

War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Proclamation of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said Proclamations in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

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

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

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1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

The White House, February 19, 1942 Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Chapter 1

MAKING SENSE OF DISSONANCE: STUDENTS' RESPONSE TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066

★ ★ ★ ★

President Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066 marked all Japanese residents and Japanese Americans as targets of hatred. While growing up not having to think explicitly about how race shaped their lives, Nisei were suddenly thrust into a situation where their racial identity became a major determining factor for exclusion. Within a few months' time, their schools, homes, and all their belongings had to be abandoned for a tenuous life behind barbed wire. This disjunction in their home and school life created a dissonance with which these students were forced to grapple. The internalized grief Nisei students had to bear was slightly relieved by the opportunity for some to express their thoughts in writing. Their pitiful phrases, transcribed in exact form to the original, allude to their unswerving loyalty to the government and to their rights as citizens in a democracy. On a deeper level are the concerns raised by Nisei at the thought of having to leave their home—the place of their birth and the place where they made friends in their neighborhood schools.

Mar. 25, 42

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am sorry we are leaving because I have first become acquainted with this school. I will always remember this school and teachers as one of the best.

Sincerely,
Mary

March 29, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

We are leaving our city, to where I am going I am wholly ignorant. However I am not unhappy, nor do I have objections for as long as this evacuation is for the benefit of the United State. But I do am regretting about leaving this school and the thought that I shall not see for a long while pains me extremely. Your pleasant ways of teaching had made my heart yearn for the days when I was in your classroom. Your kind smile and your wonderful work you did for me shall be one of my pleasant memories.

Tooru (8B4)

Mar. 25, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

Because of this war, we are asked to leave this city of Seattle. I am sure I will miss my teachers and Mr. Sears. There was never a school like Washington, and I will sure miss it. I will miss you very much. You have been very kind and patient throughout my years.

Sincerely Yours,

Masaharu (7A1)

Mar. 20, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I well start out my letter by writing about the worst thing. I do not want to go away but the government says we all have to go so we have to mind him. It said in the Japanese paper that we have to go east of the cascade mt. but we were planning to go to Idaho or Montana.

Now that the war is going on many Japanese men, women, and girls are out of jobs. And a lot of my friends fater are in consentra-tion camp. If I go there I hope I well have a teacher just like you. And rather more I hope the war well be strighten out very soon so that I would be able to attend Washington school.

Sincerely Yours

Sadako (7B1)

March 31, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am sorry we have to leave. Just when I was going to graduate Washington School. I'm glad that I had you in the 7B & A & 8B. I

hope we do not have to go. Where ever I am going I wish I have a teacher like you. I enjoyed being in your room very much. When I go away I will always think about the wonderful time I had in Washington School. In so many month I wish the war will be over. I will always remember you.

Your pupil,

Martha (8A1)

4/2/41

Dear Miss Evanson,

I'm very sorry to leave Seattle. I shall miss all my friends. I enjoyed being in your room in the 7B4. I shall miss you and all the rest.

With Love,

Kazuko (8B5)

Mar. 25, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I feel very said beacuse I have to leave such a nice school and all the helpful teachers especially you. I have been interested in history about Gods and Goddesses. When I first started to learn and read about them it seemed interesting and began to like it.

When I first started school I was about 5 (five) years of age. I haven't stayed once, took a double in fourth grade, and haven't took me since. I am eleven now and am going to be twelve this year on May ? (so and so). I hope to come back to Seattle after this awful war.

A pupil,

Reiko (7B3)

4/3/42

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am very lonely without your face smiling before us. I miss you very much but I hope to come back soon.

Your former pupil,

Katsuko

March 25, 1942]

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am sorry that we will all be leaving the Washington School, but even though we are I will think about the ways we have been taught. I appreciated the way you and the teachers have been working with us. Sincerely,
Yeoko (7B3)

Mar. 25 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am very sorry I will have to leave Washington School so soon. As long as I am here I will try in some way to appreciate what you've taught me.

We all hope we will win this war (not the Japs) and come back to Seattle for more education.

Sincerely Yours,

James

7B3 Washington School

Dear Miss Evanson

My heart is so sad to have to leave this school and all the helpful teachers I had, one of whom I liked the best, Miss Evanson. I hope I may come sometime soon to visit the "Dear Old Washington School."

Sincerely,

Aido

7B4-8A6

Mar. 19, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am writing to you today because I am expecting to move away with in very short time. As you always know the Japanese people has been asked by our government to evacuate. I do not know yet where we will go. I hope there will be some good school in which I can continue, my school work. I am very sorry to leave Seattle and Washington School. And most especially to lose you for my teacher. I am hoping the war trouble will be soon over and I could come back to Seattle and be in your school and have you for my teacher again.

Sincerely yours,

Chiyoko (7B1)

March 25, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am awfully sorry I am leaving, just when I was getting acquainted with the children and work. I would like all of you to write to me. This has been and will be always my favorite school.

For Get Me Not.

Sincerely,

Mary (7B1)

March 20, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am very sorry that I will soon be leaving Washington School and the teachers I have. As you know we have been asked to evacuate. My parents still haven't decided where to go. Where I am going I hope there will be a school like Washington School. I also hope to have a good teacher like you. I don't want to leave Seattle because I have been in Seattle from the time I was a little baby. I hate to lose you for my teacher and Mr. Sears as my principal. I know I am going to miss everybody. I am hoping the trouble will be over soon so we will not have to evacuate.

Sincerely,

Yurido (7B1)

Dear Miss Evanson:

Since we must leave Seattle and move to the east I won't forget Washington School and its patient teachers and principal. I was born in Seattle and I wish it not to perish with bombs and bullets. And if Freedom and Liberty should fail it should grow again.

Don't forget, Buy United States Saving Stamps and bonds!

Sincerely Yours,

Tokunari

Dear Miss Evanson,

I have missed seeing your smiling face and I will miss you more, after all of us are gone. I enjoyed being in your class a year ago. With love,

Hisako

April 3, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I cannot express the way I enjoyed being one of your formal pupils. I am sorry because I have to leave Washington School and miss you and Mr. Sears and all the teachers. I like to write to my favorite teacher but the time is getting short and I must close this letter.

