

Utah State University

DigitalCommons@USU

---

All Graduate Theses and Dissertations

Graduate Studies

---

5-1994

## Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: An Oral History

Akiko J. Tohmatsu  
*Utah State University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd>



Part of the [Education Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Tohmatsu, Akiko J., "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: An Oral History" (1994).  
*All Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 7879.

<https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd/7879>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@usu.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@usu.edu).



JAPANESE AMERICAN YOUTH IN TOPAZ RELOCATION CENTER, UTAH:  
AN ORAL HISTORY

by

Akiko J. Tohmatsu

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Education

Approved:

---

Dr. Richard S. Knight  
Major Professor

---

Dr. Barre Toelken  
Committee Member

---

Dr. Dalphia R. Pierce  
Committee Member

---

Dr. James P. Shaver  
Dean of Graduate Studies

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, Utah

1994



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation and gratitude to my major professor, Dr. Richard Knight, for his continuous guidance, support, and his time.

My sincere gratitude must go to Dr. Barre Toelken for his support, and personal advice on developing ideas for this study. His suggestions and directions were extremely beneficial.

I would also like to thank Dr. Dalphia Pierce for showing interest in my work and serving as a member of my committee.

I owe a special debt to Stephen Sugiyama for taking his time to make a field trip to Topaz, Utah and helping me to take the photographs of the Topaz site.

My special appreciation and deepest thanks to former Topaz residents who were willing to take part in my project and shared their personal oral histories with me. Without their help, I could not have conducted this research.

I am always thankful to my American parents, Dr. Lawrence Megill and Mrs. Abelina Megill, for their support, encouragement, and unfailing love.

Finally, I would like to express my most special thanks and appreciation to my mother and my late father, who taught me the value of education.

Akiko J. Tohmatsu

## CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	v
DEFINITION OF TERMS .....	vii
ABSTRACT .....	ix
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1
II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EVACUATION .....	8
Pearl Harbor and the Atmosphere of the West Coast .....	8
Executive Order 9066 and "Military Necessity" .....	10
Evacuation: Voluntary Evacuation and Compulsory Evacuation .....	12
Assembly Center to War Relocation Center .....	13
Closing of War Relocation Centers .....	19
Redress Movement .....	21
Reflecting on the Mass Evacuation: 50 Years Later .....	22
III. OVERVIEW OF TOPAZ RELOCATION CENTER .....	34
Topaz Relocation Center: Description of the Center .....	35
Topaz Relocation Center: Life in the Center .....	39
IV. TOPAZ RELOCATION CENTER HIGH SCHOOL: JAPANESE AMERICAN YOUTH IN A WAR RELOCATION CENTER .....	53
Opening of Topaz High School .....	54
Recollections of Japanese American Youth in Topaz High School .....	63
Recollections of Teachers in Topaz High School .....	80
V. DISCUSSION .....	91

NOTES .....	98
REFERENCES .....	101
APPENDICES .....	104
Appendix A. Locations of 10 War Relocation Centers .....	105
Appendix B. Military Zone .....	107
Appendix C. Exclusion Poster .....	109
Appendix D. Questionnaire Form Version I .....	111
Appendix E. Questionnaire Form Version II .....	116
Appendix F. Layout of Topaz Relocation Center .....	121
Appendix G. List of Personal Communications .....	123
Appendix H. Permission Letters .....	125



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 Japanese American people waiting to be evacuated from their homes. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	25
2 Tanforan Assembly Center and a makeshift "home" for Japanese Americans. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	26
3 Straw mattresses in Tanforan Assembly Center. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	27
4 A long line to the mess hall. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	28
5 Journey to War Relocation Centers. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	29
6 While Japanese Americans were interned in War Relocation Centers, their stored belongings on the West Coast were often vandalized. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	30
7 Concrete building foundation left behind in former Topaz Relocation Center today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990) .....	31
8 Wood scraps left behind in former Topaz Relocation Center today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990) .....	32
9 Barbed wire found on former Topaz Relocation Center site today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990) .....	33
10 An overview of Topaz Relocation Center in 1942-1945. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	47
11 A barrack in Topaz Relocation Center. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	48
12 Japanese Americans arriving in Topaz Relocation Center. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) .....	49

- 13 A broken desk found on former Topaz site today.  
(A photograph taken by the researcher  
in 1990) ..... 50
- 14 A mess hall in Topaz Relocation Center.  
(Courtesy of Utah Historical Society,  
Salt Lake City, Utah) ..... 51
- 15 A Topaz Garden built by a Japanese American internee  
in Topaz Relocation Center. (Courtesy of Utah  
Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah) ..... 52
- 16 Topaz High School student assembly. (Courtesy of  
Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City,  
Utah) ..... 89
- 17 Graduation in Topaz High School. (Courtesy of  
Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City,  
Utah) ..... 90
- 18 A picture of Kinjiro Ninomiya. (A Drawing by  
Tadashi Saito, 1994, used by permission) ..... 97



## DEFINITION OF TERMS

## Issei

First generation Japanese Americans who were born in Japan and entered the United States as immigrants. Because of laws excluding Asians from the naturalization process, they were not allowed to become United States citizens. They were the older generation in the War Relocation Centers.

## Nisei

Second generation of Japanese Americans (the children of the Issei). They were born in the United States and therefore according to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, automatically qualified as citizens. They were the bulk of the children who went to school in War Relocation Centers.

## Sansei

Third generation Japanese Americans. The children of Nisei.

## Kibei

American-born Japanese Americans who were educated partially or wholly in Japan, and then returned to the United States after their education.

## Relocation Center

Relocation Center was the name given to the 10 barrack cities provided for Japanese Americans during World War II. The locations of the 10 Relocation Centers are shown in Appendices A and B.

## WRA

The War Relocation Authority was the agency responsible for the administration of the 10 Relocation Centers. It was established in March of 1942 by President Roosevelt.

## Evacuee

Evacuees were all Japanese and Japanese Americans who were taken from the West Coast of the United States or Hawaii to a nondesignated military zone (not necessarily to Relocation Centers). Refer to Appendix B for military zone.

**Internee**

Internees were Japanese or Japanese Americans who were relocated into one of the 10 Relocation Centers designed by WRA. Japanese Americans who were able to move out from the military zone voluntarily were not internees, but evacuees.

**Appointed Teacher**

An appointed teacher was a certified Caucasian teacher who was hired by WRA for War Relocation Center schools.

**Resident Teacher**

A resident teacher was a Japanese American internee who was hired as a cadet teacher in order to fill the shortage of appointed teachers in Relocation Centers.

ABSTRACT

Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah:  
An Oral History

by

Akiko J. Tohmatsu, Master of Arts

Utah State University, 1994

Major Professor: Dr. Richard S. Knight  
Department: Secondary Education

This project examines Japanese American youth in Topaz High School, a school set up in a War Relocation Center during 1942 to 1945. It looks at what students were taught there, as well as what they felt, thought, heard, and saw.

Oral histories collected from Japanese American former internees constitute the main methodology. An oral history enables us to know the feelings and emotions involved in evacuation at the same time as it provides us with more human insight, such as human perspectives and personal reminiscences, which are not available in historical, social, or political accounts.

Findings of this project are both positive and negative personal recollections of Topaz High School and life in the War Relocation Center. Despite the adverse circumstances in the War Relocation Center, Japanese American youth maintained their morale and determination to do well in school.



The research shows that an appropriate educational program was provided in Topaz High School in spite of an unusual school setting in a War Relocation Center, and Japanese cultural and traditional values in education facilitated the academic achievement of Japanese American youth.

(164 pages)

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the late 19th century the first group of Japanese immigrants arrived in the United States of America (Kitano, 1988, p. 258). While they started from the very bottom of American society trying to make a better living in this country, their descendants have become one of the most successful American minority groups. However, on the way to this success, there was a time during World War II when most Japanese Americans had to suffer living in War Relocation Centers.<sup>1</sup> For the duration of the War, over 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry -- men and women, young and old -- residing in California, Oregon, and Washington State, were removed and evacuated into 10 centers. Appendices A and B show the location of each camp.

One such center, Topaz Relocation Center or the Central Utah Project, was located in a southern Utah desert area, about 15 miles west of Delta. It housed over 8,000 Japanese Americans, originally from the San Francisco Bay area, two-thirds of whom were American citizens. At that time, Topaz became the fifth most populous city in Utah (Arrington, 1962, p. 15).

To a researcher who is a Japanese education major studying in the United States, the study of Japanese American youth in the center is especially intriguing. Japan has

been, traditionally and culturally, a country where schools and education are greatly emphasized. In fact, Issei (refer to definition of terms on p. vii) who immigrated to the United States in the latter part of the 19th century are reported in sociological studies to have been better educated than other immigrant minority groups at that time, and they stressed providing their children, Nisei (refer to definition of terms on p. vii), with educational opportunities (Schwartz, 1971, p. 345). By taking the traditional and cultural background of the Japanese into account, it is interesting to see how much importance the evacuees placed on the education of their youth even under difficult circumstances.

In this paper, the researcher examines how the school in the Topaz Relocation Center was operated and what Japanese American youth went through in their unusual school setting. Although there were 10 War Relocation Centers altogether, and there were school programs for nursery school up to high school level, this paper will limit its study to the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah and concentrate on the high school program. Topaz Relocation Center and its high school were chosen for this particular study since the researcher is a graduate student in secondary education at Utah State University with access to essential information and resources.

Research has been done during recent decades on the



evacuation of Japanese Americans; nonetheless, 50 years after the fact, a large number of people either remain unaware of or ignore this page in American history. In general, there is a need to inform the world about what actually happened and to document this important historical event.

Despite the fact that there are quite a few books and studies done on the Japanese American evacuation during the Second World War, very few have focused on camp schools and educational issues. Although Educational Drama (Zeller, 1969) and Exile Within (James, 1987) do examine the school system and educational programs in Relocation Centers, these two studies do not focus on any specific center. The main purpose of this project was, therefore, to focus on one Relocation Center school and its students. The researcher examined what students felt, thought, heard, and saw, as well as what they were taught in the Topaz Relocation Center High School.

Also, a study of this area is valuable as it should give some perspective regarding the following:

1. Cross-cultural experiences between teachers and the students at the War Relocation Center school.
2. Physical and psychological effects of the War Relocation Center school.
3. Some advantages or disadvantages evacuee students faced at the War Relocation Center school.

This study includes photographs taken both by WRA photographers and by the researcher to get a clearer idea of the circumstances in which the Topaz Relocation Center High School was operated. In order to have a better idea of the conditions under which the Topaz Relocation Center High School was created during 1942-1945, the researcher made three trips to the former center site in southern Utah. On May 29 and 30, 1993, the 51st Topaz reunion was held in Salt Lake City, Utah, and over 600 former Topaz Relocation Center internees and their families gathered there. This event was a very good opportunity for the researcher to meet former Topaz residents and learn of their feelings and firsthand experiences.<sup>2</sup> Other fieldwork by the researcher included interview trips (a) to Salt Lake City, Utah (April and May, 1989); (b) to the San Francisco Bay area, California (December 1989 and July, 1990); (c) to San Francisco, California (July, 1990); (d) to the Topaz High School 45th reunion of the class of 1945; and (e) to the exhibition on Japanese Americans during the World War II at the Smithsonian Museum of American History (December, 1991).

This project employed a methodology based on oral history. This enabled the researcher to obtain a record of the feelings and emotions of Japanese Americans involved in evacuation. At the same time, this approach should give the reader more human insight into this page of history, because human perspectives and personal reminiscences provide us



with a kind of data not available in historical, social, or political accounts. The oral histories were taken from individuals who lived in and attended, or taught in or administered, the high school at the Topaz Relocation Center. These oral histories followed a flexible interview schedule, were electronically recorded, and were later transcribed.

Interviewees were former Topaz High School students, and both Caucasian and Japanese American teachers who taught at the Topaz Relocation Center High School during 1942-1945. In order to get a variety of oral histories, the interviewees were selected as follows:

1. Japanese Americans who were students in the Topaz Relocation Center High School.
2. Japanese Americans who were teachers in the Topaz Relocation Center High School.
3. Caucasians who were teachers in the Topaz Relocation Center High School.

Final selections of interviewees were made according to the advice and suggestions of Alice Kasai, a historian and secretary of the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL), Intermountain District Council, and Daisy Satoda, a former Topaz Relocation Center High School student and currently a community consultant for the Japanese American community in San Francisco. Ms. Kasai and Ms. Satoda listed some Japanese Americans and Caucasians who fit into categories #1

through #3, and then they narrowed the list according to the linguistic articulation and uniqueness of interviewee candidates. From that stage, the researcher made personal contact with the candidates to set up interview appointments.

Each interview was conducted using one of the two interview schedules: "Version I," which was for those who were students at the center, or "Version II," which was for those who were teachers at the center (refer to Appendices D and E). Interviews were recorded on tape and then transcribed by the researcher. For those interviewees with whom the researcher could not make personal contact due to physical distance or other difficulties, a questionnaire, either "Version I" or "Version II," was sent through the mail with a stamped, self-addressed return envelope. For example, when the researcher attended the 45th reunion of the Topaz High School class of 1945, it was not possible to have a personal interview with all the participants. Therefore, questionnaires were used and resulted in the collection of 15 "Version I" questionnaire forms and four "Version II" questionnaire forms.

All the taped interviews and questionnaires were analyzed by the researcher and are presented in this paper as the primary data source. In order to make the distinction between the information and quotes from oral interviews and that from questionnaire forms, abbreviations such as [OI] for an oral interview and [QF] for a questionnaire form are

applied. Additionally, the findings from these oral histories are presented within a historical context based on extant written historical documents.

There are five chapters in this paper: Chapter I, introduction; Chapter II, a general background of the evacuation of Japanese Americans; Chapter III, a general background of the Topaz Relocation Center; Chapter IV, Topaz Relocation Center High School and Japanese American youths' experiences; and Chapter V, Discussion.



## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EVACUATION

This chapter provides an overview of the evacuation of Japanese Americans after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. How the evacuation decision was made and how Japanese Americans were removed into War Relocation Centers, and what happened to them after the War are discussed.

#### Pearl Harbor and the Atmosphere of the West Coast

On December 7, 1941, the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese navy brought a tremendous change to the lives of the Issei,<sup>1</sup> and to the U.S.-born Nisei and Sansei who were living on the West Coast of the United States at that time. People of Japanese ancestry were suddenly perceived as a great threat to the security of the United States. They were viewed as dangerous enemy aliens who might spy or commit sabotage for the Japanese government. At the same time, there was very intense anti-Japanese feeling on the West Coast, which accelerated and put extra pressure on the U.S. government to carry out an evacuation (Hyams & Ding, 1987). Interestingly enough, the Munson Report,<sup>2</sup> which was one of World War II's best kept secrets, clearly stated that "there is no Japanese problem...." (Weglyn, 1976, p. 34), contrary to U.S. government propaganda of the time. Roger Daniels wrote in Concentration Camps: North America, "The

evacuation of 1942 did not occur in a vacuum, but was based on almost a century of anti-Orient fear, prejudice, and misunderstanding" (1981, p. 2). One of the strongest anti-Japanese fears was addressed by the California farmers who saw Japanese Americans as their competitors, since they were very good farmers who could raise and produce successful crops, even on poor soil. Joe Mori recalls,

Japanese were doing so well in, let's say agriculture for one area, that neighbors were rather jealous and they thought that it was the land that was providing all the benefits rather than the hard work that people [Japanese Americans farmers] would put into [their land]. I think much of that was the basis for having us moved off. And it was a used excuse that they could clear them all out and take over all the properties and they could do just as well, which of course did not follow really. The economics was one of the driving forces.... ([OI] Joe Mori, personal communication, Saratoga, California, December 20, 1989)

Prejudice was another force driving the need to pluck Japanese Americans from their original homes on the West Coast. This is clear in view of the fact that German and Italian aliens, German Americans, and Italian Americans were not subject to evacuation, although the United States was at war against Germany and Italy as well. Trisha Bantly (1969) provided more explanation on some causes of these fears and prejudices against Japanese Americans:

The predominant reason for such unjustified action [evacuation] against people of Japanese ancestry is due to fear. The citizenry of the West Coast in general were afraid after Pearl Harbor, of a simultaneous attack from the west and from within. Farmers were afraid of economic competition from Japanese farmers who could raise successful crops even on marginal soil. They saw the panicky fear of Japanese-Americans which followed Pearl Harbor as an opportunity to do away with



the people who farmed forty-three percent of California's agricultural lands. Finally, 1942 was an election year, and politicians were afraid to go against public opinion even if they were aware of the inexpediency of a mass evacuation of innocent people from their homes. Another source of fear was due to misinformation supplied by various organizations who disliked the presence of Japanese aliens in "their" country: they must have forgotten that everyone here or at least one of his ancestors, was at one time an immigrant alien. False information provided by such groups or individuals caused increased fear among the populace, who assumed what they read in the paper to be true.... There were also many claims that the Japanese were attempting to undermine United States security because they lived near airports, highways or railroad bridges. Due to the general hysteria which was felt at the time, most people failed to realize that the Japanese occupied these areas because no one else wanted them; they were either poor land or too near the noise of an airport or a set of railroad tracks. (pp. 14-15)

In the meantime Japanese Americans were asked to give up their "contraband." Dave Tatsuno recalls, "All the Japanese Americans had to turn in the contraband articles, which meant samurai swords, guns, cameras, and short wave radios" ([OI] Dave Tatsuno, personal communication, San Jose, California, December 19, 1989).

