CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

Japanese American Oral History Project

An Oral History with TOGO TANAKA

Interviewed

By

Arthur Hansen

September 26, 1994

OH 1271.3

This is an edited transcription of an interview conducted for the Center for Oral and Public History, sponsored by California State University, Fullerton. The reader should be aware that an oral history document portrays information as recalled by the interviewee. Because of the spontaneous nature of this kind of document, it may contain statements and impressions that are not factual. The Center for Oral and Public History encourages all researchers to listen to the recording while reading the oral history transcription, as some expressions, verbiage, and intent may be lost in the interpretation from audio to written source.

Researchers are welcome to utilize short excerpts from this transcription without obtaining permission as long as proper credit is given to the interviewee, the interviewer, and the Center for Oral and Public History. Permission for extensive use of the transcription and related materials, duplication, and/or reproduction can be obtained by contacting the Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, PO Box 6846, Fullerton CA 92834-6846. Email: coph@fullerton.edu.

Copyright © 1994
Center for Oral and Public History
California State University, Fullerton

CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: TOGO TANAKA

INTERVIEWER: Arthur Hansen

DATE: September 26, 1994

LOCATION: Westwood, California

PROJECT: Japanese American

AH: This is an interview with Mr. Togo Tanaka by Art Hansen for the Japanese American project of the Oral History Program at California State University at Fullerton. The date of the interview is the twenty-sixth of September, 1994 and the time is about 1:50 p.m. in the afternoon. The interview is being held at the interviewee's home in—is it Westwood?

TT: Westwood which is part of Los Angeles.

AH: Okay, so in the Westwood area near the UCLA campus in Los Angeles. I didn't realize until I came here today quite how close you were to the UCLA campus. I had gone up and down one street, and then went back to Wilshire and did it that way, and then I realized that could have just come off Hilgard and found your place real nicely. And Rayburn, is it?

TT: Yeah, right.

AH: Before we start the interview, Togo, I'd like to first of all thank you for allowing me to come here today and talk to you. And also to discharge some historical appreciation and our project was able to avail ourselves of your services originally back in 1973 when you participated in the lecture series on the Japanese American evacuation that I coordinated at UC Irvine. And shortly thereafter, you did an interview that was a partial life history with Betty Mitson and Dave Hacker who were in Japanese American project. And then in August of 1971, I pestered you, yet, one more time and talked to you about the Manzanar riot. I remember at that time when I came to interview you, you were travelling a lot, and were, I think as you put it, semi-retired, although you seemed to be very busy even during the interview the phone rang numerous times. One time a call was from Samuel Hayakawa, who is going to figure in our conversation today since you had ample opportunity to see him during the war; and I believe after back at Chicago.

In any event, the two times that we talked to you before we dealt primarily with your Manzanar experience, although Betty Mitson and David Hacker did go beyond that talk a bit about your family. I have subsequent to that written quite a bit, which I've used your interview materials, and I've always been appreciative that not only in your writings that you did for the War Relocation Authority as a documentary historian, but also the writing that you did for the Japanese evacuation and resettlement study that Dorothy Swaine Thomas headed up for UC Berkley; that you're always very frank and that you were always forthcoming about things, even though it wasn't a popular thing to do. And this has been the case, I think, in the interviews. And so, I've been very pleased that even though, at times, you must disagree not only with my interpretations, but the very fact that your newspaper background has predisposed you to respect the truth and to speak openly about it. And so, I thank you for all of those things.

TT: In response, let me add that I'm extremely grateful to you, to Betty Mitson, to David Hacker. First, because it's been a real privilege to meet and to know you and to participate in what you are doing with such skill. I am extremely grateful because this has given me a chance to do something that I probably should have done more and that is to reflect and to look backward because it seems that we're always rushing around so much that we seldom do that. I think it's good to do it now at this stage in my life. I just had twenty-seven days flat on my back doing nothing but reading books and watching soap opera. (chuckles) Now that I'm on a wheelchair I'm glad to have this meeting with you.

AH: Can you, briefly, summarize what's been happening in your life in the last twenty years since we talked on tape? You spent the last twenty-seven days reading and watching soap operas and recovering from a broken femur, but can you tell me, kind of in a general sense, what's been going on in your life in that period.

TT: Well, Jean and I, in reflection, perhaps in the last two decades of our lives—most important thing, as we see it, has been the opportunity to grow with our five grandchildren. They are now—let me see, we have one who is a junior at New York University—

AH: Can you identify which of your kids—

TT: Yes, Jamie Joe Tanaka, who was one of the two first grandchildren we had, born at St. John's Hospital twenty years ago, is a junior at New York University majoring in Fine Arts—

AH: And her parents are?

TT: Her parents are our son Wesley and his wife Vicki. The second grandchild is Daniel—they gave him Togo as his middle name—who is a son of our daughter Christine and her, then husband, Jim Omura, who was a professor of electoral engineering at UCLA. And Daniel is a junior at UC Berkley, and his probably going to major—he's taking physics and math courses. He hasn't declared what he intends to become, but we are corresponding. We talk by telephone with both of them. A third grandchild, our second granddaughter is Dawn Omura who is also Christine and Jim's daughter, and she's a sophomore at Stanford University. And Kelly Jean Tanaka, second daughter of Wesley and Vicki, I think she was accepted at some Ivy League School but opted, instead, to do some work, to get some practical experience. And now, she'll be entering Otis Parsons because I think she wants to get into creative designing work. And she lives here in Los Angeles because she'll be attending school here.

AH: What's the name of that school again?

TT: Otis Parsons. It was Otis Art Institute, and I think they got together with Parson School of Design, toward what is MacArthur Park in Los Angeles. And the youngest is Kevin Tanaka, who is sixteen going on seventeen, and he's at Brentwood School here. He attended Punahou in Honolulu for a year; he's back here. And we had—we were going on cruses pretty much all over; Alaska, Hawaii, Bahamas, Caribbean with all five grandchildren. Toured the United States, we've gone on trips, and it's been a tremendous experience because we used to for the first, I think, ten years, we would be with them every week after Sunday school at church. We'd have lunches, and we'd do things together. And it seems to me that our lives have been wrapped up in growing with our grandchildren.

AH: Of course, they're moving in so many different directions, it must be difficult for you to grow with them.

TT: Well, now they are. (laughs) We stay in touch with them, and one of the things I enjoy most is correspondence because it's a measure of how they are doing in school and the things that are interesting.

AH: Back in 1973, when you talked with Betty Mitson and David Hacker, you talked a bit about your own children during then, what was happening to them, and they were going through some interesting times at that particular point. What's happen to all three of your kids? Aside from having kids.

[00:10:10]

TT: (laughs) Right! We feel very fortunate because—number one, all three of them are, perhaps, within five or ten minutes of us here, and that was not by our request or design but it happened that way. Our oldest, Jeannie, completed—she was, I think, at that time, she was in Japan. First she was at Sophia University over there and then to International Christian University. Came back here and took her masters in social welfare, and then went back to Japan as a volunteer in an orphanage over there. She stayed for fifteen or sixteen years, and she taught at a high school division of some university over there, which qualified her—so she's bilingual, she can read, write, lecture, speak. She decided to make a second career change about six or seven years ago, and she applied to American University outside of Washington D.C. Attended law school there, took her Juris Doctor degree, came back to Los Angeles, was qualified to practice here in California Bar. I think she also did in Washington D.C. And then worked for half a different dozen law firms but got a little bit disillusioned because she said they had invented the eighty-hour or the hundred-hour week with the billings. (laughs) She worked in a small law firm of twenty lawyers and in one that had six hundred lawyers, so the bigger they were, the more they cheated. So, withdrew for a while. She worked for Unical, thinking now she wouldn't be involved in billing, but it didn't attract her enough. Currently, she was invited to apply for a job with the California Corporation Commission. She's doing that and she maintains, as I understand it, a moonlight practice with small companies from Japan because she is bilingual. Our second daughter—

AH: Before you go on with your second daughter, you had surmised I remember, in your interview some twenty years ago, that her interest in things Japanese had some relationship to the fact perhaps that she was born at Manzanar. Is that sort of—

TT: Yes, it has—you know, I got somebody at the door.

AH: Oh, I'm sorry.

TT: Do you mind if we just stop it? [recording paused] I'm sorry. There won't be any more interruptions.

AH: It doesn't matter if there are interruptions. We'll just stop! I was asking you that what influence being born at Manzanar had on your oldest daughter, since, at the time, twenty years ago when we interviewed you, you thought that it might have had some. And some twenty years later, does it manifest itself in ways that clearer to you than before?

TT: Well, Art, before I answer, that question raises some speculating on my part. She was born at the Hollywood Presbyterian Hospital here January 21, 1941. No, I'm sorry, 1942! Excuse me. So, that was about—

AH: Just a few months before—

TT: Yeah, she must have been three months. So, she missed being born in a relocation camp. Among the three children, we take a good deal of comfort in saying that we are in good terms with all three. It's more than just being in good terms with it. There is a family affection running with us because a day seldom goes by that we don't hear from all three of them by telephone, and we do a lot of things together. And Jeannie lives in a condominium over here on Doheny near Beverly Hills. But, I'll say this, it may not be true between her and her mother, between Jeannie and myself, I think they are clashes of opinion and differences because culturally, I think she's half Japanese. You know? Definitely! And I think that her long experience all those years living in Japan among people who are *Japanese-Japanese* make her—for example, when she learned that I was going to cooperate with Janis on this project involving a brother who was mentally ill, it outraged her. She though that I was deliberately exposing things that in Japan are deep, privately held family secrets to public view, and that's a shame. So, as a consequence, she and Janis don't get along very well because she thinks that Janis has disgraced the Tanaka family, even if she isn't. Once in discussing with Jeannie, "Well, you know, he is my brother and I have feelings for him." And I feel I owe it to Janis because she, after a decade-and-a-half of not knowing where he was or if he was buried in a potter's field or some terrible tragedy would befallen and I would learn through a newspaper. But, that meant nothing to her. She takes, I think, what is the Japanese view instead of—(laughs)

AH: _____ (inaudible) Kibei, isn't she?

TT: Definitely. Oh, absolutely! And then, I find, too, that our reactions to what may happen, even in world events that there is—I don't feel on bit of sympathy for anything because it's Japanese. No. And I feel toward the mentality of a Japanese military that did what they did in the thirties and the forties with the same revulsion I feel about Hitler's. But, I think there is a sentimental and emotional identification with being of Japanese blood that runs through her that I don't see Wes or Christine. That's my own perception. Now, whether that has something to do with Manzanar, I don't know.

AH: You had a brother, I think Martin, who was a Kibei?

TT: No, Minji.

AH: Oh, Minji.

TT: My older brother. He's totality Americanized.

AH: Does he still live?

TT: Oh, yes, he's ninety, and I hear from him regularly, several times a week, often.

AH: And where does he live in this area?

TT: No, he lives in Chicago. To me, he's quite an inspiration because in all the years I've known him—I was four when he came to this country. He was sixteen. I've been the beneficiary of his help in many, many ways from the time I was attending school.

AH: I was going to ask you a question that, I think, you answered already and that is, is there any special affinity between your oldest daughter and—

TT: And Minji?

AH: And Minji.

TT: It's interesting, I think there is to this extent. If Jeannie is discouraged by my reaction to some of her views, which are not as accepting as I think she would like, I'll get some feedback from him in which he tries to—he's always a seconding and reconciling influence in her thinking. And then he'll say, "Well, that's the way she is because she went to Japan, and those idiots over there, that's the way they think." (chuckles) So, I think that if anything he's a calming influence for her because she gets very little sympathy from her brother or sister on matters of this kind. They think it's sheer nonsense that she should feel that way in an American society. Both Wes and Christine have been to Japan, but they are not Kibei in their attitudes.

[00:20:10]

AH: What's going on career-wise?

TT: Christine, her children are grown. Christine has had two failed marriages. She married a young man named François from Paris, and they had no children. It lasted about two years, and she couldn't stand it.

AH: Did she live in France?

TT: He's gone back to Paris, right.

AH: But, she never lived in France?

TT: No, but she speaks French very fluently. As a matter of fact, her communication with François's mother is all in French. They'd sit out here, and they would be talking in the middle of the night. He had an older sister who was an M.D., and she spoke only French. But Chris was very much able to communicate with them. Then about a couple years after the divorce, she was attending UCLA, and she was in this class taught by James Omura. She didn't take engineering so she must have met him in some other class. But, he came by, and he had one divorce and no children. And they married, and that seemed to be something that would take hold, but when she found that he had other women, after they had two children, she divorced him. She took full custody of the children, raised them, and she's kept a reasonably friendly relationship with Jim, who is no longer a—he had tenure here, but he went into a business. He is part-owner of a rather substantial company up in northern California. So, the children are in touch with the father from time to time.

AH: It's interesting because he has the same name of the Jim Omura the newspaper editor who—

TT: Right, but this is a different—

AH: Right, I know.

TT: Then about twelve years ago, she met a young man named Vaughn Trammell who was an architect. He was one of the architects under John Lautner. He has his own practice. He does homes that _____ (inaudible). They began to live together. She didn't want to be divorced a third time, she said.

AH: She had a significant other instead. (laughs)

TT: And we like him better than we cared for the other two. (laughs) And we're traditional and conventional. Among ourselves, "Gee whiz!" He wants to marry her and they've talked about it and we like him. And they're monogamist, and they are very close when looking at other couples. I think it's been twelve or thirteen years—maybe it's been more, now. And when they're apart, they are like being married, but they just don't have that piece of paper. They have a home here that they are remodeling in Westwood. They are putting a beautiful waterfall and a garden. It's a double size lot. And we see a great deal of both of them at dinners and we're probably celebrating her birthday this week. She is doing, to her, a very rewarding job. I introduced her to John Lautner about fifteen years ago, and he immediately took her on as a business manager. She negotiates his contracts, keeps the business float. For her hobbies, she and Vaughn do ceramic work; they have their own, what you call a kiln?

AH: Sure.

TT: And they have a second home up at a place called Aspendell, near Bishop in the high Sierra. So, they divide time their between out here and there. But, except for the fact that they don't have the benefit of clergy or a paper, they are about as happily married—I guess the fact that they haven't married, is the fact that they still behave like newlyweds. But, we are extremely happy with them.

AH: We have quite a few acquaintances that are in the same situation, some that are even twenty years, so it's quite interesting. It's a little perplexing to the traditionalist side of ourselves, but there it is, right? (laughs)

TT: Yeah, that's right. (laughs) Wes and Vicki were married, they—they've been married probably over twenty years because Jamie is twenty. Probably been married twenty-one, twenty-two years. He took over Gramercy Enterprises in 1980, the whole thing. He owns it, he runs it; he operates from headquarters downtown at Wilshire and Hope. And he's in joint venture with a man named _____ (inaudible) who is president of Toyo Real Estate USA, which is subsidiary of _____ (inaudible) Bank. And with a Chinese American partner, they own Gramercy International Corporation. In addition to having a pretty substantial portfolio of a couple hundred properties scattered in twenty-six states, on which the commercial sells leaseback property on which collects rent, they're doing transactions to bring over people from Singapore, Hong Kong, Taipei—

AH: Purchasing—

TT: To buy real estate out here. Under the Immigration Act of 1990, I think, the distance between the green paper and citizenship is shortened if you create ten jobs and investment a million dollars. I'm not familiar with the details.