Respectfully yours,

Kazuo

March 24, 42

Dear Miss Evanson,

Because of this situation, we are asked to leave this dear city of Seattle and its surroundings. I am sure I will miss my teachers and Mr. Sears. There was never a school like Washington School and I sure will miss it. As for me, the one I will miss most will be you. You have been very patient and kind throughout my work. If the school I will attend next would have a teacher like you I will be only too glad. When I am on my way my memories will flow back to the time I was attending this school and the assemblies which were held in the hall. Wherever I go I will be a loyal American

Love,

Emiko (7B1)

April 17, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

It makes me sad to write in this book for it will mean departure.

I hate to be leaving Seattle, for I'll not see my friends, nor my school but there is nothing I (we) or anyone can do about it.

I have enjoyed being a pupil of yours very much.

Sincerely,

Ai (8A5)

Mar. 25, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

When the time come for the Japanese people to move out of Seattle it will be hard to go because I was born here. But I will not forget the teacher of my old school and Washington School because they

are so kind and I learn many things from them. I wish I can find some teacher that was as nice as you teachers was.

I am a American.

Sincerely Yours,

Haruo (7B1)

Mar. 24, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson,

I am very said we are leaving Washington School with all it's helpful teachers. I will always think of the happy times we had. I hope we have a good school and a teacher like you wherever we go. Whenever I think of Seattle I will think of you and all the teachers.

Sincerely yours,

Kazuko (7B3)

Mar. 23, 1942

Dear Miss Evanson

I am sorry we have to evacuate because I will miss my studies, teacher's, friend's and our principal, Mr. Sears.

Maybe it is better for us to go and do what the government says. I hope there is a school where I can continue with my studies.

As you know Seattle is my home town so I am sorry to leave here.

I hope this war will soon be over because then I could come back and to attend the Dear Old Washington School.

Yours truly,

Kazuko (7B1)

While the depth and complexity of what is written in the Nisei students' farewell messages are not immediately apparent, these passages provide critical insights into how they viewed citizenship, democracy, and America. At the same time, however, the students' American identity is overlapped and layered with their specific cultural experiences as Japanese Americans. The salient themes in these letters reflect the complex nature of their multiple and sedimented identities.²

One of the themes emerging from these letters is a collective sense of "we-ness" in the writings. The typical farewell begins with "I am sorry we

are leaving." The "we" may be referring to the students' families, the Japanese American students, and/or the Japanese American community. "We" is not specified. An immediate analysis of the "we" issue might indicate some aspects of the cultural values of the Japanese American community in stressing a collective and cohesive group identity over individual identity. Whereas the students are individually "sorry" for leaving, they realize it is a particular "we" group that is leaving—a group that has become the focus of governmental exclusionary policies.

Many students phrased their departure in terms of "we are asked to leave Seattle." Using the word "ask" suggests that the evacuation was performed on a voluntary basis. Indeed, the government did "ask" for volunteer evacuation in the beginning but soon changed to a policy of forced removal. Nikkei, by and large, knew that they did not have a choice in the matter. Government newsreels of the time reflected the image of a "benevolent" bureaucracy helping to find a "safe" place for Japanese residents and citizens, and perhaps that ideal was accepted to varying degrees by Japanese and non-Japanese alike. This acceptance may explain some of the students' writings in that particular tone.

Although loyalty is not often explicitly stated by the students, evidence of loyalty on the part of Japanese Americans is apparent. For example, a student wrote, "However I am not unhappy nor do I have objections for as long as this evacuation is for the benefit of the United State [sic]." Likewise, another expressed similar sentiments: "I do not want to go away but the government [sic] says we all have to go so we have to mind him." Additional excerpts also contain important clues. A student wrote, "It makes me sad to write in this book for it will mean departure. I hate to be leaving Seattle, for I'll not see my friends, nor my school but there is nothing I (we) or anyone can do about it." Perhaps because of the hopelessness of the situation, the students felt they had no other choice but to do what the government said. Loyalty, in this manner, was more like obeisance. They were maintaining loyalty to a government that held them suspect. So in an effort to be loyal,

they had to do what the government ordered. Another student remarked, "I am sorry we have to evacuate because I will miss my studies, teachers, friends, and our principal, Mr. Sears. Maybe it's better for us to go and do what the government says. I hope there is a school where I can continue [sic] my studies." To perceive a "general acceptance" on the part of Seattle's Nikkei may be to misunderstand the cultural sentiment of *shikata ga-nai*, "it cannot be helped."

Loyalty had been a component of Americanization and citizenship education in the Seattle schools since 1916. While the thrust of the 1930s and 1940s lay more with tolerance and interculturalism, loyalty and patriotism were an aspect of the students' civic education. At the community level, older Nisei who were involved with the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL) stressed the importance of loyalty and patriotism to the U.S. government, especially during this time of forced evacuation. While dissident voices in the Nikkei community questioned the extent to which their loyalty was taken seriously, the public image to project was one of trust toward the government. After all, they were American citizens—or were they?

The "we-ness" and loyalty, alongside the evacuation's throwing into question their sense of identity, created a dissonance. One student mentioned instances where many Japanese men, women, and girls lost jobs. Indeed, in the Seattle schools, Japanese American school clerks were terminated from employment as prejudice against Nikkei grew. While the college students at the University of Washington condemned the effort of a small, elite group of white mothers to oust Nisei school employees, the damage had already been done. To show loyalty to the war effort, a number of Japanese American workers resigned, upon which one of the "Westgate mothers" quipped, "I think that's very white of those girls."²

As a further sign of loyalty, in addition to acting "white," students began to distinguish themselves from the Japanese in Japan. The emphatic tone in James's letter is clear: "We all hope we will win this war (not the Japs) and come back to Seattle for more education." There was no reason to doubt

James, as he was born in Seattle and the United States was his home. But his parenthetical "not the Japs" remark reveals his need to make that distinction known to the reader, by using the mainstream, pejorative term for the Japanese at the time. His assertion of his American identity is also poignantly expressed by other students' phrases: "Wherever I go I will be a loyal American" and "I am a[n] American." For many generations, Japanese Americans had fought for recognition and viable rights as American citizens. Their continuous efforts, despite racist governmental policies of the past, to voice their loyalty to the United States had gone unheard.