#### Executive Order 9066 and "Military Necessity"

Using all these various fears as reasons, the U.S. government decided to remove and evacuate all persons of Japanese ancestry from their homes on the West Coast. The government called this "military necessity." President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, and over 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry were destined to move to interior states. These people

included the Issei, who had lived in America for years as legal resident aliens, and the Nisei and Sansei, who were American born, and therefore citizens of the United States. Lieutenant General John L. De Witt, head of the Western Defense Command and known as an anti-Japanese leader, took charge of the evacuation. Behind this so-called "military necessity" he once made a statement:

A Jap is a Jap.... It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not; he is still a Japanese.... The Japanese race is an enemy race.... The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.<sup>3</sup> (Quoted in Girdner & Loftis, 1969, p. 17)

On March 18, President Roosevelt signed another Executive Order, 9102, to set up the War Relocation Authority (WRA), which was to design and engineer the evacuation procedure (refer to definition of terms on p. vii).

Prior to the mass evacuation, and right after the Pearl Harbor attack by the Japanese navy, some Issei Japanese who were community leaders, such as school teachers in Japanese language schools and Buddhist ministers, or who had strong ties with Japan, were rounded up and taken into different camps -- internment camps -- by the Department of Justice. Grace Oshita remembers when her father was taken into custody:

In February 1942, my father was taken away from our family by FBI personnel. He was a businessman and had some connection with Japanese businessmen. Also, he was a community leader for Japanese Organization in San Francisco then. And those were the reasons why he was



taken into custody. We, including my father himself, were not sure where he was going to be sent to and it was not until my mother and I received the first letter from him that we learned that he was sent to an internment camp in Bismarck, North Dakota. He was "paroled" in November of 1943 and joined us in Topaz Relocation Center in Utah. ([OI] Grace Oshita, personal communication, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 14, 1993)

### Evacuation: Voluntary Evacuation and Compulsory Evacuation

The evacuation of Japanese Americans can be divided into two phases: voluntary evacuation and compulsory evacuation. From February 19, 1942, to March 27, 1942, Japanese Americans on the West Coast were allowed to move out of the military zone voluntarily. The military zone is shown in a map in Appendix B. The government and the military encouraged Japanese Americans to take the voluntary evacuation. However, given the fact that they could not get any help or support from the government for moving out from the military zone, and that the "no Japs wanted" atmosphere was very strong even outside of this zone, it was very difficult for them to take advantage of the voluntary evacuation. John Hada explained in his interview with the researcher as follows:

Those people who had the means and the resources to move could move, but they were restricted to where they could move.... [A]nd when you say "means" that meant financial means, people who would accommodate them, and take them in. Friends who were living in places like Chicago and who would act on their behalf to find housings for them, find employment for them. So it is not easy thing to just to take up your roots and move to another area because you have to consider if there

is an employment available there, there is housing available, would my children attend school in that area. ([OI] John Hada, personal communication, Palo Alto, California, December 18, 1989)

However, about 5,000 people, who had their own resources and means or had relatives who would take them in, managed to relocate themselves into the interior states and cities. The voluntary evacuation ceased after March 27 and WRA took over the compulsory evacuation procedure. In the meantime, a curfew was placed upon all Japanese Americans<sup>4</sup> (Arrington, 1962, p. 4. Also see Figure 1 on p. 25).

#### Assembly Center to War Relocation Center

Once the compulsory evacuation began, people of Japanese ancestry had only a few days to prepare (Daniels, 1988, p. 217).<sup>5</sup> They were allowed to take what they could carry in both hands and were instructed to carry

bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family, toilet articles, extra clothing, sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls, cups, and essential personal effects for each member of the family.<sup>6</sup> (See Appendix C)

One may imagine how difficult it was to decide what to take and what not to in such a short time. Many had to give up their household goods and businesses and the loss of their property was immense. "Evacuation Sale" was seen everywhere. As they registered for evacuation, the Japanese Americans were given identification tags with numbers on them instead of names.



Thus mass evacuation of Japanese Americans was under way. However, the 10 War Relocation Centers were not ready to receive them yet. So, at first, people of Japanese ancestry were taken to 15 various "assembly centers," most of which were located in California, where they waited for 6 to 8 months until the completion of Relocation Centers. The locations of those 15 assembly centers are found on the map in Appendix B. The assembly centers were race tracks, livestock exhibition halls, and fairgrounds where evacuees were living in make-shift rooms in stables. These assembly centers were guarded and surrounded by barbed wire fences (Arrington, 1962, p. 9). Japanese Americans were assigned to an assembly center according to the region in which they lived. For example, those who were residing in the San Francisco Bay Area were taken to the Tanforan Assembly Center, those living in the Seattle area to the Puyallup Assembly Center, those living in the Los Angeles area to the Santa Anita Assembly Center, and so on.

Isao Baba recalls, "Tanforan Assembly Center was a very terrible experience because of the fact that we were living in 'horse stalls.' The smell of manure. It was a horse racing track" ([QF] Isao Baba, personal communication, September 17, 1990. See Figure 2 on p. 26). Grace Hattori Manabe remembers that

in Tanforan, they were not ready for people to be there.... We were given sacks, which we took into infield where they had straw and we filled the sack with straw for our mattresses.... We had to use commu-

nal bathrooms, and walk to the place where it was. At first, they had not even finished the bathrooms, so it was this trough that we used, which was a long thing that water ran down. So, we weren't used to that, we were used to a regular bathroom with a flush toilet.... It was difficult not having a regular bed and eating together, we all ate in the mess hall. ([OI] Grace Hattori, personal communication, San Jose, California, December 21, 1989. See Figures 3 and 4 on pp. 27, 28)

Fumi Manabe Hayashi also recalls the inconvenience of the Tanforan Assembly Center:

We had to walk to a central bathroom. We had to walk quite a way back and forth.... In the beginning there were no doors on [each toilet]; they finally put some up.... If you got sick, and you had to go at night time, it was not very much fun. So it was very difficult, especially if you were young lady and you like little privacy.... ([OI] Fumi Manabe Hayashi, personal communication, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1989)

Mine Okubo (1946) describes the primitiveness of the assembly center in Citizen 13660:<sup>7</sup>

We walked in and dropped our things inside the entrance. The place was in semidarkness; light barely came through the dirty windows on either side of the entrance. A swinging half-door divided the 20 by 9 foot stall into two rooms.... The rear room had housed the horse and the front room the fodder. Both rooms showed signs of a hurried whitewashing. Spider webs, horse hair, and hay had been whitewashed with the walls. Huge spikes and nails stuck out all over the walls. A two-inch layer of dust covered the floor, but on removing it we discovered that linoleum the color of redwood had been placed over the rough manure-covered boards. (p. 35)

One way or another, living conditions in those assembly centers were far from being pleasant and comfortable -- communal bathrooms, lack of privacy, long lines for everything (see Figure 4 on p. 28). One may learn more about the Assembly Centers by reading Citizen 13660 (Okubo, 1946) or



Birthright of Barbed Wire (Lehman, 1970).

While Japanese Americans were being removed into these temporary assembly centers, more permanent "Relocation Centers" were under construction. As soon as those Relocation Centers were more or less prepared to accept them, Japanese Americans were shipped to 10 centers in the interior United States. These 10 War Relocation Centers were constructed under the WRA administration in "far-removed places in seven states" (Arrington, 1962, p. 9). They were Gila River, Arizona; Granada, Colorado; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Jerome, Arkansas; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; and Tule Lake, California (refer to Appendix A and B). The journey to those Relocation Centers was made by train (see Figure 5 on p. 29).

The living conditions in those Relocation Centers were primitive. However, they were gradually improved by the efforts of those who were interned there for the duration of the war. Those centers were similarly designed: they consisted of "blocks" which had 12 residential barracks; a barrack functioned as a recreation hall and an office for a manager, central mess hall, and a central latrine/bath and laundry building (refer to Appendix F. Also, refer to Chapter III for a closer description of "blocks" and "barracks").

Since one of WRA's goals was to establish normal life

as much as possible, many programs were set up in Relocation Centers for the Japanese American evacuees. These included community services such as post offices, a fire department, libraries, as well as churches, newspapers, and schools for children and adults, and so on. However, one has to remember that these 10 "communities" were fenced by barbed wire, with watch towers and the military police pointing guns at the people (see Figure 9 on p. 33).

Inside the Relocation Centers, jobs were provided for Japanese Americans internees, and they could earn \$12, \$16 or \$19 per month as spending money according to the types of work they did. For example, unskilled apprentice jobs were paid \$12 a month, skilled jobs were paid \$16 a month, and highly responsible and professional jobs were paid \$19 a month (Arrington, 1962; Bell, 1982). Joe Mori was paid \$19 a month as a high school teacher in Topaz Relocation Center ([OI] Joe Mori, personal communication, Saratoga, California, December 20, 1989).

Soon after Japanese Americans were beginning to settle into Relocation Centers, the WRA began to stress "re-settling" or "relocating" people outside the centers. Bell (1982) described the following:

People who had a job or a job prospect, a contact, and a place to obtain some kind of housing, could travel to a new location if they had leave clearance. A leave clearance procedure was set up which involved interviews by staff members (WRA staff) with evacuees applying for relocation, and review of the records in their personnel files to see if there was anything in the record to make them a "security risk." (p. 31)



People were given \$25 for traveling expenses and a train ticket to wherever they were moving. Some students took advantage of this "relocation program" and left the centers in order to enroll themselves in high schools, universities, and colleges in the East ([OI], Fumi Hayashi, personal communication, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1989).<sup>8</sup>

Japanese Americans experienced a great deal of anxiety and strain when "loyalty questions" were put to them in the centers. All Japanese Americans who were 17 years or older were asked questions 27 and 28, which are quoted in Concentration Camps: North America (Daniels, 1981), and read as follows:

Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States of America on combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any other foreign government, power or organization? (p. 113)

The main purpose of these questions was to recruit Japanese American youth to the armed forces;<sup>9</sup> however, it was also used to determine the "loyalty" among Japanese American internees. Those who answered "No" to the question were categorized as "disloyal" and were sent to Tule Lake Relocation Center in California, which later became a segregation center. Many people were trapped between personal

national loyalties and family loyalties and the authority of the older Issei (Bell, 1982, p. 43). For Isseis, question 28 was very difficult to answer, as the Naturalization Law denied them U.S. citizenship; thus if they answered "yes" to it, they would become people without a nation. Many Nisei felt that these questions were not fair since they were being asked to serve and fight for the very country which put them into a camp. This "loyalty registration question" divided the center population in half (Peterson, 1971, p. 86). For more detailed study on this particular question, refer to Concentration Camps: North America (Daniels, 1981); Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850 (Daniels, 1988), and Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps (Weglyn, 1976).

#### Closing of War Relocation Centers

All 10 War Relocation Centers were closed by the end of 1945 and Japanese Americans who were interned there were released back into the mainstream of American society. The government gave each evacuee \$25 for traveling expenses. Some went to the East to start a new life there, some remained in the states to which they evacuated, and many went back to the West Coast. However, many of those Japanese Americans who had been uprooted from their homes and businesses on the West Coast had a difficult time getting back to resettle themselves and to start new lives. Many came



back to the West Coast only to find their stored belongings had been vandalized while they were gone, and some experienced discrimination (see Figure 6 on p. 30). Dave Tatsuno, a former Topaz Relocation Center internee, recalls, "Some people had shots fired at them in the farm area, and people would discriminate against them" ([OI] Dave Tatsuno, personal communication, San Jose, California, December 19, 1989). He was a fortunate case in that he had a home to go back to in San Francisco. He continues,

I guess we were very fortunate that we had a house to come back to in San Francisco.... We had it (the house) rented out, and as soon as the coast opened (to Japanese Americans), these people were religious so they told me "why don't you come back?"... Having a home to come back to is what a difference that is! ... For eight months, I worked under the church to help the people coming back to San Francisco area.... It was the Evangelical and Reformed church and the Presbyterian church combined together. And they asked me to help the evacuees coming back. I was known as a "resettlement expeditor." Expedite means to help the resettlement. So I met the trains coming back and I got the jobs for them and I ran the hostel at the church. I went to speak at the colleges, then I would counsel the different people coming back.

Wherever Japanese American internees decided to go after their release, most had to start their lives from the bottom. While with much effort, perseverance, and hard work they managed to establish a comfortable life once again, the emotional impact and bitterness towards mass evacuation and the pain Japanese Americans experienced as a result are not to be forgotten.

## Redress Movement

In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford in his Proclamation 4417 stated, "We know now what we should have known then -- not only was that evacuation wrong, but Japanese Americans were and are loyal Americans" (quoted in Daniels, 1988, p. 331). He made an official apology for the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II, stating that the evacuation of 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry into War Relocation Centers was "our national mistake" (quoted in Daniels, 1988, p. 331). Interestingly enough, this was already foreseen back then by the first WRA director, Milton S. Eisenhower, when he confessed:

I feel most deeply that when the war is over and we consider calmly this unprecedented migration of 120,000 people, we as Americans are going to regret the avoidable injustices that may have been done. (Quoted in Daniels, 1988, p. 227)

Another similar regret was expressed in 1982 by the Commission of the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians:

The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and the decisions which followed it -- detention, ending detention and ending exclusion -- were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership. Widespread ignorance of Japanese Americans contributed to a policy conceived in haste and executed in an atmosphere of fear and anger at Japan. A grave injustice was done to Americans and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II. (Quoted in Daniels, 1988, p. 338)



In 1988, these two national statements, supported by the active redress movement of the Japanese Americans Citizens' League, resulted in the monetary compensation of \$20,000 per person to all the surviving former internees. The payment of redress money, beginning in 1990, went to each individual or to his or her survivors who underwent the mass evacuation (Daniels, Taylor, & Kitano, 1986, p. 189). This monetary compensation will never make up for the immense loss of property and business, emotional burden, and bitter memories of Japanese Americans. A lot of former evacuees would say "it is just a formality." However, on the other hand, at least Japanese Americans are able to note that the U.S. government officially acknowledged its unjust action towards them and made a national apology and reckoning.

#### Reflecting on the Mass Evacuation:

##### Fifty Years Later

Fifty years have passed since the mass evacuation of Japanese Americans took place in the United States, and today, there is always a question of why Japanese Americans did not stand up for their civil rights and protest against the evacuation. The explanation for this particular question is often based on cultural characteristics of Issei and Nisei "gaman" and "shikatanai," for which literal translations are "to endure with perseverance" and "you can't

help it." Joe Mori reflects this specific attitude of Japanese Americans: "We managed to cope under the philosophy which they [Japanese Americans] were raised with -- 'gaman' and 'shikataganai' and that sort of thing" ([OI] Joe Mori, personal communication, Saratoga, California, December 20, 1989). Another way to look at this question is that they tried to prove that they were loyal to America by being subject to whatever the highest authority of their country, the President, asked them to do. Again, this characteristic of Japanese Americans came from family training. However, according to Dave Tatsuno, these virtues in Issei and Nisei Japanese Americans are becoming diluted as the generation gets younger. He explains, "The old-time Japanese feelings of 'gaman,' and of piety and respect for the parents and authority are fading.... Because they [Sansei and Yonsei] have become Americanized, and they are mixture" ([OI] Dave Tatsuno, personal communication, San Jose, California, December 19, 1990).

On the other hand, this one page of U.S. history is now receiving attention in history education at the secondary level. As a matter of fact, the researcher was asked twice to come to classes as a guest speaker, and to talk about her research on Japanese Americans and evacuation during World War II at two different high school classrooms in Logan, Utah.<sup>10</sup> This is a positive sign which the researcher perceives as a growing awareness of the mass evacuation of



Japanese Americans. Although the evacuation took place a half century ago, the current emerging recognition and understanding will be shared by the next generation -- not only by Japanese American youth but also by American youth of all different ethnic backgrounds.

Today, those 10 War Relocation Centers are ghost towns: bleak open spaces in the desert lands. And amongst the sage brush, the old foundations of the buildings, where once Japanese Americans lived, ate, slept, and learned, are about all that remain. There are also remnants such as chipped china, broken bottles, and rusted bed frames that have been left there on the ground, telling us what was once there 50 years before (see Figures 7, 8 and 9 on pp. 31-33).



