife attended a wedding party on the Island of Hawai'i at which time it was noticed that the internee and a Mr. Izumo, President of the Pahoia Japanese Language School, who is also presently interned, conversed with each other for about two hours and then went outside, looking at the sky, and generally acted strangely. Information was also received that two days later, on the 8th, subject went to Pahoia with one of his trucks and stopped at the Japanese Language School, and that two or three large bags were carried out of the school and placed on his truck. The Hearing Board stated that the information had been received from many different sources. ABE denied such activity and claimed that it may have been a case of mistaken identity. Subject's wife testified at length on this point, also, stating that although their truck did go in that direction, they were taking potato slips to a farmer. Subject stated with regard to the wedding on the 6th that he had gone outside just for an ordinary walk because the house was uncomfortably hot. (R-67 and 68; R-108 - 111).

Association with Japanese Consuls: Subject is reported to have had a luncheon engagement with the Japanese Vice-Consul in Honolulu in May, 1941, but he denies having been closely associated with

the Japanese Consulate here. He did admit that when he went to the Mainland in 1941, he met a Rev. Ban in San Francisco, who, according to ABE, was interested in the moving picture business. ABE disclaimed any knowledge, however, that the Rev. Ban was also a Japanese propagandist on the West Coast. In San Francisco ABE made a visit to the Japanese Consulate, too, saying that he only spent about two or three minutes there, just to pay his respects. During his stay in San Francisco he stopped at the Kashu Hotel and stated that he did not know that this hotel was found to be a nest of spies and equipment when it was raided by Federal agents after the outbreak of the war. (ONI report of July 30, 1942, and MID report HAW-1-12-7c, p. 46, R-66 and 67)

Activities as Director of Japanese Radio Program: From about 1932 until 1936 subject was active in selling advertising for Japanese programs on the Hilo radio station. From 1936 to 1939 he was director of the Japanese department of the station. When it was pointed out to ABE that during the time he was the director of that program, the station frequently broadcast a patriotic march of the Japanese government which was highly nationalistic in nature, subject contended that as he remembers, that record was broadcast after his term as director of the program, but the Hearing Board countered with the statement that their information showed that it was during that time. However, ABE continued to deny that the record was played during his tenure of office. At a later point in the hearing, the Board recalled the agent of Military Intelligence, who presented the government's case, to present further information relative to the playing of the aforementioned Japanese record and he testified that several individuals who were connected with radio station KHBC were questioned, and that all their statements indicated that such a patriotic march was played and that it was played during the period of time when ABE was in charge of the program. The agent testified that he was told it was played in the latter part of 1939. He said he checked the files of the radio station, but was unable to find the particular program. (R-89, 90, 112-114)

Connection with the Pro-Japanese Newspaper, Hawaii Mainichi: (ONI report of July 30, 1942) reflects that of all the methods used and the influences brought to bear on the Japanese population on the Island of Hawai'i to keep alive before them the traditions, culture, and loyalty to Japan, none has been as effective as the

Hawai'i Mainichi, a bilingual (Japanese-English) daily newspaper published in Hilo. This paper launched the campaign to raise funds for the purchase of an airplane for Japan and also sponsored the drive to sell Japanese patriotic bonds. It has been the medium through which local Japanese were requested to make donations of various kinds to Japan and were notified of the various meetings, drives, and entertainments in the Japanese community. This newspaper is owned and published by Hilo Enterprises, Ltd., and subject is the president of the corporation. At one time there were two Japanese newspapers on Hawai'i and ABE was instrumental in having both papers merged into the present Hawai'i Mainichi. He claimed he had done this because of the expense two newspapers had on the Japanese community and because he wanted to begin an Americanization program among the Japanese, for which purpose one paper would be best suited. He said that the Hawai'i Mainichi's activities in the Japanese drive never entered his mind at the time, and he was not aware that it sponsored a monthly contribution fund for the Japanese war program. He also disclaimed any connection with the Japanese patriotic bond drive. (R-87 and 88)

Witnesses: Five witnesses appeared on behalf of subject at his hearing: George J. Richardson, Deputy Sheriff of Honolulu; Sheriff Henry K. Martin of Hawai'i; Mr. Alexander Desha, connected with P.C. Beamer's Hardware Store; Senator William H. Hill, Territorial Senator from Hawai'i; and, Mrs. Abe.

Mr. Richardson would not vouch for subject's loyalty to the United States, although he stated he knew of no disloyal acts by the subject.

Sheriff Martin expressed the opinion that subject is loyal to the United States.

Mr. Desha was not able to say whether subject was loyal or disloyal, but stated that he did not suspect subject of disloyalty.

Senator Hill was of the opinion that subject is loyal to the United States.

(See testimony of Richardson R-92 and 111-112; Martin R-94 and 95; Desha R-95-96; Hill R-96-99; and, Mrs. Abe, R-99-111).

In his own defense the internee introduced in evidence 16 exhibits consisting of newspaper articles and legislative enactments which he sponsored and supported during his term as Senator. These newspaper articles and legislative enactments are all of a pro-American nature.

V. CONCLUSIONS. Although no acts of a subversive nature were proved, the circumstances surrounding many of his activities are very suspicious. Throughout his hearing he either denied, or disclaimed knowledge of, or discounted all of the derogatory information that the Hearing Board had in its possession. It may well be that a person can be engaged in an activity and be unaware of the subversive elements in it. But ABE was engaged in such various activities, all of which are suspicious, that it seems highly improbable to me that he knew not of their questionable nature. There is no doubt that he is one of the outstanding leaders on Hawai'i.

Although he knew that a Japanese naval captain delivered a lecture at his theater, he denied knowledge of the captain's activities and of the type of lecture. His trip to Japan in 1940 when he met Foreign Minister Matsuoka and broadcast to the Japanese in Hawai'i from Tokyo is also suspicious. It is significant that in his association with the International Theater company, he supported Shinichi Sera, who is now known to have been a Japanese agent on the West Coast and in Hawai'i, of which fact subject disclaims knowledge. The unusual circumstances surrounding his expatriation from Japan are also worthy of considerable note. Here, too, he attempts to minimize his activities by contending that he knows of no reason why the Japanese government should have taken such an interest in his case.

Moreover, his association with radio station KHBC, Hilo, and the Hawai'i Mainichi there, also lead to the conclusion that his loyalty to the United States is strongly questionable.

In view of the foregoing information, it is my conviction that SANJI ABE is dangerous to the public peace, safety, and security of the United States, even though he is an exclusive American citizen and even though on the surface, at least, some of his legislative enactments were pro-American.

Accordingly, I recommend that SANJI ABE be continued in internment to safeguard the public peace, safety, and security of the United States.

EUGENE V. SLATTERY
Lieut. Colonel, J.A.G.D.
Chief, Legal Section

LC: ham
20 Jan 44

Honouliuli Internment Camp
Hon. March 8, 1944

Capt. S.H. Spillner
Commanding Officer C.M.P.
Honouliuli Internment Camp

Dear Captain:--

Last month an internee spokesman announced at one of our meal gatherings at the mess hall that lots of foodstuffs, such as shoyu, miso and tea, together with varieties of medicine was sent to this group of internees from Japan. A few days later, correction was made through our internee company captain that, the foodstuff received here from Japan was intended for prisoners of war and to the alien internees only. In view of this, movement has started within the camp to collect funds for the purpose of sending to Japan wireless message of appreciation and acknowledgment of the goods. I am not in accord with the majority to transmit such message to Japan, especially from standpoint as an American citizen. Therefore, I have not made any contribution toward the fund. Thus, made no attempt to find out the content of the message nor who are the responsible persons of sending the message as I have no right to make any inquiry in connection with this matter, for the fact that, I did not make any contribution. I, therefore, desire at this time, for matter of record that my hands are clear and wish same to be recorded in proper place. For your information, I know for a fact that three others took the same stand as I have taken. Possibly, few others. I am taking this firm stand as an American citizen. I can probably make myself more understandable by having a personal interview, if necessary. I am taking this means of thanking you for the prompt and favorable verbal reply in connection with my letter to you, which pertained to canteen coupons. If I am not asking too much, acknowledgment of this letter in writing will be highly appreciated.

Very truly yours,
Sanji Abe

ISN-HUS-1209-C1



Honouliuli Internment Camp

Hon. Mar. 7, 1944

Capt. S.H. Spillner

Commanding Officer C.M.P.

Honouliuli Internment Camp

Dear Captain: --

May I be permitted to respectfully request for additional canteen coupons out of my personal fund which is in custody of your Finance Officer. Ever since last November, with the exception of the \$3.00 monthly allowance from the government fund, I have not received any coupons. The \$3.00 monthly allowance is just enough to cover my payment for the two newspapers: The Hon. Advertiser and The Hon. Star-Bulletin. Due to the fact that I did not receive additional coupons, I was forced to borrow from friends and at the present time I have no ways to reimburse them, unless I can be granted additional coupons from my personal fund. Due to the fact that I have been a victim of diabetes for several years past. . .

Approved by: Siegfried H. Spillner
Captain, C.M.P.



GUIDED QUESTIONS REVEREND NAITOH

1. Where did the Naitohs live prior to their removal to the mainland?

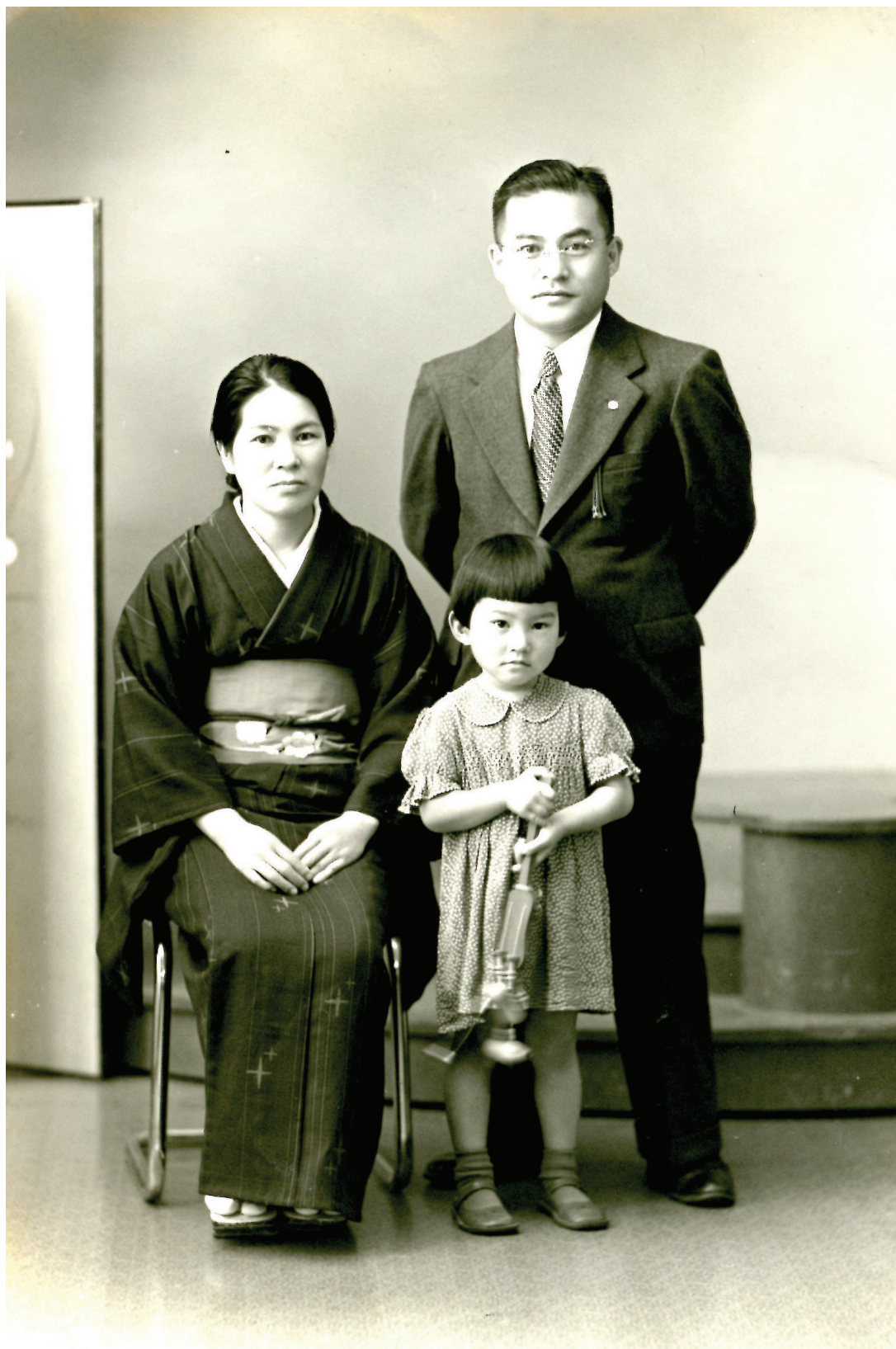
2. When did Rev. Naitoh finally join his wife and child at Camp Jerome? How long were Mrs. Naoye Naitoh and their daughter, Gladys, at Camp Jerome?

3. What was internment camp life like as described by Rev. Naitoh? What positions did he hold at each of the internment sites?

4. In May of 1944, the Naitohs were moved to Tule Lake Center under the control of the War Relocation Authority where they stayed a year and a half until November 1945. What indication does Naitoh give about the “trouble” that occurred with the internees at Tule Lake that differed from the other camps? What happened to Rev. Takezono and the “young men who were Kibei-Nisei”?

5. What happened to the Naitoh family when they were released from Tule Lake?

6. According to the poem written by Gladys Naitoh, how was life like for the internees at Camp Jerome? What challenges did they experience as internees of Tule Lake?



NAITOH RECORD CARD JEROME

Form WRA-118 Rev.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

JEROME RELOCATION CENTER Relocation Center

TR. 40

ENLISTEE SERVICE AND PAYMENT RECORD CARD

Family No. H-147

FISCAL YEAR 19 44

Identification No. X-2510-C

Name NAITO, Kyojo

Address 38-3-D

Sex M, F () Date of Birth _____

SERVICE RECORD

E.O.D. Date	Division	Designation	Rate of Pay	Termination Date
3-23-44	Operation	Eng.-Carpenter	16.00	4-29-44
5-8-44	Segregation	Gar Captain-Trip #40	16.00	5-12-44 <i>Left for File</i>

C-0073-P1 of 2-hu-ct-vp-



1. Date of departure to Mainland of Father
 Arrested on December 7th. 1941 at 9 PM at home, Koloa Kauai, Hawaii. go to Wailua prison Kauai, Stay there till about February 20th 1942, shipped to Honolulu and about 2 weeks stay at HQ of MP the former immigration office, Went down to Sand Island on March 3, end of March went to mainland with Conboy as an Internee of War, Stay on the Island Angel island the immigrater's Office by the Golden gate. on April 3 or 4 from berkley going to Lowton City of Oklahoma state arrived on April 9, 42. stayed on there Two months,

At oklahoma Lowton Camp, Internee Camp, I have been worked as K.P. Chief in Messhall of all Hawaiian Internees total about 500 men, with other group of Mainland men and Panama Men total 1,000 men, altogether 1,500 men.

On June 1st went down to Camp Livingston Alexandria Louisiana state by the big river, stayed there about 1 year till the end of June 1943, OTOSAN working in there as a chairman of Kauai Group, one of Main Officers and almost as a Mentenanse Officer of all Hawaiian group, and as a part-time work I went down to Station Hospital Annex for Internee's camp as K.P. on each other day all through the one year.

And I went up to Santa Fe of NEW MEXICO state on the biginning of June, 1943 Santa Fe is in High place about 7,400 feets from sea rebel, there was under control of Immigration and Natilarization Servoce, and OTOSAN was a Balack Captain and a Congressmen of the Camp Government, we meet on every Tuesday from Morning to Noon for discuss the Self Government

There was the Classes of Adult Education for Kill Time; In Livingston and Santa Fe Camp there were Japanese SHIBAI class, Picture drowing class, Buddhist SUTRA Reading class, news buliten class E.T.C.

