

Student Relocation
Bob O'Brien Thesis

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CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF COLLEGE STUDENT RELOCATION IN THE DISPERSION OF THE NISEI

Dispersion of Nisei in various sections of the United States, with the accompanying decline of Japanese institutions and segregated communities, is one of the most significant consequences of the evacuation process. In spite of the demonstrated assimilation of the Nisei generation, the concentration of Japanese in communities on the Pacific Coast has caused distrust on the part of many Caucasians, and has retarded the assimilation of many American born Japanese.

The migration of the Nisei during World War II was in marked contrast with the movement of Chinese, Negroes, and Mexicans into the industrial mid-West and East. Whereas, in the latter cases, the unskilled and lower economic levels, or at the best, a cross-section of a minority group migrated, in the case of the Japanese Americans, the highly assimilated non-competitive college group were the migrants. At the close of the spring term of 1943, there were 1671 relocated Nisei living in college communities.¹

1. For the origin of the 1671 relocated students in terms of self-evacuees, W.C.C.A. and W.R.A., see Table XIII in this chapter.

Six hundred and thirty of this number were students already in Eastern schools or self-evacuees from the Pacific Coast who had transferred to other colleges, while the other 1041 were relocated from either the assembly or relocation centers. The extremely high proportion of college students among the newly dispersed Japanese is shown when this figure of 1671 is compared to the total of only 7600 individuals of all classifications (including students) who had been cleared by the military authorities for leaving the centers by April 28, 1943.² A year later the total number of students relocated from the camps had risen to 2886, making a total of 3516 individuals of Japanese ancestry enrolled in 529 non-Pacific Coast institutions of higher learning.³

An examination of the resettlement figures for states having the largest number of former evacuees shows that, as late as May 1943, a high proportion of Japanese residents were college students. In a few states the number of Nisei college students was greater than the total number of W.R.A. evacuees. This apparent discrepancy, of course, is due to the fact that some of the college group had never lived in either assembly or relocation centers. In 1943, thirty-eight per cent of the Nisei students in colleges and universities were non-evacuees or were persons who had left the West Coast before the ban on travel was issued; sixty-two per cent of the student group was relocated from

2. Manzanar Free Press, June 5, 1943. Many of those indicated as cleared for travel had not left the centers by April 28th.

3. Report of the Japanese American Student Relocation Council, June 15, 1944.

the centers.

The significance of the Nisei dispersion lies in the fact that in many communities and in some whole states more than half of the new immigrants were college students. In the United States in general the ratio of college or university students to the total population is 1-100.⁴ Although the proportion of college age people in the Japanese American population is high, the peculiarity of the resettlement pattern is due to the administrative program, which released students in greater number than it released the general population. The willingness of the college Nisei to break with the Japanese community institutions, their desire to be further assimilated, their loose ties to any particular area, and their status as American citizens are all factors in their being resettled first. In addition there was an organized student relocation movement with scholarships and community acceptance awaiting them.

Table IX shows the comparison of Nisei college students and the total number of evacuees in twelve states receiving Japanese American workers and students.

4. U.S. Office of Education 1940 report lists 1,350,055 students in 1670 colleges in 1938.

Table IX. Comparison of Student Nisei and the Total Number of Relocated Evacuees by Certain States, May 1943.

State	Evacuees Relocated From W.R.A. Projects*	Nisei College Students#
Illinois.....	742	102
Colorado.....	631	220
Idaho.....	348	63
Utah.....	286	228
Minnesota.....	226	44
Wyoming.....	185	47
Iowa.....	under 100	61
Missouri.....	under 100	108
Nebraska.....	under 100	136
New York.....	under 100	62
Ohio.....	under 100	82
Pennsylvania.....	under 100	47

*Compiled from figures released by the W.R.A. as of April 28, 1943 and published in the Manzanar Free Press, June 5, 1943.

Figures from the Directory of American Students of Japanese Ancestry, June 1943.