Figure 1. Japanese American people waiting to be evacuated from their homes. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)





Figure 2. Tanforan Assembly Center and a makeshift "home" for Japanese Americans. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)



Figure 3. Straw mattresses in Tanforan Assembly Center.  
(Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City,  
Utah)





Figure 4. A long line to the mess hall. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)



Figure 5. Journey to War Relocation Centers.  
(Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City,  
Utah)





Figure 6. While Japanese Americans were interned in War Relocation Centers, their stored belongings on the West Coast were often vandalized. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)



Figure 7. Concrete building foundation left behind in former Topaz War Relocation Center today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990)





Figure 8. Wood scraps left behind in former Topaz War Relocation Center today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990)



Figure 9. Barbed wire found on former Topaz War Relocation Center site today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990)



### CHAPTER III

#### OVERVIEW OF TOPAZ RELOCATION CENTER

This chapter provides a general background on Topaz Relocation Center. It will discuss factual as well as emotional experiences of Japanese Americans who were interned there, including the physical description of Topaz Relocation Center, the environment, the people who lived there, what life was like for the internees, and what they saw and felt while living there.

The physical, factual description of Topaz Relocation Center is taken from "Welcome to Topaz," a guidebook of the center put together in 1943 by the Topaz Relocation Center Project Reports Division, Historical Section, for the Japanese American evacuees moving into Topaz Relocation Center from the West Coast; and from "Relocation Center Life, Topaz, Utah 1942-1945" (Bell, 1982)<sup>1</sup>; "Topaz 1993 Calendar" (Topaz Reunion '92 Committee, 1993); The Price of Prejudice (Arrington, 1962); Desert Exile (Uchida, 1982) and Citizen 13600 (Okubo, 1946).

In order to acquire the experiences of the people in Topaz Relocation Center on a cultural and emotional level, responses from the collected interviews and questionnaire forms are quoted and presented, as well as from the insights given by some former Topaz Relocation Center internees in their published works.

## Topaz Relocation Center:

### Description of the Center

Topaz Relocation Center was located in the southern part of Utah in the Sevier Desert, about 140 miles southwest of Salt Lake City, and 15 miles west of Delta, Utah, the nearest town. The center, named after the nearby Mt. Topaz, was one mile square and included 17,500 acres of Millard County. A map in Appendix B shows the location of the center. The area, 4,561 feet above sea level, was once on the bed of Lake Bonneville, a lake formed in Pleistocene times and which ultimately became the Great Salt Lake (Arrington, 1962, p. 12). The first group of Japanese Americans from the Tanforan Assembly Center arrived at Topaz Relocation Center on September 11, 1942; until it closed on October 15, 1945, the center housed a little over 8,000 Japanese Americans and became the fifth largest city in Utah at that time (Arrington, 1962, p. 15).

The land was heavily alkaline, which caused sticky mud to form after a rainfall since the soil does not absorb the water, but in dry weather there was constant dust. Yoshiko Uchida (1982) described this as she arrived at Topaz Relocation Center in September of 1942: "Everyone looked like pieces of flour-dusted pastry.... With each step we sank two or three inches, sending up swirls of dust that crept into our eyes and mouths, and nose and lungs" (p. 109). The people suffered from a severe dust storm whenever a whirl-



wind struck the center and often they ran for shelter (Okubo, 1946, p. 183). The temperature ranged from 106 degrees in summer to -30 degrees in winter, and the average rainfall was 7 to 8 inches per year.

According to the guidebook "Welcome to Topaz," the people who were evacuated to Topaz Relocation Center were originally from Bay Area cities such as San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Martinez, Alameda, San Mateo, Richmond, San Leandro, Centerville, Mt. Eden, Niles, Alvarado, Newark, San Lorenzo, Pescadero, Albany, Menlo Park, and Redwood City (WRA, 1943, p. 4). This population of urban people made for unique characteristics at the Topaz Relocation Center, which Lawson Inada has called "a cultural capital."<sup>2</sup> In fact, many cultural activities took place in the Center; for example, "Topaz Times," a newspaper, was published by the evacuees, and "Treck" (three issues appeared) was a fifty-page art and literary magazine (Okubo, 1946, p. 134). Many adult schools were set up and people took courses in art, flower arrangement, music, sewing, English as a Second Language, and so on.

Topaz Relocation Center consisted of 42 blocks, each with 12 living barracks, a central latrine and laundry room, a mess hall, and a recreation hall. Block 8 and block 41 were used as two elementary schools: Mountain View Elementary School and Desert View Elementary School. Block 32 was used as Topaz High School buildings. Thirty-six blocks were

used as residential dwellings. There were also warehouses, administration office buildings, one hospital, and so on (see Figures 10, 11 and 12 on pp. 47-49). Appendix F shows how the Topaz Relocation Center and each block within it were laid out.

Each barrack was 20 feet by 120 feet, designed in the same manner, and was divided into six unfurnished rooms; the two end rooms were 20 feet by 14 feet, the next two rooms were 20 feet by 26 feet, and the two middle rooms were 20 feet by 20 feet. Each room was assigned to Japanese Americans according to family size. For example, the 20 by 14 room was to accommodate a family of three, the 20 by 26 room held six people, and the 20 by 20 room accommodated four people. Yoshiko Uchida, who had four in her family, recalls, "Our family was assigned to Apartment C of Barrack 2 in Block 7, and from now on our address would be 7-2-C, Topaz, Utah" (1982, p. 106). The only furniture provided in those rooms were army-type cot beds and a pot-bellied stove, so people made their own furniture from whatever scraps of wood they could find on the Center site (see Figure 13 on p. 50).

Roscoe E. Bell (1982) described the barrack conditions as follows:

The basic "equipment" of each of those "apartments" was a pot-bellied stove for burning coal and an appropriate number of army cots with blankets to serve as beds. The facilities in the barracks were of the most crude nature. The barracks were thrown up without lining or insulation -- simply a shell with the studs showing



without sheetrock lining. The floors were masonite laid over cheap sheeting. The windows were sliding sash which didn't fit tightly, leaving a space of 1/4 inch between the sashes to provide for free flow of wind or dust which was all too prevalent. (p. 9)

Each block was to hold 250 to 300 Japanese Americans. Everyone dined in a mess hall, and shared communal bathrooms and showers. Each mess hall prepared meals for the residents in each block.

Food was rationed.... The allowance for food varied from 31 cents to 45 cents a day per person. Often a meal consisted of rice, bread, and macaroni, or beans, bread, and spaghetti. At one time we were served liver for several weeks, until we went on strike. (Okubo, 1946, p. 143)

Dave Tatsuno compares food in the Topaz Relocation Center with that of his earlier, pre-war experience:

[F]ood was very poor, it was enough but the food was not their taste or their liking.... I think all Japanese Americans had a very varied menu, because we lived in America and we were Americans, only Japanese faces. One day we would have rice with okazu [side dish] and next we will have American stew, next we have Mexican enchilada, you see, Chinese food. So I think we were very fortunate that we could eat all kinds of food, and variety of food. But in camp of course you didn't have that. ([OI] Dave Tatsuno, personal communication, San Jose, California, December 19, 1989. See Figure 14 on p. 51)

Former internees at Topaz Relocation Center described their living conditions and experiences as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Barrack living with home-made furniture, eating in mess hall.... Community bath rooms and laundry facilities, dust storm and scorpions. (Miye Yoshida, [QF])

Horrible. The barracks were ill constructed; many gaping holes in the roof and windows, no privacy for male and female. (Ronald Yutaka Yoshida, [QF])

Crowded with much lack of privacy. No intimate discussion. Lack of privacy in latrines and showers. (Joe Suyemoto, [QF])

The buildings were just shell, there was no insulation, the only source of heating was a pot-bellied stove, very primitive, and very cold because October in the desert gets extremely cold. (John Hada, [QF])

Living conditions in Topaz tended to be very extreme at times. Being in the desert, the air was very dry and I remember that my lips were chapped and cracking, until the camp started getting an adequate supply of lip balms. Dust was another source of major annoyance. I remember that when we first arrived in Topaz, we were assigned to two rooms 20' by 20'. There was so much dust in the rooms that we swept up two buckets of dust from each of the rooms before we could move in. During a dust storm, sometimes the visibility was so poor that you could barely see across the room. There were many nights we went to sleep with a damp handkerchief placed over our mouth and nose to keep from inhaling the dust. If you were unfortunate enough to be outside during a dust storm, you learn very quickly that you can lose your sense of direction. One night while returning from the hospital to my barrack, across a one block side barren area, I became totally disoriented in a dust storm and realized that I was walking in circles before I reached the road on the opposite side. It was a very unsettling feeling to walk for an endless period of time and not see any familiar landmark. (Anonymous male Nisei Japanese American, [QF])

Despite the harsh climate in the desert and uncomfortable living conditions in the center, Japanese Americans who were interned there showed great tolerance, zeal, and patience to make their life better (see Figure 15 on p. 52).

#### Topaz Relocation Center:

##### Life in the Center

Away from their original homes in California, Japanese Americans in the Topaz Relocation Center made every effort to make their lives as normal as possible, more comfortable



and somewhat pleasant. Yet, they may have felt not only a lot of frustration, anxiety, anger, and sorrow, but perhaps also some joy in the meantime. In order to glimpse some of those feelings and experiences, responses which were collected from interviews with former Topaz residents and also from questionnaire forms are presented in this section.

Three questions were asked:<sup>4</sup>

1. How did you feel about the mass evacuation?
2. What was the most difficult thing in Topaz Relocation Center?
3. Do you recall any interesting stories regarding Topaz Relocation Center?

The researcher selected several responses to these three questions through personal communication out of nine interviews and 22 questionnaire forms, which were collected from 1989 to 1993. The sample responses that are presented here originate from (a) Nisei students who were attending Topaz Relocation Center High School, with the exception of Paul Bell,<sup>5</sup> one of the few Caucasian students at the school; (b) Japanese Americans who were teaching at Topaz Relocation Center High School; and (c) Caucasians who were teachers at Topaz War Relocation Center High School.

[NS] stands for Nisei Student, [JAT] stands for Japanese American teacher, and [CT] stands for Caucasian teacher. Some requested to remain anonymous or be identified by initials only.

## 1. How did you feel about the mass evacuation?

Mary Tanaka [NS]  
Hurt. [QF]

Anonymous (female) [NS]  
I was fourteen years old and at that time, and wasn't really aware of gravity of situation. [QF]

Isao Baba [NS]  
Confused and a little scared, not knowing what to expect and yet a little excited about the new experience we were about to encounter. [QF]

S. K. (female) [NS]  
Bewildered. [QF]

Miye Yoshida [NS]  
Went to Topaz with family -- had never had so many Japanese American friends and was like a 3-year summer camp. [QF]

Takuzo Handa [NS]  
I had a wonderful time! Such a nice people to commingle with. [QF]

Ronald Yutaka Yoshida [NS]  
At age fourteen, I went where my family went. There was fear because things were so uncertain (rumors that we were to be traded for Prisoners of War, etc.). [QF]

Jim M. Noda [NS]  
Like a prisoner. [QF]

William Wehara [NS]  
Imprisoned, isolated from familiar friends and surroundings. Also, made new friends and had interest in getting on with school. [QF]

Joe Suyemoto [NS]  
Uncertain in what the future held. Had very little information of what outside life was and how to function. [QF]

Dwight Ken Nishimoto [NS]  
Too young to really comprehend what was happening although understood clearly that violation of our constitutional rights. [QF]

John Juji Hada [NS]  
I felt a vast loneliness had begun to descend upon us. The evacuation of Japanese and Japanese Americans from



the western littoral during the Second World War invited the question, why were we being evacuated and interned? The answer is deceptively simple: because of our race. [OI]

Paul Bell

Traveling from Berkeley to Utah, I was frightened of both Mormons and Japanese (Propaganda had its impact). After I arrived and met Berkeley high Nisei classmates, I felt more at home in the camp than in Delta. After all, I was a Bay Region kid. [QF]

Eleanor Gerald Sekerak [CT]

Sad, angry, eager to help. [QF]

Toyo S. Kawakami [JAT]

Bewildered at first. With concern for the future of my family. In time (a period of three years) I accepted what had to be and adjusted to the demands of camp living. Often wondered also why the evacuation and internment had been considered necessary. [QF]

Helen C. Dingley [CT]

Disgusted by the situation and determined to help bring about the restitution of evacuees' rights to the best of my ability and as soon as possible. [QF]

Joseph R. Goodman [CT]

Challenged. [OI]

2. What was the most difficult thing in Topaz Relocation Center?

G. Hattori [NS]

Crowding into one room. [OI]

Anonymous (female) [NS]

Seeing parents suffer, great economic loss. Evacuation was before the harvest. [QF]

M. Takeda [NS]

Living together in one room and not used to the weather. Also, windy dust storm. [QF]

Daisy Satoda [NS]

Everything. [QF]

J. Suyemoto [NS]

Uncertainty of the future. [QF]

- I. Baba [NS]  
Leaving behind my friends and our home. [QF]
- S. K. (female) [NS]  
Having to go to outside to go to the latrines and the dust storm. [QF]
- M. Yoshida [NS]  
Getting used to community bathrooms. [QF]
- T. Handa [NS]  
The betrayal of this specific segment of the citizenry by the government. This struck a blow at a basic fundamental quality of Americanism. It will never be the same for me, ever. Trust is an essential ingredient in a relationship among people. America trampled that. [QF]
- R. Yoshida [NS]  
My mother was ill (cancer) and before the evacuation, she died and two months after we were in Topaz. [QF]
- J. Noda [NS]  
No privacy in toilets. No news -- radios were not allowed and there were no newspapers. [QF]
- W. Wehara [NS]  
To accept the fact that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights could be trampled underfoot so easily. [QF]
- J. Suyemoto [NS]  
Lack of privacy within the family. [QF]
- J. Hada [NS]  
My mother had passed away immediately prior to the evacuation. I received the news like a terrible blow to my body. Tears filled my eyes. We were not able to attend to the funeral. [OI]
- P. Bell  
1) Having special privileges unavailable to my class mates.  
2) Having to ration my use of classmates' invitation to their dining halls because Caucasians were not supposed to accept internees' free food etc. [QF]
- E. Sekerak [CT]  
Weather! Dust storm, mud, cold. [QF]



T. Kawakami [JAT]

The most difficult problem was the lack of privacy in latrine building and the confines of the barrack rooms. [QF]

H. Dingley [CT]

Weekly teacher's meetings during which one had to deal with a variety of prejudice from a minority of the faculty and a principal who enjoyed this type of confrontation. [QF]

J. Goodman [CT]

The dust and wind. [OI]

Joe Mori [JAT]

Having to put up with communal type of living. Before [before the evacuation] you had your freedom and privacy. I guess in a way being relatively young, you adapt and you put up with it, but I don't know how it was for my parents, but I think we all coped. We managed to cope under the philosophy which they were raised with "gaman" [to endure] and "shikataganai" [can't help it] and that sort of thing. [OI]

3. Do you recall any interesting stories regarding

Topaz Relocation Center?

M. Takeda [NS]

I went to outside of camp for seasonal work during summer, we worked hard because we were not used to cannery work or field work. At end of summer we gathered our checks and cashed in and went shopping. I left my wallet at one store and lost my money. That was a very sad experience for me. [QF]

William Nakaso [NS]

Getting used to the many hours of free time. [QF]

S. K. (female) [NS]

Summer of 1943, we went to a "summer camp" for one week, away from Topaz in the mountains. Slept in tents and had meals outdoors; food was so good, unlike what we had in the mess hall. [QF]

T. Handa [NS]

I was fifteen and I fell in love, and my memories of Topaz will always be affected by that. Those happy memories enable me to overcome the nagging feeling that mankind is doomed. Life is a joke --- not cruel but funny. [QF]

J. Noda [NS]

I had a job after school at the cattle ranch. I learned how to cook and eat rattlesnake. We were fed much internal organs like liver, tongue and heart. When I left, I said I would never eat internal organs again. [QF]

J. Suyemoto [NS]

I was almost shot while trying to pilfer lumber for personal use. [QF]

J. Hada [NS]

The resolve by many internees to make the best of a terrible situation. The devotion and respect for each other which cannot be spoken about save to say it existed as a flower exists having come unbidden into an unexpected world to a quite common man. [OI]

P. Bell

One of my classmates was late for departure on our truck for an away football game. He was sporting a fresh old country hair cut. Teammates called him "Jap." I didn't dare use that term until later when I was tagged as the "White Jap," then I knew I was accepted.

I was the tallest kid in school @6.2, loved basketball, but couldn't sky [jump] at all --- couldn't make the team --- not fast, couldn't jump.

During class pictures for yearbooks, I stood on the floor in the back row, and the others in my row were standing on benches. [QF]

T. Kawakami [JAT]

When I was teaching an adult class (Issei group) in Basic English, quick-witted gentleman punned on the name of the state: "So U---tah," rendering into "So it is said" in Japanese.

All the blocks looked alike, so camp residents would occasionally lose their sense of direction at night and wander into a barrack not their own, much to their embarrassment and that of the occupant. [QF]

All the responses to three questions differ from person to person according to his or her perception, family background, or postwar experiences. As Sandra Taylor explained, "Memories also tend to be selective and are influenced by the succeeding events in one's life" (1991, p. 383). How-



ever, these firsthand feelings and experiences from former Topaz residents will allow us to have a closer understanding of the life in the center and give us a better picture and idea of the circumstances in which Topaz Relocation Center High School was carried on. In the next chapter, life for Japanese American youth in Topaz Relocation Center and their experiences in Topaz High School are examined.