And in March 1944 I went down to Jerome Arcansas state to reunion with the Families in the Camp of Block 38, the house No is 38-03-D, Jerome WRA segregation camp in the great swamp by Missipy river, there OTOSAN are working a carpenter payed \$16.00 per Month we build up the Gim Hall for High School Kids.

2. Gladys and Mother; leave Koloa Kauai on the end of December 1942 entered in Immigration Office in Honolulu, Hawaii January 1st.

1943 you have been at San Francisco Calif. on about 5, January you reached to Jerome Camp in cold winter time that you experienced the first Winter in your Life, there were all covered with the ice, if you tonbled once it cannot standup because its so icy land.

3. In jerome camp you Two have been One year and 3 month alone without Father and met the Father on the end of March 1944, there were Kinder garden, Public Elementaly school and High School there is not special School building they uesed the Balack for Japanese segregee for School Class Rooms for all aims there was almost the teachers were Cocasian (HAOLE-Men) some of them was Japanese which pickecd up from the Camp- Men. Gladys went to Kindergarden about half year and entered 1st class of grammer school from September to May of the next year 1944. Your teacher's Name was _____ the Japanese. Father worked as Carpenter with the pay of 16.00 dollars per month during stayed in Jerome Camp (about 2 months)

In May of 1944 we moved to Tule Lake new well Calif segregation camp from Jerome Ark. on the way to Tule Lake 3 days rail road trip, Father worked as Car master

- * (in Jerome OKAASAN worked as a washer of kechen tools (Nabe-Arai) from the biginning to the end of camp life.

Why? there has builde up the new camp or balacks for former Internee's family the new reunited with a father and families, and also by the cause of all the men who want to return to Japan after the War, all of the Camp men want to go home in Japan after the War, their total amount are 18,000 japanese in 74 blocks, 8 wards with Administrative Officers and their families of 2,000 men and 1 troop of army soldiers of coase they lived in separated by the verbed wire. the camp was spread in 4x3 miles with dable wire fence in corner tower with Michin Gun and search Light on top as shown on the my picture of Mt. Shater's View print which you have.

The Job. Ootosan worked at first time as K P Chief of our Block meshall about 2 month and took the Word Secretary of Station Hospital for BYOIN* KOENKAI from August to November, and from December I entered to the Office of the Head Quater of Block Manegers, the Central Maneger's Office as title of Central Maneger Assisant, it looks like Vice Chair man of Supervisor and worked so as NAKADACHI (liaison officer) from Administrative Office to Camp men, it was self

government office of the camp men, we call Tule lake Center which under control of W R A (War Relocation Authority).

I worked 8 hours every week day 6 day a week and the pay was \$19.00 a month with clothing money for all the families a head each of them.

And I worked as a teacher of Japanese Language High School for Language and Geograph, so every nights go out to the High school, it was payed \$19.00 per month too. The High school was continued about half years of 1945 and closed on October. I was also worked as Adviser for Block management.

We stayed in Tule lake from May of 1944 to the last day of November of 1945 total about One year and Half stay there.

Trouble? There were a big trouble. The HOSHI-DAN Movement the disroyalty party. We the former Internee's group moved on May 1944, and in September already the first smoll movement organized in camp and they shout the AntiAmerica. The HOSHI-Dan means Mental Service to Mother Country the Japan there was strong just like Conminist leader and forsed to every KIBEI-NISEI those who wan't join U.S. Army service, and the other followers, men and women and kids, they becoming the members and special meeting in hide place to and fro and every Sunday they marched just like Japanese Soldiers with boal head men and pigtailed hairdressed women and kids all over the main roads especially near the Sunday service church or by Hospital with tranpet roared, it was so noisy, of couse very anxisas to newborned baby or patient And in December almost of School teachers and some of Block manegers or PX store men have joined the members there are so quietly in the meshall from December to March 1945 becouse the half members of the block were joined to the group, and the free men like OTOSAN-tachi and the Hoshidan members were no-talk with together

On December 31, 1944 the main leaders were arrested and send buck to Santa Fe Internee Camp and on Feburuary 11, 1945 the Second aressed occured and like Rev. AMA sensei and Rev. Takezono of Kapaa now also send buck to Santa Fe too, and April 29, 1945 the 3rd arested the young men all of KIBEI-NISEI were send to BIsmark Fort Camp North Dakota state all the arested men stayeid till the War is over but some of them like Rev. Takezono were stained about half year in the camp after all of the Internees backed Homes in Hawaii and in Mainland.

And the leaders foused to almost Niseis for Thrown away the American-Citizenship, and then about 3,700 men becoming the Single statas of Japanese Nationality only they are some appried to Washinton D C his ownself and some foused by leaders and some were copied the other follows

One the Special letter NOTICE came from The Attony general at Washington DC the long long letter to all the disroyal Niseis, and I OTOSAN translated in Japanese the letter on about 12 papers and Pined up on every meshall in the camp total 74 houses, of couse the work have done by FBI police men only, OTOSAN has just translate and copy write and AdministrateOffice has printed them. After the War is over almost them the young men went back to Japan like T.AMA.

School; After we reach to TuleLake Camp they planed and organized settle the Grammer school of Japanese, there was the main office in the name of The Chuoh Kyoiku Kai (Central Educational Association) lisenced from Wash. DC for established the spacial Japanese Language School in the Camp They opened the school classed 1st grade to 8th grade in japanese in every Wards there were 9 wards, all used the camp houses for the class rooms and all the teachers were picked up from former school teachers in outsides the peacetime, mainland men and or Hawaii men old or young.

We opend the Japanese School in our Ward too and the kids going school from September 1944, almost morning time, and after lunch they attend the English one. There was GI Public grammer school too teaching by HAOLE men and women in every Wards, in our ward's School was Named Mt. Shata's View School, you Gladys attend the Grammer school from September of the 2nd grade pupil in the morning for study the English and after the lunch you going down the special class of Japanese Language School about 2 hours to study the Japanese as the American Nisei borned in Hawaii USA, and about One year and half you attend the School at there.

There were GI High School too. And we opened Japanese Language High School on about March 1945 all of them teaching in night time everyday from Monday to Suterday 2 hours each nights

All of the Japanese Language School was under control of CHUO KYOIKU KAI, Some of the teachers they memolized the courses and

all of the method of teachings and the text book stories, and in the center office they hand write the storyis for teaching and copyed write on stencil paper and printed by Memeograph machine all of them, you know all of the text books and other needs were made by mimeograph as shown the sample attached with this, from 1st grade to 8th grade and for High school 1st grade to 3rd grade, there were.lessons; Social Molarity (SHUSHIN) Language, reading meaning make sentences arithmetics geograph of Japan, Japanese History, hand writing, algebla etc, it look like regular Japanese Language School in Japan and High school.

Why? They like made up looks like pure Japanese mind peoples so they teached likely japanese style. Becouse they were all intend going buck to Japan after the War End. But it was not all in vain in the life postwar. I think

And there was One extra Japanese Language School Named DAI TOA JYUKU (THE Great Far East College) it was stricty mindful in Japanese Style in all the teachings just like the language school as others but the system is different so special, the shool's pupils were most becoming strong members of THE HOSHI DAN you may understand it.

All the text books were made in Camp by hand writing and mimeograph print, all the same of Japan text books.

I teached in High School 1st grade Jpanese language and 3rd grade for geograph of Japan, most of them the pupiles were young work men Office and or administrative activitys jobs. The classes all convined boy and girl, I have teached NO 6th class of 1st grade about 25 members, the 3rd grade class were also about 30 members, almost of them were the students of former outer High school and Japanese High school pupiles and or graduaters, they all talks so smart in Japanese and can write the Japanese letters in KANA or KAN-Ji (HON-JIO

The Night High School were systemed by One teacher teach One Couse, every night Two teachers going to the same class room each other, some time 7 to 8 PM and other time 8 to 9 PM. Almost every night I went out for school.

In high school I teached for them to recreate the High Men's Mind as gentlemen becoming, so every time I talked them that we should

open the see field for all the matters we experienced in the human life, mind and materialized world in any occasion. So half a time read book and discuss the meaning and talk over the phenomena about the textbook story. Anyhow I want the men who have free and open mind and at anytime can see as overseer from the other sight angle seener. I know the pupils of my classes were very glad to see me the teaching time, they listened at anytime with a brilliant eyes and smiles faces to me straight to the platform the teacher standing on it.

At beginning the school class we discussed the every teacher's ownlike course, so every teacher can take the most experienced course and with glad they can teach them to the students in High school.

We, especially I don't teach the Royalty to Japan and or Emperor, teach them to becoming as nice human being.

We have the class room in the block houses, some of the block were very poor population so we take over for the house as the school room, then some of them are very near closed the class room but some room are far from my residence. In summer hot night and or Winter cold time I always walked down to school for teaching, it was very plaud job for me at that time. Almost the high school teachers were Buddhist ministers, so there were not the kind of special Japanese tradition

I forget who was the teacher of you, some of them are regular Japanese former Normal School graduates, Rev. Abiko was the principle of our block school at the ending time of closed the school.

All the school were closed very silently every one by one, its almost hove done in October 1945 the War is over year.

You go to the Elementary school of regular English school every morning from Monday to Friday with lunch issued from the own messhall and after lunch you came home and bring Japanese book go to Japanese special class of course on Saturday morning you go to Japanese school, but some other parents they would like let the kids going to Japanese School first and after noon the kids went down the HAOLE School for study a little English as you know you have tooked all opposite system by our opinion in living as American on America's Country.

There were No College.

All the subjects were allsame outer elementary school in mainland.

There were 8 years grammer school and 4 year High schools

You went 2 and half years for American Elementaly school's education in the camp life, so may be you have going to school at Jerome School about One year's and in Tule Lake One and Half years you attend the Grammer school

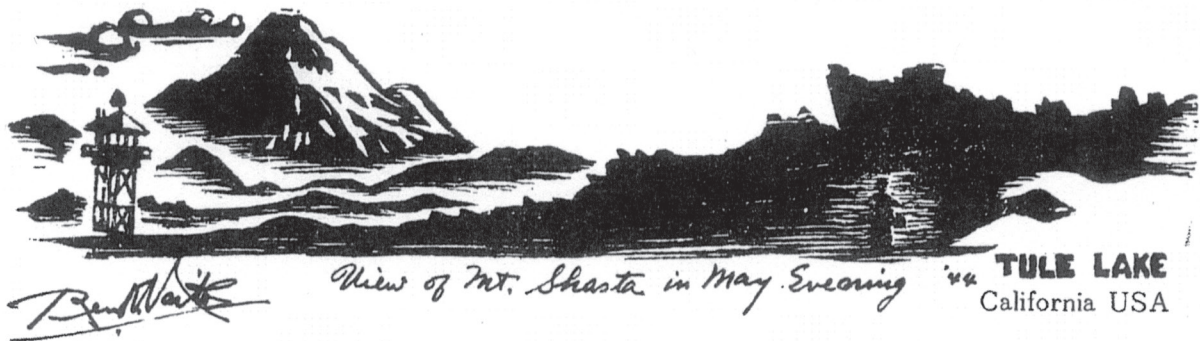
And on December 17th 1945 we came home Koloa, Kauai Hawaii, after leaving Tule lake on 30th November 1945 the special train went down to Los Angeles willminton hourbour, on the train I have worked as the Car master too.

After you came home of Koloa from January 1946 you attend Koloa School 2nd SM. of 3rd Class.

In Tule Lake Camp there were no other kind of school so as Technical or business school.

Why? I and you and your mother was planed to go to Japan at anytime OKed by authority of America, but after all over the War we changed our minds and I wrote to Commanding General, Iolani Palace Honolulu the application for return to Hawaii as shoned the attached paper, because Japan have been half brokened and nothing to eat and clothings for free living and have yet so many population that so hard live together, even though I and your mother know your big sister is in Japan, but if we Japanese want KOKUA Japan we can do it from Hawaii by any kind of matters so far to all the friends, so we after discuss I have written the application to Hawaiian Officer, and we have done all of the aims by sending Gift percels and or One of Officers for Branch Office of Japan Relief Committee of Licenced Agency of Relief for Asia of Great American Good Will Movement. It was continued about 7 years.

GLADYS NAITOH POEM: CAMP MEMORIES



CAMP MEMORIES

i remember the camp
row upon row, stark black, tarpapered barracks
standing on dirt. no grass, no trees, just dirt.

how many barracks to a city block you say;
i don't remember.

ah, the bathhouse. it was a long, long building:
one side was for men, the other for women.

and in the far distance, a fence of barbed wire,
punctuated by watchtowers.

Mother warned, never, never stray from our block.
for some reason, i obeyed. i never understood,
but i obeyed.

i remember our home
one room, one door, no sink, no running water,
no bathroom- just one room.

a cot was our bed; no springs, no mattress.
the army blanket, cared for and well-loved,
so warm in winter.

one beautiful-to-our eyes potbellied stove.
it was huge, black and monstrous.
it fed on coals gathered from a communal coal pile,
a patient chore.
it, too, kept us from the bite of cold.

Gladys A. Naitoh

GUIDED QUESTIONS

OTOKICHI OZAKI



1. In the FBI report, what reason is stated for the arrest and incarceration of Otokichi Ozaki?

2. List all the camps that Ozaki was detained at following December 7, 1941, when taken from his home in Hilo, Hawai'i.

3. Compare the June 3, 1942 letter of Hideko to her husband, Ozaki, to that of the January 19, 1943 letter to him. How does Hideko's ideas change? What conditions did she and her children face in Arkansas?

4. Read the tanka poems written of the Kilauea Military Detention Camp and Sand Island internment camp. What do the poems reveal about the internees experiences at Camp Kilauea, Hawai'i?

5. What do the other poems written in Camp Jerome reveal about the internees' experiences there?

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FORM NO. 1**

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT: HONOLULU, T.H.

FILE NO.: 97-238

REPORT MADE AT: HONOLULU, T.H.

DATE WHEN MADE: 1/27/42

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 1/23/42

REPORT MADE BY: DALE R. CURTIS ka

TITLE: OTOKICHI OZAKI

CHARACTER OF CASE: REGISTRATION ACT

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: OZAKI, interned 12/7/41 by virtue of warrant of arrest issued by military authority. Hearing held on 1/9/42 before Board of officers and civilians, appointed by Military Governor, which Board recommended that Subject be interned for the duration of the war.

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent DAN M. DOUGLAS dated November 1, 1941 at Honolulu, T. H.

DETAILS: At Hilo, Hawai'i:

Subject interned December 7, 1941 upon issuance of a warrant of arrest by Lieutenant Colonel GEORGE W. BICKNELL, C-2, Honolulu, T. H., and placed at Kilauea Military Camp, Hawai'i National Park. On January 9, 1942 at Hilo, Hawai'i, Subject was given a hearing by a Board of officers and civilians appointed by the Military Governor, which Board consisted of Judge J. FRANK McLAUGHLIN, President, Mr. A. J. PORTER, Dr. MITCH RICE, and Captain LORENZO D. ADAMS, Executive and Recorder. This Board gave Subject the number I.8.N.-H.J.-1068-C. I. The purpose of this hearing was to hear evidence and made recommendations as to the internment of enemy aliens, dual citizens and citizens.

The report of the proceedings in the hearing of instant case revealed that after carefully considering the evidence presented before it, the Board finds:

1. That internee is a subject of Japan.
2. That internee is loyal to Japan and that his activities have been pro-Japanese.

In view of the foregoing facts the Board recommended "that internee be interned for the duration and after the cessation of hostilities we recommend that consideration be given to the subject of deportation of this individual. We do not see how this man can ever become loyal to the United States of America, and we do not believe that his children will ever be brought up as Americans."