AH: I'm kind of curious with, you're probably in touch on this with him, but with the business of Hong Kong still up in the air—

TT: Ninety-seven is going to be the big year.

AH: Yeah, what is happening in terms of Hong Kong population? I know a lot of them are kind of waiting to see and they may—

TT: Well, a lot of them are already coming here. We were in Vancouver last year, and the largest real estate transaction in North America is from a group from Hong Kong. People that are resettling in Vancouver.

AH: I saw an article in the paper yesterday about the two Chinatowns in Vancouver.

TT: Yeah, right. And then, you go to a suburb of Los Angeles like San Marino, and you discover that one-third of the people are Chinese.

AH: Well, a new book has come out in Monterrey Park, which had one of the first suburban Chinatowns.

TT: Yes, right.

AH: So, a lot of his properties are being sold to people from Hong Kong?

TT: Well, not a lot, but some have been. I know a few years ago that they were putting together a transaction—I think it was a fairly substantial property of home savings—maybe sixty million dollars, I think. But, what they was acquired that, what they call a sale leaseback, and then they sold it to partnerships in Japan. So, that type of transaction he's been involved in.

AH: How long were you in that Gramercy Enterprises before Wesley took over?

TT: I started around 1960. I was in publishing first. I was publishing for Howard Edgerton at California Savings and Loan and for Stewart Davis at Great Western Financial Corporation. I also went out and sold a Dillingham Land Corporation account. We were doing marketing publications for these financial organizations.

AH: Printing them or redesigning them or what?

TT: Well, I started with Cal Fed because during the pre-war period I had gone to Howard Edgerton's father and he had—actually, when I was editing the English section of the *Rafu Shimpo*, Mr. Edgerton's father came to *Rafu Shimpo*, and he asked me if I would help him and a partner promote a housing development. He called it Jefferson Park; it was on La Cienega and Jefferson.

[00:30:22]

AH: This was going to be intergrading housing?

TT: Right, but because he knew that we had been running articles in the *Rafu Shimpo* that the laws discriminate against people of Asian backgrounds—when you say Asian, it was mostly Japanese background—and he said, "You think you could get buyers if we sub-divided lots and build them out there?" And I said, "Sure." So, we did this, and, of course, war intervened, and blew the whole thing out. But, I went back after I came back here, called Howard Edgerton's son—

AH: This was in '55 or so?

TT: And said, "Could I do something because I'd like to produce your newsletter for you." He had one called *New and Views* that Howard, himself, was writing. I said, "Give me the contract, and I'll edit what you write. We'll initiate work, write news for you, we'll print it, and we'll mail it for you." And he said, "Well, go talk to Mickey Chapburn." Oliver Chapburn was the senior vice president in charge of development. Mickey and I struck up a friendship for years. He gave me the contract on a handshake. He said, "Well, we don't know how it's going to turn out, but let's kind of play it by year." And I was soon producing—I did an eight pager, then a sixteen pager, then I put color in, he liked the way we produced it.

AH: When you say I and then we, was it just you that was doing this?

TT: Yeah, I was doing it myself.

AH: The I was the we! (laughs)

TT: (laughs) Well, Jean was helping, and then my daughter, she was working for me, too. But, we did it as a family enterprise. And with that one account, which built us enough—see, when I come from Chicago and moved out here in 1955, the American School of Correspondence, which was then the largest home study high school in the United States. In high school enrollments, it was bigger than ICS, which was International Correspondence School out of Scranton.

AH: You're picking up beautifully, yeah.

TT: I had moved out here from Los Angeles in 1955 because Jean had been suffering from ragweed allergy, and staying in Chicago the doctor said it would make her ill and she would eventually get the asthma.

AH: Is that the main reason you moved out?

TT: Yeah, otherwise, I'd still be in Chicago. I never wanted to come back to California.

AH: Well, that is interesting. I didn't know that. I thought maybe you were lusting to get back to California.

TT: Oh, no, no, I was so sick of this because of the experience we'd had. It's funny, Jean says that she wanted to come back because her parents were here. And my parents had just died. We had brought them to Chicago with us. And I said, as far as I'm concerned, I like Chicago and the Midwest and the friends we made here. And California was always unfair and hostile to us, so let's never go back. But, the doctor said, "You've got to go, either to Canada or where there is no ragweed, or you got to get back to Los Angeles." So, we came back here, and before we did so, I went to Sam Elliot, which was president of the American School, and I told him that I was going to move out there. I had built up the *American School News*, which was a sixteen pager quarterly, because I asked him, you know, "I've had some experience in printing things out." And they had four pager called the *American*, and I told him that I could do better if they would just let me put out four issues for them. He said, "No, we'll let you put out one issue, and let's see what you do with one." (chuckles) So, apparently, they were pleased with it because they let me initiate the whole thing. At that time I was in charge of the American Technical Society's publication department, and they said, go ahead. Elliot liked it so much, now they want to know how much it's going to cost. And I was going to print it at Chicago Publishing Corporation because we were starting an extra business with three friends down there. We had bought our own offset presses, but we couldn't produce on that. So, I went to a firm called Weblin Printing Company; it's a middle-size firm in Chicago. And Ed Falick, which was a son of one of the owners, I asked, "Can you really give me a break on this because it can be a long-term thing," and we worked out a deal. Now he's a neighbor. I still see him out here.

AH: How do you spell his last name?

TT: F-a-l-i-c-k, Abraham Falick. Well, he produced the *American School News* for me off of Weblin presses. I would say it wasn't a sensation, but they were very happy with it at the American School. Now they said—I think this was in the late forties—by 1955, when I had to move out here, I asked Mr. Elliot, can you let me print it from Los Angeles because Jean is going to get asthma if we stay here, and I've got to move out. And he said, "Sure." He said, "You want a contract?" I said, "Well, if you let me do everything now on a handshake. I don't need a contract." So, I came out here, and I shopped around for a press large enough because, by then, a sixteen pager, I was running two hundred thousand copies every—it was a pretty good size job in those days.

AH: It's two hundred thousand copies every what?

TT: Every three months, it was a quarterly. So, in other words, we were close to a million copies. I still have some of those around. I can't remember, my memory may be faulty at this point, but I thought he guaranteed to me about $125,000 a year for their costs. He said, "You figure out how you can pay yourself because I want you to come back here as often as you can afford to come and sit down with the staff to go over what you're doing and fly home."

AH: So, you were commuting for a while after you got here? You would come here, and you would fly back to Chicago?

TT: Every month.

AH: You were a frequent flyer, as they would say. (laughs)

TT: I was a frequent flyer, and I really learned how to fly cheap, too. (chuckles) But then, that was the basis for our starting business here. I showed that to Howard Edgerton, and I build up *News and Views* for them. He introduced me to Stewart Davis at Great Western, I did what they call the *Great Westerner*, which was not a marketing publication, but an internal house magazine. And then people at Great Western introduced me to Dillingham, and I got quite a few small accounts out here. And, in the meantime, I was in partnership with Van Jaffy at Jaffy Publication. And I formed a company called School Industrial press and owned half of that. And we did Beauty School Management, oh, gosh, five or six trade publications, which we had a lot of fun doing.

AH: Were you doing any more school things when you called yourself School Industrial, or was it all industrial?

TT: No, I did the *American School News*, and I did publication for Loma Linda University Medical School.

AH: Okay, so you did continue with schools?

TT: Oh, I certainly did. And we were doing quite well, but it was working around the clock. We must have been working eighty to one-hundred hours a week. But then, when I look at *Scene* magazine, I say gee, whiz, how in the world did we ever do that? I had a full-time job at American Tech, and that took forty to fifty hours a week because it was a large organization, in my eyes. There were several hundred of us that worked there. And I said, "How did we do that." Because Jim Nishimura, who was the co-founder of that, he came to me with the idea. And I said, "Yeah, let's do it together." So, he said, "You be editor and chief, and I'll be publisher." And that's how we started. But then, I look back, I look at my little diaries and I'd put in a full day at Tech. Then I'd go home and we'd have dinner. Then I'd go down to 26th and Indiana and work until midnight on the Scene. And then, on weekends we were wiped out with—that's how we got Scene magazine, as a moonlight job.

[00:40:25]

AH: You actually invented the *real* sixteen hour day. (laughs)

TT: (laughs)

AH: Not the fraudulent sixteen hour day!

TT: But, I think it was kind of rough on the family, too. Especially when we moved out here and the children were beginning to grow up, and I was gone one week a month, back there, back and forth.

AH: And how did you segway from having this school industrial operation into having the company Gramercy Enterprise?

TT: That grew out of—

AH: And when, too?

TT: I think probably in the early sixties. They ran together because I had a tax accountant named George Marshall Elberson who was explaining to me the ramifications of—I said, "If we make money from one—" He said, "Do you want to know how to minimize the taxes?" (laughs) In his hands, gosh, until he died, every decision regarding—he said, "We'll set up two corporations. One will be primarily real estate—I was at that time, accumulating property, starting with a fourplex on 4th and New Hampshire, right next to the Sinai Temple.

AH: And this was before Gramercy?

TT: Title was vested in Gramercy Enterprise, a California Corporation investing real estate owned by Jean and myself. School Industrial Press was a publishing entity owned by Jean and myself, which was involved in these publications that we also owned. We could afford to take profits from one and invest it in the other. We also had some joint expenses because we were operating out of the same little house as an office along with—

AH: The one on Victoria?

TT: Yes, right—with people who were on one payroll, which were charged if they worked on the other and kept accurate of time to describe the work that was done. This is how the two worked. Eventually, we gave up the publishing because—

AH: When was that about? It seems that you were still doing all of that, or you at least had some of the stationary when I used to communicate with you back in the early seventies.

TT: Well, somewhere along the way, School Industrial Press became T.W. Tanaka Company. That's still an active corporate entity, but it's all owned now by my daughter Christine.

AH: Did you stop doing any kind of publications of—

TT: Gradually, I think around 19—gosh, I think around, '68 or '69, going every month to Chicago became pretty rough.

AH: I've got to turn this over. Hold one just a second.

[recording paused]

TT: Well, the American school was undergoing changes, too, and when Mr. Sam Elliot retired, his successor was a man named Willard K. Lasher. And it's interesting because I didn't mind extending myself and disrupting what was normal family life for Mr. Elliot, going back there once a month. But, when Lasher became chief executive officer, on a flight back here I says, "What am I doing for him?" (chuckles)

AH: The name itself is formidable! Lasher!

TT: So, I began to look for ways to resign or to have someone else do it. And I'd had an assistant, a wonderful day named Hilda Edema, who used to fly out here to save me going back there. We had an editor advisory board and when I went back there, we always met together. It was nice to meet all the friends on the different floors of that school building. I asked Mrs. Edema if she would be prepared to take over, and she said she would. I resigned the whole thing, I think it was '68 or '69.

AH: So, you had continuity from probably 1943 to '69 with Chicago, I mean, those intermittent trips that you took—

TT: Yes. Well, I still do because just got through promising my brother that as soon as I heal, we are going to go to Chicago as see him.

AH: And when he got to Chicago, was it at that point in '43, was it?

TT: That's right.

AH: So, he's been there since?

TT: He'd been back here just once.

AH: Well, one thing I was going to ask you about, too, I think you spent at least four years on the Federal Reserve Board—

TT: It was ten.

AH: Aren't appointments for twelve?

TT: Yeah, right. They appointed me for one year in 1979 for one incomplete term of some sort, and that was the end of that. And, at the end of that, they asked if I'd accept reappointment to the same—they have different classes of directors. I think A, B, and C. So, I was appointed again by the board of governors in Washington D.C. for a three year term, so that made four. Normally, that would be the end of it, but then in San Francisco they asked me if I would run for it. "What do you mean run for it?" Apparently, you're elected as a class B director, and you represent banks that are capitalized under a certain amount, like five million dollars. So, I represented the small banks for what would be my third term, a three year term, and at the end of that period, I was asked if I would run again, so I served a period of ten years all together.

AH: Did you know much about the Federal Reserve System when you got involved?

TT: No! It was funny. I met G. William Miller who was the chairman before Paul Volcker. My first assignment Caroline Ahmanson was the chairman of the board of the Los Angeles branch, and she appointed me to a committee position called public information. And part of that orientation was for me to travel with Chairman Miller to San Francisco and other cities where branches were, and he was explaining to me what the job would entail.

AH: You didn't get away from your press background did you?

TT: No! (laughs) And Miller said most people think that M1 is a gun, and other people think it's an Indian reservation, the Federal Reserves is. (laughs) It was either an Indian reservation or bonded whiskey. (chuckles) And it was interesting because after meeting Bill Miller, I met with him in Washington D.C. Once he asked me if I would arrange a dinner with S.I Hayakawa, which was a senator, which we had several meetings. And Bill Miller's wife was a white Russian lady. Her name was Ariadna [Rogojarsky]. And it's a small world. I says, "Well, how did she learn English?" "Oh, she took courses at the American School." And I says, "Oh, my god. I used to correct papers for the American School. Will you go home and ask her if she ever did any of her English things—it's a little red workbook called *English Composition and Rhetoric* by T.W. Tanaka." He went home and found out she had, and I had corrected some of her papers. (laughs)

[00:50:07]

AH: That's great.

TT: But, Carter moved him to the treasury. He was secretary of treasury after he left the Fed, and I used to get phone calls from him—yeah, I think he was treasury secretary when I arranged the dinner with Hayakawa. I hear from him because he was out here last year in the takeover of the Federated Department Stores. There was some guy up in Canada who had taken over and made a mess of some conglomerates. And I think

Bill Miller is involved—he's in private investments now, out of Washington D.C., G. William Miller and Associates. Because one of his people who works for him is a man named John Valance who heads a company here called City Center Development Company and are going to be involved in the redevelopment of Los Angeles. But, I enjoyed the Fed contacts, and I still keep in touch with a lot of the people.

AH: So, it was a tremendous learning experience for you?

TT: Oh, yeah. It certainly was.

AH: Did you travel a lot in that capacity, too?

TT: Well, not a lot, but we were in Washington D.C. for meetings at the Martin Building once a year, and then during Paul Volcker's years, he used to come out here fairly interminably because we had meetings at the San Francisco headquarters. I had a letter from him the other day. It was funny as heck. He had heard about my leg, and most of the letters I've had from friends—you know, if you get cancer, they're very sympathetic. If you do something dumb like this—(laughs)

AH: They feel it's open season on you, right? (laughs)

TT: Yeah. (laughs) It's a big joke. And so, it's so funny. And I thanked him for the thing, and I acknowledged it. And in my acknowledgment, I mentioned to him I have some friends here, ah, who have dropped over, and their daughter is a Dr. Judy Shelton. And I says, I don't know if you've ever heard of her or not, but she is a Hoover Institution Researcher, who eighteen months before it happened, came out with a book that became a bestseller called *The Coming Soviet Crash*. As a consequence of that notoriety, she became a consultant to Boris Yeltsin. She is married to a, I think, a banker from Utah who was with the Tracy Collins Bank, and they live in Middleburg, Virginia. Last year, she wrote a book called *Money Meltdown*, which also is on the bestseller list. And she's quoted in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Readers Digest*, and all over. And her parents, who were old friends of mine, dropped by to commiserate with me about my broken leg. They said that Judy has a new manuscript, and she's looking for a publisher because she just died. So, I sent the letter on to Paul Volcker, and yesterday I had a telephone call saying that Hail Potter is the name of my friend—he says, "Hey, Judy just called a little while ago and said that she was in Paul Volcker's office." He's chairman of a company called Wolfensohn, and she had gone there because some Japanese publisher is interested in her book. Volcker knew of her but had never met her, but the Japanese publishers wanted meet at his office. And so, when she said, "How do you do?" He said, "I have a letter on my desk from Mr. Tanaka in Los Angeles telling about you." And she said she was shocked by her—(laughs)

AH: What's her new book about? Do you know?