Figure 10. An overview of Topaz Relocation Center 1942-1945. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)





Figure 11. A barrack in Topaz Relocation Center. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)



Figure 12. Japanese Americans arriving in Topaz Relocation Center. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)





Figure 13. A broken desk found on former Topaz Relocation Center site today. (A photograph taken by the researcher in 1990)

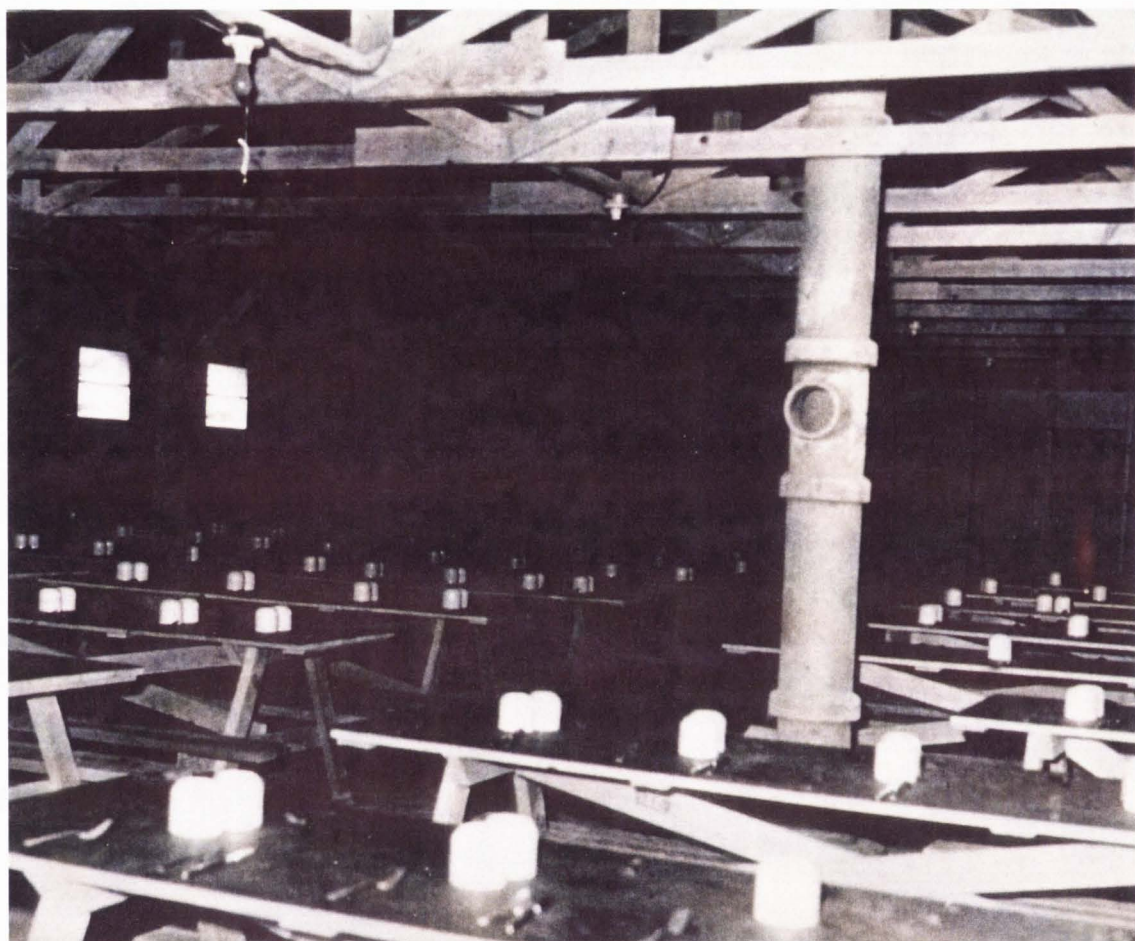


Figure 14. A mess hall in Topaz Relocation Center.  
(Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City,  
Utah)



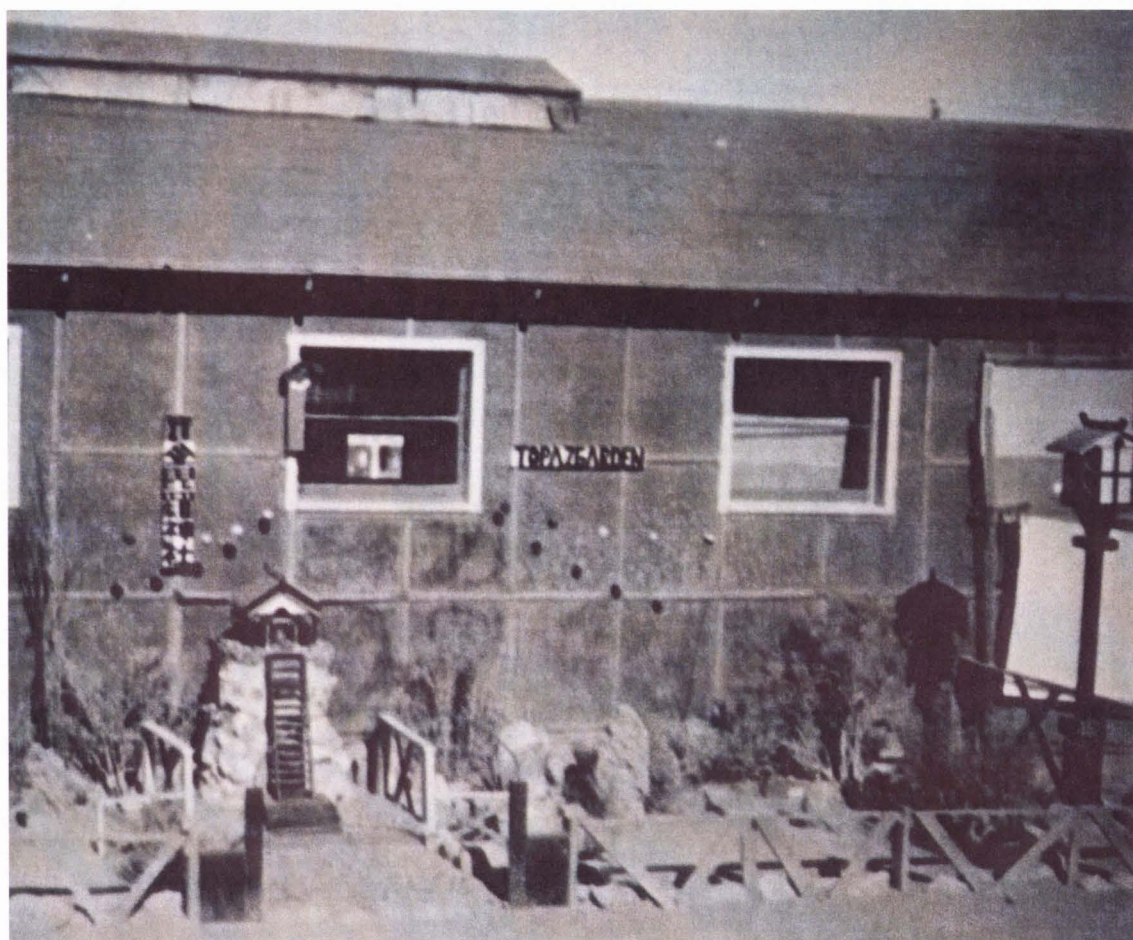


Figure 15. A Topaz Garden built by a Japanese American internee in Topaz Relocation Center. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)

CHAPTER IV  
TOPAZ RELOCATION CENTER HIGH SCHOOL:  
JAPANESE AMERICAN YOUTH IN  
A WAR RELOCATION CENTER

Topaz High School was a school established and organized for Japanese American youth interned in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah, from 1942 to 1945. In one sense, it was an ordinary high school where students learned, studied, played, took part in school activities, and graduated as in any other American high school. However, it was not a routine high school, established as it was in the middle of a desert by the WRA and operated only for the duration of World War II.

What did those Japanese American youth learn there? What was it like to attend a War Relocation Center school? What did they see, feel, and think in the meantime? What about the teachers who were there? What did they experience? How did the students and teachers interact in the school? These are the questions examined in this chapter.

First of all, a physical description of Topaz High School, and its curriculum, which was designed early in 1942, is presented. Then, recollections and responses from former Topaz High School students as well as teachers on school related issues are described.



### Opening of Topaz High School

In July of 1942, the WRA established an Education Section to organize schools and provide educational programs for children of Japanese Americans in War Relocation Centers. Dillon S. Myer, who was the director of WRA then, held several meetings and requested authority to hire superintendents of education for each camp (Zeller, 1969, p. 46). The first Superintendent of Education for Topaz Relocation Center was John C. Carlisle, who was then Dean of the School of Education at Utah State University<sup>1</sup> in Logan, Utah (Taylor, 1993, p. 121). He was very sensitive to the needs of Japanese American children in the Topaz Relocation Center and was willing to help in organizing schools. At the first teachers' meeting in October, 1942, Carlisle mentioned, "In this abnormal Relocation Center, only the schools could provide the residents with an environment approaching the normal American community" (WRA, 1945a, p. 2).

With such a philosophy carried by the Superintendent of Education, as well as other teachers and Japanese American internees, school programs for Japanese American children in Topaz Relocation Center were formulated and the schools opened their doors to the students on October 26, 1942 (WRA, 1945a, p. 3). There were four pre-schools, three kindergartens, two elementary schools, and a high school which consisted of 7th through 12th grades. These schools were to

follow and meet the requirements set by the Utah State Board of Education (WRA, 1945b, p. 2).

The "Summary curriculum report of Topaz City educational program: 1942 - 1945" (WRA, 1945b) describes the aims and purposes of the Topaz schools as follows:

1. To see that these young American citizens, although withdrawn from normal community life would be able to pursue their education with as little interruption as possible.

2. To give directions to the child concerning his future. (pp. 1-2)

However, these aims and goals were not easy to attain in the early stage of the schools for various reasons. Take, for example, the case of the high school. Those children in Topaz High School had been attending 107 different high schools in the Bay Area before they were interned in Topaz Relocation Center, and this variety of schools attended made imperative a complex adjustment in credits. For instance, there were considerable differences in the amount of credit allowed for the same subjects by different schools in the Bay Area, and this brought about a need to come up with a plan for giving consideration for all courses which were taken previously (WRA, 1945b, pp. 1-2). Other major obstacles were poor facilities, lack of supplies and equipment, and difficulty in securing teaching personnel for Topaz High School. In fact, all schools were held in regular barracks in the center because WRA did not design any



special buildings for schools and educational purposes.

Block 32 was assigned to Topaz High School. "The education program: Central Utah Relocation Center" (WRA, 1945a) describes the problems concerning the school facility as follows:

Block 32 was to house the high school students. Barrack 9 in block 32 was designed for the high school library, and barrack 10 for administration affairs. Dining hall 32, which would seat approximately 250 people, was to be used as the student assembly center where the recreational and student body needs of over 1000 high school students had to be cared for.... October 26, the date designated to open the schools, found these buildings without heating facilities. School continued for approximately one week after which, due to snow and unusually cold weather, it was necessary to close the schools. All appointed and resident personnel and volunteers from the students and parents were assigned the task of winterizing the classrooms.... The original barracks were poor in lighting, and the only seating facilities were rough tables and benches that had been constructed on the Project [center].... It was necessary to double the window lighting facilities in order to protect the eyes of the children. It was also necessary to re-wire the classrooms so that ample artificial light would be available on stormy days. (pp. 4, 19)

Using regular barracks as school classrooms created other difficulties. The barrack rooms were not designed to accommodate a large group of people at one time, so it became necessary to take out partitions so that larger classes could be held there. There were not adequate desks and chairs in those make-shift classrooms, and students suffered scarcity of supplies at the beginning, such as few or no textbooks and lack of blackboards. Right after the schools were opened in the fall of 1942, the physical facilities of the schools in Topaz Relocation Center were far

below acceptable standards; however, with the cooperation of teaching personnel and the Japanese American residents, the situation was gradually improved and overcome by September of 1944 (WRA, 1945a, pp. 4, 20; James, 1987, pp. 46-47).

Securing an adequate number of certified Caucasian teachers (appointed teachers; refer to definition of terms on p. viii) was always a problem in Topaz High School. The unusual teaching environment made it difficult to hire teachers. On the other hand, many teachers who were hired faced problems adjusting to the "new environment." This was explained as follows:

The teachers employed by necessity were of two classes; a) older teachers who had been retired from teaching, or for other reasons had left the profession, and b) younger teachers who had just come out of the teacher education institutions and had accepted this [teaching position at Topaz] as their first teaching position. In the first case, the teachers were set in their philosophy and instruction pattern, and it was exceedingly difficult, and in some sense impossible, for them to adjust to the "new environment." In the second case, the teachers were inexperienced and found themselves unable to successfully cope with the added responsibilities that the schools in a relocation center imposed on them.... (WRA, 1945a, p. 14)

And what made it even more difficult for those teachers was the fact that a lack of supplies, equipment, and books consequently made them the only resource in teaching classes (WRA, 1945a, p. 14). Despite these difficulties in hiring teachers, the WRA managed to secure several appointed teachers who were very devoted and willing to work with and for Japanese American students at Topaz High School; among them were Joseph Goodman, Eleanor Gerard Sekerak, Kenneth Farrer,



and Helen C. Dingley, with whom the researcher was able to make contact. These people did not come to Topaz High School simply or primarily for money but out of their willingness to help those Japanese American youth in the War Relocation Center school. They were the humane people who were determined to be a help to those Japanese American students, and they contributed to making a real difference in their high school lives (Taylor, 1993, p. 225). Harry H. L. Kitano (1993), a professor of social welfare and sociology at University of California, at Los Angeles and a former Topaz High School student, remembers Eleanor Gerard Sekerak:

The best teachers were those who treated us as "normal" students and expected discipline and high standards of performance.... One of the best teachers was Eleanor Gerard Sekerak, a graduate from the University of California and a California "credentialed teacher," which gave her enormous prestige among the camp residents.... She expected class to start on time, homework to be turned in promptly, exams to take place regularly and to observe normal classroom standards. (pp. 47-48)

The shortage of certified Caucasian teachers was filled by Japanese American internees who had college degrees or had some years of college education. However, these Japanese Americans who were hired as teachers at Topaz High School were not certified under the requirements of the State of Utah (WRA, 1945a, p.5).<sup>2</sup> Hence, these "resident teachers" (refer to definition of terms on p. viii) were categorized as cadet teachers and practiced teaching under the supervision of certified Caucasian teachers (Zeller,

1969, p. 50; WRA, 1945a, p.5). Wanda Robertson,<sup>3</sup> who was a supervisor of cadet teaching at Topaz schools, organized special classes for the cadet teachers. Outside instructors from the University of Utah and Brigham Young University were asked to come to Topaz Relocation Center to conduct classes for residents as well as for appointed teachers. Those classes were methods in secondary education, practice teaching, educational psychology, and general secondary methods (WRA, 1945a, p. 17).

One interesting characteristic about Topaz High School was that it was a school made up almost exclusively of Japanese American students (there were a few Caucasian students in Relocation Center schools whose parents were WRA staff). This unique setting made a completely different environment for them. When those Japanese American students were attending schools in the Bay Area, they were the minority group in their schools, but now they became the majority in Topaz High School. Consequently, they now were given chances to create their own school recreation program, develop leadership in schools, set up a student body government, and so on. Fumi Hayashi remembers,

We could do our own thing; we could try out for plays, be in choruses, or run the school or go to dances or anything you wanted. So, in some ways it [school life] was fun for us. ([OI] Fumi Hayashi, personal communication, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1989)

Joseph Goodman, an appointed science teacher, also recalls,

I talked to them [students] about this unusual opportu-



nity they had; to be in a full academic school, they had the opportunity to decide a lot of traditional things such as the school color, the school mascot, and their constitutions of their various organizations, so they could develop whole gamut of what the normal school would have in terms of activities. So, that was the challenge that I made to them... ([OI] Joseph Goodman, personal communication, San Francisco, California, July 22, 1990)

Prior to the opening of Topaz High School and other schools in different War Relocation Centers, under a request from the WRA, a model curriculum was designed in the summer of 1942 by Paul Hanna, a professor in the Education Department at Stanford University, and his graduate class in Curriculum Development. This curriculum class at Stanford University gathered information on War Relocation Centers and background materials and in September, 1942, the idea of a model curriculum for "community schools" was set up and proposed to the WRA to apply to War Relocation schools.

"Community School" was defined as follows:

A community school is one which bases its curriculum on the life of the community in which it is located. It becomes an institution of service in community development as well as an institution for developing the individual. The community school is an instrument to be used deliberately by the community in attacking its own problems. It also has a double effect upon the life of children and youth since (a) it contributes to an improved set of environmental conditions through which they will be better nurtured, and (b) as they participate in the attack on community problems through the school, they further their own best development. (WRA, 1945a, p. 103)

This kind of school curriculum called on everyone in the War Relocation Center to contribute to problem solving; the idea was that "school would lose its identification with

a single group of buildings. The walls of the classroom were to cease being educational boundaries..." (Zeller, 1969, p. 61). The idea was further explained: "Groups of children and adults work on the spot -- farm, shop, home, office -- wherever the problem is ..." (WRA, 1945a, p. 103).

