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Morning Glory, Evening Shadow

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Morning Glory, Evening Shadow
Yamato Ichihashi and His Internment Writings, 1942-1945

Edited, annotated, and with a biographical essay by
Gordon H. Chang

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Frontispiece: The handwritten inscription on the reverse of this photograph reads: "On June 18, 1931, I was promoted to a full professorship, the goal to reach which I had struggled for seventeen years. As a souvenir of this event I wish to leave this autographed photograph to Kei. Yamato." (Woodrow Ichihashi)

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G.H.C.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in footnotes and end notes for some of the most frequently cited sources.

- DSJ David Starr Jordan Presidential Papers, SC 58, Green Library, Stanford University
This collection is to be distinguished from the collection of Jordan Papers at the Archives, Hoover Institution, which will be cited as Hoover Jordan Papers.
- EER Edgar Eugene Robinson Papers, SC 29B, Green Library, Stanford University
- IP Yamato Ichihashi Papers, SC 71, Green Library, Stanford University
- JERS Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
- PJT Payson J. Treat Papers, Archives, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University
- RLW Ray Lyman Wilbur Presidential Papers, SC 64A, Green Library, Stanford University
These are to be distinguished from the Ray Lyman Wilbur Personal Papers, SC 64B, Green Library, which will be cited as Wilbur Personal Papers, and from the Ray Lyman Wilbur Papers at the Hoover Institution, which will be cited as Hoover Wilbur Papers.

WRA Records of the War Relocation Authority, Record Group
210, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland

B Box
F Folder

A NOTE ON NAMES AND TRANSLITERATION

The names of individuals principally identified with Japan are rendered in traditional Japanese form, with family name first and given name second. The names of individuals of Japanese ancestry principally identified with the United States are rendered in Western style, with the given name first followed by the family name. Thus, Yamato Ichihashi's father's name is rendered as Ichihashi Hiromasa. In addition, I use macrons, or long marks, for the long vowel sound for Japanese names and words but not for the names of Japanese Americans, who did not regularly use such lexigraphy.

There is a related matter; a number of Japanese names that were transliterated into English were done so incorrectly. For example, in the papers of David Starr Jordan one can find references to a "Katzuzo Nakasawa," who worked in the Jordan home. The individual's given name probably should have been spelled "Katsuzo" and the surname spelled either "Nakazawa" or "Nagasawa." I did not attempt to correct these infelicities but have rendered names as they were given in the English-language documents.

The morning glory
Has stolen my well-sweep today
Gift-water, pray.
Lady Chiyo (170375)

INTRODUCTION

Several years ago, when I was collecting material on Asian Americans at Stanford, I came across the personal papers of Yamato Ichihashi in the university's manuscript collection. I was acquainted with Ichihashi's classic text on the early history of Japanese in the United States, published in 1932. Other than desultory disclosures of his personal life in the book, though, I knew little about the man himself. He had been a professor at Stanford, and his office was just down the hall from mine. (His office occupied an honored position on the second floor at the apex of the central quadrangle's "History Corner," with a bust of Leland Stanford just outside his window.) I also knew that he had written about a variety of subjects: the experience of Japanese in America, international relations in the Pacific, and Japanese government and civilization. I discovered that not much had been written about him, even though he had been one of the most prominent early intellectuals of Asian ancestry in the United States.

Exploring his papers further stimulated my curiosity, for I found that he had left a large amount of material documenting his life during World War II, when he and his wife, Okei, were forced to "evacuate" Stanford and join 120,000 other persons of Japanese ancestry in federal "relocation centers," the government euphemism for these prison camps. Ichihashi, 64 years old at the start of internment, knew the historical significance of the trials before him and decided, even before leaving the campus, that he would record his experiences in order one day to write an account of his life in wartime America. He never com-

pleted his project, however, and after his death in 1963, his family donated his papers to the Hoover Institution; they were later transferred to Stanford University's Green Library. Packed in storage boxes for over 25 years, his correspondence with colleagues during the war, his research essays on relocation, and portions of his personal diaries lay virtually untouched. What an oversight! They form perhaps the richest extant personal account of internment, yet, despite the considerable attention focused on the Japanese American experience during World War II in recent years, no one had given them serious attention.

After surveying the papers, I decided for a variety of reasons my wish to honor his memory, the contribution his papers make to understanding internment history, the deeply poignant human story contained in his documents that I would try to organize his papers and present them in such a way that his long-unfinished account of internment would, in a sense, finally see the light of day. I would like to think that Ichihashi, if he was with us today, would forgive my presumption.