TT: It has a religious theme, so I don't know whether it's about international finance or not.

AH: I'll look for her name. So, she's had two of these major books out?

TT: Yeah, Judy Shelton. In fact, her maiden name is Potter, and her folks live out here. But, the Fed people I'm in touch with them, and they're a great network for people.

AH: You been involved, over the past twenty-five years in a number of different activities, community service activities, and the like. What are the major ones that occupy your attention?

TT: I've been trying to resign from most of them, but there are four or five, perhaps six, that are close to my heart. I hope that I'm going to be able to keep active with them. One is a wellness community, which is a cancer support group. It started here in the South Bay, in Santa Monica, with one location. Now there are over a dozen nationally. The intention is to spread it so that the idea of being an active patient, whether it's cancer or alcoholism or any kind of an illness, to get the patient to get the major part of responsibility for recovery and not give up.

AH: Does it have any relationship to the wellness letter that comes out of UC Berkley?

TT: No, it doesn't. The names are just similar. I'm very much involved with Goodwill Industries, which provides handicapped people with the opportunity to be independent. And I'm still active in fundraising for American Red Cross. I'm still with the YMCA. We set up some charitable remainder trusts for seven different organizations, which include all of those. The Methodist Hospital is Arcadia is another. I'm not active at all there anymore. I resigned because it's too far to drive out, but I was there for sixteen years. We set up a trust for them. I haven't been a board member that long, I feel because of the help the Quakers gave to us during the war, I was asked to serve on the board of Whittier College.

AH: Oh, really?

TT: I'm a trustee out there.

AH: And how long has that been, just recently?

TT: Five years, since '89. It's now trying to become a national liberal arts school, rather than a local college.

AH: I think it's always actually had a very fine reputation, other schools like Occidental and Claremont that are well thought of.

TT: Well, Whittier had, ten years ago, its enrollment had dropped to minimum level—

AH: It was what, about fifteen hundred? Or lower than that maybe?

TT: It's up to thirteen hundred. They made a goal of getting back to twelve hundred. And unlike Pomona and the other schools, they had no endowment at all. They're trying to raise a hundred million dollars for it. I worked with Rayburn Dezember, who is a former chairman. He was my friend who introduced to Whittier. It's kind of an interesting group. I think those are the main ones that I've been involved with, and I continue to be.

AH: We talked about your daughter, your oldest daughter, been born just before you went off to Manzanar and that might have influenced the way her life played out. Some of these things that you are doing now, obviously, go back to the war years, and especially to the time that you left Manzanar. Probably the wellness goes back to your own cancer and your wife's and things, but these other involvements of YMCA, the Quakers—

TT: Red Cross.

AH: —Red Cross and everything, so maybe this is a good time for us to take you all the way back to Death Valley and those early months of 1943 when you were there working on what was then the Death Valley National Monument, living in the Cal Creek CCC Camp. I've read about and you've told me about that experience, but what I'd like to do is to actually use that period there as a way of understanding how you got connected with the evacuation and resettlement study because I know you were writing somethings there. And you had, I think, at least met Morton Grodzins about that particular time.

[01:00:44]

TT: Oh, he came to Cal Creek.

AH: Okay, that's what—I see his report. I've seen all of the interviews that he did.

TT: I met him there. Dorothy Thomas had sent him there.

AH: I know before that when you were working at Manzanar, you worked for really the reports division as a documentary historian with Joe Grant Masaoka, but that came under the WRA.

TT: Right.

AH: You had some sort of the University of Chicago, particularly, the anthropologist there, Robert Redfield because I remember seeing something in which you had—

TT: He visited us at Manzanar.

AH: Did you at that point connect in anyway with something other than the WRA, as far as the work that you were doing? Or not? Why were you meeting with Redfield? I was trying to understand what Redfield was sent out there for.

AH: Redfield, as I remember, Joe Masaoka and I had two delightful meetings with him. I had never met an anthropologist before, so I didn't know what it was. (chuckles) But, he was such a delightful person. But, if you're sitting inside of that camp and stewing about those damn fences and those watch towers and wondering how in the hell are we ever going to get out of this place, (chuckles) he was uplifting, as I remember, because he brought the academic world of the University of Chicago, which I had heard about but greatly I respect, but I never known anyone from there and he began to—I remember the expression that he used, and I never heard it before, he said, "All of you are suffering from anxiety neurosis." I said, "That sounds like a sickness." (laughs)

AH: What was the context?

TT: Someone in the WRA, and it wasn't Bob Brown because we weren't in very much in his favor. I think it was Genevieve Carter, some woman there—

AH: Lucy Adams maybe?

TT: —it might have been—told him to contact us. "These two guys are going around the camp." Somebody had told him that they are going to get into trouble because they identified with the administration, and they're spying on people. And Redfield was the first person to say that, you know—cause I was more interested in writing out a decent, grammatically correct report. And Joe always had me edit his stuff because he said that is what you're supposed to do. But, he was a very observant person, so between the two of us we are working on these things. We enjoyed Redfield because he gave us direction and guidance, and then he made us aware. He said, "When you walk at night down the corridors, you ever heard anyone cussing you out?" And we had. You know, because, ah, we wore the little dark pea coats, but people knew who Joe Masaoka and Togo Tanaka were. When we went to the camouflage nets to gather material, people were cordial. When we went to some of the block meetings where they talked about the war, people hushed up when we were there because we had already been identified as JACL [Japanese American Citizens League]. Redfield, I think he wanted to meet us because we were resources of people who were walking around, and he also used the expression—you know, he said that, "In one way, because this is a camp divided, that you may be regarded as snoopers, super snoopers. And you may be regarded as informants." There were already rumors around that Fred Tayama, who had worn the American flag on his sleeve, and was being undermined, I think, by people Tokie Slocum, that some people would regard you and Joe as closer to Slocum or to Tayama than you are to some of the people who are really more—you know, they are safer than these confines. And I remember Robert Redfield, in addition to teaching us about what we were doing, expressed to me, as I remember, a personal interest in our welfare and safety, and I've remember forgotten that. That's what I remember.

AH: You said that he was a delightful person. I know he was actually the son-in-law of Robert Park who—

TT: I didn't know that.

AH: Yeah, when he was out here, tell me, what did he look like, Redfield? Was he a big man? Do you remember any—

TT: He was a slender and a tall person. I thought he was. And he was—I don't remember, too much. I remember more of what he said.

AH: I think that one of the reasons he came out here was to Manzanar was to, I think, he was recinordering because there were thinking about setting up what later became this community analysis section in the camps. After you had left Manzanar in the early month of '43, a lot of the people came from the University of Chicago background because John Embry was the person that they put in charge of this. So, they had developed sociologists and anthropologists that they sent out to these various camps and that was another social science project, as opposed to say the one that was sponsored by Dorothy Thomas at Berkley because this was under the aegis of the WRA and Thomas' project was an independent project. One of them was tight closely to the University of Chicago, the other one to Berkley and those kinds of concerns. But then, when you first had any inkling of the Dorothy Thomas operation, when was that? Was it after the war?

TT: Definitely at Death Valley.

AH: And do you remember the context in which somebody made contact with you?

TT: Sure, Morton Grodzins. He came, and he said that he was an associated with the University of California Evacuation Resettlement Study. It was headed by a rural sociologist named Dorothy Swaine Thomas, who was a wife of W.I. Thomas of the University of Chicago. And I said, "Well, I don't know who any of those people are." Well, he said, "Do you know about Freud?" And I said, "Yeah." "Well, William Isaac Thomas is to sociology what Freud is to psychology." And I said, "Oh." (laughs) I had been out digging ditches all day for the park rangers. I said, "Well." that night the biggest question was whether I would eat any of that _____ (inaudible) meat. (phone rings)

[recording paused]

AH: Anyway, Grodzins comes to Death Valley—

TT: And he said that he was gathering, from the standpoint of those of us who had been removed to Death Valley, information on what had happened as we saw it. Would I write it down? And that's how it started. And then later on, after that report, I heard from Dr. Thomas directly. She wanted to know whether I would become a part of their staff, and that when I got to Chicago, I think she said, Frank Miyamoto and Tom [Tamotsu] Shibutani—and I'd introduce _____ (inaudible) to the group—and we would all be at the University of Chicago to meet there.

AH: Now this was meaningless to you at the time. You didn't know of either Shibutani or Miyamoto, did you?

[01:10:00]

TT: No, I didn't know who they were. I met them then.

AH: Did you meet them before you met Dorothy Thomas? I'm trying to get the context of you going back to Chicago. Maybe we can establish that. Okay, you did this report while you were still at Death Valley?

TT: Yes.

AH: And then when you left—

TT: I was looking for jobs at that time. I was sending in applications to the *Louisville Courier Journal*, and *Kentucky* and *Friends*.

AH: That's kind of funny because that's where Grodzins used to work.

TT: I think he might have been responsible for it. Yeah. Martin—I think, Ruth, his wife, had some connection with somebody with the OWI in Washington D.C., the Office of War Information.

AH: Was she at Death Valley, too, with him? Do you recall?

TT: I don't recall her coming. No, I met her in Chicago. Morton used to always be—well, some of the other people on the staff said he was a little bit absorbed in the fact, that Ruth Phi Beta Kappa, and he wasn't. (laughs) I don't know what difference that made!

AH: What was he like? Cause I've seen some photos of him in glasses—

TT: Oh, he was a sharp guy. We struck up a friendship. We were neighbors in Chicago. We lived on Alice Avenue, and Ruth and Morton—and they had a daughter—we used to get together on the Midway and have picnics together. And then, later, when I began to edit and produce Scene magazine, I know we wrote about him and had him write articles. And he was then—

AH: Before you became the head of the University of Chicago Press?

TT: No, before. I think he was a professor in the department of political science.

AH: I think he became chair of that.

TT: Right, he became that. And then when he succeeded Bill Couch, as head of the University of Chicago Press, Couch got into some real _____ (inaudible) with Hutchins over a book called *The Case of General Yamashita*. Did you ever hear of it?

AH: No, I didn't. What was that about?

TT: *The Case of the General Yamashita* was by a major on the staff of Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur tried Yamashita as a war criminal in the Philippines and hanged him. Frank Reel, I think that was his name, was outraged by it. "If this is American justice, it's a blight and a shame." It's just simply, "We won, so we are going to kill you." The manuscript, I remember I used to lunch with Bill Couch and he brought the manuscript one day, and told me to read it. And I said, "Gee whiz, boy, this MacArthur was an icon"—even in those days. And Colonel McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* was already attacking Hutchins for being sort of pinkish or communist, not American. And the *Tribune* ran those flags all the way across the top. And Couch said he was going to go ahead and publish this—now this was worse than *Americans Betrayed* for Hutchins because with *Americans Betrayed* was whether or not Harper and Hutchins had agreed, well, we won't poach on your territory. Couch always said he was going to publish it. And Dorothy was saying that Morton, he got all that stuff and when he was on our payroll, and so, therefore he had stolen it. I remember Dorothy Thomas came over to our home. We had delightful visit. She had just gotten back from India. But, we didn't talk about Morton very much at that time.

AH: Was this way later?

TT: No, no, this during the time—

AH: During the war?

TT: No, no, no, it was after the war.

AH: She was at Berkley or at the University of Pennsylvania?

TT: She was at Berkley at that time. She was still at Berkley, as I recall. And I was to—I had already written some lavish things about *Americans Betrayed* saying how great a book it was, etc. I was helping promote it. (chuckles) Morton came to me and said—well, Couch said, "Look, we can't produce it or publish it the university can't. I know the real reason they don't want us to publish it. They are using economics, and they don't have enough guaranteed advance sales to gamble on the printing cost."

Well, I said, "Hey, you guys own your own printing press, you can always do a bookkeeping on that." Well, no, they are not going to do that. They are going to do it strictly as if it were an outside printer. So, I said, "What's the problem?" He said, "We need to have a guarantee of fifteen hundred more copies."

AH: This is for the *Americans Betrayed*?

TT: Yeah, yeah, for *Americans Betrayed*. So, in those days, what, a book was only about $3 or $4, and that was a lot of money for us. Then I said, "Okay, *Scene* will guarantee to buy it, and then we'll go out and sell it ourselves," which we did. And I think that tipped the scale in favor—I never told that to Dorothy—

AH: You purchased the—

TT: We guaranteed an advance purchase of, I believe it was fifteen hundred copies.

AH: And marketed it through *Scene*?

TT: Oh, yeah. We sold it. You would see it through copies of *Scene*. And I think we sold it so that we broke even; at least we didn't go broke on it. And that is what was one of the things that tipped the scale in favor and gave Bill Couch all the answer to the economic argument, and he published that. That didn't please Hutchins at all, but when *The Case of General Yamashita* was printed, I think the *Chicago Tribune* ran a whole series of editorials on how the University of Chicago Press was not only communist, but it was Un-American.

AH: So, the University of Chicago Press published, I think it was in '49, *Americans Betrayed*, and so *The Case of General*, that came out later, probably in the fifties, right?

TT: I've got a copy of it somewhere. It isn't a regular copy. It's one that Bill Couch gave me, *The Case of General Yamashita*.

AH: Wow, is that the one you read in advance? Oh, no, that's the manuscript.

TT: University of Chicago Press, what is the year? Nineteen forty-nine.

AH: So, the same time.

TT: Same time. And that's why Bill Couch got a—

AH: Isn't it ironic, what happened was Couch's successor was Martin Grodzins. How did that work out? That's strange.

TT: Well, Grodzins was a pretty sharp guy.

AH: Was he close to Hutchins?

TT: I don't know. I don't know how close he was to Hutchins. I know that he identified himself as being, not anti-Couch, but not one of his boys, and I know that it was a little bit—my recollection is that I got caught in the middle because I was very friendly to Couch. And he left Chicago, and I believe, became an editor of *Compton's Encyclopedia* in New York. One day when I get to the attic in the garage, I'm going to find the correspondence, but it would be enlightening to me because he was a—I admire his fight and the fact that he never gave up.

AH: Couch?

TT: Couch, yeah. He was rolling out stuff on mimeograph machine. He had a mailing list.

AH: Was Grodzins working for the University of Chicago Press while Couch was the head of it before he supplanted him in that?

TT: I'm not aware of that.

AH: So, he was just part of his stable of authors?

TT: Yeah.

[01:20:00]

AH: Let me go back a little bit to the Death Valley thing again because Grodzins comes, and he secures your cooperation on this report that he was producing and gets you to write your own report.

TT: Yes.

AH: Then after that, Dorothy Thomas had written to you or somehow or other said, "When you get to Chicago, we want to put you on the—"

TT: I met her in Salt Lake City.

AH: Before you got to Chicago?

TT: Or it might have been after, I'm not sure. W.I. was there, too. I was there for a JACL meeting—no it wasn't.