Moreover, the students were making the point that they were all American citizens despite that fact that they had to leave. The Nisei's assertion of their American identities was made more explicit at a time when their status as American citizens was called into question. The students' need to reinforce their identities meant that their identities were held suspect. Several students remarked that they did not wish to leave because they had been born in Seattle and leaving their homes would sadden them deeply ("I don't want to leave Seattle because I have been in Seattle from the time I was a little baby"). Another student wrote, "I was born in Seattle and I wish it not to perish with bombs and bullets." The beginning of one message, "When the time comes for the Japanses [sic] people to move out of Seattle, it will be hard to go because I was born here," typifies the general feeling of having to leave a place of one's birth. Reiterating the fact that people born in the United States have automatic citizenship, based upon the principle of jus soli, was possibly one of the lessons learned in Ella Evanson's social studies class as well as in the assemblies conducted by the principal, Arthur Sears. To be sure, the trauma of having to move from one's home as an adolescent heightened anxieties even more.

In spite of feeling uncertain about their futures, the students revealed their appreciation for their school and their teachers, especially Ella Evanson. Even with the interruption caused by an extreme circumstance in their lives, schooling remained vital to them. To conceive of a future without

schools was unimaginable. The message of wanting to be in school and with former classmates occurred time and time again in the students' letters to Evanson from Camp Harmony in Puyallup, Washington.⁴

NON-NISEI REFLECTIONS ON THE EVE OF THEIR CLASSMATES' INCARCERATION

How much did the news of the incarceration affect the lives of non-Nisei students? Were they at all attempting to reconcile the conflicts between the ideals of democracy and the reality of racism? While these questions might tempt one to conduct a psychosocial analysis, they are nevertheless important to consider in grasping what the "Japanese evacuation" meant for non-Nisei students.

The writings by non-Nisei students on the impending incarceration show a range of emotions, from sadness to indifference and from citizenship to racial identification. The forced removal is couched in terms of "safety for their own good" and assurance that the government would "take care of them." Perhaps influenced by popular media, such as the newspapers, radio, or newsreels, or by national, local, or parental attitudes, some of the students rationalized the "evacuation." While it is impossible to gather the totality and depth of what the students felt, the following writings provide powerful clues.

JUNE—ENGLISH 7B3—APRIL 24, 1942
THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

We are all sorry to see the Japanese leave for we know if they do not have that the white people who don't like the behavior of Japan will start beating up on the American Japanese so that is why they are leaving.

I hope some day after the war is all over the Japanese that were evacuated can come back.

One of my best girl friends is leaving today to a more safer place.

At Washington the 8A girls and one class from the 7B-7A, 8B put on a dance this was a farewell party for the Japanese who were leaving.
I think that it is best for them to leave and go to a much safer place in land.

LAMAR—ENGLISH 7B3—APRIL 24, 1942
JAPANESE EVACUATION

The Japanese have to all be out of Seattle by May 1. I do not feel very said about it, although there are some good Japanese in the city. The children in my room that are Japanese are leaving. We have one Chinese girl called Helen^s in our room. I just recently found out she was Chinese, I always thought she was Japanese.

JACK

Today Washington school boys and girls gave a farewell to the Japanese boy and girl. We are very sorry they have to leave and we all are very sorry and sad. They have shown the best of citizenship in every way and everything they have done.

LOUISE—ENGLISH 7B3—APRIL 24, 1942
THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

This week the Japanese are going and I will miss them very much. Mary and Dorothy were my best friends and they are going. It is very unhappy for they are going and we wish they could stay.

MR. DON—ENGLISH 7B3—APRIL 24, 1942
JAPANESE EVACUATION

I dont think I like the Evacuation because the Japanese when they get where they are going they won't have no friends or anything to do. They won't get any privilage of the Americans. They won't be able to see a movie or nothing else like that. I think they should have the privilage of the Americans because there just as good citizens as we are.

DORIS
THE DEPARTURE^s

I am very sorry that the Japanese children are leaving Washington school. They were really good friends to all of us American children even though there American citizens, too.

I am very sorry to see some of my best friends go which I have first got acquainted with this semester. It was really a pleasure.

I am going to try if I can to get their autographs or picture of them so I can remember them always.

JAPANESE EVACUATION^r

For some I am glad, some sorry. I know some J. boys that would punch holes in tires and break windows if you ask them to. Other are real nice people. They have manners and sometimes are considered better Am. cit. than most white people. Ernest

MARSHA—ENGLISH 7B3—APRIL 24, 1942
JAPANESE EVACUATION

The Japanese people are going to leave us soon. We are all wishing that they could stay. Some are going today and others after ward. In Washington School all the Japanese are very nic. The Chinese and Japanese never qurral or fight and they are good sports. In our room all of us like all of the Japanese pupils. Some are going to Idaho Falls, Montana, and other places.

GRACE
JAPANESE EVACUATION

After all we're all Americans but the children with Japanese ancestors will have to be evacuated.

Washington school will not be the same soon because it will be much smaller. Many faces will be missing, to our dispare.

We are sorry to see the Japanese go.

MARJORIE
JAPANESE EVACUATION

I feel very sorry for the Japanese that have to go away. Some of my best friends are Japanese, but I'm sure that Our Government will take care of them, as they were here and we'll have a small school when the Japanese go away. We are sure that they're like it over there. It's very beautiful there. My brothers has a farm over east of the mountain. And every summer I go there and may be I may see a few of my friend.