In view of the foregoing recommendation that Subject be interned for the duration of the war and by authority of the Special Agent in Charge this case is being closed.

- C L O S E D -

Ozaki, Otokichi, 1904 - 1983

Papers, 1927- 1988

Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i (JCCH) Resource Center Archival
Collection 1
7 linear feet

Abstract:

The Ozaki papers cover the internment experience of the Otokichi Ozaki family of Hilo, Hawai'i, during World War II, as well as post-war reflections on internment and Mr. Ozaki's interests in other areas such as movies, song lyrics, and poetry. Included in the collection are personal correspondence, lists of various internment camp internees, internment camp newspaper issues, poetry, song lyrics, radio scripts, reflection notes, news articles, as well as some internment photos and sketches.

One of the strengths of the collection is the more than 350 tanka poems written by Mr. Ozaki during internment; they contribute an insider's perspective during a key period in American history. Another is the set of Mrs. Ozaki's letters received throughout the time the couple were separated (1941-1944). Yet another is the radio script series (beginning in 1950) which seems to be based on diaries Mr. Ozaki may have kept.

The majority of items are in Japanese. A growing number of papers are being translated into English. The papers are in fragile condition. As much as possible, researchers will work with photocopies of the original materials. The collection is located at the JCCH Resource Center.

Restrictions:

There are no access restrictions on the materials, and the collection is open to all members of the public in accordance with state law. However, the researcher assumes full responsibility for conforming with the laws of libel, privacy, and copyright which may be involved in the use of this collection.

Biography:

Otokichi Ozaki was born in Ikegawa-cho, Kochi-ken, Japan on November 1, 1904, and came to the island of Hawai'i at the age of 12 to join his parents. He attended boarding school for English and completed his Japanese education at Hilo Dokuritsu Japanese School. He worked as a clerk for

the HAWAII MAINICHI newspaper from 1920 to 1923, then taught at Hilo Dokuritsu Japanese School between 1923-1941. He married Hideko Kobara, a Nisei, who was educated in Japan, and had four children, Earl, Carl, Alice and Lily. Hideko also taught at Hilo Dokuritsu Japanese School. Mr. Ozaki was arrested on December 7, 1941, and was subsequently detained at the following eight internment camps during the period of December, 1941 to December, 1945: Volcano Military Camp; Sand Island; Angel Island in San Francisco; Fort Sill, Oklahoma; Camp Livingston, Louisiana; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Jerome, Arkansas; and Tule Lake, California. He and his family were reunited in Camp Jerome and Tule Lake. He was Block Manager of Block 79 at Tule Lake and coordinated the return home of the Hawaiian group at Tule Lake in 1945.

After returning to Hawai'i, he managed his father-in-law's Blue Ocean Inn before working for the HAWAII TIMES newspaper from 1947 to 1977. He wrote under his pen name, Muin Ozaki. At age 19, he was the youngest charter member of the Ginushisha (Silver Rain Tanka Poetry Club). After the war he joined the Choon-Shisha Tanka Poetry Club, and also helped edit two tanka anthologies for Zanka Iwatani and Keiho Soga. He also did radio programs on Stations KGMB, KGU, KHON, KOHO, and KULA on O'ahu. A series of radio scripts included in the collection recounts his internment experience. In the late 1970s, he received the 6th Class Order of the Sacred Treasure from the Emperor of Japan. Mr. Ozaki died on December 3, 1983, at the age of 79.

HIDEKO OZAKI LETTER

Hilo, Hawai'i
June 3, 1942

Dear Husband,

I received on Monday your letter of May 5th, asking us to be ready to leave. I wrote you not long ago on the matter. You must have received that letter by this time. I am still of the same mind. I would like to go where you go, and I would like the children to come with me, for I believe that a family belongs together. Grandfather and Grandmother say they will remain in Hawai'i; they have no desire to go back to Japan.

It is true that I prefer to live here and have the children grow up here where they were born. If there is any possibility that you will be allowed to return, I would wait for you here. However, from what has been told me, there is slim chance of that, so I have quite decided to go with you.

Our friends, when I discussed the matter with them, strongly urged me to remain. They feel the best thing for the children and us is to wait until this awful war ends. I have been thinking of their many arguments and I am unhappy about it. However, I am still of this mind: I shall do whatever you wish me to do.

The family is well and happy. Life goes on as usual, with Grandfather going out to work. Grandmother taking care of the children, and the children quarreling happily among themselves as ever. Sachi has learned to sleep alone without her father, and Yurichan has not once been ill these many months. I am working now, as I told you.

Please write as often as you can. There is so little news of the kind we want to hear.

Your friends send their good wishes, and we all send you our love and prayers.

Your wife,
Hideko

LETTER FROM HIDEKO OZAKI



Translated Letter from Hideko Ozaki to Her Husband Otokichi Ozaki
JCCH Collection

January 19, 1943

We are finally here in Arkansas, but we are disappointed that we cannot join you as we had presumed would be the case. The children feel that I made a foolish decision in coming here, and I cannot disagree. It would have been so much simpler if we had remained in Hawai'i.

We were not prepared for the cold weather and promptly came down with the sniffles. Sachi developed a skin rash that caused itching and kept both of us awake at night. Yuri seems to have fared the best among the children, even on board the ship.

What a difficult time we had in disposing of our assets on 3-days' notice. We begged for an extension but were told that everyone, even the elderly, had to leave. The bulky items were sold and the rest given away or destroyed. Mr. Kataoka's son will handle the sale of our property.

The cold weather seems to have caught everyone by surprise. I ordered \$100 worth of warm clothing immediately. There is not even a rag on the premises, so I also mail-ordered pots and pans and cleaning items. What a terrible inconvenience.

Thank you for the telegram. I was too ill to go out. The others here are making arrangements to visit their loved ones, but I doubt I can travel with four children, so I shall wait a while.

You should be receiving some money from Mr. Kataoka. The \$300 I brought with me will not go far, but I have already made necessary arrangements, so you need not send me any. However, we need geta clogs badly, and since you are making them for camp residents, I would appreciate some. Please send candy, too, if possible. The children often ask for it, but none is available here.

School is in session, but the children stay home on very cold days. They will probably adjust to the weather in time, but Sachi and Yuri complain loudly as they follow me around. I only hope we can remain healthy since many here have fallen ill.



POEMS
BY OTOKICHI OZAKI

AT THE VOLCANO INTERNMENT CAMP

I look around
The hushed darkness
In which I am settling-
I hear a familiar voice
And feel comforted, for now.

yami ni narete
miwatasu naka ni
kiki nareshi
hitogoe arite
mazu ochitsukinu

As if to relish
Each step I take.
On this great earth,
I walk-
To the mess hall.
The only walk allowed.

shokudo ni
kayou nomi fumu
daichi nari
ajiwau gotoku
fumite ayumeri

KILAUEA MILITARY DETENTION CAMP

The days of imprisonment
Approaches two months.
The coolness
Of the volcano evening
Brings winter rains.

Kankin mo
futatsuki to narinu
Reiki semaru
kazan no yube
ame furi idenu

The slashing rain stings my face.
Each breath turns white,
This cold morning in military camp.

Yoko naguri ni
Tataki tsukeru ame wa
Kao ni itashi
Haku iki shiroki
Eisho no asa

UNTITLED

Word comes
For the move
To Sand Island.
I am not moved
One way or other.

Sunajima ni
ido su to yu
sono koe ni
Doni demo nare to
kokoro ugokazu

The sound of footsteps
In the wet sand
Signals
The approaching sentry
And his shining bayonet.

Nyusa wo
fumu oto no shite
meguri kuru
hoshō o ken no
kirari hikareru

UNTITLED

Food has become
Our only pleasure.
There is nothing
To look forward to
Except our three meals.

Kuu koto yori
hoka ni tanoshimi no
naki mi nari
tada sore nomi wo
tanoshimi to seri

My elderly roommate
Wonders aloud,
“Will that day come
When I may have a bowl
Of tasty miso soup?”

Doshitsu no
okina wa kataru
itsu no hi ka
harete misoshiru no
ajiwau hi ari ya to

UNTITLED

I bid farewell
To the faces of my sleeping children.
The car travels into
The cold, black-out night.
Destination unknown.

Ko no negao ni
wakarete samuku
shoto no
kuruma wa hashiru
izuko tomo shirazu

UNTITLED

The bitterness in my heart
Will not melt.
My first words with my wife
In three long months
Do not change my feelings.

Mune ni arishi
katamari tokenu
Mitsuki buri ni
tsuma to katarite
omou koto nashi

UNTITLED

Why internment
For American citizens
Of Japanese ancestry?

Naniyue ni
Toraware kishika
Sono naka ni
Nikkei shimin no
Amata naraberu

JEROME LOCATION CAMP

Twenty or so Christmas lights
Glow in the mess hall,
Allowing but a wee feeling
Of the jolly season.

Shokudo ni
Niju amari
Denki tsuke
Rarenu
Kurisumasu kinu to
Hono kanji tsutsu



GUIDED QUESTIONS: LIFE BEHIND BARBED WIRE BY YASUTARO SOGA

1. On pages 29-33 and 63-65, how does Yasutaro Soga describe his internment experience on Sand Island? What were the day to day conditions and treatment like for the internees?

2. On pages 50-51, how does Soga describe the meals at Sand Island compared to the diet he was conditioned to?

3. On pages 76-83, Soga describes the difference between the mainland Japanese and what they endured compared to the Hawai'i Japanese internees. Explain the "heavy burden of mainland Japanese" and the relationship of the mainland and Hawai'i Japanese internees.

4. On pages 170-172, what conflict arose in the Tule Lake internment camp? Why did the kibeï openly struggle with loyalty issues in Tule Lake?

5. Compare Soga's internee experiences of Sand Island and that of Lordsburg, Santa Fe, or Tule Lake. What was similar about the Hawai'i internees' experiences and mainland experiences? What was different?

EXCERPT FROM LIFE BEHIND BARBED WIRE

BY YASUTARO SOGA



CHAPTER 2 SAND ISLAND DETENTION CAMP PP. 27-28

The stories of those arrested were all different. It seems that much depended on the discretion of the military police, policemen, or FBI agents who made the arrest. Generally speaking, in cases where the officer in charge was either a Chinese or a Korean, treatment seemed unnecessarily harsh. The Immigration Office was located near Pearl Harbor, so it was reasonable to expect the staff there to be entirely unsympathetic to enemy aliens. The manner of the military police toward us was such that anything could have happened. I was prepared for the worst.

At mealtimes, we lined up single file and were led to a backyard under the strict surveillance of military police. Anyone who stepped out of line came face to face with the point of a bayonet. At the entrance to the yard, each of us got a mess kit and food. Then we sat down on the ground and ate. Although there was a covered rest area nearby, we were forbidden to use it. Even if the ground was wet or it had begun to rain, we were forced to eat sitting on the ground. After ten or twenty minutes, we were taken back to the room. We were not allowed an occasional breath of fresh air or exercise at all. Of course we had to wash our own utensils. After we returned to our room, a few of us were called in turn and ordered to clean our area and the toilets.

On the very first morning, a cocky young MP, apparently fresh from the mainland, ordered us around like dogs with his bayonet. Once, with the blood surging in my veins, I was on the verge of throwing a dish at him, but at the last moment I regained my composure. Mr. Matsui, the general manager of Pacific Bank, was in front of me and also pale with anger. Later I found out that he and I had shared the same violent impulse. It was good that we endured the MPs' insults. If we had given in to our anger, we would have been run through—gored like potatoes—and would have died needlessly. Given my circumstances, I could not complain about the unpalatable food or the dirty tableware. However, some things were extremely unpleasant. Hawaiian, Portuguese, and sometimes

Chinese and Nisei convicts did menial work at the Immigration Office and had their meals in the yard before us. We were forced to clean our tableware in the dirty water left from their washing. Thus even convicts belittled us.

On the morning of the third day, December 9, about half of us were loaded into covered trucks in groups of twelve. I was among those taken. We were driven to Pier 5 and directed aboard a big scow. Machine guns and bayonets surrounded us. I thought we were being sent to Lana'i or Moloka'i, but shortly thereafter we tied up at Sand Island. In the old days, Sand Island had been called Sennin Koya (shack for a thousand people) because quarantined immigrants were housed there. Later it became the U.S. Quarantine Station and was put under military control.

CHAPTER 2 SAND ISLAND DETENTION CAMP PP. 29-33

SAND ISLAND lies just a short distance away from Honolulu. From the pier, we walked for about thirty minutes before we were lined up in front of the barracks. The 35th U.S. Army Regiment Commander, who was responsible for the security of the area, addressed us: "The United States and Japan are at war. I am aware of the outstanding characteristics of the Japanese, but you are now detainees. In due time each of you will get a hearing. Some of you may be released while others may be detained during the war. You are not criminals but prisoners of war. Thus we will treat you equally in accordance with military rules." His demeanor was pleasant enough, but I felt uneasy when I heard the phrase "prisoners of war."¹

In one of the barracks we were ordered to take off our clothes and were thoroughly searched; they even checked the soles of our shoes. My wristwatch and the small book in my pocket were confiscated. We

¹I. The captain was identified by Patsy Sumie Saiki as John J. Coughlin of the 111th Military Police Company. This unit could have been anached to the 35th Regiment, as written here. See Saiki's *Ganbare! An Example of Japanese Spirit* (Honolulu: Kisaku, Inc., 1982), p. 30.

hardly escaped with our fountain pens, pencils, and handkerchiefs. As for our living quarters, there was only one dining room and one building for showers and toilets in a fifteen-acre wilderness. Both were concrete; nearby there were a few small tents. We immediately began pitching more tents under the supervision of soldiers. After a quick meal, we continued working feverishly at this unaccustomed task. Night came, but lights were not allowed. It also began to rain. We had to assemble one tent for every eight people, about twenty tents in all, and set up army cots in each tent. It was not easy work. Soaked with rain and sweat, I think we completed the work at around nine o'clock that night. Just before we finished, a second group arrived from the Immigration Office. Among them was the frail, elderly owner of the Komeya Hotel, who had fainted on the dark camp road and had to be carried in by the others. That night, like sewer rats, we slept just as we were.

On the morning of the tenth, camp life began in earnest. We were granted conditional autonomy. About 160 men were divided into four companies of 40 each, with a commander. Each company was further divided into four squads of 10 men, including a squad leader. Finally, a battalion commander was elected as our liaison with the military authorities. No one was eager to take on the task, but Mr. George Genji Otani volunteered. The commanders were Mr. Sasaki, the principal of Makiki Japanese Language School; Mr. Kimura, the branch manager of Nippon Yusen Kaisha; and Mr. Harry Shiramizu and Mr. Kensaku Tsunoda, English reporters for the Nippu Jiji. Mr. Kawasaki of Dai-jingu was chosen as secretary.

Every morning and evening we lined up for roll call and companies received assignments for kitchen, toilet, and general cleaning jobs in turn. Mr. Otani, our battalion commander, was given the nickname "Admiral" by the military personnel, possibly because he had once been a sailor. We elected our own officers, but given our conditional autonomy, they first had to be approved by the authorities. We were forced to find replacements for those who were rejected. A few days after our arrival, the regimental commander in charge was suddenly reassigned and Captain E succeeded him.²

"The Okano Incident"

Captain E, the newly appointed commander, was formerly a chief inspector at the Honolulu Customs Office, where he was known as a faultfinder. The

outgoing camp commander, a career military officer, told us that his successor was one of the toughest men in Honolulu. Captain E's attitude toward us was indeed very stern. We could accept someone who administered rules strictly but fairly. Captain E, however, intentionally made mountains out of molehills and deliberately presented a defiant attitude to irritate us. After he assumed command, a series of unpleasant incidents occurred one after another in the camp. His fat and arrogant figure, walking around the camp and jangling a bunch of keys, still lingers in my memory.