However, this ideal "community school" curriculum was not a successful one. In Topaz High School this idea was not favored mainly for two reasons. One was that Japanese American parents were conservative and in educating their young they put emphasis on academic subjects rather than on learning about the problems in the community. The students themselves were more interested in traditional textbooks and the homework type of learning so that they would be prepared to enter universities and colleges. This may well have to do with the fact that the population of Topaz was basically from the urban Bay Area and they were more business and professionally oriented. Another reason was that the chaotic circumstances in which Topaz Relocation Center was set up did not allow the leaders in the community much time to teach students (WRA, 1945a, p. 104).

Thus the "community school" curriculum was replaced by an academically based normal curriculum which featured English and social studies as "core" at Topaz High School (Sekerak, 1983, p. 11). The courses that were offered in Topaz High School were social studies, science, physical education, music, mathematics, industrial arts, homemaking,



foreign language, English, commerce, art, auto mechanics, and agriculture. In Topaz High School, credits and graduation requirements were set as follows (WRA, 1945b, p. 20):

In the Topaz City High School, one unit of credit was given for the successful completion of a class which met for a period of fifty minutes, five times a week for thirty-six weeks.... The [school] year was divided into two semesters of eighteen weeks each. Twenty units of credit were required for graduation, fifteen of which had to be taken in the last three years of high school. The following credits were required for graduation:

- (1) Three units of English
- (2) Three units of social studies
- (3) Three units of physical education
- (4) One unit of science

Among much confusion and uncertainty, Topaz High School launched its educational program in the fall of 1942, with 1,041 pupils enrolled. As Superintendent of Schools, John C. Carlisle mentioned at the first teachers' meeting, and as Harry Kitano pointed out, high school was the one place where an attempt to bring back a measure of normal American community to Japanese American youth was made, and both appointed and resident teachers tried to create as normal a high school life as possible. There was a school chorus, a students' newspaper, a yearbook, a student government body, school activities such as drama, athletics, and dances, and all the usual Senior Week activities (Kitano, 1993, p. 48; Sekerak, 1983, p. 12).

Recollections of Japanese American Youth  
in Topaz High School

According to a statistical report in "The education program: Central Utah Relocation Center," 589 Japanese American youth graduated from Topaz High School during the school years of 1942 through 1945; the first graduating group had 120 female and 103 males students; the next graduating group had 97 female and 90 male students; and the last graduating group had 96 female and 83 male students (WRA, 1945a, Appendix, p. 5).

What did these youths go through in their unusual school setting? The main focus of this section centers on this question. In order to obtain the recollections that pertain to school, the following questions were asked of former Topaz High School students through interviews and questionnaires:<sup>4</sup>

1. What do you think of the quality of education in Topaz High School?
2. What kind of hardships did you have in Topaz High School and how did you cope with those hardships?
3. How did you feel about the fact that you were in a War Relocation Center school?
4. Do you recall any rebellion in the classroom?
5. How were students disciplined in the classroom?



6. Were you disadvantaged because of going to a school at the War Relocation Center?

7. Do you recall any interesting stories or comments related to Topaz High School?

8. What does evacuation mean to you?

Selected responses to the questions above are presented. Observations by the researcher follow.

1. What do you think of the quality of education in Topaz High School?

Grace Hattori [OI]

It was probably sufficient for that circumstances. But, most of us thought, if we are going to college we had to meet UC [University of California] standard... So, I felt that education that I was getting in camp was not in that sense sufficient.

Anonymous female student [QF]  
Poor to average.

Mary Takeda [QF]  
Fair.

Sam Nakaso [QF]  
Good.

Daisy Satoda [QF]  
Poor.

Lee Suyemoto [QF]  
Generally sub-standard; lack of qualified teachers, supplies, books and facilities etc...

Isao Baba [QF]  
Good

S. K (female student) [QF]  
There were no labs for science classes, insufficient supplies and books.

Takuzo Handa [QF]  
Adequate. The primary requisite in education is that individual must want it. The rest is incidental.

Ronald Yoshida [QF]

Varied; depended on teachers. Can't judge quality of textbooks because there was little to compare.

Jim Noda [QF]

Some good, some bad, depending on teachers. Some of the Caucasian teachers were very bad instructors. I think they came to teach in relocation camp because they could not get good jobs elsewhere.

William Wehara [QF]

I think it was good. I feel the most important aspect of educational quality is the respect and goals that instructor and students have for the instruction.

Joe Suyemoto [QF]

Apparently good.

Dwight Nishimoto [QF]

Spotty; math and sciences good. English, languages, history etc, not so good.

John Hada [OI]

Notwithstanding the absence of fiscal and other resources, the quality of education was excellent.

Paul Bell [QF]

Teachers' capabilities from very poor to exceptional; students' value system for achievement really stretched me to high quality than in other schools at that time. High proportions of classmates entered professions.

Anonymous male student [QF/Conversation on the phone]

The quality of the education was surprisingly good considering the numerous handicaps that the teaching staff had to work under.

The perception on quality of education at Topaz High School varies from excellent to poor. As some students mentioned, the capability and resourcefulness of the teachers may explain the difference in this aspect.

Fumi Hayashi comments on teachers at the Topaz High School:

I think some of the teachers who came to teach in camp, like Mary McMillan and Victor Curts and some of those people, they came because they felt that we [Japanese



Americans] shouldn't be there and they would do whatever they could do to help.... It was more like "you people are here and I am here with you." ([OI] Fumi Hayashi, personal communication, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1989)

Grace Hattori also remarks that,

I have a feeling that they [the appointed teachers] didn't have to be there, they came out of their own heart, they thought there was a lack of justice, so they came [to teach at Topaz High School. ([OI] Grace Hattori, personal communication, San Jose, California, December 21, 1989)

Teachers with that sort of attitude may have made quite a difference in students' lives in Topaz High School.

However, at the same time, an individual student's perception is reflected in differing opinions as well.

2. What kind of hardships did you have in Topaz High School and how did you cope with those hardships?

M. Takeda

Do your best with what little educational material on hand.

Anonymous female student

School was a ball for me. Made treasured, life long friends.

S. Nakaso

Ironically, lack of familial direction which was evident prior to camp. Struggled through it.

D. Satoda

Shortage of books, makeshift classroom, limited curriculum. Overall poor quality of teachers -- most [of them] not qualified to teach. As with most Japanese Americans, we learned to endure and made the best of a deplorable situation. Japanese discipline of "gambare" [do your best] and "shikataganai" [you can't help it].

I. Baba

Concentrating in learning, due to not knowing what the future was in store for me. Made up my mind to do the best as I can.

S. K. (female student)

Barracks were used [for school], that means only a pot belly stove for heat. Dust storm meant unbearable conditions. Walked to and from lunch; snow during winter made going to and from school difficult. Luckily, being a teenager, it was not as hard on us as it was for the elderly or infants.

Miye Yoshida [QF]

School wasn't taken too seriously and therefore not much effort was placed in studying.

T. Handa

None.

R. Yoshida

I can't relate to "hardship" as we were all in the same situation. As a teenager, I just wanted to have fun.

W. Wehara

Lack of supplies, books, equipment, poor light and lack of heat. Made do with what was available.

J. Suyemoto

Inadequate classroom. No laboratories and no real demonstration in chemistry or physics. Inadequate library. Ignored them. We know no better.

J. Hada

The shortage of equipment and supplies. Shortage of reference materials and library materials. One simply did without.

P. Bell

- 1) Studying enough to keep up with classmates.
- 2) Normal teenager problems of identity.
- 3) Some bigoted Caucasian teachers expected me to maintain distance from internees. I tried to be accepted by peers.

(P. Bell explains how he coped to overcome these hardships as follows:)

- 1) Poorly
- 2) Sought all types of advice and muddled through.
- 3) Ignored the teachers; accepted poorer grades.

Anonymous male student

School supplies were in very short supply. Classrooms were not insulated and not airtight from the outside weather extremes. Camp life was not very conducive for concentrating on studies.



Most of the hardship was expressed in the area of poor facilities, lack of equipment and books, and so on. One interesting comment by Paul Bell about "bigoted Caucasian teachers" gives us some glimpse that there were two types of appointed teachers in Topaz High School: ones who were willing to help and teach Japanese American youth, and the others who were prejudiced against them.

3. How did you feel about the fact that you were in a War Relocation Center school?

S. Nakaso

Not positive attitude. Lack of equipment and lack of textbooks made education a difficult one.

L. Suyemoto

I was aware that quality of camp education was sub-standard in comparison with Berkeley education system.

I. Baba

At the time I was irresponsible person. So I didn't feel angry nor happy.

S. K. (female student)

At first, felt very strange to be in school with only Japanese Americans. Then a strong bonding process occurred because of similar background and our environment.

W. Wehara

I quickly gained respect for the instructors and students. I found them to be highly trained and very worthy.

J. Suyemoto

There was no comparison. In contrast to Berkeley High School. Camp school was very easy.

D. Nishimoto

A homogeneity of the students [in Topaz High School].

J. Hada

How can one not feel it? There were many tangible and intangible reminders ever-present.

P. Bell

I was accepted by the school leaders -- elected to student body vice president, many committee chairships, editor of newspaper, manager of the yearbook and school ceremonies. I suspect I was not well accepted by the non-leader/non-athlete cliques.

For the Japanese American students who were used to the high schools in the Bay Area, Topaz High School must have been bleak and inadequate. The drastic change in school environment and academic standards in Topaz High School compelled Japanese American youth to make adjustments and new adaptations, and yet being teenagers and still fairly young may have helped to make those shifts easier for some of them.

4. Do you recall any rebellion in the classroom?

M. Takeda

No.

G. Hattori

I remember when Mrs. Low was our core teacher, and she was overweight. She was a good person and she tried very hard, but the kids were not responsive to her. And I remember when it snowed, the students threw snowballs at her and she could not come into the class. But it was not a snowball, they had a piece of coal in them, so this is cruel. Some of the boys were wild.

S. Nakaso

Not to my knowledge.

D. Satoda

Not generally, but there were several incidents of protest against several totally unqualified or inadequate teachers.

L. Suyemoto

Led class out of school because of ethnic slur made by a teacher.



M. Yoshida

I was in a social studies class which was predominantly boys, and they decided to lock out the ex-missionary teacher. Another social study class -- for some reason I can't recall, friends decided to walk out during the class, I was torn between friends and the teacher but left.

T. Handa

None.

Fumi Hayashi [OI]

I know one time we threw snow balls at our teachers (laugh). We had one time a mud fight that turned out to be a little bit of a grudge match.

J. Noda

None.

W. Wehara

There were direct and indirect expressions of resentment by some students. Naturally the Caucasian teachers were likely to be the target of veiled and unveiled resentment.

D. Nishimoto

Nothing extraordinary. Usual flap of hairstyle and clothes.

J. Hada

None that I can recall.

P. Bell

Yes, but we got resolution prior to the strike we planned.

The responses and comments centering on "rebellion" in the classroom and juvenile delinquency issue reveal a discrepancy in information that the researcher gathered and read in some of the written records. In the "Central Utah Community Analysis Report,"<sup>5</sup> "walk outs" on some of the teachers, juvenile delinquency problems such as physical violence, and the destruction of property are reported by the community analyst Oscar Hoffman (WRA, 1945c, reports

dated May 28, 1944; June 17, 1944). Both Sandra Taylor (1993) and Thomas James (1987) refer to Hoffman's reports on the behavior problems of students in their publications. Some students share memories of "walk outs" on teachers, but on the other hand, some students do not recall any of those incidents. The five teachers whom the researcher contacted did not share any information on students' behavior problems at all (refer to the responses of teachers on this issue in the next section of this paper). It is not possible to have a clear picture or to prove if there was any student behavior problem or not at that time. This may be due to different perceptions of individuals and especially a Caucasian perspective may have affected the assumptions in the "Community Analysis Report." Nevertheless, the attitude of cooperation among students to carry on the classes was likely to be present at least in the classes which were taught by conscientious teachers.

5. How were students disciplined in the classroom?

M. Takeda

I think we were all good students.

S. Nakaso

Usual way, I imagine -- stern looks by teachers and soothing/counseling attitude by the same teacher.

L. Suyemoto

Do not recall major disciplinary problem in classroom. This, I think was due to fear of parental disapproval if reported to teachers.

I. Baba

Was just lectured to.



J. Noda

Don't remember any one being disciplined. We were all good students.

J. Hada

I do not recall witnessing any disciplinary problems while in High School. Students studied hard and wanted to enter colleges.

Anonymous male student

Overall discipline was rarely a problem except for minor infractions. The Issei influence on our upbringing probably played a big part in enabling the faculty to maintain good control over the students in the classrooms.

G. Hattori

We did have disciplinary problems. It is kind of the problem I see in typical junior high school. It is very difficult for them [junior high school level students] to concentrate. When you get to high school, you are more "ochitsuiteiru" [settled down], but not in junior high. Their attention span is very short and they are constantly rebellious. They are going through a period in their life where there are many changes, physiologically. So their emotions are not settled and quick to react emotionally. The students were not what you would call model students, not what you could call "majime" [serious], not in the junior high school. They are very much for fun and did not listen to the teacher, and I think that they were difficult for the teachers.

From these recollections, the researcher assumes that students' behavior problems and delinquency problems which are reported by Oscar Hoffman in his community analysis report may have been exaggerated to some extent from his point of view. On the other hand, it is possible that different age levels in the Topaz High School had different episodes. As G. Hattori points out, apparently junior high school-level students and senior high school students have something different to say. One interesting observation she made in her interview was that misbehavior in junior high

school might have had something to do with the fact that the entire school and classes were almost homogeneous groups of Japanese American students, and that allowed them to behave the way they wanted to behave, whereas if they had been in a different setting with other ethnic groups in the classroom, they might have behaved otherwise.

On the whole, students were still under parental influence to do well in school. Thomas James explained it this way (1987, p. 11),

Educational success, highly valued by the parents, became a matter of honor; failure to succeed and prove oneself worthy was a moral failure, not only for the individual but for the family, the local community, and the entire ethnic group.

With that set of values they were unlikely to get into trouble.

6. Were you disadvantaged because of going to a school at the War Relocation Center?

G. Hattori

Yes. Fortunately, teachers at the new school gave extra help after school to get me caught up.

Anonymous female student

I spent last year of high school at East High School in Salt Lake City, Utah. It was an excellent academic school and made up for inferior quality of Topaz High School.

M. Takeda

No.

S. Nakaso

No.

F. Hayashi

Lack of cultural experiences such as concerts, museums, etc... and not being able to expose yourself to those



things may be the disadvantage of War Relocation Center school.

L. Suyemoto

Yes. Lack of quality education (teachers, facilities etc...) initially required substantial effort to catch up.

I. Baba

I don't believe we were at a disadvantage because of the school. We had the opportunity to learn as much as the high school outside of the camp.

S. K. (female student)

Science and math classes were not the same as regular school; those classes and subjects were substantial and harder learning later.

M. Yoshida

Yes!! I never studied so hard (even in college) during my 12th year in order to receive an academic diploma; New York has state regents' exams and I had to take all of them in one year.

R. Yoshida

Yes, especially in curriculum which included laboratories (i.e., chemistry, physics). Overall, high school was easy -- had to really study at U.C. [University of California]

J. Noda

No, not because of the school, but because of the lack of normal surroundings, such as stop light, stores, playground, movie, athletic equipment.

W. Wehara

No. On resuming a school in Salt Lake City, I felt from my ranking in achievement there that I had lost no time in camp school.

J. Suyemoto

I was not as well prepared. Bad study habits, lack of personal discipline.

D. Nishimoto

Yes. Especially in English and history.

P. Bell

No. My education was enhanced beyond the stratum I was in during my Berkeley years.

It is not possible to judge whether the educational program provided for Japanese American youth in Topaz High School was adequate or not from these responses. Some recall that they were disadvantaged because of the substantial difference in quality of education in the Topaz Relocation Center school, and some people recall that they did not face any problems because of the learning they had there. Again, an individual perception may play an important role in this question.

7. Do you recall any interesting stories or comments related to Topaz High School?

M. Takeda

One good thing was I met people from all over which I would have never experienced, and now we keep in touch every five years with our class reunion. I will look forward to our 50th reunion if I am still around.

G. Hattori

When we were taking a class in civics, it didn't occur to us that it was wrong that we were in war relocation. We didn't consider, we didn't equate those things [violation of our civil rights] to what our position was. I think we were so much inside of it [camp] and it was hard to see from the outside. My daughter asks me "Didn't you know that your civil rights was violated?" and I said "No." Because you think of civil rights, until the black civil rights movement came into being, most people never thought of having a certain rights. So, in 1942, we didn't even think of we had any rights, it did not occur to us that we had certain rights that we should not have been taken into camp... I don't think I felt bitterness. I don't think I wondered why we were there [camp]. I think a lot of our attitudes came from our parents; an attitude that this is the situation that is not good, but we will make the best out of it. The parents were very strong and they had a sense of we would do the best in this situation. The best that we can, and so that our job was to go to school....