AH: I know later on you went to a meeting in Salt Lake City of the evacuation resettlement thing and you gave a presentation. And W.I. was there. Dorothy was there. And Charlie [Kikuchi].

TT: Then I went on her invitation, yeah.

AH: But when you went back to Chicago, there was a couple of months I know when the project back there was just starting to coalesce. I mean, to set the context, Miyamoto and Shibutani had been at Tule Lake. And at the time of the questionnaire, loyalty questionnaire, in February of ’43, they had felt that it was prudent for them to leave. They weren’t quite in the hot water that you had found yourself in Manzanar, but things were at flashpoint there. So, they had left, and then they came back. Miyamoto had already been doing graduate work at the University of Chicago before the war and had gone to the University of Washington and was an instructor there, and recruited him out of there. I guess he had gone to Minidoka with his family, and they recruited him to work on this project. And he was the senior one of the people there.

Tom Shibutani had just graduated from U.C. Berkley, and had, had a class with Dorothy Thomas and so Sakoda and was also in that situation, and then Charlie was getting his master’s in social work. They were all recruited out of Berkley. But Shibutani and Miyamoto had gone up to Tule Lake. Charlie had gone down to Gila, and Charlie left about May of ’43 to go to Chicago and about that time Miyamoto and Shibutani were in Chicago. You had gotten there a little bit earlier, and Dorothy Thomas and W.I came back. You had sequestered some space at the university, which as it turns out was Robert Park’s office. He was down at Fisk University, at that time, on a leave. So, you had this particular space set up, and you had a series of meeting with the group. Even before that time, before that group started to get going, you had gone back and—when did you leave? Was it in February or so of—

TT: It was February.

AH: February of ’43. Can you kind of take me back to that time when you are leaving Death Valley and going to Chicago. You’ve been looking for jobs and getting some leads. Some of them would have taken you to Washington, some would have taken you to Louisville, but as it turns out, you went to Chicago. Now, what was it that got you to Chicago?

TT: We were invited to stay at the Quaker hostel at Belden and Park Street.

AH: And where is that in Chicago because I’ve only been to Chicago once, and I don’t know Chicago very well.

TT: Well, you remember during the Al Capone days of the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre? It was about a mile from there, on the same street.

AH: What side? North side, south side?

TT: North side, near north side. It would be about 2300 North. I think that garage where they lined them up was about 1400 North.

AH: And how far is it from the University of Chicago?

TT: Oh, about six or seven miles.

AH: Okay, so it's long ways.

TT: Oh, yeah, it's a long ways. But, we left Death Valley when it was about eighty degrees sunshine. Got on the train in Las Vegas, you know, wartime, soldiers are all loaded on the train.

AH: And the we is who now?

TT: Jean and myself, and our daughter who was now a little over a year old.

AH: You were just traveling light? It was just the three of you? It wasn't your extended group that had gone—

TT: No, just the three of us. The soldiers in a Jeep dumped the duffle bags with our stuff and put us on a train and we headed for—now we stood all the way. There were no seats for us. But it was eighty degrees there, and when we arrived at Chicago Northwestern Station, it was three below zero. (laughs) And we didn't have clothing, but we did get a cab.

AH: You weren't wearing that pea coat still, were you? (laughs)

TT: Yeah, yeah. I had the pea coat, but I had it in a duffle bag. We got to the hospital and—you know, it was run by a couple, Bob and Geri Ford, and they made us so welcome. It was such a change after you're riding halfway across the country, people are not very friendly, and you don't even have a seat.

AH: This was your first contact with Quakers more or less?

TT: No, I'd had contact in the pre-war evacuation because the American Friends Service Committee, you know, I'd met people when we were being evacuated, Raymond Booth and—

AH: Then you got to know Nicolson a little bit, didn't you?

TT: Oh, very well. And the Belden Hospital—it used to be a stop-over. I was still trying to get to Washington D.C. because, apparently, an opening for me.

AH: With the OWI?

TT: With OWI. And so, it was agreed then that Jean and our daughter would stay there and I would go to Washington D.C., but after the first week, Edwin Morganroth who was head of the American Friends Service Committee office, thy called it Midwest

Chicago office, said that he had a need for someone who could help interview—at that time they were more involved in refugees from middle Europe—who could learn where job and housing and instruct these people who were German speaking. And wanted to know whether I would like to take a temporary position while I was waiting for things more permanent, and I said I'd welcome that. So, he helped me find housing in a house that he and his wife lived on, at 5831 Blackstone, south side of Chicago.

AH: Was that just after a couple of weeks? Did you stay at a hostel for a couple of weeks?

TT: Yeah, we stayed at the hostel for a couple of weeks. And then I told him that, until Morgan could come up with housing, I found a temporary housing on 51st Street where we stayed. There was no bathrooms, but it was community bathroom. We stayed there for two weeks. Then the Morganroths said they had this apartment on the third floor; it was an attic apartment of their home.

AH: Can I get a sense, because again, I don't know Chicago historically, help me out a little bit in terms of what sort of neighborhoods are we talking about? What's the demographics.

TT: The neighborhood that we moved, the near north side, I would say it was a nice middle class neighborhood.

AH: This is where the hostel was?

TT: Where the hostel was.

AH: This wasn't a near a Black community, then?

TT: No.

AH: Where was the Black community?

TT: The Black community was on the south side. It was between 22nd and about 35th.

AH: So, the Quaker hostel was—

TT: Was on the far north side, or near side.

AH: So it was a safe, low crime area?

TT: Oh, very definitely. And then, where I got temporary housing was perhaps a couple miles from the Black area. But then, where we lived finally was right on the midway of the University of Chicago, a very nice neighborhood.

AH: So, some of these have transformed since you were back there.

TT: They transformed while we were there.

AH: Okay, we'll get to that in a second. Now I had a student who was doing some work—I'm trying to get her to do an interview with Mrs. Smeltzer because what she was doing her research on was the hostels. I'm trying to get a sense of what the hostel was like when you first got there. You had talked about they were largely concerned with refugees from Europe. Were there very few Japanese Americans in the hostel when you arrived in early 1943?

[01:30:10]

TT: It was about half and half. I think then it became all Japanese American.

AH: But, at that time, you could see Japanese Americans coming into it?

TT: Oh, yes.

AH: And did you know some of the people that were there?

TT: Yes, I did.

AH: Did any of the other Manzanar people come there that were at Death Valley?

TT: I'm sure they did, but I don't remember them.

AH: How did the hostel function? Give me a sense of the space, the size of it, and what you did.

TT: It was a large residence, there. There were many rooms that had been converted into bedrooms, and there was more privacy than we had been accustomed to for some time. (chuckles)

AH: Except when you were out working with the park rangers. (laughs) You had all the space you needed then!

TT: Yeah. (laughs) I remember we all sat down at the—it was civilized—at the table. We ate together. We said grace. It was nice getting back to some semblance of—and it was friendly. I just remember it was a very warm feeling there. This was a time when the world could be pretty cruel.

AH: You weren't affiliated with the Quaker, the Friend's Society, then, were you at all?

TT: No, not at all.

AH: Did you have a religious preference at that point?

TT: Well, I had been married in the Episcopal Church.

[recording paused]

AH: So, you remember it has a friendly atmosphere, and did it cost anything at all?

TT: No.

AH: Or was it gratis?

TT: Gratis, as I remember.

AH: And what was the function, what was the purpose of a hostel? Was it supposed to be like a halfway house to allow you to look for jobs?

TT: Well, my understanding of it, because of a growing pressure of people who were behind you, that it was temporary housing, primarily, with board for you. But, the sooner you can get out and get a place of your own, it would be helpful to other people.

AH: And you got out fast.

TT: Yes, we did.

AH: And so you went to this other place that was closer to the Black community. Then you moved to a little closer to Chicago. Now, at that point, your work consisted largely of interviewing people who came from the camps?

TT: That plus going out and talking to employers to hire Japanese Americans. I had a list of people that we were to find both housing and jobs.

AH: So, you went from looking for housing for Japanese Americans in Los Angeles to finding jobs in Chicago. (laughs)

TT: (laughs) Well, first were European refugees, and then—you know, there's a minister, a friend from Hawaii the other day called and they're celebrating fiftieth anniversary in Las Vegas the day after tomorrow. I've know these people a long time. His name is Hamamura from Hawaii, and Mamitza was calling. I asked, "Hey, when did you get married if it's your fiftieth anniversary?" She said, "Well, on September 28, 1944." And I said, "Where?" She said, "The Hyde Park Baptist Church." I didn't know them at that time. And I said, "Oh, my gosh, was it Jitsuo Morikawa?" He was the first Japanese American Minister of a non-Japanese church, and it was that church. And she said, "Yes, and he married us." No he died, but I went to school at UCLA with Jitsuo Morikawa. Speaking of looking for housing, I remember one cold winter night that—cause he had no experience in looking for housing. So, I walked him through the south side and in those days, I'd keep a record of all the calls he made. I think we went to something like twenty-three homes, which had vacancies. And we got turned down by every one of them.

AH: Were you then just looking for Japanese?

TT: No, just for him.

AH: Just for him specifically? And was he a minister then or not?

TT: He was a minister. He had gone to Sothern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. You asked about my religious preference, he preached to me. I could never accept—he was so rigid. And I said, "Gee whiz, that's what Christianity is."

AH: What were they turning you down, on the basis of—

TT: Race.

AH: They were? They would say it directly?

TT: Some of them would say, "Are you a Jap or a Chinaman?" (laughs)

AH: Really?

TT: Yeah, some of them said that.

AH: Was there a pre-war area in Chicago that Japanese Americans lived or not?

TT: Not to my knowledge. Not like out here.

AH: There was a small Chinatown, I think I read about.

TT: There were Japanese that lived there. I know a friend from Chino before the war because I met him I met him on one of my trips back there. And there were a few—I don't know how many they were, but I kidded myself for the longest time saying that the Midwest is different from California. The people here welcome you. They don't have prejudice against Japanese. But, in the midst of a war, when you have the Bataan death march and they have all these atrocity things in the headlines, and then you identify yourself or admit you're Japanese, there was a great deal of non-acceptance.

AH: So, how did you solve that problem. It sound to me is that what you're running into is a situation where these people aren't letting people move in, and yet, at the same time, there is no defined area that they could logically move into because they are similar race or they were Asians or whatever.

TT: The solution is in individual persistence. We found a place for Hazel and Jitsuo. It wasn't too far from us. And that's been the survival in an environment which is racist, is one should just simply not admit defeat.

AH: Were there any Quaker networks or anything you could avail yourself—

TT: Oh, sure. There was lots of them. And these were the people who, if you had a particularly rough day, they reassured you that all is not lost, just keep trying, go to bed and sleep it off, *and don't give up*. And I think that's probably what—

AH: Once Japanese Americans got there and you did get housing for them, did their performance tend to transform after attitudes?

TT: It did because I think there was a sense of responsibility and accountability, not only for oneself, but for other who were suffering the same kind of experience. I have a thing that not only in housing, but in jobs because pretty soon I had employers who would call and say I want more and just opened the way for them.

AH: So, were you getting paid for your job by the—who? The American Friends?

TT: No, believe it or not, my salary was paid by the American Baptist Home Mission Society out of New York.

AH: And who was the person that you dealt with?

TT: A man named John Woodward Thomas.

AH: Was he still back in New York?

TT: He was in New York. I'll never forget him. He was a Welshman, and I never knew that Welshman spoke a different language than the English did.

AH: They do, right?

TT: Yeah. He was a delightful person. I said, "This is not my career because, eventually, I have to get back and support a family. I not only have my own family, but I have my parents we are supporting. And I have some sisters who relied on me, and I'm going to run out of my savings in about eighteen months."

AH: You still had some?

TT: Yeah, I still had some at that time. The salary was better than subsistence, but we had to watch ourselves. I think I managed to do it for two years and went back and got a job.

[01:40:00]

AH: You mentioned it as a salary—it sounds to me that you're kind of a humanistic headhunter in and that you're doing is getting a place to live and a place to work. Did you get paid by the amount of successes you did in getting jobs? Or did you get paid a regular salary?

TT: No, no, no. It was just a salary, and we feel that we could live on that. And we could devout ourselves to doing a good job.

AH: Can you remember what pattern there was of penetration in Chicago, how certain areas initially were more receptive than others and how that worked during your two years?

TT: Yes, definitely. It was Edwin Morganroth, who had come from Wisconsin, said that he thought that university neighborhoods would be more receptive, so we earmarked Hyde Park and University of Chicago area on the south side. And then, up toward Evanston, Northwestern University, in the north side. And we concentrated housing searches in those areas. Jobs, anywhere because wherever there was need—if they advertised in publications, we followed up. A lot of the initial work was to qualify by telephone calls.

AH: Jobs are probably easier to get than housing.

TT: Oh, much so because there was a shortage. And then the reputation of these people as hardworking spread more quickly. But housing, people would say, there goes the neighborhood. (laughs)

AH: So, you dealt with the university corridor?

TT: Yes, I did.

AH: As that sort of settled in, was there any overlap with any other ethnic communities? Was the Black community receptive?

TT: I became a regular member of a professional—they didn't call them Black—Negro businessmen that met once a month. I used to record—I wish I had those notes. But, I remember we would share with one another. They wanted to know what kind of _____ (inaudible) I was having. I had way down south toward Blue Island, and I made a talk at a service club. I forget whether it was Kiwanis or Rotary or which, but they said that I was a representative of the American Friends Service Committee and telling them what I was trying to do.

AH: So, you were kind of a representative of them, but you were really working for the American Baptist Mission Society—

TT: Yeah, right. Well, one man got up, and he said, "You mean to say that you go to eat breakfast with a bunch of niggers?" I said, "I beg your pardon. Negros." He said, "Don't be a smart alecky and try to correct my English." (laughs) I'll never forget that guy that invited me, that was presiding said, "Look, dummy, he's a Phi Beta Kappa from UCLA. Can you say the same thing?" (laughs) They got into a fight. But the guy said, "I just want you to know this. You just let a goddamn nigger into your neighborhood, and pretty soon, these yellow guys will be following right in their path." (laughs) I thought, Oh, boy, this is pretty interesting. It was not a Rotary Club. It wasn't Kiwanis. It might have been a Lions Club. You ran into things like that from time to time.

AH: Did you make contact with Black community? Were they pretty receptive?

TT: Oh, yeah, you bet. One, I can't remember his name. He was an alderman for the city of Chicago, and he had red hair. He had nothing that was African American or Negro that you could identify. And he'd tell hilarious stories about people in—they used the word *pass* in those days. They said thirty thousand people were passing every year. And he said, "Well, I've passed so many time, they sent me to the back of the bus!" (laughs) But it was the idiocy of that kind of thinking. But it was an experience that—it convinced me that racism is invisible. People, they may say you're all right, but they don't—that isn't true. That's the way people are, and all groups have that.

AH: Did you work out of your home then? Or did you go to an office?

TT: No, I went to an office every day. It was at Madison and Wells.

AH: And was it just the Baptist group at that office?

TT: No, I was the only Baptist funded person in there; it was all American Friends.

AH: That's what has always been confusing to me. I thought you represented both, but I understand it now.

TT: The Baptists worked with the Quakers to fund this program.

AH: They seemed like an odd mix. I mean, to me.

TT: They were. Although, John Thomas always told me that we are not the same Baptist as Jitsou Morikawa. He said, "We are *Northern* Baptist." (chuckles)

AH: You actually got your life saved to some degree by Ralph Smeltzer.