The first of these was "The Okano Incident." From the beginning, we were not allowed to keep anything that might be used as a weapon: knives, scissors, shaving blades, even nails. Some of the men, however, picked up the strips of metal used to bind crates to make tongue cleaners and knives, which they secretly sharpened on stones. On the evening of December 14, several men were taken outside to work beyond the barbed-wire fence. Upon their return, one of them, a young preacher named Ryoshin Okano, was found with a handmade knife. Instantly several guards sounded alarms, surrounded him, and stripped him completely naked while brandishing their pistols at him.

It was already nightfall, but Captain E called all of us out of our tents and into the yard, where he lined us up and had us strip to nothing, leaving us at attention while guards searched our clothing. They confiscated practically everything, including fountain pens and pencils. Even in Hawai'i it gets cold at night in the middle of December. It was especially cold that winter, the year the war began. We were kept standing for a long time; a dry wind blew and we all shivered with cold. When we finally returned to our tents, we found all of our belongings scattered about. A handmade knife had also been found in the coat of Mr. Serizawa, a school principal from Kalihi. Although he claimed the knife was not his, he was ordered to perform hard labor for three days.

Around that time, we were assigned various chores in turn. We were also ordered to weed, pick up trash, and swat flies: There was never a free moment. Guards constantly walked between the tents. Unless you were sick, you were not allowed to remain in your tent. We were forced to exercise twice a day. If more than three of us gathered to talk, we were yelled at and ordered to disperse. (When the Reverend Kuchiba;

²According to Saiki, "Captain E" was Carl F. Eifler. See Ganbare! p. 32.

Mr. Matsuda, the branch manager of Yokohama Specie Bank; and another man were seen talking together, they were obliged to carry picks and shovels to an area outside the barbed-wire fence and dig for unexploded ordnance.) We were not allowed paper or pencils or newspapers. At night there was no light. Even if we wanted to smoke, matches were forbidden at night. After dinner, from eight o'clock on, we could not leave our tents except to go to the toilet. If you were on your way to the toilet at night and a guard suddenly ordered "Stop!" you had to answer "Prisoner!" immediately. If you kept silent, you could be shot dead.

Our Status is Corrected

The newly appointed army commander in Hawai'i, Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, came to Sand Island for an inspection as soon as he arrived here. I think it was around December 20. He was a small but capable-looking man. On the twenty-second, his assistant announced: "You are neither criminals nor prisoners of war but merely detainees. Thus you are not governed by military rules. However, we would appreciate it if you would show respect when our flag is lowered at sunset." Up to that point, we had been regarded as prisoners of war. We had all thought the designation a strange one, and I think Commander Emmons noted it upon his arrival. On the other islands, we would have been considered detainees from the start. It seems that only the military authorities in Honolulu had thought otherwise. Once our status was changed, the tight grip on us loosened.

There were eight cots to a tent, and only a minimum of personal articles was allowed. Suitcases, trunks, and other items that we had brought with us were kept in a separate storage area. It was very humid in the tents because there was no flooring: Cots were placed directly on the ground, and the two blankets allocated to each of us were often damp by morning. When it rained at night, water sometimes flowed into the tents. Those who suffered from hemorrhoids or arthritis were especially affected by the damp. We lived in tents for six months before barracks were built.

Although Honolulu was within plain view, we were at first denied any contact with our families and the outside world. Our present conditions were never communicated to others beyond the barbed-wire fence. This tiny island, separated from O'ahu by a narrow stretch of water, was a world unto itself. On both sides there was much speculation. In the camp

rumors persisted that so-and-so had been shot dead or run through with a bayonet. Living under these circumstances was enough to drive anyone crazy.

Most of the men had arrived with only the clothes they were wearing at the time of their arrest. It was December and sandstorms raged constantly, which seemed appropriate in a place called "Sand Island." Behind the barbed wire we shivered with cold. At the time, we did not know what was going to happen to us and did not want to die unseemly deaths, so we slept in our clothes. Because we did not have any spare clothing, we washed our underwear and outer garments alternately. Dr. Takahashi tied up the torn sleeve of his overshirt with string. Mr. Taichi Sato was without a coat and was wearing only a pair of slippers when he was arrested. He did not have a handkerchief, so I gave him one of mine. He kept the handkerchief even after it had become tattered, saying it was a good memento. There are many such stories of people helping one another in small ways. All of a sudden we went from being "haves" to "have-nots." We endured many harsh and bitter experiences on Sand Island, but when we reflect on them now, we find much cause for laughter too. Many comical situations resulted from our having to adjust to a world without women.

Cigarette Hell

Although liquor was forbidden in the camp, the military is always compassionate toward cigarette smokers, so a small amount of Bull Durham tobacco and cigarettes were distributed. Most of us, however, were not allowed to have matches; only commanders could keep a few at a time. So while drinkers resigned themselves to living without liquor, smokers developed a stronger craving for cigarettes here in the camp, where there was no other pleasure. Due to the permanent shortage of cigarettes, seven or eight people would take turns smoking one cigarette. When that proved inadequate, they collected discarded cigarette butts, broke them up, then rerolled and smoked them, just like the Portuguese boys who scavenged for butts on the street. When cigarette paper was not available, they used toilet paper. Matches were split in two and later used as toothpicks. These people had lived respectable lives outside; here they were beyond all sense of shame. While in the camp, I clearly saw what it was like to be trapped in "cigarette hell." I had been a smoker in the old days, but more than ten years had passed since I stopped. I did want a puff once in a while and, given my dreary situation, I was tempted to smoke

again. “Bad” friends also tempted me. Nevertheless, I stubbornly abstained from smoking throughout my four-year internment. I consider it to my advantage that I did and regard my obstinacy as a source of pride.

Somewhat apart from our camp lived seventy to eighty German and Italian detainees. We were prohibited from visiting each other, and conversation between the groups was discouraged. The mess hall chief was German, and his assistant and the other KP workers were Japanese. The food served was completely Western. For Japanese, there was too much fat and too few vegetables and fruits. I was accustomed to having fruit at every meal and liked vegetables, so the meals here pained me the most. Some spiteful guards forced us to eat what was left on our plates and watched us as we ate. They carefully monitored the amount of food we threw in the garbage can. If we threw out too much, they objected. There were instances when some ill-natured guards made whoever had thrown out leftovers eat them there, right in front of them. Every morning the authorities checked the toilets and other places that had been cleaned, even the beds. They were very strict; we were not allowed to use the toilets or showers until inspection was over.

CHAPTER 2 SAND ISLAND DETENTION CAMP PP. 50-51

Meals at Sand Island and the Japanese POWs

It was not unusual for meals at Sand Island to reek of butter since Japanese ingredients were unavailable and our cook was German. However, coffee with every meal and the military standard fare, pork and beans, served on a regular basis, were simply intolerable. Worse, the coffee was coffee in name only, smelling like medicine at times. Some said it was added to control a young soldier’s hormones. We could not abide coffee with every meal, so we asked for tea at least at dinnertime. The reply was, “No use asking for luxuries. Can’t get it.”

At the end of 1941, soon after the war began, we did have a good supply of foodstuffs for a while. Information on the boxes delivered to the mess hall indicated that they had been rerouted because the Philippines were now occupied by Japan. Vegetable and fruits, however, remained scarce, especially on Sand Island. Vegetable gardens sprouted outside the fences and volunteer workers tended them every day under

guard. Once the vegetables began to appear, workers were prohibited from taking them back to the tents. Nevertheless, small radishes or a few greens were hidden in hats and smuggled in. We were so starved for fresh food, we devoured them. You see, eating was our only pastime, so whenever there was anything left over, young people took turns finishing it off. There was a brave young man who ate three lunches one day.

There were about fifty Japanese POWs at Sand Island. Ensign Kazuo Sakamaki, known as “POW No. 1,” was incarcerated in front of the women’s barracks and was completely shut off from everyone. Second Lieutenant S, head of the office, delivered his meals three times a day accompanied by a guard. Later, Mr. Aisuke Shigekuni of Windward O’ahu volunteered to tend to his needs, but no conversation was permitted. Ensign Sakamaki was the lone survivor of the two-man midget submarine attack on a Kaneohe naval base on December 7. The name “Kazuo Sakamaki” was clearly inscribed on the senninbari.³

News from the outside world seldom reached us. Once in a while newly arrived internees brought word of a Japanese victory. We were eager to inform Ensign Sakamaki, but had no way of doing so until some brave volunteers who worked outside the barbed wire began relaying news to him in the form of songs sung in a loud voice outside his shack. This practice made all of us nervous. Ensign Sakamaki was sent to the mainland on the first internee ship on February 21, 1942. Of the Japanese POWs who had been brought to Sand Island, nine went to the mainland on the fourth ship and forty-three on the sixth ship.

Ensign Sakamaki caused no trouble while he was incarcerated on Sand Island. However, when the authorities began assigning work to POWs who arrived after Ensign Sakamaki, they met with resistance. POWs were required to stand still when the flag was taken down in the evening, but the Japanese prisoners would often run into their tents as soon as they heard the bugle. Speaking of the bugle, its sound was always accompanied by that of a howling dog whenever the flag was hoisted in the morning or taken down in the evening in front of the Thirty-fifth Regimental Headquarters. We wondered why, and later learned that the dog had been left behind by a bugler who was said to have died honorably in battle. This is one of the tragic tales of the war.

³A senninbari was a stomach band decorated with a thousand French knots, each one embroidered by a different woman; it was a talisman to ensure a Japanese soldier’s safe return. [Source: Naoko Shibusawa.]

CHAPTER 2

SAND ISLAND DETENTION CAMP

PP. 62-65

An Embarrassing Gift

Six months after we arrived at Sand Island, four barracks were hastily built. They were two-story buildings, thirty feet wide and eighty feet high, made of rough lumber. They had no ceilings. Internees who had been contractors before the war estimated their cost at a whopping \$15,000 each. (In peacetime they would have been built for about \$3,000 to \$4,000.) On July 21, 1942, a big radio was placed in the small infirmary and speakers were installed in each of our barracks. We were grateful for the chance to hear current news and music, but the problem was that the key to the radio room was kept in the office, so sometimes jazz would be blaring long after we had had enough. Worse, the speakers in our barracks also worked as microphones, so now the office staff could hear our conversations whenever they wished. Although we had nothing to hide, we were uneasy knowing we were constantly being “watched.” The new equipment was very convenient for the staff, in that it could be used to summon any internee to the office. The PA system covered every corner of the camp, which was convenient but also a nuisance.

Sand Island is near Pearl Harbor, so all incoming and outgoing battleships passed right in front of the camp. Once in a while, badly damaged aircraft carriers or battleships had to be towed in. We could clearly tell how many ships left Honolulu Harbor, how many were in the convoy accompanying them, and so on. Mr. Matsujiro Otani was our unofficial “ship spotter” because he spent much of his time in the infirmary, which faced the sea. Whenever a group was slated to be sent to the mainland, internees would watch the ships leaving the harbor and speculate on the one that might carry them to their destination.

The Characteristics of Japanese

We Japanese like to be clean, and we were really thankful when we had clean showers. At the Immigration Office, guards watched the shower room while six or seven of us had to wait, naked, for our turn. The shower was limited to three minutes per person. If you were flustered even a little, you could easily find yourself jumping out of the shower with soap bubbles still clinging to your body.

During my four-year camp life I experienced my fill of the shortcomings among us Japanese, but I also rediscovered some characteristic virtues. (Being interned with Germans and Italians also made it easier to draw comparisons.) Generally speaking, Japanese obey rules and their superiors and are clean and diligent. These characteristics were clearly evident in the camps. After ten or so female internees were transferred to Sand Island, the fastidious Captain E gathered us together and announced: “Japanese are cleaner than Germans, and Japanese women even more. Among those recently transferred from the Immigration Office, the German and Italian women failed to tidy up, while the Japanese women put everything in order.” When I heard this, I felt very proud. It should be remembered that however difficult our lives were, we Japanese were able to keep our wits about us and make the most of things. Despite our limited circumstances and surroundings, we retained our ability to appreciate beauty. We were not allowed to keep knives and did not have any materials or tools, but we expressed ourselves artistically by using materials which had been discarded or found. These aspects of the Japanese character are especially praiseworthy.

Sand Island is basically a coral reef. Small pieces of coral broken by the wind and waves are scattered everywhere and come in many colors and shapes. Someone began collecting these to create beautiful patterns and pictures on the ground along or in front of the tents. Looking at them, I recalled my childhood days when I saw street artists in Asakusa, Tokyo, skillfully spraying colored sand on the ground to form pictures, patterns, and letters. Soon coral artwork became popular in the camp. Lieutenant E, who appreciated the artistic expression of Japanese, showed the paintings to the mayor and other government officials as well as military personnel who often visited the camp. The most unforgettable of these works of art was Mr. Shuji Mikami’s creation entitled “Dog Show.” He used pieces of coral in their natural form to depict dogs in various positions. The result was so pleasing that if I had had a camera, I would certainly have taken a picture of it. Later, shell work became all the rage: Many shells scattered on the ground were used to make ornaments.

It was simple to make go and Japanese chess boards with thick surplus cardboard. Although chessmen were also simple to construct, go stones were a bit more difficult. At first internees dried orange skins, cut them

into round pieces, and used the inner skin for white stones and the outer for black. Later they chiseled out pieces from sheets of tin roofing or used dried mixed cement and painted the pieces with India ink and white paint or flour paste. Anyone was able to make clogs and straw sandals.

Leaving Sand Island

We were not allowed to keep watches because it was feared that we would use them to bribe the guards. However, without a watch, life was very inconvenient—even in the camp. I used to guess the time by looking at the length of the shadow cast by my tent. Finally Dr. Takahashi made a sundial on the ground in front of our area. Although he did not have access to any special materials or tools, he created a highly sophisticated device which everyone found very useful. Dr. Takahashi was an amateur navigator and well versed in astronomy. When the night sky was very clear over Sand Island, we often gathered around him to listen to stories about the stars we could see right above us. With my nearsightedness, I had never seen the Southern Cross before and did not know much about it. Thanks to the doctor I now remember it well.

Having to carry a wet soap bar in one hand is such a bother; many of us did not own a soap case. Someone came up with the idea of drilling a hole in the center of the soap so a thread could be passed through it, making the soap easily portable. Another good idea was simply to use an empty Durham tobacco bag. When inconvenienced, one manages to find a solution. Anything discarded can be useful. As they say, “Necessity is the mother of invention.”

Internees discovered hundreds of pieces of old tin roofing from buildings used to house the nearly one thousand contract laborers who had immigrated to Hawai‘i about forty years before. Some of them were inscribed in black ink with people’s names, birthplaces, and even destinations such as the names of other islands and plantations. I thought these would later be invaluable to historians and wanted to take pictures of them, but I could do nothing.

At Sand Island every kind of military aircraft roared over our heads from dawn to midnight. We could hear anti-aircraft guns firing at floats being pulled by airplanes and coastal guns blasting at targets at sea. We did not know when Hawai‘i would again be turned upside down. We often thought that if and when that time came, we all had to be prepared for death.

There was not a single book among us at Sand Island. The office staff loaned us old magazines published six months before the Pearl Harbor attack. Most of them were mediocre, but *Readers’ Digest* was very informative, and I never became bored with one of Sinclair Lewis’ long novels, which normally I would never have read. Later, pocket books and magazines were sold at the canteen. An English-Japanese dictionary that would have sold for a dollar before the war was priced at an exorbitant two dollars. It was unfortunate for those who read only Japanese that such printed books were prohibited in the camp.

On July 27, 1942, Mr. Yoichi Kagimoto, forty-eight years old, born in Yamaguchi prefecture, died suddenly. He was the second victim. He was the oldest of three brothers, all interned. At this time, conditions in the infirmary were again called into question.