LEE ROY
THE JAPANESE EVACUATION

Some of the Japanese boys, and girls, of Washington, Jounior High School, are leaving us today. Some of them are leaving today, some monday, and the rest Tuesday. About 25 or 30 children are leaving today. They are going to go to a camp at Puyallup, which use to be a fair. Today in our Assembly we had a fairwell party for the Japanese boy, and girls. The girls, and boys danced there. They danced to many songs.

I had a friend that is leaving today.
We were all very sad to see the Japanese children go today and the other days.

APRIL 24, 1942

Dear Mary,

I am sorry you have to leave us soon. I wish when you get to your new home that you will send me your address and write to me. I posted your picture in my book. When you get there send me some more.

Will you say hello to Ryko, Kazodo and Mary H. Please. Well I'll close.

Love Betty.

BOB
FAREWELL PARTY

Today we had a farewell party in honor of all the Japanese that will be leaving in the next few days. The different rooms did dances. The

one I and almost everybody else thought was best were the dances put on by the 8-A dancing club.

We are all sorry to see the Japanese go. I hope the war will soon end in our favor so that the Japanese will be able to come back to Seattle.

Many non-Nisei students, especially the female students, expressed concern and sadness at the thought of being forced to sever their friendships at school. Other students remarked how much the student body would change once their Nisei peers were gone. More than one-third of Washington school's population would disappear after May of 1942. At nearby Bailey Gatzert Elementary (from which a majority of Washington School Nisei came), the Asian student population constituted an overwhelming majority. The sea of empty desks after May 4 would be a constant reminder of missing classmates. Schooling would be disrupted on all fronts.

One can only surmise how the boys and girls interacted at the farewell party.⁸ It was there perhaps that Ella Evanson, with her farewell book made for her by a student, had the idea to have all the Japanese American students write their farewell reflections. The songs and dances that filled the classroom perhaps hid the feelings of sorrow and uncertainty soon to follow. For one last moment, all the students of Washington were able to experience time together. Many non-Nisei students might have felt a little more at ease in the thought that the government would "take care" of Japanese Americans in providing "safty for their own good." They believed in the benevolence of the government to act on behalf of all citizens. Regardless of their naive understandings, the next day and those to follow would affect everyone's life.⁹

While many students were sad, not all students felt that way. As one student wrote, "For some I am glad, for some I am sorry...." The probity of their remarks reveals, at least, that some students did hold negative feelings toward their Nisei classmates. On an essay written by Gerald, Ella Evanson's handwritten note claimed that he had been in a "knife incident" with

Hideo and friend. To be sure, conflicts between students and some occasional fights between boys, in particular, are to be expected and did in fact occur. However, even the ones not very sad to see their Japanese classmates leave did call them even "better citizens than the whites."

Lamar's letter raises a curiosity regarding the acknowledgment (or lack thereof) of different nationalities within Asian cultures. He realized for the first time that Helen was Chinese and not Japanese. Playing on the stereotype that all Asians look the same, the popular press began to provide derogatory caricatures for the mainstream public to distinguish between Chinese and Japanese individuals. But given the student's recent discovery of Helen's nationality, what was the practice at Washington School, in particular, and the Seattle Public Schools, in general, with regard to recognizing differences within racial groups? How progressive were their seemingly progressive pedagogies?

Some students affirmed the citizenship of their classmates with statements such as "They [sic] have shown the best of sitzoznship [sic] in every way and everything thay [sic] have done" and "They have manners and sometimes are considered better Am. cit. than most white people." Citizenship and citizenship education, in keeping with the tradition in the Seattle Public Schools' Americanization program, included an emphasis on loyalty.¹⁰

Another student's concern rested with his Nisei classmates' no longer being able to enjoy the everyday "rights" of "Americans" such as watching movies. Don's consideration for the daily activities his Nisei classmates would miss indicates that he was attempting to grasp what lay ahead for his school friends. He realized that the "privileges" of Americans should be open to all. He concluded his essay, however, with "because there [sic] just as good citizens as we are." Here an "us-them" distinction in citizenship indicates that an "American" is someone who is white. To be sure, the normative view of an America that is defined by whites was not new. Neither the school nor the friendships between white and Nisei schoolmates structurally changed that perspective. Grace's sentiment captures the contradiction and dissonance felt by many Nisei: "After all we're all Americans but the

children with Japanese ancestors will have to be evacuated." Being a Japanese American held provisional citizenship status.

Specifically, the tenuous citizenship status meant being a "non-alien." With such play on words, Nisei were categorized as such and deemed unequal to (white) citizens—even though "non-alien" really meant citizen. Yoshiko Uchida's autobiography, *The Invisible Thread*, explains the situation quite dramatically:

It was a sad day for all Americans of Japanese ancestry. Our government no longer considered us its citizens, simply referring to us as "non-alien." It also chose to ignore the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution that guaranteed "due process of law" and "equal protection under the law for all citizens." We were to be imprisoned in concentration camps without a trial or hearing of any kind.

"But we're at war with Germany and Italy, too," I objected. "Why are only the Japanese Americans being imprisoned?"

No one, including our government, had an answer for that.¹¹

Indeed, language became a powerful tool for devising race-based policies of exclusion. For the Japanese, to be an American required that they be incarcerated behind barbed wire fences and salute the flag, expressing loyalty to a government that betrayed more than 120,000 of its residents. The oral history narrators' own analyses and responses to the students' writings later in chapter 6 indicate, too, that feelings of betrayal, confusion, and sorrow surrounded their everyday lives for the next three years.

In the following chapter I highlight the major historical events in Seattle that shaped the lives of Japanese immigrant Americans and how their permanent settlement in the premier city of the Pacific Northwest became dictated by policies beyond their control.