TT: Oh, yeah.

AH: When he went back there, he was involved with still another group, the Bethany group wasn't it?

TT: Church of the Brethren.

AH: Where was that? Did he come to Chicago when you went? When did he get out to Chicago?

TT: I don't know when he got there because Mary tells me that they were in Buffalo or somewhere in New York, first. I knew him in Chicago, but I knew him more in Manzanar. See, in Chicago when I became a member of the staff at the AFAC, at the Quaker's, I was told that there are three historic pacifist churches in this country: the Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Quakers. And these people did not believe in talking a life, no matter what, so they were pacifists.

AH: And did you meet Smeltzer then?

TT: At Manzanar.

AH: After you got there or how did you meet Ralph Smeltzer?

TT: Well, we were there from late March/April until December, so it must have been around two or three months because we were settled on the north end of Manzanar, in Block 36, and that's when we were moved there.

AH: How did you meet him?

TT: He lived there. He was one of the few people in an adjoining barrack.

AH: Oh, I see.

TT: I would say, "Gee, whiz, you're not an inmate, and yet you're living among us.

AH: What was he doing when he was there?

TT: I don't know. I think being a minister. He must have been there to—like Nicholson and the other people, to give us some comfort and reassurance that we weren't headed for hell.

AH: And didn't he go somewhere, maybe Buffalo, before he came to—

TT: To set up a hostel, as I understand. Then, I believe, he moved back to Chicago.

AH: And then I know he went to New York. Now, in Chicago, you didn't see him very often?

TT: Not very much. We would when there would be meetings of the various organizations like the Chicago Federated Church groups that were in relocation work.

AH: Were all those groups, the Brethren, and the Baptist, and the Quakers, then, operating like a coalition?

TT: Oh, yes.

AH: The sectarian differences did not—

TT: Oh, no. And I think under the auspice of Chicago Federation of Churches, there were, I remember attending many meetings where representatives of all groups involved in relocation got together. And the War Relocation Authority, under the leadership of a man that was a Quaker, name was Raymond Booth, he was a Pasadena Quaker.

AH: And he was in Chicago, too?

TT: He was in Chicago for the government.

AH: And he had the relocation office there, right?

TT: Yeah. (phone rings)

AH: What would you say would be their mission, beside jobs and housing, what other kinds of things did they—

TT: They wanted a certain amount of so-called PR work done to go out—they invited, invitations, request for speakers to come out and tell them what relocation was and if people could join in their system. That took a lot of effort, but primarily it was the practical filling of jobs and finding of housing.

[01:50:13]

AH: Did your job change at all during those two years? Or was it persistence, the same thing and just shift mostly, from going European refugees to Japanese Americans? Was it pretty much the same thing the whole time you were there.

TT: Yes, it was.

AH: But, the job must have actually not been quite the same because it must have become massive after a while because Chicago got a fairly large population of Japanese Americans.

TT: Over thirty thousand came in. It became pretty enormous, but, by then, a lot of organizations were doing it. The Japanese American Citizens League set up an office. I think that the Philadelphia office of the Quakers were placing student, student relocation colleges all over the country. It got to be quite large. Gosh, if I could find some of those letterheads. They had an advisory committee on relocation. Gosh, they had a whole bunch of organizations.

AH: I know the philosophy of the WRA, which what I could gather from reading the few things that I have been able to from Miyamoto and Charlie, etcetera, the WRA philosophy was basically to admonish the Japanese Americans that were coming into the area not to form Little Tokyos there. And what I remember is that you were very supportive of that position and quite in agreement with that. Now you were having personal experience here going out and talking to a lot of people and getting your soundings from real people and real neighborhoods. It wasn't something abstract, social policy—what was behind your philosophy? What were you finding out along the way when you were going trying to get houses, jobs, and things like that?

TT: Well, if you went into—I think I usually, in talking to service clubs or church groups, you would try to draw out—you did less talking and more listening of what their perception of what had happened in the West Coast was. Why we had been kicked out of there. Why were Californians so fearful of these people? The discovery that there was a genuine feeling of fear, even for church people who were saying it is our duty to help our brethren in need, that these people are different. Keep in mind that we had General John Dewitt, widely quoted, "Once a Jap, always a Jap." Earl Warren who had said it in a more intellectually sophisticated way but said the same thing. That you had a Congressman from Mississippi named John Rankin who said that *blood* will tell that these people are different. And you had a war being conducted in the Pacific. You had the atrocities not only in the Philippines, but you had the massacre at Nanking and what the Japanese military had been doing. The fear was not always articulated, but one thing that stood out was they kicked you out of Los Angeles because you had Little Tokyos.

AH: Right.

TT: And if this represented the unspoken fears of people that if you drew them out long enough you knew that—then unfortunately, even though it seemed overreacting to something that was stupid and shouldn't last because ultimately peace will come in. Then I'd go back to the Quaker office, share this, and they'd say that eventually the light would come. People will understand that we are in war, and war does strange things to not only our behavior, but to our thinking processes, which guide our behavior. Unfortunately, it's a wartime necessity for us just to survive in order to not to create the impression that we are going to create another Little Tokyo. We did whatever we had to do anyway, but that was the rhetoric that—

AH: Looking at it from the outside, it seems sort of like rather cruel advice to tell people that are already dispossessed—

TT: Oh, terrible.

AH: —not to congregate together. And I'm sure that what actually happened was that in spite of the fact that this advice not to congregate, that people's human needs—

TT: We did what came naturally, anyway. I remember once talking with my father. My father said that it was sheer nonsense. Well, of course, he felt that—

AH: He was in Chicago, right?

TT: Right, yeah. Well, he was first in Manzanar then he went to Minidoka.

AH: Minidoka, right.

TT: And then, from there, we brought him to Chicago. And till the end of the war, we did not agree. He thought Japan would win and should win.

AH: You didn't agree before the war, did you?

TT: No, he just simply felt that this country—well, had he had the economic means, we would have all been back to Japan because this was an unfriendly country. And yet, when I shared with him—because I said there is one thing about what we do within our own families and what we tell people what they should and shouldn't do as we interface with the larger community, and he could understand that, but he said, that's such nonsense. And, in a way you got to tell him something you don't really feel, and I said, "Yeah, well, maybe that's why we are trying to survive." He could see that, and I have the feeling that many other Nisei had that same—

AH: But, there was a community that formed?

TT: Absolutely. Yeah.

AH: Did it also form a concrete sort of community where the density of Japanese Americans in certain areas of Chicago could be documented even by wars end? Where you could easily see this that even though not every house, but that there was—

TT: Oh, sure. Oh, that happened. It's a natural thing. It's economic too, isn't it, because you go where there is housing that is available that you can afford.

AH: Your advocacy, really, was to try to, at least, if not retard this sort of thing symbolically to give the illusion that there was not Little Tokyos forming in Chicago?

TT: Yeah, I think you're right. What it adds up to, bottom line is you have to tell people what they want to hear, even though it may not be what is going to happen.

AH: But, as I read Charlie's diary, it's apparent that so many of the contacts are with other Japanese. Charlie worried about it constantly, worried about his own kids. I mean, not his kids, his siblings. Running around with soldiers and things who came in, Nisei soldiers coming to the town. He said, "Let's not form the same sort of groups that you had in camp. I mean, I don't want this. I want you to have a different sort of pattern!" He worried to death about it.

TT: You know, that's interesting, Art, that you should raise that question. When I became head of the editorial department at American Tech, I had on my staff a Notre Dame graduate named Robert J. Sullivan, Bob Sullivan. (chuckles)

AH: Great name for Notre Dame.

TT: Yeah, that's what I told him. He said, "For Christ's sake, Togo, how stupid can that be? You tell that to a bunch of Irishmen, and we'll them to go to hell. If they didn't like it, we beat the hell out of them." (laughs) He says, "How come you guys were so docile?" He wanted to know why we didn't raise hell. "Well, we wanted to survive."

[02:00:00]

AH: Where did the Japanese American concentrations, so to speak, occur in Chicago?

TT: Well, near north side, to begin with because that's where it was the closest, and then the south side.

AH: And then the businesses, too, came along?

TT: The businesses were along Clark Street.

AH: Did they even pop up during the war, or was that a post-war phenomenon?

TT: No, some popped up during the war. There was one, I can't remember if it was right after the war or during the war, but there was a Jewish delicatessen that was opened by a Nisei on 53rd Street in Hyde Park.

AH: I was reading the back issues of *Color of Times* the other day, they are clearly in Denver, and around certain streets. I've since then, gone around and looked at those around Larimer Street, and there was numerous Japanese businesses. And Denver, like Chicago, had quite an elaborated Japanese community. They had, for a while, several different newspapers there. Were there any Japanese newspapers, you certainty would have been attuned to them if they were in Chicago or not?

TT: Oh, yes, there was a *Chicago Shimpo*.

AH: And when did that get started? Is that a pre-war paper, or did that come about during the war?

TT: Post-war, the publisher was a man name Bob Fugii.

AH: But, that didn't come about until after the war, right?

TT: I believe it was after the war, right. It had an English section and a Japanese section. And Masamori Kojima was editor of the English section.

AH: Was it one paper in Chicago?

TT: I believe so, at that time. I believe it was. There may have been another, I'm not sure.

AH: Insofar, as you can see what was happening in Chicago because you got a chance to look at what the Issei are doing through your parents, and through Nisei, obviously through your own sort of activities. What was happening in Chicago insofar as that was a quote and quote Japanese American community during World War II? What did that community consist of? How would you define it? Like if you were to write something like Miyamoto did about Seattle before the war as Japanese American community, if you were to write about Chicago, what kind of salient dimensions of that quote and quote community would you sort of note the way in which it operated?

TT: I think they operated pretty much like we did like we did here in Los Angeles. We had religious, and business, and social organizations.

AH: And this is even before the war ended, or is this something—

TT: Before the war ended.

AH: Wow. So, churches stated popping up.

TT: Oh, yeah, you bet. I think we tried to live as normal lives as we could with all of the destruction of war, sure.

AH: But still, you would still have some of those institutions, although, not wanting people to congregate together you had church congregation, in a sense.

TT: Yes, we did. Ah, well, during the war, we belonged to St. Paul's Episcopal Church, and we went there regularly.

AH: Is that a Japanese American church?

TT: No, but they welcomed, and we must have—actually by the end of the war, we had an associate director who was Japanese American. Gosh, I remember this was right at the end of the war, we had a—it was sponsored jointly by the Japanese American League and chamber of commerce group at the Hilton Hotel. And I think that we must have had over a thousand people because I remember I was asked to introduce the principle speaker, a man named Lieutenant General Walton Walker who was commandant of the 5th Army out of Texas. And he was our speaker, but then out of a thousand people, 95 percent must have been Japanese American.

AH: Out of the some thirty thousand that eventually came to form the Japanese American community there, would you say that maybe something like one out of every thirty were Issei?

TT: Oh, more than that.

AH: Oh, really?

TT: Oh, sure.

AH: I was thinking that most of the Issei tended to stay in the camps. Now is it after the war that most of them would have joined their Nisei children in Chicago rather than during the war?

TT: I believe so. Yeah, I would say one out of fifteen.

AH: Did you find jobs and housing for Issei, too?

TT: Oh, yes.

AH: And how hard was that?

TT: No more difficult—if the person qualified to do a certain thing. You know, it would depend. There was an artist named Obata, Chiro Obata, I remember he came through. He was on his way to St. Louis. We referred him to a photographic and then an art studio. There were quite a few Issei, and I don't recall there being—because they generally were more qualified than the Nisei.

AH: I'm asking you all these questions because you were not only involved in resettlement people, but your next job that you're getting is really to study the settlement of the Japanese American, so these are two hats you're wearing. And, in fact, it looks like a lot of the interviews that Charlie had for the salvage were ones that he secured through you. I mean, that you had made these contacts in the capacity of trying to get a job or house for the person, and so that they quite early. You really did a pre-interview, and said to Charlie, "This is an interesting person for you to interview," which he often did.

TT: And then, following that, too, we had the opportunity to kind of put our best foot forward through a publication like *Scene*. I have some more copies of that if you wish to—

AH: I would love to see them, yes.

TT: I have a few out here, you may take them along. This one, '52—

AH: These are all '52 that I have here.

TT: I got 1950 also. Fifty-three here's one, here's September 1950.

AH: I'd like to see all of those. These are the three that I have. The one that has the—

TT: Oh, I see. Well, then I don't think these are duplicates.

AH: Okay, great.

TT: You can take these along.

AH: I find those immensely interesting.

TT: And then, I want to tell you a funny story.

AH: Okay.

TT: A very good friend of mine that the last fifteen years we lunched maybe once—it used to be once every three months, and then every month, and now, about every two weeks. He would have been President of Prudential Life Insurance Company in the 1960s, a man named Franklin Dolea—who was a good friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt—went to the president of Prudential during World War II and said that Churchill and Eisenhower were troubled because a bombing of German strongholds were not preventing their continued manufacture of armament and planes. Well, they bombed the oil fields in Romania in Ploiesti, and they had been bombing—you know, Allied planes going all over Germany. But the Messerchmitts were still coming, and so, Roosevelt asked Dolea, "Do you have a computer analyst who can head a mission that will set-up in London, to find out why our bombing isn't working and what can we do about it?" And they picked athirty-eight year old lawyer named Harry J. Volk out of Rutgers University. And Harry Volk was sent to London and gathered together a team of several thousand experts to conduct this bombing survey, the Allied bombing survey. And after several months, they came out with their report and said, *German capacity to build armaments went underground, deeply buried underground in Austria, Germany, all throughout, and no amount of bombing is not going to destroy that. Therefore, destroy the transport facilities, blow up the bridges, the trains, everything.* And that's what allegedly turned the thing around. I read this in a book called *For Three Cents a Week.* It's a story that Prudential Life Insurance Company. And I picked this up at Ojai at Bart's Bookstore some years ago.

[02:10:40]

AH: The one where you go to the outside—

TT: Yeah, yeah, and you throw money over. Shortly thereafter, talking about Harry Volk, is that the same Harry Volk who was chairman of Union Bank? So, we were borrowing money from Union Bank, Gramercy was, and finally when I met Harry Volk, I says, "Are you the same one?" He says, "Yes." And then, I discovered he retired from Union Bank, and I was going to him because he was chairman of the Weingart Foundation, and whenever I wanted money for the Red Cross or for U.S. English or whatever it was, I'd go to him and he would help. The first time I went to him was when I had been chairman for development of the Methodist Hospital. We had never asked for money from anybody, and when I went to him, he said, "Weingart doesn't give out of the city of Los Angeles, and you are way out in Arcadia." But somehow, we were persistent enough, and he gave us $275,000 of seed money to start. Then that year we raised a lot of money from other foundations. Well, Harry is an interesting guy. He is eighty-nine years old, now.

AH: Wow! Doesn't it uplift you to hear these longevity stories?

TT: Oh, yeah! And he is as sharp as a tack. And let me tell you, Weingart started out with eighty-three million dollars then Weingart left about seventeen years ago and said, "Help the poor people in the city." And he asked Harry to, I guess, form a board and he just got people like Sol Price of the Price Clubs and was a man named Marcus Rabwin who headed Cedar Sinai—

AH: There's a guy name Price?

TT: Yeah, Sol Price is the owner of the Price Club.

AH: Wow.