On the morning of August 5, 1942, the fifth group of internees (to which I belonged) was ordered to the mainland. I immediately wrote letters of farewell to Shigeo and others at home. The day before I left, I asked Dr. Mori to give my wife the ninety poems I had composed while in the camp. I felt like the aimless wanderer in the old Japanese tales. I carried a suitcase in each hand and asked a young man to carry the big barracks bag for me. When we passed in front of the women’s barracks, they called out, “Good luck!” I heard Mrs. Mori say, “Mr. Soga, be strong.” A tear fell in spite of myself. We boarded ship at four o’ clock that afternoon.

CHAPTER 5 LORDSBURG CAMP PP. 76-83

Work Beyond the Barbed Wire and a Strike

The 247 internees of the third Hawai‘i group entered Lordsburg on June 18, 1942, before the facilities were completed. They arrived with internees from Alaska and California who had come from Sam Houston Barracks in Texas. Then the following groups arrived: thirty-nine internees of the fourth Hawai‘i group on July 5; forty-nine of the fifth group on August 29; twenty-eight of the sixth group on October 28, accompanied by forty-three Japanese POWs and thirty-five internees from the mainland; and twenty-three of the seventh group on October 28. The internees of the eighth through tenth groups were sent

to Santa Fe Camp. Before the arrival of our group on August 29, there were two serious incidents. The first was an internee strike against forced labor outside the camp; the second, the violent deaths of Mr. Kobata and Mr. Hirota Isomura, which later resulted in a hearing. The aftertaste of these two incidents was still lingering when we arrived a few months later.

Chronology of events leading up to the strike:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| June 18 | Third Hawai'i group and Alaska-California group arrive and form Third Battalion Tenth Regiment with Mr. Sotaro Kawabe as mayor |
| Jun 19 | Work order issued |
| June 20 | 140 internees arrive and form Third Battalion Ninth Regiment with Mr. Yaeju Sugimachi as mayor |
| June 20-26 | Two mayors submit protest letter; no response. Two mayors submit second letter; no response |
| June 26 | 177 internees arrive and form Third Battalion Eleventh Regiment with Mr. Geji Mihara as mayor. |

Mr. Mihara claimed that, based on his experience at a previous camp and his knowledge of the Geneva Convention, internees did not have to work beyond the barbed wire. The military authorities and internees began to discuss the matter. In the meantime, the internees of the ninth and tenth regiments continued to work on both sides of the fence.

On July 14, the authorities ordered the newspaper office shut down and radio broadcasts stopped. All internees were given a physical and divided into three groups: L, O, and H. Those designated "L" were fit for light work, "O" were too old, "H" were healthy. On July 23, so-called antimilitary internees, including Mayors Kawabe, Sugimachi, and Mihara, and Chief Secretary Yano, were placed under double confinement. Guards were placed at the entrance of their barracks and they were prohibited from leaving.

A request for help to the Spanish embassy in Washington, which represented Japanese interests in the United States during the war, brought Spanish

consul Garay and State Department representative Young to the camp. They met and talked with the mayors and those in confinement. Consul Garay assured the internees that he would inform the State Department of their interpretation of the Geneva Convention and asked that, pending the former's decision, they follow the commander's order to the extent their health would allow. The internees accepted the consul's offer, the strike was called off, and the confined internees were released on August 15.

The Heavy Burden of Mainland Japanese

After living with mainland Japanese, I noticed their backgrounds and circumstances were very different from ours. Of course there were exceptions but, generally speaking, those of us from Hawai'i were firmly established in our new country and were well settled, while for the most part mainland Japanese worked seasonally as agricultural laborers and moved from place to place. In dealing with Americans, Hawai'i Japanese were friendly and cooperative, while those from the mainland were not. The living standard for Japanese in Hawai'i improved considerably before the war. This was not the case for Japanese elsewhere: I understand that many living in the more rural parts of the mainland could not afford curtains for their windows. I found this difficult to believe, but it seems to be true. I once overheard a conversation between two prominent internees from the mainland. I doubted my ears when I heard one of them ask, "Were you ever invited to dinner at the home of an American?" To someone from Hawai'i, hearing such things was quite a shock.

In March 1942, four months after the war had begun, 119,000 Issei and Nisei living in California, Oregon, and Washington were forced to move inland by order of Lieutenant General Dewitt, commander of the Western Defense Area. Rumors had been circulating that Japanese living on the West Coast were very active in espionage. In Los Angeles alone there were six thousand members of the Nippon Butoku-kai (Japan Martial Arts Association). According to some, the 1,600 Japanese fishermen living in San Pedro were poised for military action against the United States.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, anti-Japanese factions persuaded military and judicial authorities to order people from their homes and businesses. The hardship and injustice they suffered during the sudden

evacuation were beyond our imagination. Quite a few Jews took advantage of unlucky Japanese and secretly paid next to nothing for furniture and other goods. Items stored in warehouses and other assets were either broken or stolen. The wickedness of these people became apparent.

Japanese were chased from their land and their homes and herded like sheep into ten relocation camps in states beyond or near the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They were first lodged at fifteen temporary assembly centers built on horse racetracks in California and neighboring states. The resulting confusion was disastrous. After hearing the many tragic stories of Mainland Japanese, I felt that we in Hawai'i had a comparatively easy burden to bear.

Internees from the mainland were more rebellious than those from Hawai'i. From the point of view of Americans, this kind of behavior was seen as extremely disloyal but, given the pitiful circumstances under which Mainland Japanese were placed, it was to be expected. I would not be exaggerating if I said that part of the responsibility for the recalcitrance of these internees rested on the United States government. Japanese in Hawai'i were very lucky in comparison. Throughout the war, most were allowed to live comfortably and keep their businesses. For this we must thank Lieutenant General Emmons, a fair and intelligent man, who was commander in Hawai'i when the war broke out.⁴

The Relationship Between Internees from the Mainland and Those from Hawai'i

When the first and second Hawai'i groups came into contact with internees from the mainland, they were generally considered inferior. (By the time I arrived at Lordsburg, this was no longer the case.) Japanese from Panama and South America were also held in low esteem, so they felt much closer to internees from Hawai'i. Japanese resent being discriminated against, but they themselves are prone to "closing ranks" to exclude others. Few ethnic groups exhibit this kind of behavior: it is definitely one of the shortcomings of Japanese. Those from the mainland had suffered greatly under anti-Japanese policies and regulations, so they tried, consciously or unconsciously, to gain satisfaction by excluding those whom they considered to be "outsiders"—Japanese from Hawai'i, Panama, and South America.

After we had lived together for a while, the mainlanders began to think better of us. Hawai'i people often took the lead in promoting events and participated in many camp activities: theatricals, exhibitions, and sports, including sumo and softball. They began to realize we were fairly strong in not only number but also character. We received monthly remittances of fixed amounts from home and were the best customers at the canteen (camp store), which gave us a certain amount of clout. What we hated most was being blamed by mainlanders whenever something went wrong. But in general we were not reproached and maintained a good reputation in the camps. I think this was due to our strong willpower.

Internees from the mainland were often paroled early, especially those from the eastern United States. Mr. Kiyoshi Kawakami of Washington, D.C., and Mr. Ryusaku Tsunoda of New York were interned at the start of the war and paroled in March of the following year. Others were released one after another during my time at Lordsburg through the beginning of my internment at Santa Fe. Several mainland internees were moved to other centers or to free zones under special permission or with guarantors. Mainlanders greeted one another daily with "Haven't you had your hearing yet?" or "When are you going to be paroled?" Those of us from Hawai'i were somewhat jealous and grew disgusted after hearing these conversations over and over. The only men from Hawai'i who were paroled from Lordsburg were Mr. Seiei Wakukawa, who had appealed directly to President Roosevelt, and Rev. Sutekichi Osumi, who was given permission to leave the camp to do missionary work.

Among mainland Japanese were quite a number of illegal immigrants who had jumped ship in the San Diego area in southern California to work as fishermen or had smuggled themselves into the United States from Mexico. Lured to this land of Canaan, where honey and milk were said to be flowing, hundreds of Japanese and Chinese attempted the crossing. All along the vast, barren border lie the bones of many adventurers who failed. Swindlers offering transport to the United States for several hundred dollars would open their cargo doors while flying and dump their "shipment" in the middle of the desert without a second thought. I heard all of this from a man who lived in Mexico.

⁴Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons became commander shortly after the outbreak of World War II. He replaced Lieutenant General Walter C. Short on December 17, 1941.

As I mentioned before, some Jews took advantage of helpless Japanese who had been ordered to evacuate. A man was forced to sell a new \$200 refrigerator for a mere \$2.50 because the Jew who bought it said he had to take into consideration the money he was going to spend transporting it. Another man sold a bureau for \$5.00. Later his wife tried to retrieve the \$350 in cash that had been left in the bureau by mistake. The buyer, a Jew, refused to help her, saying the deal had been closed. Pianos valued at \$400 were sold for \$30.00. I was told there were many such cases just like these.

CHAPTER 6 SANTA FE CAMP PP. 170-72

Tule Lake

A rumor spread that more of these “shaven heads” would be arriving from Tule Lake. The reason for their transfer will become apparent once I explain the situation at the camp. There was constant trouble between authorities and internees and among the internees themselves at Tule Lake Camp. A young man, Mr. Okamoto, had been killed. The murder investigation was still in progress when a Nisei from Oregon beat up a guard in early June 1944. I think it was about this time that Mr. Jensen, the Santa Fe camp manager, had taken a five-day trip to Tule Lake regarding the transporting of a number of internees to Santa Fe. Upon his return he had commented that the trouble at Tule Lake would probably continue. When the time came for the actual transfer, the selected internees were given only an hour’s notice, then hustled off nearly half-dressed. Mr. Jensen thought the action taken was shameful, but nothing could be done about it.

Among the internees at Tule Lake, two groups that were constantly at odds with one another were the pro-Japan or “disloyal” faction and the pro-American or “loyal” faction. Such a division in thinking could be found at any relocation center or camp, but it was especially serious at Tule Lake. The pro-Japan group set up a spy ring to gather information on those who were sympathetic to the United States. They infiltrated various groups, placing certain individuals under surveillance and using gatherings to collect information about their enemies. They selected faction members who were to take direct action against the enemy through extraordinary measures. If this proved

unsuccessful, they planned to report the enemy to the Japanese government after the war. Once a person was identified as pro-American, they intimidated him by throwing human feces at his house or even boiled feces at the windows. Families were afraid of what others might think and quickly and quietly cleaned up the mess. In July 1944, after a certain Mr. Hitomi had been murdered, fear among the pro-American internees reached a panic stage. Thirteen families fled to a separate enclosed barracks, leaving everything behind. Some of the soldiers who were asked to retrieve their possessions were said to be in sympathy with the pro-Japan group, because when they went to collect one person’s belongings, they asked, “Where’s the dog’s luggage?”⁵

The internee population of Tule Lake Camp was eighteen thousand in October 1944. There were many families, so the camp resembled a town in Japan. Because there were many young girls at the camp, romances blossomed. This, fanned by an uncertain future, led to rash and impulsive behavior. Forty to fifty babies were born every month. Japanese-language schools were not allowed at relocation centers, but there were seven at Tule Lake, two of which were specifically named First National School and Second National School. Mr. Tokuji Adachi was a principal at one of the schools.

The Agony of Japanese American Soldiers and Kibei

Tule Lake Camp measured about a mile and a half on its northwest side and a mile on its northeast side. Seventy-four barracks housed two to four hundred people each. There was an administration office, hospital, schools, police station, fire station, post office, immigration office, baseball field, shops, warehouse, and graveyard. In one corner of the camp was a military barracks. There were two reservoirs nearby with a railway running parallel to them. Tule Lake is in northern California, near Oregon, so the climate is pleasant, even in winter. The hospital facilities were good, like those of a university hospital. There were five doctors, white and Japanese, including Dr. Hashiba (a brain surgeon from the mainland) and Dr.

⁵On May 24, 1944, Shoichi James Okamoto was shot to death by a guard at Tule Lake. Later, on July 2, 1944, Yaozo Hitomi, the manager of the Tule Lake coop, was killed when his throat was slit with a knife. These events were symptomatic of the continued tensions at the camp between the various factions of the internee population and the camp administration. In order to defuse tensions, various “troublemakers” were transferred to Santa Fe over the next few months, as described by Soga. See Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), and the works by Weglyn and Collins cited in n. 2.

Kazuo Miyamoto from Hawai'i. They were always shorthanded. Doctors and technicians were paid \$19.00 per month, all others \$16.00. Workers were given a stipend of \$3.50 per month for clothing.

As I mentioned earlier, the conscription of Japanese Americans was a hotly debated and sensitive topic for Issei and Nisei. The following incidents took place at Tule Lake: the mother of a soldier tearfully begged her son to kill himself on the way to the front because it would be a disgrace to their ancestors if he shot at the flag of the Rising Sun. The son answered that he would not kill himself but that he was among the three hundred Nisei soldiers who had pledged not to do battle in Japan. His mother was satisfied and let him go. In another instance, a commander wanted to send a Japanese American soldier fluent in both Japanese and English to Japan. He promised to pay him three times the usual salary. The young soldier asked the officer to consider his feelings and to send him anywhere but Japan. The commander was impressed by the young man's sincerity and agreed. These are just two instances in which the U.S. military considered and respected the feelings of Japanese American soldiers.

Internees at Tule Lake included four categories of Issei and Nisei—those who wanted to return to Japan, those who had refused to pledge their loyalty to the United States, those who were known to be disloyal at the time, and families of these men who requested cohabitation. There were about five to six thousand internees in each group. Not everyone at Tule Lake was disloyal or hostile to the United States, however. There were many whose classification had been determined by their responses to the formal questionnaire (Application for Leave Clearance). For example, when Issei were asked, "Will you pledge your loyalty to America or not?", they were often at a loss. It was an almost meaningless question for them, because they could not become U.S. citizens anyway. About 80 percent of Japanese at Tule Lake had sent their children to school in Japan or wanted to return to Japan themselves for family reasons—but they did not want to sever all ties with their second home, America. Most of the Nisei at Tule Lake had returned to the United States after being raised and educated in Japan. Not surprisingly, these Kibei could not get along in wartime America given their upbringing and education.

Given their situation, some of the Tule Lake internees openly expressed their discontent by shaving their

heads and organizing the Sokuji Kikoku Hoshidan (Immediate Return to Japan Services) and the Hokokudan (Patriots Association). The first attracted mostly Issei, the second Nisei, and trouble erupted between the organizations on one side and the authorities and other internees on the other.

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Double Field Poppies

In Hawai'i we had been blessed with flowers all year round and had taken this for granted. Here in a world without flowers, we felt dreary beyond words. In Lordsburg I cannot recall seeing a single vase of flowers; there, even the smallest wildflowers were highly prized. So what pleased me most when I came to Santa Fe were the many small flower gardens. When I took my morning and evening walks, I made it a point to visit these gardens with their flourishing purple and white mallows and irises (similar to the rabbit-ear iris); marigolds; red, white, and purple nicotiana; garden zinnias; nasturtiums; small and lovely baby's breath; crocuses; larkspur; high-standing cosmos; big and colorful dahlias; violet bachelor's button. The California field poppy, a kind of opium poppy with a white and pink background, is graceful and reminded me of a beautiful Chinese woman. It is also known as the Flanders poppy, which became well known during World War I because of a popular song. There were many other flowers besides the ones that I have mentioned. Internees volunteered to tend these gardens. They were mostly from the mainland, but there were some Hawai'i internees who were good at gardening.