Chapter 2

SETTING THE STAGE:

SEATTLE'S JAPANESE AMERICA

BEFORE WORLD WAR II

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Seattle, named after the chief of the Duwamish and Sgugamish tribes, already existed in a complex cultural system established by American Indians—primarily the Nisqually, Snoqualmie, and Muckleshoot, in addition to the Duwamish and Sgugamish—centuries before the arrival of its permanent white settlers from the Midwest in 1851. The pristine wilderness, the Puget Sound, the abundance of natural resources, and the consequent potential for the building of labor and industry lured prospectors to establish an economic base, and a new home, in the second-largest town (to Walla Walla) in the Washington Territory. As evidence of the sustained economic development, Seattle's population swelled past 230,000 from 1880 to 1910,¹ even after a devastating fire leveled much of downtown's Pioneer Square area in 1889. Such growth attracted transient workers along "Skid Row" and the more permanent settlers who established themselves as the new bourgeoisie in the affluent neighborhoods of West Seattle, Queen Anne, and Capital Hill.²

Pivotal to Seattle's boon were the contributions by the early Asian immigrants to the area. By 1880 Chinese immigrants numbered 3,176 in the Washington Territory, about 4 percent of the population. The majority of these early Asian settlers came in the late 1850s from the famine-stricken area of Guangdong (Kwantung) Province in southeast China near the port

city of Guangzhou. They helped to build the western railroads and provided labor for many of the region's major industries as well as working as cooks, domestic servants, and laundrymen. Tales of gold and subsequent riches in Alaska and in the rivers of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia initially drew a number of Chinese from California to the Pacific Northwest. Over time the Seattle Chinese established commercial and community ties in the southern end of downtown Seattle, currently known as the International District. However, the violent expulsion of Chinese in Seattle and Tacoma in the 1880s, following the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act restricting immigration from China, curtailed the further development of a Chinese enclave in those areas. The labor shortage resulting from the expulsion of the Chinese led to growing opportunities for the newly arrived Japanese—Issei immigrants—and for a number of African Americans who moved to Seattle in large numbers after 1900.

The first Japanese immigration occurred in 1868 in Hawaii, due in large part to the Westernization of Japan under the Meiji Restoration in that same year. The sweeping social and economic changes—which included universal public education, national taxes, and a push for industrialization—took a toll on the large, rural peasant class. For some, the idea of leaving their homeland to embark on a new opportunity abroad and return with newly acquired wealth seemed attractive. As a result the large-scale immigration of Japanese to the U.S. mainland began in the 1890s and continued until 1907–1908, and to a very limited degree until 1924, when the Immigration Act was enacted. These new Asian immigrants found work on the railroads and in sawmills, logging camps, shipbuilding, and canneries throughout the Pacific Northwest.

A number of other Issei began cultivating land for agricultural production in the greater Seattle area. First working as seasonal laborers for paddy wages as in other industries, the Japanese farmers' ability to convert formerly unusable land for crops impressed their landowners. As a result landowners provided Japanese workers with reduced rent, enabling them to start farms. Soon afterward Issei farmers began to establish a co-op system

through *tanomoshi* clubs—lending money to members on a rotating basis—to aid one another's farming ventures. The Pike Place Market, now a popular tourist destination, became the site where, by World War I, Japanese farmers occupied an overwhelming 70 percent of the market stalls selling their produce. Some estimate that in the 1920s Japanese supplied 75 percent of the region's vegetables and half the milk. In spite of their gains in crop development and production, many faced anti-Asian attitudes and structural racial discrimination. The passage of the 1921 Alien Land Law by the Washington State Legislature, following California's lead, not only forbade the sale of land to "aliens ineligible to citizenship" but also restricted leasing or renting land and renewing of old leases. This was one of many restrictions placed on Asians in general and Japanese in particular in their attempts to eke out a living. Japanese all along the West Coast of the United States suffered a similar fate.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS AND ANTI-JAPANESE ACTIVITIES

Discriminatory policies in immigration and citizenship can be traced back to the Naturalization Act of 1790, providing for naturalization of "any alien, being a free white person."³ After a revision of the statute post-Civil War, it prohibited any Chinese immigrant from becoming an American citizen, and in 1922 the Supreme Court interpreted the statute to prohibit the naturalization of any "Oriental."⁴ A majority of the Japanese immigrants landed in California, and that was where the spectacle of anti-Japanese efforts took place.

In May 1905, delegates from sixty-seven organizations met in San Francisco to form the Asiatic Exclusion League, later to become the Japanese Exclusion League.⁵ Their racial and economic motivations to exclude Japanese took the form of legislation, boycott, school segregation, and propaganda. By 1908 the league had more than 100,000 members and 238 affiliated groups, mostly labor unions. Clearly, the presence of Japanese immigrants posed an economic threat to the group members, primarily

European immigrants. Even nonmembers expressed support for the league's actions.

An important and pivotal move in the anti-Japanese campaign came in the proposal to segregate Japanese schoolchildren in the San Francisco schools. On December 11, 1906 the school board issued an order barring Asian children from white primary schools, even though they had been legally excluded since the 1850s. This move, backed by a coalition of labor unions and politicians, affected only ninety-three Japanese students, twenty-five of them born in the United States, who were then in the San Francisco Public Schools.

The news reached Japan of the San Francisco School Board decision, and President Theodore Roosevelt, in an attempt to avoid conflicts with Japan, struck a deal: in return for the board's rescission of its order, he would negotiate with Japan to restrict immigration. Thus was born the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 whereby Japan agreed not to issue more workers' passports valid for the continental United States, and to restrict issuance to "laborers who have already been in America and to the parents, wives and children of laborers already resident there."⁶ This limited the entry of Japanese immigrants between 1908 and 1924. Between 1900 and 1920 many men summoned wives from Japan who entered immigrant society in one of three ways: (1) as wives who were left behind in Japan by immigrant males; (2) as women who married single men after they returned to Japan to seek brides; and (3) through the "picture bride" practice.⁷

In conjunction with immigration restrictions came serious economic sanctions. The 1913 California Alien Land Law barred future land purchases by aliens ineligible for citizenship and forbade such aliens to acquire leases for periods longer than three years. As a response to the racist policy, some resident Japanese purchased land under their children's names, with the parents serving as guardians over the land. But that was soon overturned in a 1920 amendment prohibiting any further transfer of land to Japanese nationals, forbidding them to lease land, barring any corporation in which Japanese held a majority of stock from lease or purchase of land, and pro-

TABLE 2.1:
SEATTLE'S ETHNIC MINORITY POPULATION, 1900-1940

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Black	406	2,296	2,894	3,303	3,789
Japanese	2,900	6,127	7,874	8,448	6,975
Chinese	438	924	1,351	1,347	1,781
Filipino	—	—	458	1,614	1,392
Native American	22	24	106	172	222
White	76,815	227,753	302,580	350,639	354,101
Other	—	70	49	60	42
Total	80,671	237,194	315,312	365,583	368,302

Source: Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 108.

hibiting immigrant parents from serving as guardians for their minor children. In Washington State, the Alien Land Law enacted in March 1921 also aimed squarely at aliens who were ineligible for citizenship.⁸ By 1924 the anti-Japanese attack, not only in California but in various West Coast areas, had achieved the complete exclusion of immigration from Japan.