TT: And the Weingart Foundation and the sixteen or seventeen years that they've been around, starting out with the 82 million, had given away 250 million, and they still have 520 million.

AH: Oh, boy.

TT: Harry has retired as a chairman after all these years, and he's a man named Roy Alexander, who is a former chairman of Lockheed, takeover the chairmanship. But, he's still chairman of the investment committee. Once I told him, I said, "Hey, Harry, you would have been president of Prudential,"—that's the biggest life insurance company in the country—"if you had gone back to New Jersey when Carroll Shanks had retired." He said, "Yes." They wanted him to come back as executive vice president and then he would have made president. But he chose, instead, to run Union Bank because his wife, Marion, at that time, wanted to stay back here and raise a family.

AH: You see how wives determine destinies? (laughs)

TT: (laughs) Oh, yeah! I know! But, the thing is, then I said, "Hey, you came out in '49 out here?" He said, "Yeah," and I said, "Hey, I think I helped start a magazine in 1949. I want to show you." So, I showed him *Scene*, and he says, "My God, I started a magazine for Prudential Life called *Scene*, too."

AH: The same name?

TT: The same name, (pause) but he said—it's a house magazine, see? It's call *Scene.*

AH: *That's incredible*.

TT: And it was the same year. So, he told me that he brought this bound copy over, and I've been reading it. It's fascinating because it's the history of Southern California.

AH: You're bonded by *Scene,* right?

TT: Yeah! It was funny as heck. (laughs)

AH: I think it is. And you said this name *Scene* is still carried—there is still a Japanese *Scene*?

TT: *Asia Scene*.

AH: *Asia Scene.*

TT: I haven't seen it in a few years. It was our Tokyo bureau person, when we folded-up, he just took it.

AH: And what did it look like the last time you saw it?

TT: It was good looking.

AH: Has it kept somewhat the same size?

TT: No, no, no, it's mostly Japanese.

AH: Is it mostly photos like this?

TT: No, it was like this but the graphics were superior. They were spending money on it. I think they had some heavy advertisement in it, too.

AH: Well, this is some heavy advertising for the time—

TT: Oh, yeah.

AH: Your readers keep telling you they'd like to have more, but I don't see—

TT: (laughs) When I look back, it was a lot of fun, even though it was kind of a moonlight job.

AH: Before getting into *Scene*, and this is beeping down so, if we can have—I know you're probably getting a little tired. I don't want to fatigue you completely. But, can we take a break for a second and I'll do that?

TT: Sure.

AH: What I want to do when we get back is, I want to get back to Chicago and the ERS project.

TT: All right.

AH: And I want recollection of each of these peoples that were connected with it, and then we'll move over to post-war Chicago *Scene*. [recording paused] So, you were back in Chicago doing the work that we've just been talking about, locating places to live and jobs for a lot of people, and not too many months after you got back there, you were able to follow through on this quote, unquote appointment. I'm sure at that point it wasn't a very high paying position, but you did get some sort—

TT: Oh, it was quite adequate.

AH: Oh, I'm not talking from the Baptist—I'm talking about from Dorothy Thomas.

TT: Oh, I see. I don't remember how much, but whatever came, we were grateful for.

AH: But Dorothy Thomas had hired you based on what you had written at Death Valley. And then, you came there, you were doing relocation work, and this was the resettlement work portion of the study in Chicago that they were getting going. And you got affiliated. I know you came in on a fairly regular basis and dropped by that office. Now, can you kind of go back and remember when you first got together with this group because now, they are people that you've known for many years. But, at that point, you didn't know Frank, you didn't know Tom, you didn't Charlie.

TT: No, I didn't.

AH: None of these people: Dorothy Thomas or W.I. Can you remember the meetings with them and your feelings of that? I mean, you liked working with the meeting with an anthropologist and talking to him, from the University of Chicago, and here you were at this camp, and with these people.

TT: Well, we did live at the edge of the campus, so it was familiar neighborhood. My remembrance of those meetings was that I sat there and listened mostly because I heard them discussing what they were writing and analyzing and reporting. Louise Suski was there more regularly than I was because, I think, she was staff.

AH: But, you had to be there first because you got her the job?

TT: Yes, right. I remember the first time I went there, I says—did Frank have a doctorate, already?

AH: No, he didn't.

TT: He had a masters?

AH: A masters; he finished his doctorate while he was back there.

TT: Oh, I see. Did Tom Shibutani have a masters?

AH: No, Tom took M.A. courses while he was there. He just got his B.A. from Berkley; he was a pretty young guy at the time. He was only about twenty-two or twenty-three when you met him.

TT: Oh. I had the impression that because I had not been in the academic community, that I was not really prepared to make much of a contribution to what was going on. All I could do was what I was familiar with which is simply to report things that I had observed and to put that on paper.

[02:20:00]

AH: It seemed that Dorothy Thomas was pretty smart in being able to perceive what contribution each person could make, and I think that what she wanted Charlie to do was to not try to write analytical reports but to keep his journal.

TT: Yeah.

AH: And I think what she wanted you to do was to—I mean, this is my inference—she wanted you to able to do what you had done in terms of your background and to contribute these reports. I remember in one letter she wrote, she said, *As, Togo says, "More to come*, *with a k-u,* because you were sending in your, sort of, reports. But, she seemed very satisfied, as did W.I. Thomas, with what both Charlie and you were doing in the way of sending in this material, and you were both were very prolific. I can't see where you found the time with all of this work that you were doing, but you were quite faithful and prolific in doing this. I at least got the feeling that you felt that this was a valuable sort of thing and that doing this social scientific work did have some importance and some status and some historical value.

TT: Art, you say it so well because I liked to work for Dorothy Thomas, I think, because her expectations were not unreasonable. She would encourage by praising what was within my ability to deliver. I told her that, "People that you're working with are all probable candidates for PhDs and all, and I don't have either that inclination or that kind of background. But, I can put down on paper what I have seen and experienced, which is reporting." And she said, "That's all I want." And so, that seemed to make me feel comfortable. And I was very much impressed by the substance of what was recorded because it was history, and I felt that it ought to be recorded accurately.

AH: Do you remember first meeting Dorothy Thomas?

TT: You know, I don't remember. That's what is so strange. I remember a lot of subsequent meetings, but my first meeting with her is a blur and a blank. I remember my first meeting with Grodzins because he came roaring into our outside barrack at _____ (inaudible) late in the afternoon and said this is who I am. (chuckles) I remember my first meeting with W.I., this was at Salt Lake City, and I heard so much about him. But Dorothy—after she had gone through the University of Pennsylvania, I remember one evening she talked at great length about the population statistics that she was doing for the government of India, and I was fascinated by that.

AH: Did you see her very seldomly during the war? She was out on the coast—

TT: Right, right, mostly it was by correspondence.

AH: But, you liked her?

TT: Very much so, yeah and I had a very great deal of respect for her. I don't know a professor of rural sociology was, but I—

AH: She was really a demographer, is what she was, and she had written a book on Swedish migration that was published just before the war. So, it seemed this was an obvious, perfect analog. And, of course, W.I. Thomas had written about Polish peasants in Europe and America.

TT: Right, yes.

AH: So, the two of them together made a natural fit for this topic. Although, neither one of them had done very much with the Japanese Americans, except that Thomas—one of the students that he had, I guess, was _____ (inaudible), who was out at USC, and he had done stuff in Los Angeles, so that he did know something about the topic. But, there was one thing in Charlie's diary that talked about one time they were waiting for something, and Charlie was sitting there talking to W.I., and then he did a little life history of W.I. when he sat and talked to him. And I was thinking, I remember asking Charlie, "Weren't you kind of awed by being in the presence of this guy?" He said, "I really didn't have much socialization into the academic life so I was impressed but I wasn't awed." Is that similar to your feeling at the time or not? Or was it something quite different for you because you strike me as more intellectual than Charlie in having more of an orientation toward a university than Charlie did? And what you said about Redfield, etcetera, seems to suggest that this is true, too.

TT: Well, at the time that I first met W.I. Thomas, I really was more impressed with the fact that I had been told his father was a Methodist minister. (laughs) And in the discussions that we got into—you see, there was John Woodward Thomas and William Isaac Thomas, and I was at Salt Lake City as now you recall for me, it was the University of California Evacuation Resettlement Study. But then, I went back to Chicago, and I was on the payroll of John Woodward Thomas. So, (chuckles) in the discussions about religious subjects with John W. Thomas, we had a common base, see? And one of the after dinner discussions with W.I., he made the comment, "What? You mean to say that there is an intelligent person here that believes in God?" (laughs) And I said, "Tell me about atheism or eclecticism or whatever else," and we into this kind of discussion. I found him fascinating, and he was delightful person to disagree with because he you could disagree with him agreeably. But, I was impressed by the fact that people said he was to sociology what Freud was to psychiatry. He was a nice person to be with. We had W.I. and Dorothy at our home in Chicago. We had them for dinner, and we had a number of happy meetings.

AH: How was the dynamic between the two of them seem because there seemed to be a huge age difference between W.I. and—

TT: She respected him, but I thought they were a nice couple. And we had nice vibrations, and we enjoyed it. Jean, until this day, remembers them.

AH: And so they were a lot of fun to be with?

TT: They were delightful.

AH: Do you remember when you first met Frank Miyamoto, and your impressions of him?

TT: You know, I don't. I always had the highest regard for Frank. I just thought that he had so much to offer, but I can't remember when I first met him. And I can't remember when I first met Tom Shibutani.

AH: Have you stayed in touch with either those over the years?

TT: Sure, I correspond with both of them. Yeah, I have folders on them.

AH: Did you and your wife, Jean, get together with Michi and Frank, at all?

TT: Yeah, sure. Michi is teaching piano to students; she's keeping quite busy.

AH: Right now?

TT: Yeah, now. When Tom was down—it's been a year or so since we met. He has a new wife, Sandra, and we had dinner with them. I would like to go to Santa Barbara and visit with them.

AH: Did you have a social relationship with the other people on that project during the time that you were there?

TT: No, it was mostly because there wasn't much time for much—

AH: But you wouldn't have each other over for dinner or—

TT: No, we didn't do much of that. Well, let's see, Tom's wife, at that time, was—what was her name?

AH: _____ (inaudible) or something.

TT: Yeah, I think it was. I think we may have had dinner with them once or twice. With Frank and Michi, I don't think we did very much.

AH: It strikes me as curious that the friendship that emerged with you and Charlie, I would have thought that you would have become a closer friend to Frank or to Shibutani, but it seems that the affinity was—

TT: Oh, I enjoyed Charlie and his letters. He was a lot of fun. I was really saddened when he did die. And then, too, his brother, Tom, worked for my partners in Chicago publishing, and so, I kept in touch with Charlie through Tom. But Charlie, he was a free spirit and had—(pauses)

[02:30:10]

AH: Underneath this free spirit thing, there was a lot of worrying and a lot of agitation. And some of his agitation comes through in his diary is whether he was up to the task of what he was doing or intellectual thing were crowding out more hands on things. He really was really trained as a social worker and he had to propensity to want to work in that capacity. And sometimes he found himself doing things—he was always suspicious of theory and the suspicious of abstract things, yet, he found himself doing dome of that, too. Did you meet, by any chance—I think she was there for a while and came into the office. I believe you were one of the people that thought it might be better if she didn't come into the office too much. I know the other ones were totally feeling this way—and this was Tamie Tsuchiyama.

TT: She had—gosh, it's kind of a blur. Yeah, I remember that was the—she had a sister that I knew better, Hisako.

AH: That lived in Chicago? I know they were from Hawaii, originally.

TT: Yeah, right. Hisako Tsuchiyama. Yeah, her name rings a sort of remote—(chuckles)

AH: But, she's not somebody that you remember?

TT: No, no, no, not at all. The name it—there's a slight red light as to problems.

AH: I think Tom Shibutani, eventually, had some strains with Dorothy Thomas, etcetera. Were you privy to any of that?

TT: No, I'm not aware of that.

AH: I know in one of the interviews I did with your earlier, you talked about the master's thesis Shibutani did in 1944, about *Rumors in a Crises Situation*. Did you talk to him about some of these things, or in any way provide some—

TT: Yeah, I can look in my notebook of correspondence with Tom. But wasn't it called *The Anatomy of a Rumor*?

AH: I think it's somebody else's. It's called *Rumors in a Crises Situation.* There is a famous book called *The Anatomy of a Rumor*—

TT: Oh, I see. Well, then, no, right offhand, because I would have to review my correspondence. You know, somewhere in my garage or attic, I got stuff that goes way back. And these upstairs are only from the eighties because I began to organize it upstairs. I must have a couple of hundred notebooks of correspondence with different people over the years.

AH: Between the two, Frank and Tom, were you closer to Frank? I mean, in the sense that he was closer in age to you?

TT: Well, by that if you mean frequency of communication or—

AH: Or palpability.

TT: I think they are about the same, about the same. I don't see much difference.

AH: And the only other people that you would have met on the project would have been when you went back to Salt Lake City and met Richard Nishimoto, and also met Rosalie.

TT: Oh, [Rosalie] Hankey.

AH: Do you remember those two?

TT: I remember Rosalie because she lived next door to us. As a matter of fact, she was a tenant of a house that I had bought next door in Chicago.

AH: You mean after the war when she went to the university?

TT: I mean after the war. She was married to a sociology professor at the University of Chicago named Murray Wax.

AH: Right. They're divorced, incidentally, now.

TT: Oh, are they?

AH: They are, yeah.

TT: I used to get the biggest bang, Jean and I would, because they loved gardening. The house that they rented was part of a two-flat set way back, and our house was set way up in front.

AH: You must have helped her get this place or something. It just sounds, too, coincidental in a town the size of Chicago that you should end up living next to one another.

TT: Well, I think she and Murray—Murray came to the door. I didn't even know she was married to him. I didn't answer the door; Jean did. And she said, "There's a professor from the University of Chicago that wants to rent our"—I bought the home to bring my parents there. They weren't ready to come yet, but we had two units. They were a three bedroom house, upstairs, and three bedroom downstairs. So, we rented to them, and along comes this great, big white lady over. (laughs)

AH: She was big then, right?

TT: Yeah, she was. (laughs) They wanted to use the whole front.

AH: Because she recognized you right away didn't she?

TT: Yeah, she did. Oh yeah, you bet. They used to be out there killing the snails at night. *Bang!* (laughs) I said, "Why don't you get snail _____ (inaudible)?" She said, "Oh, no! This is more sure." *Bang*! (laughs) Yeah, they lived there for, I don't know, a few years.

AH: She also ended having a strained relationship with Dorothy Thomas. Dorothy Thomas pulled her out of Tule Lake, and according to Rosalie who I interviewed in Chicago a few years ago; I mean in St. Louis, Rosalie felt it bitter because she did not get nearly the credit that she felt she should have gotten for the spoilage publication. She didn't, at that point, confide in you anything about—

TT: No.

AH: Because you were actually dealing with some people who were quite sort of angry with Dorothy. There was Morton Grodzins, Rosalie—

TT: They never made me privy to that. (laughs)

AH: Okay, so that didn't come up? There wasn't a lot of sour grapes about that situation?

TT: No, that's strange.

AH: Did you ever remember Dorothy Thomas coming to Chicago when you lived next to Hankey and the three of you getting together?