The Santa Fe highlands are alive with all sorts of flowers at the end of August. I was always busy memorizing their names when I went out for a walk. Experts on gardening taught me that, to obtain seeds, flowers should be thinned when they are full bloom, and it is absolutely impossible to transplant field poppies, opium poppies, and sweet pea. One day Dr. U said to me: "You have not seen the double field poppy. You must take a look at it. The sight of one will be a souvenir of your time here when you go to paradise." I answered, "I don't want to go to paradise." "Then do you want to go to Hades?" "I would hate to go to

Hades.” “Then you want to stay in the middle?” “I am a middle-of-the-road kind of man, alive or dead.” Talking such nonsense, we went out in search of double field poppies. Yes, they are voluptuous and beautiful, but the single field poppy appeals to me more. Even a single poppy at times seems a bit too thick for my tastes, a double field poppy doubly so. As with most things, the middle of the road is best. Flowers were always scarce in the town of Santa Fe and their prices high. It was very expensive to offer flowers at funerals. Several flowers that grow in the camp turned black and withered miserably as soon as the weather turned cold.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE WWII INTERNMENT IN HAWAI‘I AND MAINLAND

DIFFERENCES—HAWAI‘I

1. Political Factors

- a. Martial Law: evacuation of internees under military order; the military immediately took over and had things under their control

2. Military Strategy

- a. Kept the Japanese community off balance with fear of being interned by continuing to pick up suspects during the course of the war, even after the Japanese community leaders were interned immediately with the outbreak of the war

3. Logistic Factors

- a. Large Japanese population (150,000) in HI
- b. Resources, such as ships, were needed for the war effort and could not be spared for mass internment

4. Economic Factors

- a. Skilled and agricultural Japanese workers were needed to maintain economy, food supply, and war effort
- b. Some plantation owners vouched to keep workers

5. Social/Political Factors

- a. Social fabric of the community
- b. Leadership had connections to the local Japanese population; many had personal connections
- c. Leadership was more pragmatic, objective, and rational about internment
- d. A more established Nisei leadership (half a generation ahead of the West Coast)

6. Political/Security Factors

- a. Emergency Service Committee and Morale Committees included Nisei
- b. Proactive relationships between the Committees and the Japanese local communities
- c. Out of fear, shut down Buddhist churches and Japanese language schools
- d. Internal monitoring of Japanese community

SIMILARITIES— HAWAI‘I AND THE MAINLAND

1. Social/Economic Factors

- a. Prejudice, anti-Japanese sentiment
- b. Japanese held an important economic niche

2. Political/National Security Factors

- a. Military strategy: selective internment took the leaders of the Japanese community first; the FBI had a list of suspects drawn up as a result of pre-war surveillance
- b. Fear for national security
- c. Challenge to civil rights
- d. Encourage patriotism

3. Cultural Factors

- a. Beliefs among the Issei (1st generation Japanese immigrants) such as shikata ga nai (acceptance with resignation, “nothing can be done”); gaman (quiet endurance)
- b. Beliefs among the Nisei (2nd generation) that they were American citizens

4. Redress

- a. Presidential apology and reparations

DIFFERENCES—MAINLAND

1. Political Factors

- a. Executive Order 9066: mass internment of all Japanese from the West Coast to inland camps
- b. Leadership was more responsive to mass internment in the name of national security

2. Social/Political Factors

- a. Small, widespread Japanese population on the West Coast
- b. Japanese didn’t have much clout; e.g. Nisei were for the most part in their teens or 20s

3. Economic Factors

- a. Japanese farmers were viewed as competition; some of their competitors favored internment; in Hawai‘i, farmers were generally irreplaceable

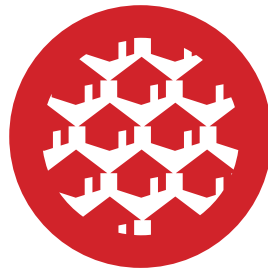
T-CHART SIMILARITIES & DIFFERENCES OF HAWAI'I & MAINLAND



Name: _____ Period: _____ Date: _____

T-Chart: Similarities and Differences of Hawai'i and Mainland Internee Experiences

Hawai'i Japanese Internee Experiences	Similarities of Both Hawai'i & Mainland Japanese Internee Experiences	Mainland Japanese Internee Experiences



LESSON FOUR

FORMULATING IDEAS



FORMULATING IDEAS 50 MINUTES

Purpose of Activity: The students will be able to weigh the information and formulate their own judgment about whether the U.S. Government had the right to incarcerate people of Japanese descent.

1. Have the students examine the underlying premise(s) of evacuating Japanese Americans based on political, social, economic, and military beliefs from the perspectives of the Japanese Americans and U.S. Government officials.
2. Best suited with a T-bar visual organizer detailing supporting evidence for each side of the issues of incarceration.
3. In the last step of the exercise, have the students write a reflection on whether or not to intern the Japanese Americans and nationals after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Students will need to justify their position based on factual information.

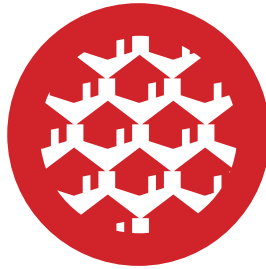


REVIEWING THE FACTS

Part I: In the T-Chart below, indicate supporting beliefs why each group felt whether the internment of the Americans of Japanese ancestry was justified or not during the aftermath of the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

	JAPANESE AMERICANS	U.S. GOVERNMENT
POLITICAL		
SOCIAL		
ECONOMIC		
MILITARY		

Part II: Using the reasons purported from the viewpoints of the Japanese Americans and the U.S. government, state and compare the different systems of beliefs in an organized essay. Finally, take a position and determine whether the U.S. government was justified in the internment of Japanese Americans.



LESSON FIVE

LOYALTY UNDENIED:
100TH BATTALION &
442ND REGIMENTAL COMBAT TEAM
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES



LOYALTY UNDENIED: 100TH BATTALION & 442ND REGIMENTAL COMBAT TEAM 50 MINUTES

Purpose of Activity: Trace the development of the 100th Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the MIS to broaden the students' knowledge and understanding about how young males enlisted in the U.S. Military as a testament to their patriotism and citizenship despite the fact that some members of their families were detained in internment camps. Students will understand how the people of Japanese ancestry responded to the negative impact of the bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i.

1. Have the students view documentaries:
 - Tom Coffin's DVD *First Battle*
 - Or the Go For Broke Educational Foundation's DVD *Tradition & Honor*
- OR - read text by Linda Menton & Eileen Tamura. *History of Hawai'i*. 1999. pages 154-155.
- Or Franklin Odo's *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II*. 2004. Pgs. 221-251.
2. Prior to reviewing the documentary, give students an overview of the content: Many servicemen (2,000) either lost their lives or were severely injured under the General Dahlquist charge in saving Texas' 230 men of the Lost Battalion. There were so many incidents of honor, loyalty, and sacrifice displayed by these men who were once classified as 4C or enemy soldiers.
3. After viewing the documentary or completing the reading(s), have students do a Quick-Write: The 100th /442nd Regimental Combat Team was the most decorated unit in American military history. In your opinion, what do you believe motivated these men to demonstrate such acts of courage under fire?

SAMPLE ASSESSMENT TASK

Quick-write: *The 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team was the most decorated unit in American military history. In your opinion, what do you believe motivated these men to demonstrate such acts of courage under fire?*

BENCHMARK RUBRIC FOR SUMMATIVE ASSESSMENT

Advanced

Identifies and describes, with clear and precise detail, the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

Proficient

Identifies and describes, with details, the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

Partially proficient

Identifies and describes, with weak details, the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

Novice

Ineffectively identifies and describes the motivation of the men who joined the 100th Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and MIS supported by primary documents.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

The following resources are related to the internment story on Kaua'i:

- Photo of Wailua Jail
- "An American Experiment"
- Sunao Fujii Records
- Sunao Fujii: Letter from the Military Governor
- Sunao Fujii: Letter of Support
- Sunao Fujii: Letters to Child
- Arigatō, Otōsan
- Osumi Kaua'i Presentation
- Haiku Poem
- "Kaua'i Outreach" Pilot Project- Bibliography

WAILUA JAIL





**DECLASSIFIED BY AUTHORITY OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 12065,
SECTION 3-402, NNDG 745037 OSD LETTER, APRIL 12, 1974, W.G.
LEWIS, NARS, 4/6/82**

The sudden outbreak of war on December 7, 1941 created in Hawaii many perplexing problems - among them the question of how to handle the Japanese population - especially the aliens. Kaua'i, like the rest of the Territory, had made no provisions for the care of those who might be interned or detained. The F.B.I. agents were immediately ordered to take into custody all so called consular agents. These were gathered as quickly as possible - but it took a couple of days to collect them together in the County Jail.

The jailer, not knowing how dangerous these men might be, kept them very closely confined, and this, together with the fact that the jail was not planned for such a large group, caused over-crowding and discomfort, and created at once health and sanitation problems. These problems were increased by the fact that many of the men were elderly and several had been under medical care and needed special treatment.

As some of our Christian workers were numbered among the group asked for a pass to visit the jail on Tuesday, December 9. The situation was most discouraging. One of our pastors was crowded into a cell, meant for three at the most, with four others. That same evening the Commanding Officer of the District together with Dr. Samuel Wallis made an inspection of the jail. The result was that Dr. Wallis presented a written criticism with suggestions as to improvements especially in regard to health and sanitation.

The next morning December 10, I was requested by the Island Coordinator, Mr. Charles J. Fern, and Lt. Col. Eugene J. FitzGerald, commanding the Kauai District, to assume the responsibility of caring for the housing, the health, and recreation, and the feeding of the detainees as a morale officer.

With the assistance of several other volunteer workers, and with the suggestion of Dr. Wallis, the Coordinator, and the Commanding Officer before us, we set to work at once to make the best of a difficult situation. Mrs. Hale Cheatham, Dietician at the Mahelona Hospital, took charge of the planning of the meals. Mrs. Arthur Acher, one of the Public Health Nurses, was most valuable in making the quarters as livable as possible and in starting some activities going. Mrs. Jardin, in charge of

occupational therapy at the Mahelona Memorial Hospital, also offered services in teaching hand crafts. Dr. Wallace Kawaoka volunteered his services as medical advisor.

Our first task was to build up a new morale. We immediately opened the iron gates and doors so that the men could move freely upstairs and down and go into the yard. We began to serve them food that was more suitable to their normal taste. We told them that they were not being held as criminals but by special order of the President of the United States. We set them all to some task of their own choosing. Many worked as carpenters building beds out of lumber we had brought in and had cut to size. Others started knitting under the direction of Mrs. William Grete and Mina McIntyre, and belt making, lauhala weaving, carving, and other hobbies under Mrs. Jardin. Still others worked in starting a garden. The elder men played games or read. Along with this we set out to secure from the homes of the men clothing, toilet articles, and other equipment that they desired to make their life more comfortable. We also acted as a channel through which both the families and the detainees might solve necessary problems and know that all was well.

A marvelous change began to appear immediately. The men began to brighten up and take a keen interest in the various things we were doing. They fixed up two blackout rooms for the long nights which we were experiencing.

Though the authorities told the detainees that they might have religious services - omitting only Shinto worship - the entire group requested the Morale Officer to hold a vesper service Sunday afternoon in the large eating tent which the Army had loaned us. At the end of this service, the Rev. Hiseki Miyasaki - made the following statement:

“On behalf of this group I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for all your kindnesses. When we were taken here last week, we thought we were coming to a hell. But in the past one week, our imagined hell has changed into a paradise. We are treated like gentlemen. We have fine meals. Our sleeping quarters have become comfortable. We have freedom. Our relatives can visit us freely and all their worries are now gone. This afternoon we were allowed to meet our visitors out on the lawn. One of the visitors said to me, ‘You are looking better and you seem to have put on weight since you came here.’

We are really touched by the American spirit of magnanimity shown by the authorities and we are truly thankful.

We wish to thank you for conducting this service and giving us real spiritual food. Arigatō.”

As soon as we had met the immediate needs of health, and food, and sanitation, and recreation, we began to construct special quarters in order to separate the detainees from the regular prisoners. The Kaua'i County engineers built us a kitchen, an outdoor toilet, a bathhouse and a hot water arrangement. Then we all turned to the new barracks which needed much attention in order to meet our special requirements. The splendid cooperation of many, including the detainees themselves who made several valuable suggestions, enabled the engineers to construct a building which was healthy, comfortable and serviceable. This was the living and sleeping quarters for the detainees. It contained two dormitories sleeping twenty-four men each in twelve double decker beds, a twenty foot square living room with tables, desks, shelves and benches and a small dispensary. In order to care for the men at night two modern toilets were installed. The building was scientifically blacked out. The detainees, who had been about evenly divided in the jail upstairs and down, asked to keep their old grouping, and so their leaders tossed a coin for the dormitories.

As far as possible we organized the group on a democratic basis. Leaders were chosen for specific tasks, such as dormitory leaders, clean up leaders, water luna, garden superintendent, carpenter supervisor, tool guardian, director of “K.P's”, and English teacher.

At first we hired some help for the cooking, but later we organized a kitchen staff and rotating squads to set dishes, prepare vegetables, etc., and wash the dishes.

At the end of December Mrs. Cheatham was forced to withdraw her assistance. For a short time Mrs. William Dennis came to our aid - but with the re-opening of the schools she could not carry it, and so we turned to the University Extension service and requested Miss Esther Ragland and Mrs. Raymond Fernandez to do this work, which they have done exceptionally well.

Except for the period when the detainees were being investigated by the Local Board, relatives have been permitted to visit on Sundays and Thursdays from 1 to 3 P.M. under military supervision. This has worked out well and kept the morale high. It has also assisted materially as laundry could be taken out and in, and certain foods and fruit brought in. As far as we can ascertain the privilege was never abused. Naturally it was all inspected and supervised.

Dr. Kawaoka came everyday and sometimes twice a day. We carefully examined every reported ailment and watched all. As one of our detainees was a hospital dispensary man, he served at all times in that capacity, and to him goes much credit for the fine health record maintained. The detainees, themselves, were quick to discover any sign of despondency and helped to overcome it.

There was no attempt to take away personal property from the detainees – and we mean by this pocket books, money, watches, knives etc. We encouraged them to live as normal lives as possible and to be as happy as the circumstances allowed. Because of the scarcity of certain foods which they were used to, we were forced to change their diet somewhat. This worked out to their advantage as it gave them a better balanced diet and encouraged them to eat foods which they often formerly did not use, and it improved their health. The appetites developed proved that even elder people can learn to eat healthier food. It might be interesting to add that we have fed this group at a cost of about 40 cents a day per person.

One operation was necessary and a number received special medical care from Dr. Hata of Kapaa and Dr. Masanaga, a dentist also from Kapaa and Dr. Wallis. One man is receiving treatment at Mahelona Hospital at stated times.

Besides developing a fine garden, the detainees carved interesting bits of art, made lauhala and banana slippers, wooden trays, built beds and shelves and did other carpentry work. One mended a boat and several chairs. They cleaned up the jail and cleared away paths along the ditch bank and the ditch itself. Sewing, knitting, typing, ironing were also activities made use of. The Lihue Library loaned books, and others games. A number have played volleyball, baseball and bowls. The three detainee women have been of great assistance in the kitchen, but at first caused considerable difficulty as there were no proper facilities for their privacy. This has been worked out satisfactorily.

When the earning power of a family is suddenly curtailed or shut off, it takes only a little while for financial difficulties to arise. In order to better study the men and assist them a card index was kept, and on this was entered special family needs and requirements. With this information as a starting point and with the assistance of Miss Bakeman and the Social Welfare staff, we have investigated many of the families and assisted them in their immediate needs. Something more permanent must be done along this line - for as time goes on very serious needs are going to develop. We should express our special thanks to Miss Alice Bakeman and her staff for their splendid cooperation and work. A number of people on the outside have been very helpful in obtaining information on the needs of these families.

The spirit of Mr. Montgomery, the warden, his staff and the guards have been splendid. The police have been cooperative and suggestive.

In our treatment of these detainees we have tried to remember that not only is there an American standard to uphold, but that there is an international agreement which calls for humane and fair treatment, and that the standard that we set may have an effect on the treatment of American nationals detained by other nations at war with us. Again we held that by maintaining a fine morale and a cooperative spirit, we have had a response that has been both creative and saving. The work of the detainees in carpentry, in the garden, and in knitting sweaters and socks for the Red Cross have been distinct contributions. All this has tended towards better health as well as morale. As a result there have been absolutely no attempts to break away or commit destruction. We feel that the experiment has proved itself to be both ideal and practical.