Some measure of the scope of the dispersion is given in the regional distribution of Nisei students in 1943⁵ as contrasted to 1941.⁶ In the Rocky Mountain States the number of students of Japanese ancestry increased from 73 to 556 and in the adjacent mid-West States the increase was from 119 to 633. Approximately six per cent of the Nisei attending colleges in 1941 selected institutions in these two areas. Two years later over 80 per cent of the Nisei in colleges were residing in these states.

5. Directory of American Students of Japanese Ancestry, June 1943.

6. Directory of Japanese Students in Colleges of the United States 1941, Japanese Students' Christian Association, New York.

The greatest change occurred in the Pacific Coast States and Arizona where the total number of Nisei decreased from 3190 to 51. Practically all institutions of collegiate level in the four states were in the restricted zone with the exception of the colleges of eastern Washington.

Although the three other sections of the United States by 1943 show increases of from two to six times as many Nisei students as in 1941, the number migrating to the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf states was relatively small. A number of factors can account for this. On the part of the students there was a fear of a new evacuation from the areas along the East coast, an unwillingness to move too far away from the relocation projects. Because of the color line in the South, there was a marked hesitancy on the part of many of the students to be relocated in that area. The majority of those venturing into the South selected North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas because of their reported progress in race relations. Migration to the eastern institutions was held up by the difficulty of governmental agencies in clearing colleges in that area for admission of evacuees. During 1944, however, the students were attracted to both the South and the East by the excellent reception accorded the first migrants.

The extent of the dispersion of the college Nisei is shown by the respective number of college student bodies having second generation Japanese in 1941, 1943, and 1944. Before Pearl Harbor there were 93 colleges outside the Pacific Coast states enrolling Nisei, by June 1943 the number had risen to 271, by February 1944

the number was 430 and by June 1944, 529 institutions of higher learning reported Nisei in attendance. The regional distribution of these institutions is shown in Table X.

Table X. Number of Institutions in Which Nisei were in Attendance in 1941, 1943 and 1944 by Regions.*

Region	December 1941	June 1943	February 1944
Total United States...	186	279	489
Pacific Coast States.....	88	10	14
Rocky Mt. States.....	11	35	47
Mid-West States.....	45	135	253
Southern States.....	9	33	59
Mid-Atlantic States.....	22	49	87
New England States.....	11	17	29

*Compiled from the 1941 and 1943 Directories of American Students of Japanese Ancestry and the June 1, 1944 release of the N.J.A.S.R.C.

Although the 1944 regional figures on the total number of students in each area have not been released, the trend begun in 1943 has gained momentum in the last year and one half. This is evidenced by the growth in the number of colleges enrolling Nisei. In 1941 92.2 per cent of the second generation in college were attending institutions in the Pacific Coast states, two years later this number was less than four per cent. The contrast in the dispersion of Nisei college students outside the restricted areas of California, Oregon, Washington, and Arizona in the years 1941 and 1943 is shown in Chart II. With few exceptions the college Nisei settled in groups of less than a dozen in communities where

sponsoring agencies were secured before their arrival. The general picture of the regional distribution of these students is given in Table XI.

Table XI. Regional Distribution of College Nisei in 1941 and 1943.*

Region	1941	1943	Per Cent of 1941 Total	Per Cent of 1943 Total	Change in Per Cent
Total United States...	3461	1484 ^(sic)	100.0	100.0	00.0
Pacific Coast States.....	3190	51	92.2	3.4	87.9
Rocky Mt. States.....	73	556	2.1	38.2	36.6
Mid-West States.....	119	633	3.4	42.7	38.4
Southern States.....	11	74	0.3	4.9	4.5
Mid-Atlantic States.....	48	123	1.4	8.3	6.6
New England States.....	20	37	0.6	2.5	1.8

*Comparison of 1941 and 1943 Directories of American Students of Japanese Ancestry.

Student relocation began with General DeWitt's announcement that mass evacuation of all Japanese and their American born children was imminent.⁷ College administrators and personnel officials, following the leadership of Presidents Lee Paul Sieg of Washington and Robert G. Sproul of California, wrote their colleagues in the non-restricted zones on behalf of their Nisei students. Registrars and deans in many instances gave up vacation time to assist in evaluation of students for relocation. With two exceptions, every one of the seventy-seven colleges in the restricted area with Nisei on their rolls furnished transcripts

7. Robert W. O'Brien, "Student Relocation", Common Ground, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 73-78.

without fees.