R. Yoshida

Since our class experienced our whole high school in camp, a certain camaraderie developed that has lasted a lifetime. I still communicate with the core of the graduation class and attend the 5 year reunion we have had since 1970.

Anonymous male student

Miss Gerald was very influential in my decision to attend a college after graduation from Topaz High School. She had a similar influence on a very high percentage of my classmates.

F. Hayashi

One thing I learned in Topaz [High School] was how to take good notes. So, when I got to school outside, the teacher was really impressed because I can take notes really fast, and it was because all during school in Topaz, we did not have real textbooks.

The question "Do you recall any interesting stories or comments related to Topaz High School or your school life?" brought forth various types of responses and comments. One thing that was noticed from these recollections to this particular question was that the positive side of their experiences was recalled rather than the negative side. The negative side of their experiences may well be suppressed in their memories and may not be easy to call to the surface even today.

8. What does evacuation mean to you?

G. Hattori

An error on the part of the US government in response to a war situation and general prejudice and hysteria.

Anonymous female student

Deprivation of civil liberties without due process.

S. Nakaso

The U.S. government can be pressured into doing what the vocal minority (Californians) wish.

L. Suyemoto

Evacuation means I spent 3 1/2 years in an abnormal environment.

I. Baba

Being young at the time, I thought it was quite an experience. As I grew older I began to realize it was a great injustice to the people of Japanese ancestry. It really was hardship for my parents being uprooted

from their homes, and the great loss they had to endure.

S. K. (female student)

Three years of my life -- starting from "scratch" in terms of school, living conditions, applying to get jobs, etc... The loss of freedom, privacy, contact with outside world, isolated situation.

M. Yoshida

It did get me to Utah and New York and did develop lasting friendship.

T. Handa

Just another example of man's inhumanity to man. It was not unique at the Indians, Ainus, Jews, etc. The examples are countless.

R. Yoshida

In retrospect, it provided me an opportunity to meet other Niseis who became lasting friends. I don't know if that would have been possible if I didn't go to camp.

J. Noda

It was a time of very confusing events. I was considered a disloyal person until I was 18 years old. Then suddenly, I was considered a loyal citizen and drafted into the army.

W. Wehara

It was a disaster to which we responded the best we could.

J. Suyemoto

Change of personality to being more introverted. Did not socialize with students. Loss of self esteem.

D. Nishimoto

It is now back a distant memory.



P. Bell

To me it was a grand opportunity. To my classmates, it forced expanded choices for careers. The kids got hurt very little, became close. The parents were too old to start new careers. Being their age now I hurt even more for the waste of their industry, creativeness, skills. The nation lost on this action.

Mixed positive and negative recollections were introduced by former students to this question. The positive side is that the evacuation opened new horizons to those youth and brought them to different parts of the United States. Many good lifetime friends were made in Topaz High School. A lot of positive recollections centered around the teachers these Japanese American youths had studied and interacted with during their school lives. The negative side is that they had to put up with the difficulties they faced in War Relocation school and studying in inadequate school environment. It is interesting to see that there are several notes of betrayal, hurt, and civil awareness here that do not show up in the earlier questions. Those negative sides of it often have deep roots in the Japanese American youth's mind. Fumi Hayashi comments,

After we came back from camp, we were afraid to make noises. But when our kids came up; "What is the matter with you guys?" ... You don't want to call attention to yourself. You want to be just quiet and do your things and not make any waves and go by your very calm order of being.... Because in many ways if you went to prison or something really bad happened to you, and you weren't happy about it, you are not going to sit there and tell your kids about it.... With my children, when they were very young, what I did was that I started to buy books on evacuation.... I wouldn't read the books but I would buy the book so that they wanted to see it and they should. Because I don't want to sit around feeling sorry for myself. So, I buy all these books

but I don't read them, I skip through them, but never read them. I read Journey to Topaz [by Yoshiko Uchida] and cried a bucket full of tears, so that was enough. ([OI] Fumi Hayashi, personal communication, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1989)

Spoken memories and unspoken memories, which are still silenced in the minds of former Topaz High School students, must exist.

While hearing various recollections from former Japanese American youth on these questions, one question arose: Why were those students still motivated to study even if they had many good reasons and excuses to be discouraged and to neglect education? A probable answer to this inquiry was shared in an interview by Joe Mori, a resident teacher at Topaz High School:

I think that the family unit was still together and I feel that the parents were still quite driven for the children to study hard, at least to get a high school diploma, and if possible, to continue on to college. They were like us [Joe Mori and others who were in universities when they were evacuated into Topaz Relocation Center] that had started colleges and that had wanted to continue on finish getting education. At least I was not discouraged for having to stay up for opportunities.... I think that kind of feeling might have been conveyed to the students, because I kind of tried to make the impression that "yes, you are freshman or you are a senior in high school now, but think of the future, and that you should study as much as you can, and go as far as you can, and get an education." ([OI] Joe Mori, personal communication, Saratoga, California, December 20, 1989)

Another thing which Joe Mori pointed out then was that the parents valued schooling and ensured that their young would receive a good education because they wanted them to be better off than they were. An idea behind this value



system was, as he explained, that education and knowledge are something that cannot be taken away. It is clear that this view towards education was shared between the parents and Japanese American youth at that time.

### Recollections of Teachers in Topaz High School

While Japanese American youth were attending school in an unusual environment and circumstances, what did the teachers go through? How did they try to help Japanese American youth in Topaz High School? How did they encourage students to be motivated to learn under difficult circumstances?

Recollections of three appointed teachers and two resident teachers collected from oral interviews and questionnaire forms are presented here. The following questions were addressed to them:

1. What do you think of the quality of education in Topaz High School?
2. What kind of hardships did you have teaching at Topaz High School and how did you cope with those hardships?
3. How did you explain, as a teacher, about the fact that the students were in War Relocation Center school?
4. Do you recall any rebellion in the classroom?
5. How were students disciplined in the classroom?
6. Were you disadvantaged because of teaching at a War Relocation Center school?

7. Do you recall any interesting stories or comments related to Topaz High School or your teaching experience there?

8. What does evacuation mean to you?

Eleanor Gerard Sekerak taught U.S. history, U.S. government, and English; Toyo S. Kawakami, English and Latin; Helen C. Dingley, 10th grade world history and 12th grade American problems; Joseph Goodman, chemistry, physics, solid geometry, advanced algebra; and Joe Mori, algebra.

1. What did you think of the quality of education in Topaz High School?

Eleanor Gerard Sekerak [QF/conversation on the phone]  
On the high school level, it was good except for lack of lab equipment in chemistry and physics.

Toyo S. Kawakami [QF]  
Despite inadequate classroom facilities and lack of supplies, the teachers did well and enabled their students to eventually go to college.

Helen C. Dingley [QF]  
Good -- certainly by Utah standards at the time  
Fair -- by California Bay Area standards!

Joseph Goodman [OI]  
We tried for the best under the conditions available.

Joe Mori [OI]  
The teachers were more dedicated and I would like to think that the students got as good, if not better, education as they could have gotten outside [the War Relocation Center].

Students were not the only people who suffered from material shortage and lack of equipment. Teachers may have had an even more difficult time compensating and coming up with ideas to conduct classes without sufficient supplies.



Joe Goodman remembers how he managed to teach physics without equipment to experiment with:

In physics class, and there is only one physics class, and we had enough books so there was one book for every two students. So, I teamed up teams of two... given the task of each week I would assign the chapter in two weeks ahead of what we will be having at that time and they were to look at the material and see what they can design as a demonstration for the class of basic physical principles that were involved in the chapter. If at the end of one week they did not figure out anything to demonstrate to the class, then they would come to talk to me and then we try to figure out something that could demonstrate the principles to the class. We had no equipment of any sort and so that was quite successful. ([OI] Joe Goodman, personal communication, San Francisco, California, July 22, 1990)

2. What kind of hardships did you have teaching at Topaz High School and how did you cope with those hardships?

E. Sekerak

At first, a lack of books and supplies; isolation from mainstream life. Made do with lectures and notetaking and discussion until books arrived. Used newspaper and magazines to make up isolation, had guest speakers.

T. Kawakami

I shared all that the other internees endured; lack of freedom, regimented living, inadequate wages, real home environment. I coped with the viewpoint of "Shikataganai" [you can't help it] until the war ended.

H. Dingley

Other than long working hours, one's feeling for remoteness in the desert. Occasional shopping trips to town and a couple of two-day trips to other Utah towns. Also, there were staff parties and dinners with evacuees visiting us in our apartment.

J. Goodman

Teaching science with very limited resources. [I] tried to encourage as much as student participation in finding ways of explaining the scientific principle studied. (See his recollection quoted earlier on this page.)

J. Mori

I don't think there was anything that you would call hardship. There was lack of equipment for the physics class and trying to run the experiments and things.

3. How did you explain, as a teacher, about the fact that the students were in War Relocation Center school?

E. Sekerak

Talked over with students the fact of war! War is always wrong, no way to settle problems, we are caught in the middle of another wrong. But it cannot go on forever and let's not waste time, let's prepare for the day we are free.

T. Kawakami

The children understood, without my having to elucidate reasons, that prejudice, war hysteria, economic pressures and racist attitudes played a part towards their internment.

H. Dingley

For bright Californian high school students, there was no need to explain, but through class discussion an attempt was made to deal with bitterness and cynicism.

J. Goodman

The mature students that I was teaching understood what was happening and we tried to deal with it as creatively as possible within the situation.

J. Mori

I never had to explain that to students. They were more interested in the subject matter rather than the fact they were no longer where they used to be.

4. Do you recall any rebellion in Topaz High School?

E. Sekerak

None at Topaz -- students were remarkable and parent cooperation was excellent.

T. Kawakami

I did not encounter any rebellion, beyond an occasional complaint about the length of classroom assignment.

H. Dingley

No. There were statements of dissatisfaction with some faculty members' and students' unhappiness when a



favorite teacher was replaced by one from another center as head of the music department, but no open rebellion.

J. Goodman

None of significance. The whole mental set of that generation, not just Japanese but in the United States, was different than it is now. There was not nearly the awareness of violence for example.

No major student behavior problems nor juvenile delinquency problems are reported from the teachers' side. Unanimously the five teachers whom the researcher had contacted remarked that they do not recall any of those problems and therefore it is hard to tell how accurate Hoffman's reports on student behavior problems and juvenile delinquency are. It may be important to remember that Hoffman himself did not have close daily interactions with the students or with people who were actually teaching at Topaz High School. Certainly the oral and personal records provide us with another view than the one more easily obtained in written form.

#### 5. How were students disciplined in the classroom?

E. Sekerak

As in any school -- detention after school with teacher, extra assignment if they wasted time. I had no serious discipline problems.

T. Kawakami

I had no problem with discipline, except at Tanforan when I expelled three rowdy students from one class.

H. Dingley

I can recall no instances of a need for imposed discipline. The students were anxious to do well and worked hard. In class discussion they were free to express their views and many did.

J. Goodman

I appealed to their personal integrity.

J. Mori

I think family training to show respect to authority figures was much present at that time.

6. Were you disadvantaged because of teaching at a War Relocation Center school?

E. Sekerak

I was never allowed to claim those 3 years of teaching towards my retirement even though I taught California students under California credentials. The state of California refused to accept the experience so I "lost" it.

H. Dingley

No -- enriched in experience and friendship.

7. Do you recall interesting stories or comments related to Topaz High School or your teaching experience there?

H. Dingley

Students joked about and often resented the two or three teachers in the high school who made no effort to remember students' names or differentiate between them. One of these same teachers remarked once in faculty meeting that our students and their families must be disloyal because they ate with chopsticks! Fortunately, these people were in the minority on the faculty.

J. Goodman

The first year, there was more evidence of school rivalry carried over into camp; like Berkeley High and Oakland High, but that was only present early on, and that began to evaporate as we had more and more activities involving all [the students] ... and there was a bonding....

To sort of challenge them [students], not only in terms of chemistry, but in other things in general in terms of their attitudes, and the fact that the government basically said "we don't trust you," and that is why they were there [in Topaz]. So when I gave them an exam, I wrote the exam on the blackboard, and I told the students before I was going to do this, I stayed in the room for five minutes in case if there is any question, and said: "I am going to leave the room and



come back five minutes before the end of the period, and I am trusting you not to cheat." ... I was basically telling them that "I trust you," which was something that government obviously was not.... But there were two things that evolved out of that. One of them is that a student, after I had done this couple of time, said; "Gee, I wish you wouldn't do that." I said "Why?" and then she said "Well, we cannot cheat in the class." But in other classes where there were other teachers in the room, they were cheating like crazy! (laugh) So, it sort of proved the point. The other thing is that, because I have done this in couple other things, at the teacher's meeting, other teachers were really angry with me. She said, "You are making it much more difficult for us because of what you are doing. We have a much more difficult time with students." And then she said, "I demand their respect." So I said, "Look, you cannot demand a person to respect you, you have to earn it...."

By the end of the school year, one thing I engineered was that we would give all the seniors their exams a week early, so that they would be finished with their academic part and then the last week will be the senior week. And we will have a whole bunch of activities, which will happen during the senior week. One of them was a picnic, which we get off the campus and we will go out. Another thing we did is that we put on a dance; we decorated the dining hall of the school and had a dance, and we also was going to have a banquet. We asked the cooks and they agreed that they would prepare the food and bring them into the high school. Well, the project director said, "Absolutely not. You cannot do that." So the kids were very disappointed. I said "Well, the food is only one of the things you do at the banquet, you also have speeches and so on. Let's have a mock banquet." We had our tables out there with some paper, rolls of paper on [the table], and we drew plate, knife, and fork and so on. Some of the kids approached the cooks and one way or another we got a whole bunch of cookies, so we had our banquet and we had our announcements and everything else, and we called it M-Banquet, M for mock. We included the project director and we invited him. Well, we were going along merrily with the speeches and stuff, and about two thirds of the way through the program, there walked the project director and his wife. They sat down and listened to what was going on and finally he got up and said, "Well, my wife and I understood that this was going to be a banquet and we haven't had anything to eat, so we are going home to get something to eat." (laugh) He had forgotten about what he had told us. And then about another ten minutes later we

came out with cookies and ice cream, so you know he just chose the wrong time to leave....

Those were the sort of things that went to giving impetus to feeling of unity, feeling of this was an American high school graduation sort of things.

Contrasting the recollections of H. Dingley with Joseph Goodman, we may gather that there were some teachers who were biased and prejudiced against the Japanese American students and, at the same time, there were teachers who were fair and created a strong bond of trust and friendships with them. The statement about "chopsticks" reveals the naiveness and insensitivity of the former.

#### 8. What does evacuation mean to you?

E. Sekerak

It was an inspiring experience being with such wonderful people who were enduring with graciousness.

T. Kawakami

Relocation brought job opportunities to Japanese American professionals, dispersal of Japanese American families to the Midwest and the East Coast.

H. Dingley

For me, it was an opportunity to be a part in sharing the enrichment I received in friendship and expand horizons with people throughout the country as our students and their families settled in other areas. For example, two of my students went on to a New England college from which my husband graduated on our recommendation.

J. Mori

In a way, the good part of the relocation is that I got into the areas where I may not have ever gone; Midwest, back East and see parts of the countries which I have not seen before, or was not aware of. The negative part of is that I lost two years time of your life.

A positive aspect of evacuation is presented by the resident teachers: that is, the evacuation enabled Japanese



Americans who were living on the West Coast to spread across the country, and gave them entirely different opportunities in professions and directions which were not possible to them in prewar California. The appointed teachers shared feelings that they were able to enrich their lives from teaching at Topaz High School and interacting with the Japanese American youth. Was there anything a resident teacher and an appointed teacher shared in common?

Providing a "normal American high school" education was the main goal for both resident teachers and appointed teachers. Not all of the teachers at Topaz High School shared that goal; however, there were some who did share one aspiration, and these were the teachers who challenged the Japanese American youth in Topaz High School, gave directions to them, encouraged and supported them, and touched their souls in order to help them make it happen (see Figures 16 and 17 on pp. 89-90).



Figure 16. Topaz High School student assembly.  
(Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City,  
Utah)





Figure 17. Graduation in Topaz High School. (Courtesy of Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah)

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

How many people know what happened after Pearl Harbor to many Japanese Americans who had been living on the West Coast? How many people today are aware of the term "War Relocation Center?" If they do know about the mass evacuation of 112,000 people of Japanese ancestry during the World War II, then would they know that there were formally operated "schools" for the young in those centers? A comment by several people -- "I did not know that there were schools for Japanese American children in War Relocation Centers!" -- was what prompted this study of Japanese American youth at Topaz.