Part II of this volume, the documentary section, consists of the chronological presentation of material originally written by Yamato and his wife, Okei (far fewer documents by Kei, as she was called, survive), which describe in the first person their three-year incarceration in federal camps. Their story is, to the best of my knowledge, the only existing contemporaneous account of an entire relocation experience. Although much of the material published here was in Stanford's Ichihashi manuscript collection, more than half of it was found in the personal papers of others, principally his Stanford colleagues, and in his personal diaries, which had been retrieved from the papers donated to the Hoover Institution by family members concerned about matters of privacy. Thanks to the thoughtfulness and generosity of the Ichihashis' son, Woodrow, who has been most cooperative throughout this project, the diaries are once again part of the Ichihashi papers at Stanford; significant portions of them are published in Part II of this book. The Ichihashi material covers the entire period from Yamato and Kei's departure from Stanford in May 1942 to their return in April 1945. I have added extensive annotation and editorial material to set the context, provide explanation (and some interpretation), and help clarify the narrative.

In the documentary section I have organized the Ichihashi material, which comprises different types of writing, into one chronological "personal

narrative," to present what might be described as the first first-person account of an individual's entire internment experience in English and perhaps in any language. 1 I say "might be described" since I recognize the constructed and interpretive character of this "narrative": there is no question that if Ichihashi himself had published his own ac-

count, as he had once planned, the final result would have been very different. Based on the several "research essays" in his papers that appear to be draft sections of a manuscript, I assume that his work would have been a largely autobiographical account, with significant amounts of more "objective" sociological material included, a combination characteristic of much of his scholarly work.

The "narrative" presented in Part II has been reconstructed from a variety of materials. Yamato's writings include *correspondence* with close personal friends (it appears that Ichihashi intended to use at least portions of some letters in his manuscript); *research essays* evidently written for a future public audience; and *diaries* of a personal nature that were never intended for publication. Kei's correspondence, presumably, was also never meant to be published. I acknowledge that presenting these varied materials as a single chronological narrative may trouble some readers, who will question the liberties I have taken as compiler. My hope is that the juxtaposition of disparate materials will be seen as enabling rather than hindering understanding, by presenting the internment experience from several personal vantage points and levels of intimacy.

As fascinating as the wartime material is, however, I found the story of the rest of Ichihashi's life and career equally intriguing. Part I, therefore, consists of a two-part biographical essay on Yamato's life up to the outbreak of war in 1941. Following Part II is an Epilogue, which discusses the Ichihashis' lives after World War II until their deaths, Yamato's in 1963 and Kei's in 1970. Unfortunately, I was unable to construct a comparably detailed biography of Kei and have discussed her life largely in the context of her husband's experiences. Extant source material on Kei, an interesting person in her own right, is scarce.

In the biographical essay, I present an interpretation of Yamato Ichihashi's life and times, focusing on aspects of his personality and career that I believe especially relevant to readers today. In particular, I have focused on Ichihashi's experience as one of the first academics of Asian ancestry in the United States. He was also one of the first "Asian Americanists" that is, a scholar interested in the experiences of Asian immigrants and their descendants in the United States. At the same time, Ichihashi was a historian of Japan and a specialist in international relations. Since I, too, have studied the histories of international relations and of Asian Americans, I found his life

especially intriguing. Though I had not yet been born at the time of Ichihashi's incarceration and though I never met the man, I discovered that much in his life resonated with aspects of my own and that I identified with many of the challenges he faced.

In sum, then, what follows in this volume does not fall neatly into traditional categories of historical writing. It is not the edited and annotated diary of a single person, although diary entries are used extensively. It is also not a biography as such, although it begins with a long biographical essay. Finally, it is not an autobiography, even though Ichihashi's wartime story is presented largely in his own words. I hope the results will justify the invention of this hybrid genre.

This book joins a literature on Japanese American experiences during World War II and internment that is extensive, but curiously uneven and incomplete. In the decade following the war, a number of studies written by sociologists, historians, and officials involved in administering the camps presented perspectives on the politics and operations of the camps and observed experiences of the Japanese. 2 Few Japanese in those years put anything on paper expressing their own views of what had happened to them, and the published material often contained only meager insight into their own "felt experiences." Little more was written about relocation until the late 1960's, when a number of accounts severely criticized the relocation policy and the government's treatment of the Japanese. With one or two exceptions, these works were attempts by third parties to write from the viewpoint of the interned Japanese, rather than from the "detached," scholarly position taken in much of the earlier material. The studies produced during this time of social upheaval in the United States damned the camps as products of American racism and political opportunism, the treatment of the Japanese as brutal, and the consequences for Japanese Americans as profoundly damaging.³

With few exceptions, Japanese Americans themselves did not speak, let alone write, about their internment experiences in the three decades after the war; it was not until the 1980's that several books were published based on the memories of their lived experiences. It seems that the cushion of 30 years provided the detachment necessary for many to unburden themselves at last.⁴ At the same time, the camps became the subject of research that explores particular issues in intellectual, legal, political, or social history.⁵ Despite all this new material, a specialist in Japanese American history and the camps recently noted the surprising paucity of serious, systematic studies of the attitudes and experiences of the Japanese Americans themselves.⁶

This volume, it is hoped, will contribute to our understanding of the