Three conferences marked the beginning of the Student Relocation Council. The first held in mid-March, 1942 at the University of California set up a clearing house to coordinate the efforts of the local campus relocation committees. Six weeks later the Pacific Coast delegates to the Conference of Foreign Student Advisors at Cleveland presented the problem of the Nisei to their eastern, southern, and mid-western colleagues. The result of these preliminary efforts was the immediate self-evacuation of some 216 students to 29 different institutions. The majority were placed before voluntary evacuation was halted, although some were given travel permits after March 29.

The third and most important conference was held in Chicago May 29, when Clarence Pickett of the American Friends' Service Committee, at the request of John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, called together educators, representatives of organizations dealing with student placement, and officials from the interested government agencies to form the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council. Local committees from the Pacific Coast^{to-}gether with the Japanese American Citizens League placed their facilities at the disposal of the new organization. Milton S. Eisenhower, then Director of the War Relocation Authority, designated the N.J.A.S.R.C. as the official agency for the resettlement of college students. The Council was divided into two sections: the Philadelphia office was to find college openings and raise scholarship money; the western offices in Berkeley, Los Angeles,

Portland, and Seattle were to assemble information about the students.

During the month of June an elaborate questionnaire was prepared and administered to 2166 students in assembly and relocation centers.⁸ Representatives of the Council visited each of the camps to explain the program in detail, and to interview the candidates.

Tabulation of the first 994 schedules showed that two-thirds of those wishing to continue their education were males, and that the preponderance of them wanted specialized work in medicine, business, and engineering. This confirmed the study made earlier at the University of Washington where 18 percent selected economics, 17 per cent engineering, and 21 per cent the medical sciences. A comparison of the surveys made at the University of Washington and the returns from the first 994 schedules of the N.J.A.S.R.C. is given in Table XII.

By July, the first questionnaires together with letters of reference and high school and college transcripts were ready for analysis by counselors and college personnel officials. Consideration was given to the questions of professional goals, special interest or talents, evidence of social adjustment to both Caucasians and Japanese, degree of maturity, and sense of social responsibility toward the Japanese community and American life in general. When a student received a high rating from an analyst

8. Questionnaires and schedules appear in Appendix F.

Table XII. Comparison of University of Washington Survey of Nisei Students and Student Relocation Survey of Pacific Coast Nisei in Relation to Academic Standing and Course of Study by Per Cent.

Class or Course of Study	University of Washington*	Pacific Coast#
<u>Class</u>		
High school graduate.....	00	23
College undergraduate.....	96	67
Post-graduate.....	04	10
<u>Course of Study</u>		
Medicine-Nursing-Pharmacy....	21	25
General-Liberal Arts.....	26	19
Economics.....	18	17
Engineering.....	17	17
Fine Arts.....	03	07
Social Science.....	08	05
Agriculture.....	11	05
Home Economics.....	07	04
Theology.....	00	01

*Data from survey of 244 University of Washington Nisei facing evacuation and wishing to continue their education in preferred fields, April 8, 1942.

#Data tabulated from the first 994 completed schedules of the N.J.A.S.R.C. (Appendix F of this thesis) by July 24, 1942 at Berkeley office.

he was matched with a college opening and tentatively accepted, pending the investigation of his loyalty by a designated government agency.⁹

Those whose composite rating, based on scholarship and the above-mentioned factors, placed them in the highest 15 per cent were first considered for the openings available in the fall

9. Felice Klau, "Enemy Citizens", Threshold, Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1942, pp. 29-31.

term.¹⁰ The scholastic records of the first five hundred students thus processed and relocated have been tabulated and show a grade point average of 3.3 (B+) in their first year's work on the new campus.¹¹ This would indicate not only careful selection of students, but a high degree of adjustment to a new environment at a time when their families were within the relocation centers.