This paper focused on experiences of Japanese American youth who attended Topaz Relocation High School and teachers who taught there. An emphasis was placed on their feeling and memories in order to acquire human insight. Altogether, recollections from 27 people were gathered, of whom 22 were students and 5 were teachers. The sample is small and it is not possible to draw any broad generalization or specific findings from this study. However, one may at least learn what those Japanese American youth went through: what they felt, saw, and thought in Topaz War Relocation Center High School against all the odds.

One finding which can be reached from this study is that Topaz High School renders many memories both good and



bad, happy and sad, to Japanese American youth, as do other ordinary high schools. The only difference is that Topaz High School survives only in the reminiscences of those who went there. The school buildings no longer exist in the desert of Utah. Topaz High School may or may not have been a place where a normal American community life was available to Japanese American youth. All the respondents have many different recollections to share according to their personalities, and how they look at their lives. Nevertheless, one thing seems to be true: the teachers, the parents, and the students all strived to fulfill that goal of a normal American community life.

Through this study on Topaz High School and Japanese American youth, a question arose: what if the WRA had not provided those Japanese American youth with schools and educational programs in War Relocation Centers? John Hada, a former Topaz High School student and currently a visiting professor of Internal Affairs of East Asia at the University of San Francisco, made an interesting comment in his interview with the researcher on this account:

If WRA had not provided the interned children with school, then we would have probably established our own schools. We had Niseis who were the college graduates and we had highly educated people in our camp and I don't think our parents would have allowed us [children] to just run around and lay fallow because we did not have any school. If the WRA had not provided us with school, I think our parents and some of the people in the camp would have set up schools. ([OI] John Hada, personal communication, Palo Alto, California, December 18, 1989)

Why was education stressed so much among Japanese Americans? Does it have something to do with Japanese ethnicity? The researcher herself, being a Japanese native and knowing the custom and practice of Japanese culture, feels that may well be the case. For example, Schwartz (1971) explained in her study, "The Culturally Advantaged: A Study of Japanese-American Pupils," that high scholastic achievement of Japanese American students in the United States schools has something to do with their cultural values and tradition in the ethnic heritage (p. 341), and has pointed out that "Japanese American pupils have certain advantages for success in the American public school that appear to be rooted in the Japanese culture..." (p. 350). She identified three factors underlying her hypothesis: first, the traditional family with a definite system of obligation and commitment renders an environment where children internalize "family defined achievement goals" which emphasize educational success; second, the pattern of interpersonal relations within the family facilitates the mind-frame in children to show respect and honor to authority figures such as parents, elders, and teachers at schools, thus fostering the idea of hierarchical authority; and third, the "collectivity" rather than "self" orientation of the family is compatible with the strong peer group association particular to current teen-age culture which encourages high achievement (pp. 350-351).



All three factors are obviously supported by those who attended or taught at Topaz High School. Many of them confessed in the interviews or in the questionnaire forms that education was valued by the family and to do well in school was their way to show honor not only to the parents but also to the whole ethnic group. This particular mind set is very much connected with a Japanese philosophy of "saving face." Failure in school was a disgrace to the family, local community, and the entire ethnic group, and was not accepted (refer to a quotation by Thomas James on p. 73 in this paper). Showing respect to the authority figures is also pointed out by Joe Mori, a former Topaz High School teacher, in his interview: "Family training to show respect to authority figures was much present..." (refer to a recollection of Joe Mori on p. 85 in this paper). The third factor of peer values in academic achievement is clearly tested by a comment by Paul Bell in which he confessed that he had to study hard to keep up with his classmates (refer to a comment by Paul Bell on p. 67 in this paper).

Another important factor to mention here is the image of Kinjiro Ninomiya,<sup>1</sup> who has been held as a role model in education and learning in Japanese culture for centuries. His attitude of not wasting time and trying to learn even during his chores is idolized as the "spirit of learning and education" in Japanese culture and made him revered by many

educators and Japanese people. In fact, one will often find the statue of Kinjiro Ninomiya in public school yards in Japan to remind students to study hard (see Figure 18 on p. 97). Interestingly enough, his name was mentioned in an interview with Fumi Hayashi: "I think it [the emphasis on education] is our heritage. Ninomiya Kinjiro was our hero..." ([OI] Fumi Hayashi, personal communication, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1989). It is clear that the image of Kinjiro Ninomiya has been kept strong among the Japanese Americans in the United States even after they emigrated from Japan, and this spirit to revere education has been shared among them.

Taking these four factors into account, we are able to understand a comment made by John Hada earlier, in which the researcher wondered why education was so much stressed by Japanese Americans even during the difficult years in the War Relocation Center. Those cultural and traditional beliefs and views were well preserved, cherished, and practiced by both parents and children of Japanese Americans all that time.

However, the researcher questions whether all these value systems would ever be carried down to the next generation in this country. Apparently, Issei parents influenced Nisei children, but how about the Sansei and Yonsei? Will these attitudes be handed down or will they be replaced by a new set of ideas in the process of so-called Americaniza-



tion? This study of Japanese American youth opens a new door to further research.



Figure 18. A picture of Kinjiro Ninomiya. (A drawing by Tadashi Saito, 1994, used by permission)



## NOTES

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. Okamura explains in his study that the US government refrained from using the term "concentration camp" in order to avoid the image associated with the Nazi termination camps in Germany (Okamura, 1982, pp. 95-109).

2. "Return to Topaz 1993" was held in Salt Lake City, Utah, during Memorial Day weekend: people made a "pilgrimage trip" to the former Topaz Relocation Center in southern Utah.

## Notes to Chapter 2

1. Isseis were forbidden U.S. citizenship by a 1923 Supreme Court ruling.

2. The State Department and President delegated this special mission to Curtis B. Munson, their own intelligence officer, to survey the status quo of loyalty of Japanese in both Hawaii and on the West Coast. Munson began his survey in October and within two months, in November, 1941, he put his findings into a 25-page report, which is now known as the Munson Report.

3. A testimony before the House of Naval Affairs Subcommittee, San Francisco, California, on April 13, 1943.

4. Japanese Americans were permitted to travel only within a five mile radius of their homes and required to be in their homes between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.

5. A seven-day timetable was planned as follows:
- A. Posting of the Exclusion Order throughout the area:  
From 12:00 noon of the first day to 5:00 a.m. of the second day.
  - B. Registration of all persons of Japanese ancestry within the area: From 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.s. on the second and third days.
  - C. Processing, or preparing evacuees for evacuation:  
From 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on the fourth and fifth days.
  - D. Movement of evacuees in increments of approximately 500 on the sixth and seventh days.

6. Notice on Exclusion poster from 1942. Exclusion posters were posted to instruct Japanese Americans on evacuation. An original Exclusion poster is in possession of Barre Toelken, Logan, Utah.

7. 13600 was the number Mine Okubo was assigned as her identity number.

8. Fumi Hayashi took a "student relocation" and went to a school for laboratory technician in St. Louis.

9. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team exclusively consisted of Japanese American youth, and became the most decorated combat team in U.S. army history.

10. The researcher was a guest speaker in an American history class for 11th grade at Skyview High School, Smithfield, Utah, and on May 3rd, 1993 and for the 6th grade at Logan Middle School, Logan, Utah, on May 10th, 1993. In both classes Japanese Americans and the evacuation issue were discussed.

#### Notes to Chapter 3

1. Roscoe E. Bell was Director of the Agriculture Division in Topaz Relocation Center.

2. A comment made by Lawson Inada on May 30, 1993 in his "Return to Topaz 1993" commemorative ceremony speech, former Topaz Relocation Center site, Utah.

3. Personal communication: recollections collected from Questionnaire form Version I in 1990.

4. Personal communication: recollections collected from Questionnaire form Version I and II, and from oral interviews during 1989 - 1993.

5. Paul Bell is a son of Roscoe Bell.

#### Notes to Chapter 4

1. Utah Agriculture College at that time.

2. At that time teaching was basically closed to Japanese Americans in California and for that reason, many did not go into teacher's education.



3. Wanda Robertson was hired by John C. Carlisle as a Director of the Curriculum in Topaz schools. She was at that time teaching at the University of Utah.

4. Personal communication: recollections collected from Questionnaire form Version I and II, and from oral interviews during 1989 - 1993.

5. The "Community Analysis Report" was a documentary report gathered by an WRA community analyst who had some sociological, psychological or anthropological training in order to obtain better understanding of social background of the internees and their reactions to conditions in the War Relocation Center. In Topaz Relocation Center, Oscar Hoffman, who was a sociologist with a background of history and economics, was collecting reports during 1942-1945. The reports often consist of interviews, questionnaires, and letters from camp residents on various subject areas.

#### Notes to Chapter 5

1. Ninomiya Kinjiro Sontoku (1787-1856). A philosopher, born to a poor farming family in Japan. From an early age, he showed eagerness to learn, and stressed that it was important to get some education even if you are a meager farmer. (Kodansha, 1983, pp. 7-8)

## REFERENCES

- Arrington, L. J. (1962). The price of prejudice: The Japanese American Relocation Center in Utah during World War II. Faculty Association Honor Lecture Series, No 25. Logan, Utah: Utah State University.
- Bantly, T. (1969). I am a citizen. Pacific Historian, 13(1), 14-20.
- Bell, R. E. (1982). Relocation Center life Topaz, Utah 1942-1945. Unpublished manuscript, Western Americana, Marriot Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- Daniels, R. (1981). Concentration camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II. Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.
- Daniels, R. (1988). Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Daniels, R., Taylor, S. C., & Kitano, H. H. L. (Eds.). (1991). Japanese Americans: From relocation to redress. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Girdner, A., & Loftis, A. (1969). The great betrayal: The evacuation of the Japanese-Americans during World War II. Toronto, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan Canada.
- Hyams, B. (Producer), & Ding, L. (Director). (1987). The color of honor [Film]. San Francisco, CA: Vox Production.
- James, T. (1987). Exile within: The school of Japanese Americans 1942-1945. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kitano, H. H. L. (1988). The Japanese American family. In C.H. Mindel, R. W. Habenstein, & R. Wright, Jr. (Eds.), Ethnic families in America: Patterns and variations (3rd ed.). New York: Elsevier Science Publishing.
- Kitano, H. H. L. (1993). Generation and identity: The Japanese American. Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press.
- Kodansha. (1983). Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan (Vol. 6, pp. 7-8). Tokyo: Kodnasha.



- Lehman, A. L. (1970). Birthright of barbed wire: The Santa Anita Assembly Center for the Japanese. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press.
- Okamura, R. Y. (1982). The American concentration camps: A cover-up through euphemistic terminology. Journal of Ethnic Studies, 10(3), 95-109.
- Okubo, M. (1946). Citizen 13660. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Peterson, W. (1971). Japanese Americans: Oppression and success. Washington, DC: University Press of America.
- Return to Topaz '93 Committee. (1993, May). Return to Topaz '93: May 29-30. Unpublished booklet.
- Schwartz, A. J. (1971). The culturally advantaged: A study of Japanese-American pupils. Sociology and Social Research, 55, 341-353.
- Sekerak, E. G. (1983). Topaz teacher. Unpublished manuscript. Given to the researcher by author E. G. Sekerak in 1989.
- Taylor, S. C. (1991). Interned at Topaz: Age, gender, and family in the relocation experience. Utah Historical Quarterly, 59(4), 380-394.
- Taylor, S. C. (1993). Jewel of the desert: Japanese American internment at Topaz. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Topaz Reunion '92 Committee. (1993). Topaz 1993 calendar. (Available from Topaz Reunion '92, Yone Ito, 567 Carmar Street Hayward, CA. 94544)
- Uchida, Y. (1982). Desert exile: The uprooting of a Japanese American family. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- War Relocation Authority. (1943). Welcome to Topaz. (Organized by Charles F. Ernst). Topaz Relocation Center Project Reports Division, Historical Section.
- War Relocation Authority. (1945a). The education program: Central Utah Relocation Center (compiled by L.G. Noble, Superintendent of Education). Washington, DC: Author.

- War Relocation Authority. (1945b). Summary curriculum report of Topaz city educational program, 1942-1945 (compiled by L.G. Noble, Superintendent of Education). Washington, DC: Author.
- War Relocation Authority. (1945c). Community analysis reports and community analysis trend reports of the War Relocation Authority 1942-1945 (Roll 8). Washington, DC: National Archives Microfilm Publications.
- Weglyn, M. (1976). Years of infamy: The untold story of America's concentration camps. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Zeller, W. D. (1969). An educational drama: The educational program provided the Japanese Americans during the Relocation period, 1942-1945. New York: The American Press.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LOCATIONS OF 10 WAR RELOCATION CENTERS



WAR RELOCATION CENTERS FOR JAPANESE-AMERICANS DURING WORLD WAR II  
(Listed in order of their establishment)

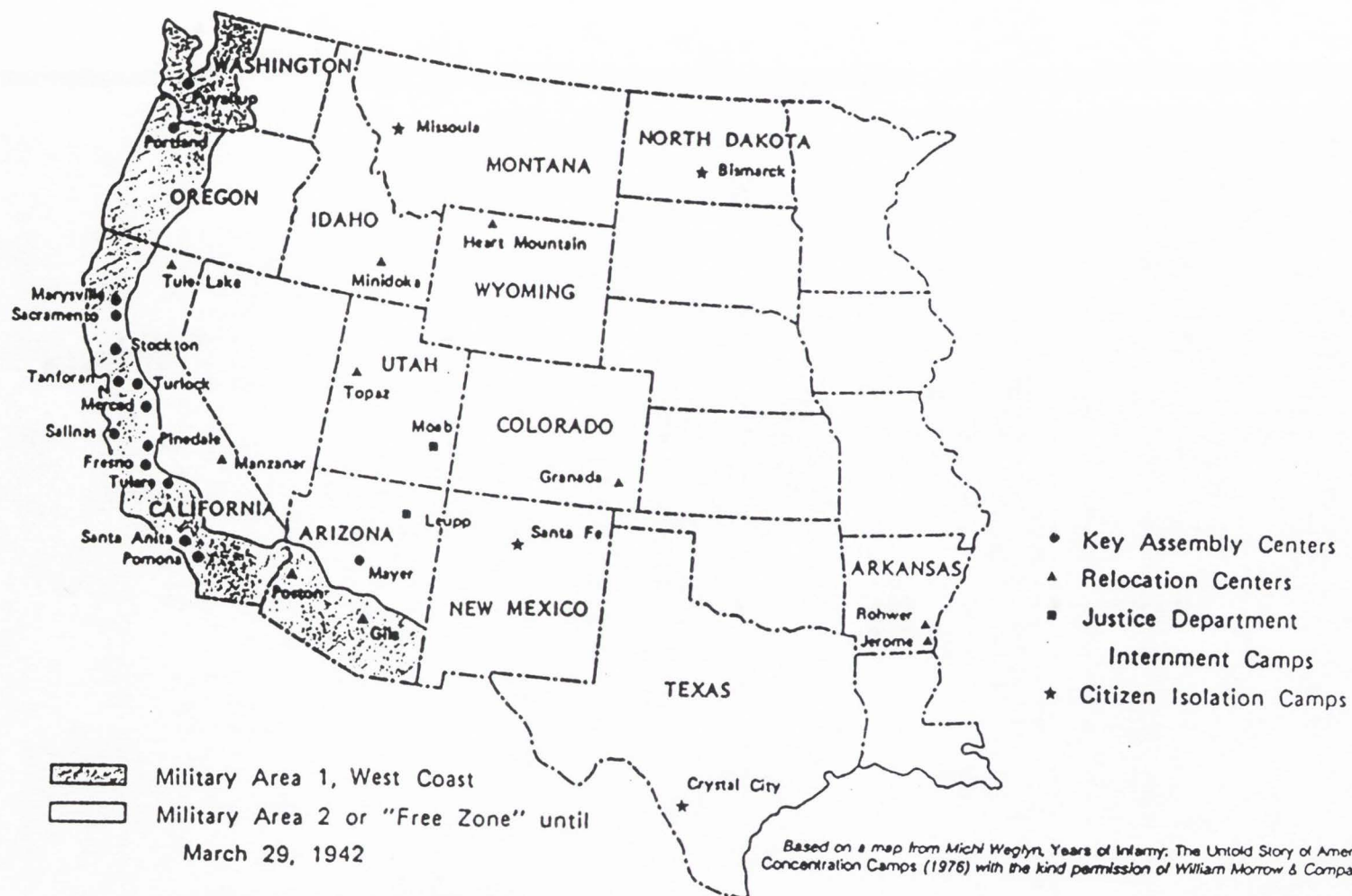
<u>NAME OF CENTER</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>OPENING DATE</u>	<u>CLOSING DATE</u>	<u>PEAK RESIDENT POPULATION</u>
Manzanar	Manzanar, Inyo County, California	March 21, 1942	November 21, 1945	10,040
Colorado River	Poston, Yuma County, Arizona	May 8, 1942	November 28, 1945	17,814
Tule Lake	Newell, Modoc County, California	May 27, 1942	March 20, 1946	18,789
Gila River	Rivers, Pinal County, Arizona	July 20, 1942	November 10, 1945	13,348
Minidoka	Hunt, Jerome County, Idaho	August 10, 1942	October 28, 1945	9,397
Heart Mountain	Heart Mountain, Park County, Wyoming	August 12, 1942	November 10, 1945	10,767
Granada	Amache, Prowers County, Colorado	August 27, 1942	October 15, 1945	7,318
Central Utah	Topaz, Millard County, Utah	September 11, 1942	October 31, 1945	8,130
Rohwer	McGehee, Desha County, Arkansas	September 18, 1942	November 30, 1945	8,475
Jerome	Denson, Drew and Chicot Counties, Arkansas	October 6, 1942	June 30, 1944	8,497

Source: United States Department of Interior, WRA: *A story of human conservation*, Washington, D.C., 1946, p. 197 *et passim*. The War Relocation Authority also maintained, during the first four months of 1943, a temporary isolation center near Moab, Utah, and between April and October, 1943, the Leupp Isolation Center, Winslow, Arizona. From March 1944 to 1946 it also operated the emergency shelter for 1,000 European war refugees at Fort Ontario, Oswego, New York.