TT: No, no, that never happened. I think Dorothy—in Chicago, she never came to our home. She came, here, to our home in Los Angeles. No, yes she did. I'm sorry, I'm talking about Ellis Avenue, see. [When we lived] on Blackstone she came.

AH: Is Blackstone during the war or after the war?

TT: That was during the war.

AH: And Ellis is after the war?

TT: Ellis is after the war. No, Ellis is not after the war. Ellis was from October to November of 1944.

AH: I'm sure she would have seen you then, at that point because she made regular trips to Chicago.

TT: Yeah, I wonder if she did come, and I never told her that Rosalie was next door. (laughs) It's possible.

AH: So, you saw a lot of Rosalie at that point because the only other time you would have probably met her was at a meeting like at Salt Lake City. I know you both were at that meeting. Richard Nishimoto came to that meeting, and it was the first time most of the people met this person who then turned out to be the co-author of the book with—do you recall him at all as a presence at that meeting? Was he somebody that—because he had actually lived in the Los Angeles area before the war, and I think he had been an insurance agent.

TT: No, Nishimoto was more a name than a presence. You know, I shared a hotel room with Morton Grodzins at that Salt Lake City meeting. Holy smokes. What about Jimmy Sakoda?

AH: He was at that meeting, too. He came there. That would have been the first time—he wrote some things in his diary about when you guys were at Salt Lake City, you went over to the JACL, of *The Pacific Citizen*, met Larry Tijiri and also Saburo Kido was there. And your quoted as being quite sort of shocked that some of the attitudes that Saburo Kido had at that particular time, with the issue of race and some other things. You said an educated man doesn't say those kinds of things.

TT: Oh, yeah. Uh-huh.

AH: I think at that particular time, Larry Tijiri was starting to take a somewhat different position. Before he had a more progressive position, by this time he was starting to take a pretty straight JACL line on things. And I got the feeling that those of you on the project, on the study, felt sort of—it seemed that you had somewhat what parted company with the perspective—in other words, the JACL was a large enough organization, for a while, to accommodate some variations of opinion. And that *The Pacific Citizen* was representing a more progressive wing of the JACL, which I thought that Larry Tijiri and yourself and other people felt more comfortable with, but it was increasingly getting more difficult to be able to have that sort of resiliency and that—this is what I was picking up from Sakoda's notes.

[02:40:46]

TT: With regard to what issues were these changes?

AH: Well, I'm trying to recall. Togo, let's see. I'm trying to think—

TT: Did it have to do with obtaining citizenship for the Issei?

AH: No, because that wasn't coming up here. That would have been six or seven years down the line. I'll have to look at that.

TT: Could it have been for service in the military at that time?

AH: This would have been some time around then, yeah.

TT: Because that had been one of the things that Joe Masaoka and I were convinced that got us where we were when we were run out of camp. And that was we had taken—

AH: Opening up the second front—

TT: Yes, right. And gone to the mess halls to give talks and say that one certainty out of our predicament would be to volunteer for the arm services.

AH: But by the time of this meeting, 1944, the issue had changed a little because it was none for volunteering. It was the question of them conscripting people out of camps. And I think there was a difference between—that was one of the issues that had come up. That Sakoda and the other people were less inclined to say that the conscription was a good thing. Tijiri, at this particular point, had moved into the position of saying that this is a way to regain some of our rights and privileges as citizens. So, I do think that was one of the bones—I'm not sure. I'll have to look it up, but I think that was one of the bones of contention. Nishimoto is totally shadowy to you?

TT: Yes, he is.

AH: And Tom Shibutani and Frank are not shadowy to you; they're real people. You retained a relationship with them, but, at that particular time, the sense of what your relationship with them was is not clear.

TT: I talked to them by telephone. I last talked to Frank on August the fourteenth of this year.

AH: Is he experiencing good health?

TT: Yes, he is. (shuffles papers) Here's one from him. That's '92.

AH: He was going to do a revision on his study that he did on the social solidarity on the Japanese in Seattle, he say.

TT: Oh, um-hm.

AH: He said, *I never attempted a revision of this study before. I have long wished I could do it because a key requirement of the revision would be inclusion of Issei material which I'm unable to read.* I just would have thought that you two would have been very close. I mean, you're both—even though he was Seattle and you were from down here, he had sort of been involved with the Japanese American community, but he had somehow lived apart from it. He also, on his language situation, was somewhat similar. I think he was one of the few students who was non-Japanese in his high school like you were Hollywood High. And you were somewhat close in age, et cetera. I think that would have been a very tight relationship.

TT: I sent him—you know, we had a mutual friend, Minoru Yamasaki—

AH: I feel like I should know that name. Who was he?

TT: He was a Nisei architect who designed the World Trade Center.

AH: The World Trade Center, of course.

TT: And the Century Plaza Hotel.

AH: Yeah, I know who it is.

TT: I know in '88, I had sent him a—Yamasaki was close friend and I had—

AH: You have actually maintained, if not a—I mean, you sent quite a few letters back and forth.

TT: Yes, we have. Here's one in '85. I guess we must have got together in '85 because he mentioned that. I know when I get my attic and garage cleaned out, I'll get these things completed.

AH: Then you did see him in ’87 up at the conference in Berkley.

TT: Oh, yes, yes, yes, I did, right. Oh, actually, the only reason I went there is so that I might see him.

AH: In fact, you would have seen Jimmy Sakoda there, too. I know when I walked into the restaurant you were sitting with Charlie.

TT: Oh, yeah, yeah, that’s right.

AH: When I first met you up there. In fact, you know that restaurant?

TT: Yeah.

AH: A few years later somebody came in with a gun and mowed down all these people. Do you remember reading that?

TT: Was it in that place?

AH: It was at that little restaurant. Is it the Grant Hotel or whatever it was?

TT: Oh, yeah.

AH: It was only two years later, and some demented person came and over there, walked into that thing and, all of a sudden, I was thinking, I’m glad we went two years ago. But had come in and people ducked under thing, but he shot them, about thirteen different people. Several of them died. But,l I could visualize that place and everything.

Now when you were back in Chicago, quite apart from these other people that were on the project, you used to meet with Hayakawa who you used to have a long-term relationship. Was it the first time you met him back in Chicago?

TT: No, I met him the first time in ’40, I think. He had just had *Language and Action*—

AH: Published.

TT: Yeah—well, selected by a book of the month club as its choice. And he and Marge called at the *Rafu Shimpo*. They were staying at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel, and that was my first meeting with them. And as I remember, I wrote a little article about his book and about him. I think we ran it in the *Rafu*. And then, in Chicago—see, we lived on Blackstone which is Hyde Park—and he was a director of the Hyde Park Cooperative Store and teaching at Illinois Institute of Technology, English. We were neighbors, so we saw each other from time to time. And, I think, I remember having lunch with—we called him Don.

[02:50:39]

AH: You called Hayakawa Don?

TT: Yes, all of his friends called him Don. And Bob Fugii and the three of us met—I think we had many lunches on issues involving Japanese Americans.

AH: And this was when Fugii was editing the *Shikago Shimpo*?

TT: The *Shikago Shimpo*. And then, he and Marge and the children moved to Marin County, Mill Valley, in 1955, the same year that we moved to Los Angeles. And we kept up in correspondence, and when he came down here, we would have lunch or dinner. And then one year he invested in avocado grow that Gramercy had acquired down in—

AH: Fallbrook?

TT: Yeah, in that area. It wasn't in Fallbrook but in Valley Center. And then he said, would I buy an apartment building for him? So we bought forty-four unit building, it was during the San Francisco—

AH: Earthquake?

TT: No, the trouble at the college when he was president.

AH: Oh, when he was yanking out the microphones?

TT: Yeah. (laughs) It was in a black area in Los Angeles at, I think, it was 44th and, oh God—it looked to me like it would be something that would take no management from him because we could hired a manager, and he could make some money off of it. So, when he learned it was in a black area, "Don't let them know that I own it." (laughs) We held it for a number of years, and he made money or some profit. We had a business relationship for—we were investing his money. And then, I think most of them were profitable, including the avocado growing. But one was a disaster. It involved an investment that my insurance man sold to all of us, an oil and energy tax thing, and it's been troubling.

AH: Still troubling?

TT: Well, it hasn't been resolved yet. It's in front of the United States Supreme Court. But, I kept in touch with Marge, and I think, for most of the people in it it's been resolved because they anticipated it was coming.

AH: Now he died in 1992 and he had got into the Senate in '76. Did you maintain a relationship with him right up until his death?

TT: Yes, I did. I talked to him, maybe about two weeks before he died. He was having difficulty breathing because he was taking oxygen. He was a lot more ill—when I was ill with cancer in '88, and I had three surgeries that first year, he called me almost three or four times a week. And then he sent me—to get my mind off of it—books from his library, and then he would question me. It was like a correspondence course! (laughs) And I was so grateful to him because it was like a window when you're flat on your back. But, he was wonderful. I always felt he was a great teacher, a good teacher. Especially, one-on-one, he was incredible. I returned his books to him, and I had no idea he was as ill as he was. If I had, I would have gone up to see him before he died.

AH: Did you share your interest in jazz?

TT: No, he was a great. I think that was one of his great—I always regretted that in the Japanese American, *The Ethnic Press*, because of the position—he took a mainline view, and he refused to vow to the pressures. I think he was very badly misrepresented.

AH: Did you share his view that ethnic organizations were a sign of weakness? You, on the one hand, for a long time, were associated with an ethnic organization, and he was quite upfront about that.

TT: We discussed it a great deal. I think I had a chronic ambivalence about that because probably, intellectually, I agreed with him completely, but emotionally, it's something you have a divided opinion. Gee whiz, you could at least see the reasons why even though we believe one thing, we act a different way.

AH: It's like that business about the Chicago housing patterns.

TT: Yes, exactly. But, I admired him, and I certainly had a great affection for him as a friend. I thought he was terribly misunderstood many times.

AH: Was he ever included in the ERS group at all, as far as, when you would have social things? Did he know these other people Miyamoto and Shibutani and these others or not?

TT: No, I don't believe so.

AH: That friendship, that was apart from that.

TT: Right, uh-huh.

AH: Is it fair to say that the bulk of your life during the war in Chicago was apart from those people from the Evacuation and Resettlement Study, was that a marginal portion of your existence there or was it—

TT: Probably so because I was more involved with Quakers and the people that I—in terms of the time, yeah.

AH: You wrote the reports.

TT: Yes.

AH: You turned those in, you got references for Charlie—

TT: Yes.

AH: —you went to an occasional meeting that was going on, but that wasn't as central to you say, as it was to those other people who were full-time?

TT: No, no it was not. It was more peripheral for me.

AH: And Louise Suski, you knew her. She was, I think, the first English language for the *Rafu*, wasn't she, in '31 or something like that?

TT: Yeah, that's right. I think she started in '26.

AH: Oh, that far back?

TT: I think so.

AH: How much older than you was Louise Suski?

TT: Louise is ten years older than I am. I talked to her the other day. I had dinner with her at the ninetieth anniversary of the *Rafu Shimpo* last September.

AH: Oh, really?

TT: Yeah.

AH: How did she end up out in Chicago?

TT: Let me see.

AH: Because what I see in Charlie's diary and other's things is that Louise—or I guess it was Frank's letters. Frank was telling Dorothy that Louise agreed to work here for a while, but she is looking for something better. But it sounds as though she stayed there for quite a while.

TT: Yeah, yeah, she did. She finally wound up with the Chicago Department of Health keeping statistics because the pay was good. But, let's see, I think we corresponded during our camp days.

AH: She wasn't at Manzanar obviously so—

TT: No. No, she was—gosh, where in the world did she go? I'll have to check my old correspondence, but I do know this—

AH: But, she was in a camp though, you think?

TT: I think she went to Denver first, so she may not have gone. And then, we corresponded—I told her, "Look up Joe Shinota because he was just outside of Denver. And then, I told her what we were doing with *Scene Magazine* and maybe we would need someone at Chicago Publishing. And if *Scene* couldn't pay her, there was always work with General Mailing because it was a very profitable operation. So she showed up, and I introduced her to Allan Hagio and Ted Uchimoto, who were my partners, and they gave her a full-time job.

[03:00:18]

AH: And so she stayed and worked in Chicago?

TT: Yeah, yeah, she did for Chicago Publishing.

AH: And then, how long did she stay in Chicago?

TT: I don't know when she came back here, but I can sure ask her.

AH: So, you had some common sort of basis there that you both—

TT: Yes, we did.

AH: And is she a very able woman?

TT: Well, she's very steady and reliable. And did those things that were—

AH: She's not intellectual, would you say?

TT: No, no, she's not intellectual.

AH: But she's steadfast and confident?

TT: Yeah, she is. And if something needed to be done, we knew that, if she were assigned to it, she did it.

AH: This ends this second one. I just want to ask you about *Scene Magazine,* and we're over.

TT: Sure.

[recording paused]

AH: Well, after the coast had opened up, you had an option to return to California, and clearly, you stayed another ten years in Chicago. What was the thinking that went into that, initially? Did you have another job aside from the ones we have been talking about today by the time that came around? Had you moved from the Baptist Home Missionary Society or—

TT: In 1945, I had heard about an opening at the American Technical Society, which was a textbook publishing firm near the University of Chicago. It had been founded, I think, at the turn of the century by some professors from Harvard University and the Illinois Institute of Technology and sounded to me like it was a chance for me to get back to editing and publishing.

AH: Did you miss that a little bit?

TT: I think I did, although, I wasn't conscious of it because I was enjoying the work that I was doing for an American Friends Service Committee. But when you know that it is not a permanent job, you prepare for the next step. And I went out to be interviewed by James McKinney, the president of American Tech—he was a Scotsman who had been Dundee, Scotland, and then had taught at the University of Illinois. And we got to know each other at that meeting.

AH: You know what he taught, what his field was?

TT: Industrial Arts. He told me that it sounded like my background qualified me for the job as an editor on the staff of American Tech, and he would give me an answer so come back within one week. I went back the following week, and first he said, "You're hired so whenever you want to start whenever you want to start, you can." So, I agreed. And then he said, "Except, I want you to know that there are four or five women on that department who are vocally and strenuously opposed to my putting you on. And the reason for it is that two of the women have sons who were in the Baatan Death March and were killed by the Japanese. Either that or they're missing in action, and therefore they would feel very uncomfortable if you sat in the same office with them because we don't have private offices for all the editors. In spite of that, we are going to overrule them because we feel that you shouldn't be penalized for something that people like are not really identifiable with."

AH: Did you have a letter from Dorothy Thomas? She was very generous in handing out letters of recommendations. I'm wondering if you happen to remember if you called upon that sort of connection at all.

TT: I don't think I would have asked her for one. This came up rather suddenly. I had been attending a luncheon meeting at the City Club in downtown Chicago, and a man said, "Hey, go on down to American Tech—" I can't remember the name of the man, but he gave me the introduction to Mr. McKinney. So, I said, "If you don't mind and if you're willing to take that chance, I'll be happy to and I hope that—" Well, within three months, the feeling was gone. I felt totally accepted. And then within I think about eighteen months—before two years—they had made me head of the department.

AH: The same women were still there?

TT: Right, yeah. And with their support. And so, I liked the work. And that connection brought me—the American School was a twin corporation of the American Tech. And when they told me, I sold the president on the idea of letting put on a newspaper for them. I just felt that this is great. I could walk to work. I was four or five blocks away from it. And it gave me a lot of time to be with my family, as well as to do other things.