Many of the openings carried denominational limitations or preferences, restrictions as to sex, class standing, curricula available, legal residence, and financial status. Scholarship aid in the form of remission of fees, work opportunities, and financial grants from colleges, and individuals, and church boards, and the World Student Service Fund reached a total of over \$200,000.

Assistance for the resettled students has come not only from the foundations, colleges, and church boards, but the evacuee communities have assisted parents and students to secure better educational opportunities. At the Topaz (Utah) Center, for example, one hundred dollars was given to each of the 31 graduates of the Relocation Center High School in 1943 to aid them in their quest for high education.¹² At four other relocation centers (Granada, Poston I, Poston III, and Heart Mountain) scholarship funds amounting to over one thousand dollars each have been raised yearly by the residents for use of the local high school graduates who wish

10. Margaret Cosgrave, "Relocation of American-Japanese Students," Journal of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars, Vol. 18, No. 3, April 1943, pp. 221-6.

11. Compiled from the grade reports of the first five hundred students to be relocated by the N.J.A.S.R.C. on file at the Council's office in Philadelphia.

12. From Camp to College, N.J.A.S.R.C., June 1945, p. 10.

to continue their study outside the relocation centers.

Administrative expenses of the Student Relocation Council have been underwritten by fourteen denominational groups, representing the major religious faiths in the United States, who have joined with the Friends and the Carnegie Fund and the Columbia Foundation in this project. It is of sociological significance that leaders in the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish religions were all willing to support a movement to provide educational opportunities for a racial minority which was under pressure in time of war.

Paralleling the structure of student relocation outside the centers was the institutionalization of the movement within the projects. In each of the assembly centers and relocation projects college councils and student relocation committees were formed. In some cases they served as the rallying point for those who had hopes of resettlement outside. When the pro-Axis group demonstrated at Manzanar the student relocation committee was one of its targets as shown in Chapter V.

In some instances the college councils carried on a multiplicity of activities. At Granada the council under the leadership of two undergraduates, Shozo Oniki of U.C.L.A. and Kenji Okuda of the University of Washington, contributed greatly to keeping up the morale and loyalty of the entire project. Besides helping students with vocational and educational guidance, the council set up a library of college newspapers so that students could become familiar with institutions outside the Western Defense Command. At frequent intervals the council provided outside speakers whose function was to help make Granada an integrated part of the American

scene. On weekends the students organized deputation teams, and went from the project to nearby churches, service clubs, and chambers of commerce to show their neighbors that Nisei are thoroughly assimilated Americans. At the Manzanar project the council was instrumental in securing the establishment of a junior college on the project grounds for those students with insufficient funds for resettlement outside. Manzanar Junior College opened January 18, 1943, as the first accredited institution in the United States with a majority of Nisei faculty members and with an all Japanese student body. It ended its first term with seventy full-time students whose work in twenty different subjects was accredited by the California State Department of Education. This means that these students will receive credit at the University of California for their work when and if Berkeley, California, is placed outside the restricted zone for citizens of Japanese ancestry. The staff included thirteen Nisei and seven Caucasians, some of whom had master's and some doctor's degrees.¹³

Students were encouraged to register for extension courses as part of a program for reorientation for life outside. In general, evacuees from California took work from the University of California, while those from the Northwest took University Washington extension work. Some students elected to do extension work from institutions near their projects, such as Colorado State College of Education at Greeley and the University of Utah.

13. Manzanar Free Press, January 20, 1943.

While the student relocation committees and college councils contributed substantially to the camp programs, they also provided the main group from which the early relocations were made. This caused a drain on the leadership of the Nisei group at a time when the group was in conflict with the Issei for control of the community. It also caused a psychological drain, as many students who were not yet relocated thought of their tenure in the projects as temporary. Some idea of the loss of college-age members of the community by various centers is shown in Table XIII.