It is through these various immigration restrictions that the distinctive generations in the Japanese American community developed. The limited influx of Japanese women's immigration, during the time of the Gentlemen's Agreement up to 1924, marked the period in which the Nisei generation burgeoned. To be sure, California's nativist measures directly influenced the everyday realities for Seattle's Nikkei, the city's largest ethnic minority group from 1900 to before the Second World War.

Amid racial hostilities, however, Issei were able to find ways to work within the racist system and transmit cultural values to Nisei, syncretizing the moral aspects of their Japanese and newly adopted "American" cultures.

SEATTLE'S JAPANESE AMERICA

An area of approximately four blocks southeast of downtown Seattle made up *Nihommachi*, or Japantown. As with the early Chinese residents and African Americans, Issei were restricted by racial covenants to create their own business and community centers only from South King Street to north of Yesler Way. The heart of Nihommachi was situated on Sixth Avenue and Main Street. Hotels, Japanese restaurants, barbershops, labor contractor offices, Japanese dancing schools, and the Buddhist temple lined the streets providing livelihood and a sense of community to its local residents. The second-generation Japanese, Nisei, grew up combining the cultural influences of their parents with their "American" culture of bobby socks and baseball caps, and their segregated boys' and girls' clubs. Many of their cultural events, both Japanese and American, took place in the Nippon Kan Theater, the primary community center. The "typical average" Nisei was born between 1918 and 1922 to a thirty-five-year-old father and a twenty-five-

year-old mother, reaching legal age between 1939 and 1943.⁹ By the 1930s the Nisei generation, an overwhelming majority being children, predominated. By the decade's end, the children outnumbered their Issei parents.¹⁰

In characterizing the cultural traits of Seattle's Nikkei, the sociologist S. Frank Miyamoto contends that two major values aided in the Issei's instillation of ethnic pride in their children:

First, the Japanese immigrants brought from Japan and transmitted to their children cultural values, consistent with and complementary to the middle-class values emphasized in American society, which emphasized status achievement.

Second, the Japanese minority maintained a high degree of family and community organization in America, and these organizations enforced value conformity and created conditions and means for status achievement.¹¹

In addition, the cohesiveness of family, extended family groups, quasi-familial relations (between neighbors and prefectural organizations), various community organizations, and the disposition to work together as a group all played a part.¹² The Issei brought the values with which they were familiar from living in Japan during the Meiji Era—one of them calling for a universal education system whereby the moral script of loyalty played a major role. These all contributed to the Japanese American community's high degree of the persistence before and after World War II.

Despite the existence of the language barrier between the first and second generation many Issei transmitted cultural values and concepts through what Miyamoto calls the "paratactic mode,"¹³ which stressed learning through observation and experience. The paratactic mode worked to transmit many parental attitudes, sentiments, and values. Among the major cultural values were respect for etiquette, regard for status and authority, and attentiveness to principles of social obligation. This brief examination into the major cultural values is not intended to essentialize the experiences of

all Japanese Americans. Rather, I wish to highlight the ways in which their lives were fashioned by some of the overarching cultural constructs in which they were embedded.

The ethical system of norms, *On*, *Giri*, *Ninjō*, and *Enryō*,¹⁴ influenced by the long religious and cultural tradition—syncretizing Shinto, Buddhist, and Neo-Confucianist thought—during Japan's Tokugawa period figured significantly in modes of cultural transmission by Issei to Nisei.¹⁵ *On*, which is ascribed obligation, comes from Confucianism and marks an individual's duties to parents, family, country, and teachers, for example. It is a value to which one is born and cannot ignore. *Giri*, contractual obligation, is one that is incurred and achieved and built into every form of relationship. *Ninjō*, humane sensibility, seeks to achieve sensitivity with others to a high degree. It is a form of extreme empathy. Lastly, *Enryō* refers to modesty and requires an exercise of excessive restraint. One must initially hold back and hesitate. *Enryō* is regarded as explaining much of Japanese American behavior, particularly in reference to one's seeming indifferent and deferring opinions, when in fact these are signs of respect. Generally, these norms hold the orientation of the group over the needs of the individual. One is always in relation to another.¹⁶ The most persistent efforts at training were devoted to teaching Nisei the ancient principles of *ko* (duty to parent), *on* (filial obligation of reciprocity), and *giri* (duty and responsibility). The extent to which Nisei truly internalized these values is questionable, as the degree of parental influence also differed. But clearly the emphasis on these traits and their daily lives in Nihonmachi where they were often practiced, left an indelible mark on Nisei.

EDUCATION

The influence of education and its role in the formation of Japanese American cultural values cannot be overlooked. On the whole, education in the social and cultural uplift of ethnic minority and immigrant groups in the United States has been a means of establishing structural equality. Strug-

gles against inferior and segregated education have been well documented. And to suggest that *only* Asian Americans value education undermines the long history of resistance fought by parents from *all* minority groups on behalf of their children, and only perpetuates the myth of Asians as "model minorities." Thus, it is important to remember that Issei parents' concern for their children's education reflected a larger pattern of minority parental advocacy, with their unique experience being framed within the cultural traditions emanating from Japan.

JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

Realizing the widening gulf between the generations, especially in maintaining traditional Japanese customs, Seattle's Issei parents established a Japanese Language School, Nihongo Gakko, in 1902, the first of its kind on the West Coast.¹⁷ At its peak over two thousand students attended Nihongo Gakko every weekday for an hour and a half after their regular public school. Most Nisei attended Japanese Language Schools for eight years and did not learn past the rudiments of the Japanese alphabet system.¹⁸

The initial intent in establishing Japanese Language Schools throughout the West Coast lay in preparing Nisei to attend public schools in Japan, based on a traditional custom of *dekasegi*.¹⁹ Many parents felt that the possession of dual citizenship by Nisei afforded them the right and privilege to an education in Japan. Having been born in the United States, Nisei were American citizens according to the principle of *jus soli*. In addition, Nisei with Japanese fathers had automatic Japanese citizenship, based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*. But after continued deliberation on the racial problems that might ensue for Nisei in the matter of their dual citizenship, as seen from the perspective of the white majority, members of the Japanese community elected to educate their children for permanent residence in the United States, thus eliminating in their view the whites' assertions that Nisei would hold divided loyalties. The petitioning and lobbying efforts of Issei and Nisei from Seattle and Los Angeles resulted in the Japanese Diet's

amendment to the Japanese Nationality Act in 1916. This amendment allowed the parents or guardians of Nisei who were fourteen years old or younger to renounce their offspring's Japanese citizenship on their behalf; it also allowed those Nisei who were fifteen to sixteen years old to renounce it themselves. Male Nisei seventeen years old or older could forswear their Japanese citizenship only if they had fulfilled their military obligation. This did not pose too big a challenge since the majority of Nisei males were relatively young.

This move to settle the duality question further emphasized the function of Japanese Language Schools to educate Nisei for a permanent life in the United States:

The main objective will be to educate future permanent residents of the United States; and Recognizing the necessity of an American education, Japanese schools will provide supplementary instruction in Japanese and education about Japan.²⁹

This resolution, adopted in 1912 at a conference of the Japanese Association of America, shows the long-standing concern of Japanese community members for the education of Nisei and their acculturation into the American public schools. Despite growing suspicion and opposition by whites, because the Japanese Language Schools promoted loyalty to Japan, educators and parents aimed to achieve the opposite.

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Racial covenants in housing and the resulting de facto segregation in public schools delimited Nisei attendance to those schools bordering their neighborhoods. Prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many ethnic minorities were not able to set up residence beyond the prescribed boundaries. Desegregation in the 1970s, with voluntary busing programs, allowed for more movement of minorities and whites into certain schools. So for many Seattle

schoolchildren prior to the 1960s, their lives existed within the boundaries of their neighborhoods and did not extend much further.

The Seattle Public Schools, through Americanization and citizenship education,²¹ were the primary force of acculturation for Nisei.²² The Seattle school system, established in 1870, was based on the idea of a neighborhood community school where more emphasis was placed on transmitting academic content and developing intellectual skills, character, morality, and good citizenship than on job preparation.²³ The district's transformation into a major urban system began in 1901 when Frank B. Cooper became the school district's superintendent. Most of Seattle's Nisei went to school under the leadership of Cooper.

Between the 1910s and the 1920s the Main Street School (later moved and renamed Bailey Gatzert), Pacific School, Central School, and Washington School, located east of Nihonnachi, became sites where large numbers of Nisei first experienced their entrée into school culture. Main Street School was closest to the heart of where Nikkei lived. Washington School was closer to the Central District of Seattle where many southern European and Jewish immigrants resided.

Prior to the 1920s, the Main Street School with Ada Mahon as the principal was the local community school for Nisei. Bailey Gatzert, a new, larger structure, was built in 1921 where Mahon continued to serve as the principal. As described in the *Histories of Seattle Public Schools*: "So it was that on a rainy day in December, 1921, Ida [sic] Mahon led her students and teachers on a damp march up Jackson Street to a new building at Twelfth South and Weller Street."²⁴ By 1929 the school required an expansion of a new gymnasium, teachers' room, music room, science room, art room, library, and two new classrooms. According to the report, the children attending were of Chinese and Japanese ancestry before the Second World War and the development of a new housing project along Yesler Way resulted in the "world's three major races" being "represented in nearly equal portions" by 1960.²⁵

Before 1942, Asian students indeed predominated at Bailey Gatzert. By 1920 the student body at Bailey Gatzert consisted primarily of Japanese and

Chinese students. Table 2.2 represents, in descending order, the number of Japanese and Nisei students in the Seattle Public Grade Schools for the 1920-1921 academic year, the only years between 1916 and 1941 in which full student data are available.

Main Street School contained the largest contingent of Japanese American students. The school was in the hub of Seattle's Japantown. Racial covenants and school segregation created the distinct ethnic neighborhoods in central and south Seattle. The student enrollment at Main Street School was 452 in 1921; 445, or 99 percent, of those students being of Chinese and Japanese descent (25 and 74 percent, Chinese and Japanese, respectively).²⁶ For Washington School, the percentage of Nikkei students was far less, 5 percent. The highest attendance at Washington School for the 1920-1921 academic year was 756.²⁷ Many of the Nisei students whose writings are represented in this book attended Bailey Gatzert for elementary schooling, prior to being transferred to Washington School for the seventh and eighth grades.

As Bailey Gatzert's most memorable principal, Mahon is often described as a "strict, no-nonsense kind of teacher who emphasized traditional values in school instruction, [and] was considered by the Japanese community a most admirable head."²⁸ The Issei certainly were most appreciative of Mahon's efforts to instill ethics of hard work in schooling and for building moral character.²⁹ To show the Japanese community's deep gratitude for Mahon's leadership role, a group of Issei raised funds to provide Mahon with a tour of Japan and a large reception in her honor prior to her departure.³⁰ Issei parents also provided and paid for a trip to Japan for Arthur Sears, principal of Washington School, and J. M. Widmer, principal of Central School.³¹ Part of Mahon's success is attributed to the fact that her student body was overwhelmingly Japanese.³² The homogenous population, in addition to the cultural values shared by the Japanese in Seattle, bolstered Mahon's ability to be a stern and authoritative leader, a quality seemingly admired by Issei parents.