AH: Was the *Chicago Shimpo* then getting going?

TT: I think so. I think it was about that time because Masamori Kojima—I had known him. He was the president of the student body at Roosevelt High School and then he had gone to Harvard and taken labor law and had come to Chicago, and I was seeing him from time to time. He was the English editor of the *Shimpo.* It must have been about that time.

AH: And what was Bob Fujii at that time?

TT: He was a publisher.

AH: He was the publisher.

TT: Yeah.

AH: And who is Bob Fujii, exactly?

TT: You know, I don't know very much about him.

AH: Was he from L.A. or not?

TT: I don't even know that.

AH: So, he wasn't somebody you knew before the war?

TT: No, no, I don't remember.

AH: Did you meet him in Chicago?

TT: I meet him in Chicago, yes.

AH: Was he older than you?

TT: Yes, he was, not much but he was older.

AH: Were you ever approached about the possibility of working on the *Chicago Shimpo* or to contribute anything to it?

TT: No, not at all.

AH: You weren't?

TT: Well, Masamori knew that I was already involved with *Scene Magazine* and—oh, Mr. Kaihara, who published the *Colorado Times*, wrote to me—I never knew him—and he asked me if I would write a column for his paper—

AH: Is this when Roy Takeno was the editor?

TT: No, I think Roy was the editor of *Rocky Shimpo*.

AH: That's right.

TT: He, in his letter to me said, *I will pay you one $100 a month if you will write three columns a week for me.* And I said, "Gee whiz, yeah, I'll do that."

AH: So, you did?

TT: Yeah, so I wrote columns for the *Chicago Shimpo* for about—

AH: When was that?

TT: Oh, I got about a whole mess of them.

AH: In the fifties?

TT: It must have been in the late forties, early fifties.

AH: When you were getting started with *Scene*?

TT: Yes. Oh, yeah!

AH: What kinds of articles did you write?

TT: Editorials? I probably got some in the—

AH: And then you would just mail them out? Were you their Chicago correspondent for the Colorado thing?

TT: Well, I'll tell you what.

AH: Let me stop this. [recording paused] Okay, you met Mr. Kaihara—

TT: I met Mr. Kaihara—I met him I think maybe once or twice.

AH: When you were on the *Rafu*? You mean before the *Rafu*?

TT: No, no, no, no, when I was in Chicago. It must have been around 1948. We came out here—we drove out from Chicago.

AH: To Los Angeles?

TT: To Los Angeles, to visit my in-laws who were here. And en route, we stopped in Denver, and we had dinner with Mr. Kaihara and Bill Hosokawa at that time. So I must have been writing '48, '49, '50, '51, '52 there. That was the same time *Scene.*

AH: Had the Denver community pretty well broken up by then?

TT: No, I think it was still—

AH: Fairly intact?

TT: Yes, it was.

AH: It was a delayed sort of thing, wasn't it?

[03:09:58]

TT: Yes, it was, but I saw those problems before I had my accident and fell through there. It was a whole box of them, but it was called, uh—I don't remember the name of it. And it appears T.W. Tananka, instead of Togo Tanaka.

AH: Were you doing any other—is that because of the sensitivity of the war thing and stuff? I noticed in this article I was just looking at that you wrote for the *Rafu Shimpo* a while back where you were talking about what happen to you at the time, and you said that you kept telling them—they'd say, What is your American name? You kept saying, "This is my American name." (laughs)

TT: Yeah, right. (laughs)

AH: But, it wasn't because of that that you switched your name for the—

TT: No, not at all. I didn't want to—since I had written so long for the *Rafu Shimpo*—

AH: You kept a separate identity.

TT: Yes, uh-huh.

AH: Did you write for anybody else during that period?

TT: Oh, yeah. I did book reviews or the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Sun Times*.

AH: On any kind of book? What specifically?

TT: Oh, yeah, whatever they sent to me. Not very many. And then, the *Christian Science Monitor* had me write articles about Japanese Americans, I remember.

AH: Did you do any freelance were you sent off stuff to places?

TT: No, no. I only did Phelps Gates, who was a friend that I had met before the war. I think he was close to the editorial people, and he taught at what was Woodbury College. And he asked me if I would do the article for the *Christian Science.* I think they sent me a check; it wasn't a sizable one. And then, I think there was another couple of publications that I did write for, but that was about the size of it.

AH: This was before you even got started on *Scene*?

TT: Yeah, yeah.

AH: So, you got his affiliation with Denver and the *Colorado Times*, and then tell me about how *Scene* got going then.

TT: Well, the principles in General Mailing service and sales were three people. They were acquaintances of mine. We met in Chicago. Jim Nishimura, who was the oldest, and a brother in law of his, Allan Hagio, and Ted Uchimoto who was more Kibei than Nisei—

AH: And you met all those for the first time in Chicago?

TT: In Chicago, right.

AH: And where they from the coast, or somewhere else?

TT: Well, Allan was from Stockton, California. Jim, gosh, I don't even remember where Jim came from. I think he also came from Northern California. And Ted was Kibei; I don't know where he came from. But, we got together at an investors club called Twenty and Five Investors. It was in stocks. And they had known that I had an editorial background, and they knew that I was also at American Tech. So, they asked me what I thought about if Jimmy could raise enough money to get out quite a few issues of a magazine and would I consent to join them. I said, "Well, I don't know how much time this is going to take because I got a full-time job and a few other things," but my willingness to devote But my willingness to do it on the weekends, after hours—it would be a moonlight job.

AH: You still had young kids, didn't you?

TT: Yeah, right. So could I do it, I said, "Okay." And so, we started *Scene* in that way. We gathered a staff together. But mostly the people who were in it were already employed by other departments of General Mailing. W set up a separate corporation called Chicago Publishing Corporation, and I think the four of us were stockholders in it. They asked me if I would be first to be vice president and later I became the president. And later Jimmy—

AH: I remember reading in one of the issues you gave me that you sent me in the mail, that in '52, I think, it's when you were appointed president.

TT: Yeah. I was very excited by what we were doing because this is something that seemed to have a purpose. Especially, in view of the fact that we were in the post-war period, and if I had learned from the Quakers, who said that even during wartime they were still healing for peace, it made a lot of sense. I just, somehow, couldn't get focused on saying this is a thing—I think one of the reasons why we haven't made success out of it is because nobody said this is what I want to really make succeed. But, it kind of managed to exist and grow to whatever extent. Finally, we all got tired of it, and I think it's because our energies and our interests were so deployed in so many areas. Finally, at the end there, when in 1955 I said I was going to have to move out here, they asked me, Can you take it and get rid of it? (laughs) By then, I was corresponding with and calling—finding who at *Saturday Evening Post* or *Look* or any of the large publications—"Could you somehow take it us over?" The answer was always the same: Your liability exceeded your assets, because the contiguous liability of subscriptions that had been unfulfilled on which we had already taken the money and spent it couldn't do anything with it. So, when I moved out here and set-up School Industrial Press, the printer which whom I became associated, Ben Jaffe, he had assets considerably greater than mine. And I told Ben, "Look, if you won't take this over and guarantee its life for at least two years, so that we won't disgrace ourselves in having to let it die, how much would you want us to pay you to take over the contingent liability?" I think he named some small amount, about five or ten thousand dollars, that he would take it over and guarantee us life for two years, which he did.

AH: Who ran it during those two years?

TT: What he did was turned it over to another publisher involved with the auto club in some kind of a way, and they tried to make it—they changed its character. It was no longer an ethnic publication. I mean, we had three languages: Portuguese, Japanese, and English.

AH: Did you publish it in those three languages?

TT: Yes, we did.

AH: So, what I'm looking at, there was a replica of this in those of languages.

TT: Right. There is some in—that is the thing. It's Portuguese—

AH: In portions of it?

TT: In portions of it.

AH: Okay, okay.

TT: But eventually it died of its own, over here, but it found a new life—

AH: In Japan.

TT: In Tokyo.

AH: Can I go back because I haven't seen the initial sort of editorial statement that came out with your first issue in 1949. I quite don't understand what the function and the mission of the publication was and who the audience was. I can see that you are obviously going to Japan. You got started during the occupation period in Japan. It's going to Brazil, where there is a large Japanese population, and then, of course, in the United States. But what were you trying to accomplish?

[recording paused]

TT: We were proceeding on the belief that, since we were told that wars begin in the minds of men and women, that if people understood the culture and beliefs that people live by, then if we could produce a publication that could communicate, with harmony, the things that people had been fighting and tried to killed each other, believed in, we could blunt the age of hostility that arose because of whatever reasons war came about. it was the feeling that education and enlightenment by writing those things that were the best in the cultures of Japan and the United States, would somehow create—they always use a term, bridge over the pacific—

[03:20:06]

AH: Sure.

TT: —that it somehow would prevent the war. And somehow, we thought we had partially succeeded when we got that telephone call from Admiral Nimitz. And that was the mission that we had and that's how we started the publication.

AH: Now, how did Brazil get in there? Just to expand the readership?

TT: Well, no, I think that our advertising and circulation people said that Brazil had even a larger population of Japanese descent than we have in the United States so why don't we have a branch or at least a correspondent in Sao Paulo. I think that Jim Nishimura arranged for that, and we did have a person in Sao Paulo who was now going to sell advertising and to write and we would publish. We never got far with that.

AH: You, I know, got to the point where you had a fairly substantial readership, at least the number that you published.

TT: Yeah.

AH: I'm trying to figure out what—roughly, very roughly, what percentages would have been and who was buying this thing. First of all, dividing it among ethnic lines, how many, do you think, of the people that were getting *Scene* were Japanese? Either Japanese Brazilian or Japanese or Japanese American?

TT: I figured at one time, and we really never run what you call an audit trail on it, but 75 percent were U.S. Americans—

AH: Japanese Americans?

TT: —20 percent Japan and 5 percent Brazil.

AH: But you seem to get some letters from people who were not of Japanese ancestry.

TT: Right.

AH: So, you must have had subscriptions in libraries.

TT: We did. I was doing the *American School News* at the same time, and I think, at that time, I was trying—let's see, *American School News* had circulation that went to all the libraries in the country, and so all I did was—

AH: Hitchhike off of that?

TT: Yeah, right, um-hm. We ran test mailing to see whether libraries would pay for it and not very many did. They said they would be glad to put in on their shelves. I have bound copies of the *American School News*. I have some of, oh gosh—this is one that we did, *Beauty School Management*.

AH: This is one that you did for them?

TT: No, I did—we owned that. Ben Jaffe and I did.

AH: This is one you did for them?

TT: The magazine? Yeah, we owed that magazine. And this is what I did for—

AH: What's the years of this one? Let's see, '56.

TT: Yeah, this is the kind of thing I did for Howard Edgerton, California Federal.

AH: Is it fair to say that the bulk of your energies, during that time you were involved with *Scene*, was going toward your other job?

TT: Oh, yeah, yeah. *American Tech*, that was my principle and *American School News*. Because you I thought, my god, I'm reaching 200,000 people every three months, and that was a lot of people. And with *Rafu Shimpo*, it was circulating 67,000.

AH: Did you start publishing *Scene* down through your presses that you had at the American Technical Society?

TT: Oh, no, no, no, I didn't. See, these were done in Los Angeles, and this one I did with Ben Jaffe's press at School Industrial Press.

AH: But the Chicago Publishing Company then wasn't just a legal fiction.

TT: Oh, no, no, no, no. We had about $100,000 in press equipment. We had our line and type machines. We had a whole section. These were offset presses that produced them. It was a going operation, but we didn't make money. There is one thing about—it's not the gross volume, it's the net that you have left after all the bills are paid.

AH: When you reflect on the *Scene* experience—I've been looking at these publications, and you've given me some more, and I'm interested in looking at them very carefully. When you reflect back on that, what does that *Scene* experience mean to you?

TT: Well, we tried to run a private sector environment where the profit motive is paramount. I think that we tried to do something that we thought was socially good and gives us some hope that that it wasn't all in vain and wasted. And I think that we affected lives for some good along the way. And most of the publications that we had done, I used to say, "My, gosh—" I got thousands of letters when I was editing the *American School News*—because we corresponded with people. I'm sorry I just never had the space to save them all. But I get one from this—gosh, there was a young man who was sending in his lessons because he wanted so desperately to have an education and a high school diploma. And he kept saying that he was doing his lessons under a flashlight in a garage because his father would beat him to a pulp if he was wasting his time on books. And ah, I made it a point to—see, I not only edited that, but I did a lot of—to earn extra money, I corrected examinations. Especially in English because I had authored one of their workbooks, and so the school gave me the English lesson.

AH: Is this the red book that you were talking about?

TT: Yeah, right.

AH: I was getting a kick out of the White Russian using the little red book!

TT: I tell Jean, "You know, we think that we've been kicked around or that we have been discriminated against or that we had all these bad experiences, but think of this young man. He's not Japanese and he is not—he's a hillbilly down in Arkansas, and he can't study and he's so hungry to learn." And then, we'd get letters of thanks because now they had—I used to print these in the publication—their second chance to get an education, and that they were so hungry for it. And you begin to realize that these were people who later passed college equivalency entrance examinations and went on and got their college degrees. But, I had such a tremendous experience—that bit of American life where people enrolled for a correspondence education because they dropped out of high school, and that involved a lot of people.

AH: Well, you may have answered the question I'm going to ask you know, and it's the final question and it's, I think, a tough one because it involves actually reflecting on your entire life. And life is a seamless web, really, but sometimes, there does appear to be some seams in the life. Sometimes those seams come about through the different vocations you had. Together we've talked about all sorts of things you did from working on the *Rafu Shimpo* to being a documentary historian to working on this evacuation and resettlement, the Gramercy Enterprise, School Industrial Press, *Scene,* American Technical Society; all these different things. Do you think about it, and asked when was your soul most intact? When were you doing the thing that most seemed like a vocation with a capital letters, et cetera? Which ones fulfilled Togo Tanaka's dreams the most? Which one did you make money on? Which one did you sort of pay bills with? What was the job in your life that was the most luminous with respect to a sense of vocation?

[03:30:00]

TT: Well, for many years, Art, I used to say that the years that I spent with the *Rafu Shimpo*, were simply that because they were the most challenging at a time when things appeared to be insurmountable. But then, subsequently, began—on reflection, gee, those years, the brief years that I spent on the American Friends Service Committee, because it was face-to-face every day with different people and different circumstances and there was some opportunity to help some people who, in many ways, were less fortunate than yourself. And I found those to be probably the most illuminous. You look back and many things that you wish you had done, or if you had a chance to do it, do them differently, but you dwell on your mistakes only in the hope that you don't repeat them. But, by and large, I feel very fortunate because we've had a wonderful life. I'm grateful to Jean. We've been married for fifty-four years, and it just seems like yesterday. And we love our children. We did take care of my parents until they died, and we took care of her parents before. And we are in good terms with our family, so we are just very grateful for what we have.

AH: You've had a successful life, and this interview is beeping to a close right now.

TT: Oh, I see. (laughs)

AH: And I would like to, again, not only cumulatively for all the things over the years, but for this afternoon, which has been a long one, I thank you very much for opening your house and opening your mind and your heart and your archives, actually and allowed me to do the interview.

TT: And if Jean were here—she's with our daughter today. (laughs) I picked a day—I hadn't consulted her, but thank you very much.

AH: Okay, thank you very much.

END OF INTERVIEW