For each student relocated by the N.J.A.S.R.C. there remain four or five other Nisei anxious to resettle outside the projects.¹⁴ Every day the Council received letters from students who hoped to "escape" boredom of life within the barbed-wire fences and to renew contacts with Caucasian Americans. One evacuee says, "Everybody with any courage or undistorted vision is attempting to get out. The ones that will be left are those without any guts or with a twisted sense of values or those unable to leave because they can't get leave clearance through suspected loyalty."¹⁵

In spite of the strong organized movement for resettlement, there were those who cautioned against leaving the projects. Many students in segregated camps behind barbed-wire away from the main streams of American life developed fears of the outside. The fears of the evacuees were matched by the fears of the uninformed citizens

14. Student Relocation Letter, July 5, 1943, states that "the total number of students interested in continuing their education at the college level is 4435."

15. Eddie Shimano, "Blueprint for a Slum," Common Ground, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 84.

Table XIII. Origins of Nisei Students in Colleges 1942-43#

Place of Origin	Attending College	Working in College Town Not Attending	Accepted by College but Not Arrived
Total.....	1484	187	355
<u>Outside Restricted Areas*..</u>	570	60	none
<u>W.C.C.A. Centers.....</u>	91	11	none
Fresno..... 6		none	
Merced..... 1		none	
North Portland..... 5		1	
Puyallup..... 5		4	
Santa Anita..... 41		1	
Stockton..... 4		none	
Tanforan..... 27		2	
Tulare..... 2		none	
<u>W.R.A. Centers.....</u>	820	111	353
Central Utah..... 81		9	37
Gila River..... 96		14	30
Granada..... 90		15	24
Heart Mountain..... 69		10	40
Jerome..... 37		6	20
Manzanar..... 36		4	17
Minidoka..... 156		31	54
Poston..... 105		7	40
Rowher..... 42		3	27
Tule Lake..... 108		12	64
<u>F.S.A. Camp (Nyssa, Oregon)</u>	3	5	2

#From tabulation of 'college acceptance cards' at the N.J.A.S.R.C. in Philadelphia, July, 1943.

*Students who were self evacuees from the Pacific Coast or these already in colleges outside the restricted zone by Winter 1942.

on the outside. Evacuation, which had been asked of American citizens of Japanese ancestry as a mark of their loyalty, was corrupted in the minds of many other Americans to be a sign of disloyalty. It is not surprising that in the early days of student relocation there were some tensions and a few incidents. One was the "battle of Parkville", in which a group of Platte County, Missouri, citizens tried to ban seven West Coast students of Japanese ancestry who had enrolled in Park College. The fight was carried to the board of trustees of the college, which decided after a two and a half hour session to "let the Nisei stay in school because their loyalty is unquestioned". The students themselves welcomed the evacuees, and all six of the undergraduate social clubs "rushed" them.¹⁶

In another mid-western locality a group of vigilantes threatened to lynch two recently relocated students. While the director was working out a strategy to prevent the affair, the potential lynchees visited the vigilantes to protest that they didn't want to be lynched as they were "citizens and anxious to join the Army when the ban on Nisei had been removed". So convincing was their appeal that the head of the super-patriots offered to beat up anyone molesting the evacuees.

Another example of vigilantes' activities is contained in the following document:

"Professor _____ reported that on the train coming to Washington the night before he had entered into conversation with an oil man from southern Illinois. The oil man said that two

16. Pacific Citizen, September 10, 1942.

or three evenings earlier he had attended a meeting of a vigilante committee in Greenville, Illinois, laying plans for 'treatment' of half a dozen Nisei students expected to arrive soon to attend Greenville College, a Free Methodist school. One 'Japanese' student was reportedly enrolled there and had entered into an argument with one of his teachers, defending the acts of the Japanese government. Several others were expected soon, and the committee planned to deal with them."¹⁷

The records of both the N.J.A.S.R.C. and the W.R.A. showed that no Nisei students were registered at Greenville College, but that one had been accepted for admission for the next quarter. Further investigation showed that community acceptance for Americans of Japanese ancestry was not forthcoming in Greenville, and the student scheduled for Greenville College was sent directly from the W.R.A. project to Asbury College in Kentucky. As to the mythical "Japanese" student who argued with his professor, this institution reported no students of Japanese ancestry for the college year 1942-1943.