Reprinted by permission of the Utah State University Faculty Association.  
From The Price of Prejudice, by Leonard J. Arrington, copyright 1962. (p. 10)

APPENDIX B  
MILITARY ZONE





Based on a map from Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (1976) with the kind permission of William Morrow & Company, Inc.

Reprinted by permission of the University of Washington Press.  
 From *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to redress*.  
 Edited by R. Daniels, S. C. Taylor, and H. H. L. Kitano. (1991, p. xvii)

APPENDIX C  
EXCLUSION POSTER



# WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

Presidio of San Francisco, California

May 3, 1942

## INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the County of Alameda, State of California, within the boundary beginning at the point where the southerly limits of the City of Oakland meet San Francisco Bay; thence westerly and following the southerly limits of said city to U. S. Highway No. 30; thence southerly and easterly on said Highway No. 30 to its intersection with California State Highway No. 21; thence southerly on said Highway No. 21 to its intersection, at or near Warm Springs, with California State Highway No. 17; thence southerly on said Highway No. 17 to the Alameda-Santa Clara County line; thence westerly and following said county line to San Francisco Bay; thence southerly, and following the shoreline of San Francisco Bay to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. M., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. M., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

920 - "C" Street,  
Hayward, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

### The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

- (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
- (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
- (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
- (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
- (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DUFFITT  
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army  
Commanding

APPENDIX D  
QUESTIONNAIRE FORM VERSION I



## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE VERSION I

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE/TIME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

## I. DEMOGRAPHIC

AGE:

GRADE IN SCHOOL:

FAMILY SIZE:

OCCUPATION OF PARENTS:

ORIGINAL HOME BEFORE THE EVACUATION:

## II. RELOCATION CAMP EXPERIENCE IN GENERAL

WHICH CAMP?

HOW DID YOU FEEL?

WHAT KIND OF LIVING CONDITION?

WHAT WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT THING?

INTERESTING STORIES?

III. EDUCATION AT RELOCATION CAMP

GRADES IN SCHOOL:

WHO WERE YOUR TEACHERS?

WHAT SUBJECT OR CURRICULUM WERE TAUGHT?

QUALITY OF EDUCATION:

WHAT KIND OF HARDSHIPS DID YOU HAVE?

HOW DID YOU COPE WITH THOSE HARDSHIPS?

ANY REBELLION IN SCHOOL?

HOW WERE THE STUDENTS DISCIPLINED IN THE CLASSROOM?

ANY INTERESTING STORIES RELATED TO TOPAZ HIGH SCHOOL?



IV. AFTER RELEASE

WHERE DID YOU GO?

PROBLEM GETTING RELEASED?

WERE YOU DISADVANTAGED BECAUSE OF SCHOOLS AT RELOCATION CAMP?

WHAT CHOICE DID YOU MAKE AFTER BEING RELEASED, HIGHER EDUCATION?

ANY DISCRIMINATION AFTER RELEASE?

WHAT DOES EVACUATION MEAN TO YOU?

ANY INTERESTING STORIES RELATED TO RELOCATION CAMP?

OTHER COMMENT:

V. IF YOU HAVE ANY INTERESTING STORIES OR COMMENTS, PLEASE  
SHARE THEM WITH ME. THANK YOU.



APPENDIX E  
QUESTIONNAIRE FORM VERSION II

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE VERSION II

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE/TIME: \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_  
PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

## I. DEMOGRAPHIC

AGE:

FAMILY SIZE:

OCCUPATION BEFORE EVACUATION:

ORIGINAL HOME BEFORE THE EVACUATION:

## II. RELOCATION CAMP EXPERIENCE IN GENERAL

WHICH CAMP?

HOW DID YOU FEEL?

WHAT KIND OF LIVING CONDITION?

WHAT WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT THING?

INTERESTING STORIES?



III. TEACHING AT RELOCATION CAMP

WHAT GRADE DID YOU TEACH?

WHAT SUBJECT DID YOU TEACH?

QUALITY OF EDUCATION:

HOW DID YOU AS A TEACHER, EXPLAIN THE FACT THAT  
CHILDREN ARE IN WAR RELOCATION CENTER SCHOOL?

WHAT KIND OF HARDSHIPS DID YOU HAVE?

HOW DID YOU COPE WITH THOSE HARDSHIP?

ANY REBELLION IN SCHOOL?

HOW WERE STUDENTS DISCIPLINED IN THE CLASSROOM?

ANY INTERESTING STORIES RELATED TO TOPAZ HIGH SCHOOL?

IV. AFTER RELEASE

WHERE DID YOU GO?

PROBLEMS GETTING RELEASED?

WERE YOU DISADVANTAGED BECAUSE OF TEACHING AT WAR  
RELOCATION CENTER SCHOOL?

ANY DISCRIMINATION AFTER RELEASE?

WHAT DOES EVACUATION MEAN TO YOU?

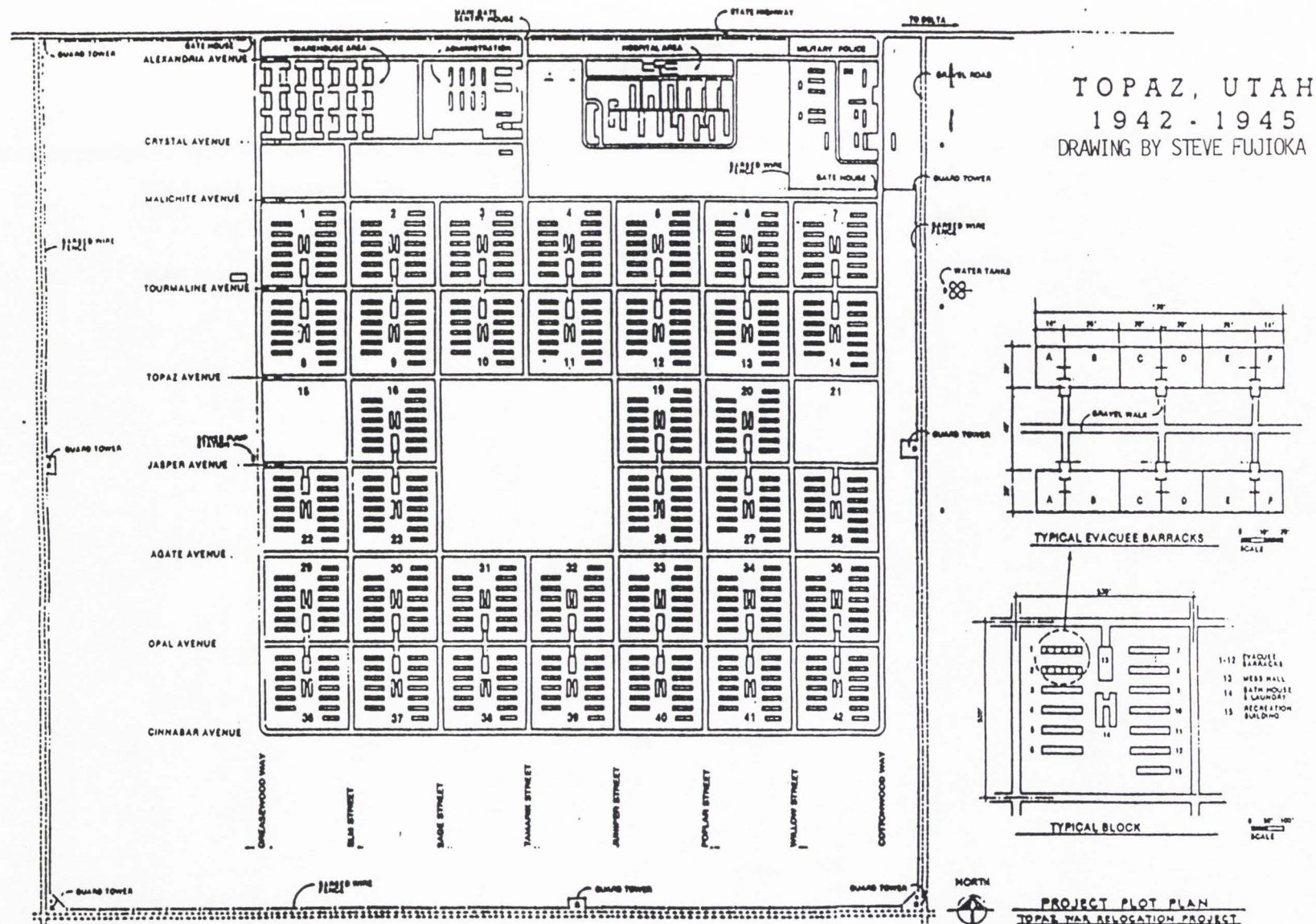
ANY INTERESTING STORIES RELATED TO TOPAZ RELOCATION  
CENTER?



V. IF YOU HAVE ANY OTHER INTERESTING STORIES OR COMMENT,  
PLEASE SHARE THEM WITH ME. THANK YOU.

APPENDIX F  
LAYOUT OF TOPAZ RELOCATION CENTER





APPENDIX G  
LIST OF PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Oral Interviews with:

Wanda Robertson in Salt Lake City, Utah on May 13 and 22, 1989.

John Hada in Palo Alto, California on December 18, 1989.

Dave Tatsuno in San Jose, California on December 19, 1989.

Joe Mori in Saratoga, California on December 20, 1989.

Grace Hattori in San Jose, California on December 21, 1989.

Fumi Hayashi in Berkeley, California on December 29, 1989.

Eleanor Gerald Sekerak in San Francisco California on July 22, 1990.

Joseph Goodman in San Francisco California on July 22, 1990.

Kenneth Farrer in Logan, Utah on May 24, 1993.

Grace Oshita in Salt Lake City, Utah on April 24 and May 8, 1989 and October 13, 1993.

Questionnaire forms collected from:

Sam Nakaso on July 21, 1990.

Daisy Uyeda Satoda on August 4, 1990.

Isao Baba on September 9, 1990.

Mary Takeda on November 6, 1990.

William Wehara on July 25, 1990.

Grace Manabe Hattori on December 21, 1989.

Lee Suyemoto on August 7, 1990.

Joe Suyemoto on July 31, 1990.

S. K. (female Nisei) on September 14, 1990.

Jim M. Noda on July 23, 1990.

Anonymous male Nisei on October 27, 1993.

Anonymous female Nisei on July 25, 1990.

Miye Yoshida on August 6, 1990.

Ronald Yutaka Yoshida on August 6, 1990.

Paul Bell on January 31, 1990.

Dwight Ken Nishimoto on February 20, 1990

Takuzo Handa on July 24, 1990.

John Hada on December 18, 1989.

Eleanor Gerald Sekerak on March 9, 1990.

Helen C. Dingley on October 15, 1990.

Toyo S. Kawakami on August 6, 1990.

Joseph Goodman on July 24, 1990.



APPENDIX H  
PERMISSION LETTERS

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 1/5/94

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 12/13/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until Jan. 11, 1994, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: Jan 11, 1994

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 4/2000, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 24 Dec 93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 1-1-94

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 2000, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: 11/24/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: Nov 30, 1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 2020, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date:

12/3/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date:

11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until see below, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

*I place no restrictions.*

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: November 30, 1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 2003, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/29/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 1996, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/28/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 1996, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until <sup>11/30/98</sup> (1998), after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: 11/27/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 11/20/93, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/27/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until Nov, 1993, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/26/1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until June 1, 1996, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11-26-1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date:

11/26/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date:

11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 2000, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: Nov 24, 1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

*Note: done just in  
late for me.*



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11-25-93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11-24-93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until Nov. 1995, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/26/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until Jan. 1, 2000, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: Nov. 24 '93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until no restrictions, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: Dec. 15, 1992

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 1/1/95, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: Nov 23, 1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: 11/20/93



I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until 2000, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

An anonymous Japanese American. The original  
 signed: signed form in the possession of the researcher. date: December 1, 1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20/93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

An anonymous Japanese American. The original  
Signed: signed form in the possession of the researcher date: Nov. 25, 1993

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ date: 11/20 '93

I understand that the interview/questionnaire (please circle one) in which I shared my recollections about life and education in Topaz Relocation Center (Central Utah Project) is to be referred to in part for scholarly purposes by Akiko J. Tohmatsu in her Master's thesis, "Japanese American Youth in Topaz Relocation Center, Utah: Oral History" and this agreement signifies my consent to this use. If Ms. Tohmatsu decides to deposit these materials in the Special Collections Division of the Utah State University Library, or to the Special Collections Division of the University of Utah Library, it is understood that no copies of the tapes/interviews/questionnaires will be made, and that nothing from them will be used in any published form without my written permission until \_\_\_\_\_, after which time the Archivist's written permission will be required.

Please note any further restrictions to be placed on the use of this material:

\* Pls. make my comments in your book  
anonymous.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ An anonymous Japanese American. The original signed form in the possession of the researcher.

date: \_\_\_\_\_

11/25/93

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

date: \_\_\_\_\_

11/20/93



## Permission Letter

Date January 30th, 1994  
Name Akiko J. Tohmatsu  
Address Secondary Education Department Utah State University  
Logan, Utah, 84322  
Phone 801-750-2222 Fax 801-750-1441

Dear Mr. Steve Fujioka,

I am in the process of preparing my thesis in the Secondary Education Department at Utah State University. I hope to complete in the Winter Quarter of 1994.

I am requesting your permission to include the attached material as shown. I will include acknowledgments and/or appropriate citations to your work as shown and copyright and reprint rights information in a special appendix. The bibliographical citation will appear at the end of the manuscript as shown. Please advise me of any changes you require.

Please indicate your approval of this request by signing in the space provided, attaching any other form or instruction necessary to confirm permission. If you charge a reprint fee for use of your material, please indicate that as well. If you have any questions, please call me at the number above.

I hope you will be able to reply immediately. If you are not the copyright holder, please forward my request to the appropriate person or institution.

Thank you for your cooperation.

---

I hereby give permission to Akiko J. Tohmatsu to reprint the following material in her thesis.

None

(fee)

An oral permission granted on telephone, 2/4/1994

(signed)

## Permission Letter

Date December 6th, 1993  
Name Akiko J. Tohmatsu  
Address Secondary Education Department Utah State University  
Logan, Utah, 84322  
Phone 801-750-2222

Dear The Faculty Association Utah State University, / Dr. Arrington,

I am in the process of preparing my thesis in the Secondary Education Department at Utah State University. I hope to complete in the Winter Quarter of 1993.

I am requesting your permission to include the attached material as shown. I will include acknowledgments and/or appropriate citations to your work as shown and copyright and reprint rights information in a special appendix. The bibliographical citation will appear at the end of the manuscript as shown. Please advise me of any changes you require.

Please indicate your approval of this request by signing in the space provided, attaching any other form or instruction necessary to confirm permission. If you charge a reprint fee for use of your material, please indicate that as well. If you have any questions, please call me at the number above.

I hope you will be able to reply immediately. If you are not the copyright holder, please forward my request to the appropriate person or institution.

Thank you for your cooperation.

---

I hereby give permission to Akiko J. Tohmatsu to reprint the following material in her thesis.

None  
(fee)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(signed)

## Permission Letter

Date January 26th, 1994  
Name Akiko J. Tohmatsu  
Address Secondary Education Department Utah State University  
Logan, Utah, 84322  
Phone 801-750-2222

Dear University of Washington Press,

I am in the process of preparing my thesis in the Secondary Education Department at Utah State University. I hope to complete in March of 1994.

I am requesting your permission to include the attached material as shown. I will include acknowledgments and/or appropriate citations to your work as shown and copyright and reprint rights information in a special appendix. The bibliographical citation will appear at the end of the manuscript as shown. Please advise me of any changes you require.

Please indicate your approval of this request by signing in the space provided, attaching any other form or instruction necessary to confirm permission. If you charge a reprint fee for use of your material, please indicate that as well. If you have any questions, please call me at the number above.

I hope you will be able to reply immediately. If you are not the copyright holder, please forward my request to the appropriate person or institution.

Thank you for your cooperation.

---

I hereby give permission to Akiko J. Tohmatsu to reprint the following material in her thesis.

None

(fee)

(signed)

*for the University of  
Washington Press*

*1/31/94*