This is illustrated in a letter from the detainees themselves - written late in January to Lt. Col. FitzGerald by one of their number who directed their English classes and signed by all -

“We wish to extend to you our sincere gratitude for the kind and generous treatment we are receiving.

It has been a little over a month since we came here, but, due to your hospitable treatment, we have been able to spend the days as happily and pleasantly as we could under the circumstances. We have kept up a good spirit and a high morale. Though we are inconvenienced to a certain extent, none of us has so far fallen into despondency thanks to your skillful planning and kind treatment.

Among other things we are permitted to go in and out of the building freely. This gives us a sense of freedom instead of the oppressive feeling of confinement which is demoralizing. We can go outdoors and take our needed exercise in the form of playing indoor baseball, bowling, or volleyball. For the indoor activities we have games such as checkers, Chinese checkers, cards, 'Go', and 'Shogi'. The beds, chairs and other pieces of furniture were made by our own men. One of our men has become a barber and is giving us haircuts. There are quite a few who are knitting for the Red Cross, making belts, and hemstitching the kitchen towels. We have started a vegetable garden and about a dozen farmers go out daily to take care of it. The vegetables are growing nicely. We hold an English class every morning at eight o'clock. The purpose is to teach the men here to converse in English as much as possible. We have shown quite a democratic spirit among ourselves.

We are given good meals here. One of the pleasantries here is to sit together around the dining tables in the outdoor tent to partake of food tastily prepared by our own men who have turned cooks.

In a word, we are treated as gentlemen and not as prisoners. Our sincere hope is that all those who are being detained by the Japanese government are being treated just as well as we are being treated here."

On February 24, 1942 forty-five of the detainees were turned over to the Military Police to be taken to Honolulu. There are at present time twenty-four detainees at the Kauai County Jail.

See letter attached.

SUNAO FUJII: RECORDS



BASIC PERSONNEL RECORD

(Alien Enemy or Prisoner of War)

ISN - HJ - 1860 - CI
(Internment serial number)

FUJII, Sunao
(Name of internee)

Male
(Sex)

F. P. C.* 17 L 28 Wm 15
M 12 U
Reference*

Height 5 ft. 4 in.

Weight 135

Eyes Brown

Skin Yellow

Hair Black

Age 42

Distinguishing marks or characteristics:

Scar on right index finger

INVENTORY OF PERSONAL EFFECTS TAKEN FROM INTERNEE

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____



24 Nov. 1942 Hawn Dept Alien Processing Center. Honolulu, T.H.
(Date and place where processed (Army enclosure, naval station, or other place))

The above is correct:

Sunao Fujii
(Signature of internee)

WZ

Right Hand

1. Thumb	2. Index finger	3. Middle finger	4. Ring finger	5. Little finger

Left Hand

6. Thumb	7. Index finger	8. Middle finger	9. Ring finger	10. Little finger

W. D., P. M. G. Form No. 2
December 9, 1941

16-25525-1

Note amputations in proper space

* Do not fill in.

1. None - CI (Grade and arm or service)
2. None - CI (Hostile unit or vessel)
3. None - CI (Hostile serial number)
4. 3 April, 1900. Yamaguchi ken Japan (Date and country of birth)
5. Waipoli Kapaa Kauai, T.H. (Place of permanent residence)
6. Akino Fujii wife (Name, relationship of nearest relative¹)
7. Waipoli Kapaa Kauai, T.H. (Address of above)
8. 1 Wife, 4 Daughters 2 Sons (Number of dependents and relationship)
9. Waipoli Kapaa Kauai, T.H. (Address of above)
10. 17 November, 1942 (Date of capture or arrest)
11. Waipoli Kapaa Kauai, T.H. (Place of capture or arrest)
12. G - 2 Hawn Dept (Unit or vessel making capture or arresting agency)
13. Restaurant owner (Occupation)
14. Grammar school (Education)
15. Japanese very little English (Knowledge of languages)
16. Good (Physical condition at time of capture or arrest)
17. Married (Married or single)
18. Buddhist, Shinshiu sect. (Religious preference)

ADDITIONAL DATA: Examined and found free from communicable diseases:

Smallpox: 4-9-42 Reaction: **IMMUNE** Typhoid: 1st 4-9-42 2nd 4-16-42 3rd 4-23-42

H.D. Spaulnik
Capt. MC.

Transferred from	Date depart	Transferred to P. W. E.	Date received	Official signature of receiving officer	Personal effects not transferred ²
Hawaiian Department	3-2-43	Angel Island California			FUNDS ONLY Hawaiian Department

REMARKS:

¹If no relative, name person to be notified in case of emergency.
²If personal effects taken from individual are not transferred, note exceptions and place of storage or depot.

GPO 16-25525-1

201

INDIVIDUAL PAY DATA RECORD

CIVILIAN ENEMY ALIEN OR PRISONER OF WAR

1. Name Fujii, Sunao

2. Grade None (If any)
(Equivalent grade in U. S. Army)

3. Internment Serial No. ISN-HJ-1860-CI

4. Nationality Japanese

5. Date of internment or capture 17 November 1942

6. Place Kauai

7. Date of separation 2 March 1943

8. Reason Released to Mainland, Dept of Justice
(Death, release, repatriation, etc.)

9. Final payment made on Voucher No. 11462 Fy 1944, accounts of Maj. J. R. Wilkerson, FD
(Disbursing officer)

INTERMENT RECORD

From Nov 17, 1942 to Mar 2, 1943 at Detention Camp, Sand Island, T. H.
(Internment camp and location)

From _____ to _____ at _____
(Internment camp and location)

From _____ to _____ at _____
(Internment camp and location)

From _____ to _____ at _____
(Internment camp and location)

From _____ to _____ at _____
(Internment camp and location)

RECORD OF TRANSFERS

Transferred to _____ per _____
(Authority for transfer)

Departed _____ Last paid to include _____
(Station and location)

on voucher No. _____, _____, 19____, accounts of _____
(Disbursing officer)

Due U. S. for _____

Due camp canteen, _____ \$ _____; due unit fund _____, \$ _____;
(Station and location) (Station and location)

other indebtedness _____, \$ _____
(Explain):

Foregoing indebtedness entered on {P/R}* _____, 19____ (Initials)
{F/S}

AWOP from _____, 19____, to _____, 19____, inclusive.

REMARKS: _____

I CERTIFY that I have verified the foregoing entries and found them correct.

(Signature) (Name typed) (Official title)

*Strike out term not applicable.

16-31819-1

NOTE.—This form will accompany the internee's records upon transfer.

WD, PMG Form No. 20
Approved by the Secretary of War, November 21, 1942.

**SUNAO FUJII:
LETTER FROM THE MILITARY GOVERNOR**

TERRITORY OF HAWAII
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY GOVERNOR
IOLANI PALACE
HONOLULU, T. H.

In reply refer to:
HAWN. DEPT. ALIEN PROCESSING CENTER
Immigration Station.

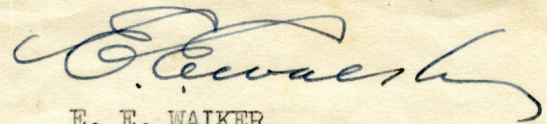
17 February 1943

Mr. Sunao Fujii, ISN-HJ-1860-CI
Sand Island Detention Camp,
Sand Island, T. H.

Dear Sir:

Please be advised that after careful consideration of your case by the hearing board and reviewing authorities, it appears necessary to intern you for the duration of the war, and your internment has been ordered by the Department Commander under date of 15 February 1943.

By Command of Lieutenant General EMMONS:



E. E. WALKER,
Major, Inf., OMG.

FOR DEFENSE



BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND STAMPS

SUNAO FUJII:
LETTER OF SUPPORT



STATION HOSPITAL
Alien Internment Camp
Santa Fe, New Mexico

October 27, 1945

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Sunao Fujii worked as assistant cook and
later as hospital orderly in our station hospital.

I would recommend him as a faithful,
willing worker who was always co-operative with
staff and interested in patients' welfare.

Henrietta Schoen

Henrietta Schoen
A.N. (R) USPHS

SUNAO FUJII: LETTERS TO CHILD

DO NOT WRITE HERE!

NICHT HIER SCHREIBEN!

NON SCRIVETE QUI!

Miss Grace Zuzuko Fujii
Kapua Kauai
P. H.

書勿

June 20 - 1944.

Dear child,

I received your Father Day's greeting on 13th. I didn't get your present on time. But I am waiting for pleasure to have it any time. I am thanks your kindness greeting and presents.

I am glad to hear that all the family were fine, and all the neighbors were kind to our family. I wish you will be good to them too. Father is very healthy and praying to God to come the peace near future in all the world peoples can make happy home again.

It is now summer realtion, so I wish you to help mother and do your homework, take care body healthy, and try to learn to be honest, kind to all the peoples. Here's weather is just like Hawaii now, soft wind blowing always.

I saw the Paul and Aurelene's pictures. I surprised they grow so big, please eye on them and don't let go out street.

I send package on 14th to you, some candy, crayon colors, Indian ornament and paul's shirt which I didn't sent last time. Please give some Aurelene, too. Your loving Father
Sunao Fujii.

MY ADDRESS IS: SUNAO FUJII, Bk-67, Santa Fe Detention Station

MEINE ADRESSE IST WIE FOLGT: Santa Fe New Mexico, U. S. A.

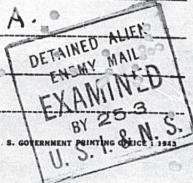
IL MIO INDIRIZZO È:

記入行:

W. D., P. M. G. Form No. 4-1
November 1, 1943

16-31605-2

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1943



書勿

NON SCRIVETE QUI!

NICHT HIER SCHREIBEN!

DO NOT WRITE HERE!

DO NOT WRITE HERE!

NICHT HIER SCHREIBEN!

NON SCRIVETE QUI!

書勿

DO NOT WRITE HERE!
NICHT HIER SCHREIBEN!
NON SCRIVETE QUI!

MISS FUSAKO FUTII
Kapa Kapa Kauai. 書勿
T. H.

June 29-1944.

Dear Child,

I received your presents to-day and glad have many things which I need daily. I thanks for the kindness presents, I am glad to have them all. Same day at evening I received your letter and Koichi letter too. which arriv on 15th & 19th. and glad to hear that all family are fine and you child helping mother. as I am very healthy and waiting for the peace and can return to home to make happy home again.

I am thanking to God which I learned many many things which people must do. if the people do the world trues may be war will not happened. God wish to help each others. if the we can do the such things trouble will not happens anymore. Father wish you all to be kind to the peoples and helping people as best as you possible.

Here is quit hot now like Hawaii. But we stayed last summer. so we didn't feel so bad we can keep on very well.

I wish you all to take care yourself. your loving
Father.

MY ADDRESS IS: Sunao Fujii, BK-67, Santa Fe Detention Station

MEINE ADRESSE IST WIE FOLGT: Santa Fe, New Mexico U.S.A.

IL MIO INDIRIZZO È:

私住所:

W. D., F. M. G. Form No. 4-1
November 1, 1942

DETAINED ALIEN
ENEMY MAIL
EXAMINED
BY 25-3
U. S. I. & N. S.

16-31005-2 ☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1943

LETTER 1 (Pg. 126)

June 20, 1944

Dear Child,

I received your Fathers Day's greeting on 13th. I didn't get your present on time. But I am waiting for pleasure to have it anytime. I am thanks your kindness greeting and presents.

I am glad to hear that all the family were fine and all the neighbors were kind to our family. I wishes you will be good to them too. Father is very healthy and preying to God to come the peace near future so all the world peoples can make happy home again.

It is now summer vacation so I wishes you to help mother and do your homework, take care body healthy, and try to learn to be honest, kind to all the peoples. Here's weather is just like Hawaii now, soft wind blowing always.

I saw the Paul and Aurlene's pictures. I surprised they grow so big. please eye on them and don't let go out street.

I send package on 14th to you, some candy, crayon colors. Indian ornament and Paul's shirt which I didn't sent last time. please give some Aurlene too.

Your loving Father

Sunao Fujii

LETTER 2 (Pg. 127)

June 29, 1944

Dear Child,

I received your presents to-day and glad have many things which I need daily. I thanks for the kindness presents, I am glad to have them all. Same day at evening I received your letter and Koichi letter too, which mail on 15th and 19th, and glad to hear that all family are fine and you child helping mother, as I am very healthy and waiting for the peace and can return to home to make happy home again.

I am thanking to God which I learned many many things which people must do. if the people do the world trus may be war will not happened. God wishes to be helps each others. if the we can do the such things terrible will not happens anymore. Father wishes you all to be kind to the peoples and helping people as best as you possible.

Here is quait hot now like Hawai'i. But we stayed last summer, so we didn't feel so bad we can keep on very well.

I wishes you all to take care yourself. Your loving Father.



On a Monday morning in December 1941, two young children walked along their usual route to school, passing the back yard of the town jail of Waimea, Kaua'i. There they noticed a group of men who seemed to be taking a morning break with police guards posted around them. The children recognized these "prisoners" as the principal and several teachers from their Japanese School, some local business men, and several Buddhist priests who were friends of their father, the bonsan (priest) at the Waimea Shingon Shu church. The children then noticed one of the prisoners straining to see them. It was then that my brother, age 11, and I, an 8-year old, recognized our father. Stunned, we both quickly turned our heads away and kept walking.

The attack on Pearl Harbor the day before, December 7, 1941, brought the reality of war to many lives within days. Selected Japanese Issei and Nisei as well were taken into custody by the FBI and given loyalty tests. Some were released, some (like my father) sent to internment camps on the mainland, while some were sent back to Japan. While many family members accompanied these men to their destinations; my parents decided it would be better for the children if we remained on Kaua'i. And so my mother, brother and I stayed behind, leaving my Father to journey alone without us.

The following days and weeks brought us conflicting emotions:

- ...the shame and confusion of seeing my father, a respected community member, taken away and jailed for a reason we didn't understand.
- ...relief and gratitude when a lone, elderly church member, Mr. Okamoto, was the first to visit our home to help my brother cover our windows with tar paper for nightly "blackout time."
- ...humiliation and fright when a gang of boys taunted and threatened my brother as we walked home from school. They stopped when one of the older boys shouted, "eh, leave the spy boy alone, the sista crying." My joy and relief was dampened at the sight of my brother's reddened eyes and angry glare. I never mentioned this incident again—not even to my mother.
- ...sorrow was what I saw in my mother's face as she quietly watched us flash "V for victory" signs with our fingers to welcome truckloads of young U.S. soldiers to our town.

...loneliness felt by the abrupt absence of my father found me searching for his scent left on a suit still hanging in his tansu.

As the weeks turned into months, things settled down and a new routine began. My mother began an 11:00 PM to 7:00 AM night duty nursing career. She opened the church to faithful members of the church and tried to carry on the church responsibilities as best as she could. My brother began to assume his new role as the man of the house. The three of us developed a closeness and kinship that grows when a common wound is shared.

Friends and teachers were especially kind and we eagerly joined in the parade of patriotism. War bonds and war savings stamps were bought; we spoke no Japanese as everyone seemed eager to erase all evidence of the culture we had been familiar with. But in spite of the newly comfortable environment, I felt an unexplainable tinge of guilt and shame, especially when words like “prison,” “jail,” and “spy” were mentioned even in passing.