One of the most publicized "incidents" of student relocation conflict occurred at the University of Idaho, where six Nisei were refused admission after arrangements for their transfer from the restricted area had been completed. A vigilante group of townspeople caused so much excitement that the sheriff placed two of the girls in jail for protective custody. The notes taken by one of the girls during their three days in jail reveal the stereotyped conceptions which some of the citizens of Moscow hold of Nisei.¹⁸ At the end of the first week, by request of the

17. Document 67.

18. The notes taken by the Nisei while in jail were reprinted in the Pacific Citizen, July 11, 1942.

University president, the students were transferred to another state. The Caucasian student reaction to the whole situation was summed up in the following editorial:

"Six American citizens were forced to leave their home city of Seattle last week. The reason was purely legitimate. The area had been declared a military zone and those students were of Japanese ancestry. Last night those same six American citizens were forced to leave their homes of one week in Moscow, but the reason was not military. It was a combination of political haymaking and the threat of violence by a small group of local roughnecks that forced this evacuation. Students on the campus were not opposed to American-born Japanese students living here. The majority of the people of Moscow are not anti-Nisei, but the small group was loud and active. So six homesick kids, three boys and three girls, became the pawns in a political game and the live targets for jingoistic patriotism.

It must come as a shock to all university students here on the hill that here in a university town--where of all places objectivity, liberalism, and cool thinking should prevail--such ugly, violent, racial antagonism should flare up. When people begin talking in terms of race, they are borrowing from the handbook of fascist leaders. When a minority group begins shoving another smaller group of citizens around with no regard to their rights as citizens, they are using the tactics of Nazi Stormtroopers.

Certainly we should keep this shameful action from those University of Idaho students and citizens of Moscow who are fighting now on all world fronts. We think it would hardly comfort those who are risking their lives to preserve and protect this 'land of the free' to learn that its principles are thus defended at home."¹⁹

Community acceptance, one of the prerequisites set up by the W.R.A., often proved to be a stumbling block for student relocation. Municipal officials hesitated to commit themselves on the reaction of their community to evacuees of Japanese ancestry. In many colleges a quota system was set up. In some cases the quota was two or three Nisei; in others it was thirty, or forty,

19. Idaho Argonaut, April 23, 1942.

or one hundred. An attempt to prevent a repetition of the difficulties at Moscow led Pullman, Washington civic leaders to organize a Committee to Study the Japanese Question. After several meetings with the committee Washington State College decided to restrict the number of Nisei whom they would receive to 30, or ten per cent of the number who wished to attend.

As students made good records in various communities, community acceptance became increasingly easy to secure. Examples of statements received are as follows:²⁰

From the Public Welfare Department, New York, N.Y.: "Have consulted Mayor's office and F.B.I. who refer to District Attorney. Latter, Mathias Correa, advises approval not in his jurisdiction, but is not averse if Okuda is American citizen."

From the Mayor of Richmond, Indiana: "Two Japanese students have already been transplanted from Whittier College to Earlham last April, and have been successfully assimilated by the college and this community. Under these circumstances, I feel justified in thinking that a similar acceptance would be given to other properly certified students who are American citizens of Japanese descent; and in particular, it would be acceptable to our community if the Uyesugi brothers were permitted to come to Earlham to complete their education."

From the Mayor of the City of Liberty, Missouri to the student: "I have learned through the faculty of William Jewell College that you are anxious to attend school here in Liberty next year. As Mayor of the City of Liberty I am inviting you to come as a student to William Jewell college. I assure you that you will be welcome in our community and that we will extend every courtesy to you."

Another factor in obtaining community acceptance was the influence of pro-Nisei letters from community and college officials on the Pacific Coast. From hundreds of Caucasians, the Student Relocation Committee received letters like this, each about a

20. Progress Report of N.J.A.S.R.C., July 25, 1942.

different student: "I can't speak about others, but this student I know, and he must be allowed to go on with his college work. He has outstanding possibilities as a student and he is completely dedicated to American traditions".²¹

College student groups on the Pacific Coast continued interest in their evacuated classmates by gifts of books and by letters to college undergraduate leaders in institutions outside the restricted area. In several of the colleges the Caucasian students published news bulletins for their Nisei friends, giving a summary of campus activities and the program of student relocation. Four of these publications were the Puget Breeze (College of Puget Sound), News of Oregon (University of Oregon), Campus Nisei Bulletin (University of California), and They Say (University of Washington).