TABLE 2.2:
SEATTLE GRADE SCHOOLS WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBERS OF JAPANESE,
1920-1921

Schools	"Colored"	Chinese	Japanese
Main Street	1	111	334
Pacific	24	34	164
Central	2	30	82
Washington	3	3	36
Hawthorne	5	2	22
South Park	0	0	17
Beacon Hill	0	1	12
Seward	0	1	11
Lowell	4	0	10
Rainier	24	6	10
Concord	0	0	8
Stevens, I. I.	0	4	8
Denny	1	1	7
Minor, T. T.	5	1	6
Summit	9	3	6
Cascade	0	0	5
Ravenna	1	0	5
University Heights	0	1	5
Walla Walla	10	0	5
Columbia	4	0	4
Madrona	0	0	4
West Queen Anne	0	0	4
Fairview	0	0	3
Gatewood	0	0	3
Hay, John	0	0	3
Muir, John	1	0	3
Total for Grades	252	208	803

Source: *Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1916-1921* (Seattle: Seattle Public Schools, 1921), 226-227. The information provided is not a complete listing of all Seattle grade schools for 1920-1921.

Even for older Nisei today the legend of Ada Mahon lives. A Bailey Gatzert graduate reflected on Mahon's philosophy of equality in the midst of war and how she worked at every level to provide an environment of intercultural appreciation:

Each spring, Bailey Gatzert Elementary School's departing sixth-grade class was called to the auditorium stage for traditional "moving up" ceremonies. As the rest of the students loudly kept count, each class member stepped off the stage to receive a firm, farewell handshake from Principal Ada J. Mahon.

Although Miss Mahon never had children of her own, thousands of Seattle-area youngsters growing up in pre-World War II Chinatown and the "Nihon-machi" (Japan Town) areas were her legacy. She was "Irish tough" and proud, teaching her "children" to have the same tenacity and pride about being Asian, Native American or black.

Her influence extended well beyond her school property at 12th and Weller streets. Miss Mahon was social worker, counselor, cop, judge and jury—and was loved and respected.

The Asian parents held her in awe. With their strong cultural belief in education as the path to success, the parents entrusted Miss Mahon to build the bridge for their children. Among the Issei (first-generation Japanese immigrants) parents, who hold teachers in high esteem, she was "Mahon Sensei."

Miss Mahon served as the cultural and generational intermediary as we struggled with our "Americanization" process, which sometimes clashed with our parents' cultural traditions. She prepared us to succeed in an adult world where we would be considered minorities.

The world turned topsy-turvey on Dec. 7, 1941. The next morning, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, we were immediately directed to the school auditorium. Miss Mahon, looking out to her sea of colored faces, began the assembly, leading us in the Pledge of Allegiance.

The usually composed Miss Mahon shook with emotion. "You are all my children. Although we come from different places and may look different, we are the same," Miss Mahon said, her voice breaking at times. She

warned that friendships would be tested and that difficult times loomed ahead.

In early spring, school enrollment began dropping as the students of Japanese ancestry left in compliance with the wartime evacuation orders. Miss Mahon held special assemblies, timed with their departures, calling them to the stage, so everyone could say goodbye. The ceremony, usually reserved for sixth-graders moving on to Washington junior high school, was modified to include all students who were leaving with their parents to the internment camps.

On a bright spring day in May, I passed through Bailey Gatzert's large double doors for the last time. My last glimpse of Miss Mahon was her standing ramrod straight and resolute on the front steps. One hand—always extended to help and sometimes holding a wooden ruler to discipline—was waving goodbye, and the other clutched a white tear-soaked handkerchief.³³

Mahon was revered and cherished by the Nikkei community. Her authoritative leadership style, balanced by a sensitivity toward those in the Nikkei community, earned the respect of her students and their parents. Pride in one's ethnicity and heritage, while holding steadfast to the ideals of Americanism through the melting pot ideal, was the foundation of her democratic beliefs. Within her sphere of influence, Mahon managed to control the level of external pressures brought on by the war.

Yet the intrusion of everyday politics in the daily activities of school forced Mahon to confront the issue of how the war would affect more than half of her student body. The majority Nisei student body at Bailey Gatzert needed a school leader to set a moral tone above the clangor of hatred. She, as well as Arthur Sears, principal of Washington School, stressed the ideals of an equal, "American" identity against the backdrop of a society that began to question Nikkei's loyalty to the United States.³⁴

How and in what ways did the Seattle Public Schools begin to lay the foundation for such a view of democracy and citizenship? The following two chapters illuminate the Seattle schools' approach to democratic citizenship

education and how its principals and teachers worked to impart such ideals to their students from 1916 to 1942. As the years progressed and as the war drew on, such lessons on the value of equality and democracy became even more pronounced for Seattle's Nisei students.

Chapter 3

LOOKING BACKWARD:

AMERICANIZATION FOR LOYALTY

AND PATRIOTISM, 1916-1930

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Pupil Leader: Salute the flag! [A salute is given followed by the Pledge of Allegiance]

Leader: Why do we salute the flag?

Assembly: Because we desire to honor it.

Leader: Why should we honor it?

Assembly: Because it stands for liberty, justice and equal opportunities in life for all those who live under its folds.

Leader: How can we best show our devotion to the flag?

Assembly: By obeying the laws of our country.

Leader: Who are the enemies of the flag?

Assembly: All persons who strike at our flag by war or who break the laws that have been made to keep our liberties.

Leader: What are our duties as citizens?

Assembly: First, always to defend the honor of our country; second, to obey the laws and see that others obey them; and third, always to remember that first of all we are American citizens, whose duty it is to stand by our country and keep its flag free from dishonor!

Seattle school students often greeted their day with a flag salute much like the one above. A pupil leader, most often a boy, held the American flag

*Wherever I Go, I Will
Always Be a Loyal American*

Schooling Seattle's Japanese Americans
during World War II

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

YOON K. PAK

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