Almost five years passed before Otōsan returned to Kaua‘i. It was both a homecoming for him and a joyful reuniting of our family; but it was not the same family he had left. My brother and I could only speak halting Japanese, had become Americanized, and were walking in paths unfamiliar to him. But my father had changed too. No longer the strict, traditional Japanese father, he seemed more relaxed and accepting—calling the Wailua Jail (where he spent three months) “Otōsan’s Hotel” and joking that he traveled the U.S. at the special invitation of the President, who gave him a long vacation. That long vacation had taken him from Waimea to Sand Island on O‘ahu, to Angel Island near San Francisco, to Oklahoma—about a month at each place—and finally to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he spent most of the war years.

Upon his return, he did his best to fit into our lives. That first December, he topped a prize Norfolk pine tree from our yard to serve as a Christmas tree as our family shared its first western holiday together. In the months and years that followed, he put aside his interest and participation in Kyūdō (the way of the Bow) and reactivated the church with Aikidō classes and the teachings of the Japanese Nishi-shiki Health System. He attended the local high school adult education classes to learn English and carpentry. He spearheaded a project to construct a peace memorial tower honoring all those who served in World War II. That memorial still stands today on the grounds of the Waimea Shingon Shu church.

While Otōsan was making up for lost time, I tried to keep pace with him. I attended Japanese School, listened to Japanese radio programs with him, and joined my parents to enjoy Japanese movies in Hanapepe. I learned about his early school days in Nagoya, college days in Kyoto, and short experience as a teacher in the public schools of Yoshida, Japan. He was called to Hawai'i as a priest in 1924, moving to Honomu on Hawai'i Island. Always positive, he shared the many new experiences he gained while working as an orderly in the camp hospital while in Santa Fe. Besides learning to understand and appreciate the Japanese language and culture, I also learned to respect a wise, patient, and peace-loving father. But although we talked and learned from each other, his deeper and more personal feelings about his internment years were still left unspoken.

An opportunity arose in 1977, when my daughter took a Japanese American Studies class at the University of Hawai'i with Dr. Dennis Ogawa. She was writing a paper about the internment years and asked her Grandpa (via letters between Honolulu and Kaua'i) to describe his true feelings about his internment. My father expressed appreciation that someone was interested in feelings that he had put aside for so many years. It was, he said, a relief to remember and bring out into the open many of these "obake" (ghosts):

- ...fearing the uncertainty of the future as he and the other internees were moved from one camp to another, amid rumors that they would be shot or sent back to Japan
- ...feeling relief when he was permanently settled in Santa Fe, New Mexico
- ...missing his children and shedding tears as he saw children playing on the other side of the barbed wire fence
- ...remembering the look on the faces of his young children on that Monday morning of December 8, and his regret that they had to experience that painful moment.

For the first time, he shared a haiku that he had written upon his return home from Santa Fe, more than 30 years before. In its classic Japanese simplicity, the haiku captures the essence of his internment experience and his homecoming. But even more, I believe, it captures the essence of the man.

Furi kaeru
Toogei ni kakaru
Natsu no tsuki

Looking back
Upon the mountain ridge
A summer moon

Otōsan explained the haiku's meaning this way:

My experience was a stifling one; much like walking a narrow, uncertain mountain path under a hot summer sun. The trail is difficult, and many times I wondered if it would ever end. Upon finally reaching home, I wiped my perspiration, sat down, and looked back at the mountain path. I then saw a beautiful moon emerge over the ridge in the clear summer sky and thought, "This is heaven."

Arigatō, Otōsan, for the many lessons you taught me. But what I will remember most is your humility in being able to share your "obake," and the strength and resilience you used to create that heaven.

Otōsan: Kakuho Asaoka
Grateful daughter: Miyuki Asaoka Kurisaki
August 2012



By Norman Osumi, 6/3/10

1. Introduction:

- a. I was honored when Betsy Young from the Japanese Cultural Center Hawai‘i asked me to participate in the program today due to my father’s connection to the Lihue Christian Church and the internment of my father at the outbreak of the World War II.
- b. I would like to read one of my father’s Today’s Thought that he wrote over the years in the Honolulu Advertiser. . .
“A minister met his friend George on the street. Seeing that he seemed depressed, he asked him, ‘What’s the matter George?’ He answered, ‘It’s these problems. Nothing but problems and more problems.’ The minister said, ‘I was recently in a place where there were more than 100,000 people and not a single person had a problem.’ George suggested, ‘That’s the place for me.’ The minister replied, ‘Woodlawn Cemetery in Bronx. All are resting in peace.’”
- c. For your information, I was born on Kaua‘i and I have some attachment to this beautiful island.

2. First, I would like to give some background of my father.

- a. He was born in Japan on June 15, 1905, Kusatsu, Hiroshima, Japan.
- b. And came to Hawai‘i at the age of 13.
- c. His father was a cook at Fort Shafter in Honolulu and went back to Japan in April 1920. His father left my father here in Hawai‘i after about two years.
- d. His mother lived in Japan. I am not sure if she lived in Hawai‘i. I was told she was in Hawai‘i and went back to Japan when she was expecting my father.
- e. After his father went back to Japan, my father lived with his older brother for about a year. He attended Trinity Mission School (Elementary Episcopal School).
- f. He then boarded and attended Mid-Pacific Institute for his Intermediate and High School Education.
- g. After high school, he boarded and attended the University of Hawai‘i and received his Bachelor’s Degree.

- h. He then went on for his post graduate work at the University of Southern California in the School of Theological and received his Masters Degree in 1936.
- i. When he returned to Hawai‘i, he went to Hilo Japanese Christian Church in 1936 to become their youth minister.

3. Lihue Church

- a. My father then transferred and became the minister at Lihue Christian Church in 1938. (See newspaper article)
- b. In 1939, he was selected as one of six delegates to represent Hawai‘i at the World Christian Youth Conference in Amsterdam, Holland. (See newspaper article) (Show pictures of the Church, Kindergarten Class 1940, Thanksgiving Dinner, Kindergarten Class of 1939, Pictures of Church Members)
- c. I was born in 1941 at the Wilcox Hospital, Lihue, Kaua‘i, and now 49 years young.
 - i. I was told by my mother how my name was given to me. My father was in a meeting at the time I was being born. Norman Schenck, General Secretary for the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, was conducting the meeting. When I was born someone interrupted the meeting and informed my father. Then, someone told my father to name me after the General Secretary. My father could not refuse. My name should have been Frank. But I like Norman better.

4. WW II was declared on December 7, 1941.

- a. A Warrant of Arrest for my father was issued December 7, 1941.
 - i. According to my mother, two men came to our home and took him away.
 - ii. He was put in the County Jail in Wailua near Kapa‘a. (See Identification Card)
- b. Why was he arrested? I concluded after talking to various people, the following were the reasons:
 - i. He was a Japanese citizen.
 - ii. He was well educated.
 - iii. He was bilingual.

iv. He was a community leader.

v. He wrote to the Japanese Consulate.

c. Military Reasons

i. According to military documents, my father wrote to the Japanese Consulate regarding 10 military deferments. These were young boys in Hawai'i who were Japanese citizens and they did not want to go back to Japan and serve in the Japanese Army.

ii. Also, according to military documents, Rev. Suruta, the previous minister at Lihue Christian Church, was a consulate agent and my father took over his duties. I have not found any document stating that he signed a document as a consulate agent. I believe it was implied by the U.S. government that he was a consulate agent.

(Background of Consulate Agents for the Japanese Consulate: Consulate Agents were people selected to help the Japanese citizens in Hawai'i regarding any involvement with the Japanese Consulate. Japanese citizens could not become U.S. citizens if they were born in Japan but lived in the United States. I believe the title was given as Consulate Agent when they were issued a certificate from the Japan Consulate.)

iii. When the war broke out, the military considered Consulate Agents as Enemy Agents by saying that Consulate Agents were not registered as diplomats or consular officers and are not entitled to diplomatic immunity. (Insert from a document I have in my file. Mr. W.C. Ingman, Special Agent, Bureau of Investigation, presented the government's case against each of the individuals. [Stated] "These men are chosen from leading alien Japanese in the communities and "believed" to act as espionage agents or observers. This has been verified in one instance.") I have not found the "one instance" in my research.

d. My father's reasons

i. Japanese Language School Principal Mr. Takimoto, who was very patriotic, every day raised an American flag on his school roof. One day he fell from his school building and died. My father was asked to assist the Japanese people who were going to Mr. Takimoto for help with the Japanese Consulate. (See newspaper article)

ii. According to my father's documents, he was helping the Japan citizens with dual citizenship. They wanted to give up their Japanese citizenship and they needed to communicate it to the Japanese Consulate. He obliged. Also, he handled one death report and (?) birth certificates.

e. My reasons

i. The U.S. military and FBI were tracking Japanese people who had influence in the community. They were afraid that there would be an uprising in Hawai'i by the Japanese since there was a large presence of Japanese in Hawai'i. This was also shown on the mainland when the U.S. government moved all the Japanese families from the West Coast inland to Relocation Centers.

ii. Also, he was a Japanese citizen, he was well educated, spoke and wrote Japanese and English very well, corresponded with the Japanese Consulate before the war started, and was highly respected on Kaua'i.

(I do not hold any anger toward the U.S. government since there was this fear of the Japanese in Hawai'i and on the mainland. The government was afraid what may have happened if they did not intern the various Japanese people)

f. Board of Officers and Civilians convened in Lihue, Kaua'i on January 26, 1942 to hear evidence and make recommendations as to my father's future. They asked many questions which he answered as honestly to his beliefs and actions.

i. The Findings: Board having carefully considered the evidence before it, finds:

- That the internee is a citizen of the Empire of Japan.
- That the internee is not loyal to the Empire of Japan.
- That the internee is apparently not engaged in any subversive activity.
- Recommends: that the internee be paroled to the custody of Rev. Frederick Whittington, Lihue, Kaua'i.

g. On March 18, 1942, the Headquarters Hawaiian Department, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence, issued the following:

- i. In the foregoing case of Paul Sutekichi Osumi alias Sutekichi Okada, we, the undersigned representatives of our Intelligence Bureaus, do not concur in the recommendations of the Board and recommend that Paul Sutekichi Osumi alias Sutekichi Okada, be interned.
- ii. The undersigned were:
 - a. The Contact Office of the Assistant, Chief of Staff Military Intelligence, Hawaiian Dept.
 - b. District Intelligence Office, 14th Naval District
 - c. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

(I have contacted Senator Daniel Inouye's office for help in retrieving the FBI's records. I have not heard from his office but keep on trying. I am not sure where the alias Sutekichi Okada came from. He was never known by an alias name in all of his documents, letters, newspapers clippings, etc. Sometimes I wonder if the government had the wrong person.)

- h. There were various prominent people on Kaua'i that supported him and tried to have my father released by writing letters to the government. (See pictures of the letters)
- i. On April 7, 1942 the following people signed the letter
 - a. C.E.S. Burns
 - b. Andrew Gross
 - c. Dwight O. Welch
 - d. W.P. Alexander
 - e. Elsie H. Wilcox
 - f. Chas. A. Rice
 - g. Wm. Henry Rice
 - h. L.A. Faye
 - i. H. Med. Moir
 - j. Charles Keahi
 - k. Mavel I. Wilcox
 - l. A.H. Waterhouse
- ii. I want to read an insert from the letter: When a letter arrived from the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu authorizing him as a correspondent, he thought of it only as a means of securing unquestioned American citizenship for the many young people who came to him for help. He never asked for such consular connection, neither did he acknowledge the letter, nor enter into any agreement with the Consulate.

When he discussed some of the problems of his work with members of his church and of the Hawaiian Board, he was urged to continue to help in what was openly believed by all of us to be a patriotic undertaking. We feel confident that at no time did he think of himself as an agent of the Japanese Government, but only as our helper in an important service.

- iii. On April 13, 1942 from Norman C. Schenck, General Secretary, The Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association wrote to the government.
- iv. On May 26, 1942 from Rev. Frederick B. Whittington, Field Secretary for the Hawaiian Board of Missions for the Island of Kaua'i wrote to the government.
- i. On April 10, 1942, my mother, brother, and I returned to O'ahu and lived with my mother's parents in Honolulu.
- j. My mother told me that after my father was arrested by the government, people were afraid to associate with her. They were afraid that they would also be picked up by the government if they were seen talking to her. The Japanese people in Hawai'i lived in fear. In my father's letters and documents, Elsie Wilcox, Territorial Senator from Kaua'i, wrote to him and provided much of the support and encouragement throughout the war years.

5. After Kaua'i

- a. On June 6, 1942, he was sent to Sand Island in Honolulu.
- b. Then, on June 22, 1942, he was shipped to Lordsburg, New Mexico via Angel Island in San Francisco (Internment Camp).
- c. My father was paroled in March 3, 1943 and transferred to Gila Relocation Camp, Arizona.
 - i. My mother, brother and I went to Gila Relocation Camp to take care of my father who was critically ill with Valley Fever.
 - ii. My father wrote a book (God in the Desert) later in years that contained individual short sermons for Japanese American soldiers going to war during his stay at Gila Relocation Camp.
- d. My father could not understand why he was interned and continually wrote to the government to be released. In his mind, he did not do anything wrong or against the United States.

6. We returned to Hawai'i in September 2, 1945

- a. He became the minister at Waialua Pilgrim Church, now called Waialua United Church of Christ, for three years.
- b. Then, minister at Ewa Community Church for nine years.
- c. Then, minister at Nu'uaniu Congregational Church for 16 years.
- d. And at the end, minister again at Nu'uaniu Congregational Church for the Japanese speaking congregation (Nichigobu) for another 5 years.
 - i. Under his leadership, the church built the beautiful chapel and office buildings that are now situated in the Nu'uaniu valley.
 - ii. He was the first minister to start Japanese weddings for young Japanese couples from Japan coming to Hawai'i back in 1965.
 - iii. He wrote the daily inspirational sayings "Today's Thought" for
 1. Honolulu Advertiser from 1957.
 2. Hawai'i Hochi from 1959 to 1995.
 3. Fairbanks, Alaska from 1980 to 1984.
 4. He published 3 small pocket size books of his daily sayings.
 5. My father passed away on April 8, 1996 at the age of 90. (see picture of father)

7. Research

- a. What I presented today is a very general overview of my father's life and his time on Kaua'i.
- b. I am still researching and trying to find out more about my father's past which he did not talk about when I was growing up.

8. I am in the process of writing a book. It will be a biography of him and his daily sayings. (Please buy my book when it is published.)

9. Acknowledgements: I want to thank

- a. Lenny Yajima Andrew, President & Executive Director
- b. Brian Niiya, Director of Program Development
- c. Jane Kurahara and Betsy Young, Resource Center Staff for providing me an opportunity today to present my father's life on Kaua'i. Also, for the help they provided me over the years at the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i in filing my father's documents, pictures, items and letters in their Resource Center.

10. Thank You

HAIKU POEM



PERSONAL NARRATIVE

As told by Miyuki Asaoka Kurisaki

August 2012

For the first time, he shared a haiku that was written upon his return home more than 30 years before. In its classic Japanese simplicity, the haiku captures the essence of his internment experience and his homecoming. But even more, I believe, it captures the essence of the man.

HAIKU

By Kahuko Asaoka

<i>Furui kaeru</i>	Looking back
<i>Toogei ni kakaru</i>	Upon the mountain ridge
<i>Natsu no tsuki</i>	A summer moon

Otōsan (Kahuko Asaoka) explained the haiku’s meaning in this way:

My experience was a stifling one; much like walking a narrow, uncertain mountain path under a hot summer sun. The trail is difficult, and many times I wondered if it would ever end. Upon finally reaching home, I wiped my perspiration, sat down, and looked back at the mountain path. I then saw a beautiful moon emerge over the ridge in the clear summer sky and thought, “This is heaven.”

Arigatō, Otōsan, for the many lessons you taught me. But what I will remember most is your humility and ability to share your “obake,” (ghosts, monsters) and the strength and resilience you used to create that heaven.

As told by Miyuki Asaoka Kurisaki
Daughter of Kahuko Asaoka,
Priest at the Waimea Shingon Shu Church
Internee from Kaua’i

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