On the part of the faculty, interest in the evacuees continued with graduation exercises being held in the assembly centers for those who had completed their requirements for degrees. Many of the colleges allowed students to transfer their senior year credits from eastern institutions so that they might receive degrees from their Pacific Coast alma maters.

Pomona College in California went so far as to deputize the president of Oberlin College to issue a Pomona College degree to one of its former students. The letter of authorization is given in part because it is typical of the attitude of university

21. Joseph Conard, "Japanese-American Students" in Touchstone of Democracy, New York, 1942.

and college officials on the Pacific Coast:

"We are particularly happy that in the tragic circumstances which have necessitated the removal of our students of Japanese ancestry from California, it should be possible for one of them to complete her work at Oberlin and to receive her degree from Pomona. This is more than an institutional courtesy of one liberal arts college to another. It is on the part of Pomona and Oberlin an assurance to our loyal Japanese that we believe in democracy. May this ceremony, not only for the recipient of the degree, but to all her fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry, serve as a pledge of faith and goodwill on the part of American higher education."²²

Hundreds of letters written by high school and college teachers on the Pacific Coast tended to break down the newspaper stereotype of Nisei as undesirable, second-class citizens. In many new college communities the evacuees were freed from their role of marginality. Some Nisei direct from relocation centers became accepted into social living units and into student affairs. The students of Oberlin College in March 1943, elected Kenji Okuda, late of the University of Washington via Granada Relocation Project in Colorado, as president of the student council, the highest office in the student body.

Some idea of the effect of this upon both the relocated students and those left behind in the centers can be gained from the following typical excerpts from letters by students:

"Surely democracy cannot and will not die as long as groups like the N.J.A.S.R.C. and the colleges that uphold the true ideals of democracy exist. I'm taking a teacher's training course and hope to go back to camp and teach the small generation that despite everything Democracy still lives and help them to love this country and its people as I do."

22. Document 68.

"It is very hard for me to express my thanks for coming to Greeley. Perhaps you do not understand the wonderful feeling that we have in being able to be free American citizens again and to live a normal life."

"To me it means more than just a college course; it means that I have been granted an opportunity for a new kind of life in which I can help give my fellow classmates a better understanding of the Japanese-American, and also to become a better American."²³

"I have met people who not only were interested but who were going so far out of their way to help others that I felt small and cheap. Such contacts cannot but broaden one's perspective."²⁴

Some of the rapid assimilation of the evacuees is due to the fact that the majority of them migrated to the small institutions where primary relationships were easy to establish and where there were few other Nisei. One of the first acts of the evacuees at the University of Nebraska was to hold a meeting to decide that there should not be a Japanese Students' Club in their new alma mater. In the smaller colleges the Nisei came into close contact with both faculty and fellow students.

The distribution of Nisei students in 1941 showed that nearly sixty per cent of the total registered in seven large institutions have a combined total of 1654. Two years later there was only one institution having over 100 students of Japanese ancestry and only two others having over 50. Not only were the evacuees attending colleges in smaller groups, they were attending different types of institutions. Whereas in 1941 only 16.7 per cent of the Nisei were registered in private, Protestant, and Roman Catholic colleges,

23. Margaret Cosgroves, op. cit., p. 226.

24. Kenji Okuda in Time Magazine, June 21, 1943.

in 1943 62.7 per cent were in the non-state supported type of institution. This change is shown in Table XIV.

Table XIV. Types of Institutions Attended by College Nisei in 1941 and 1943.*

Type of Institution	1941	1943	Per Cent 1941 Total	Per Cent 1943 Total	Change in Per Cent
Total	3461	1484	100.0	100.0	00.0
Public.....	2880	554	83.2	37.3	-45.9
Private.....	375	329	11.1	22.2	11.1
Protestant.....	155	512	4.5	34.5	30.0
Roman Catholic.....	51	89	1.2	6.0	4.8

*Comparison of 1941 and 1943 Directories of American Students of Japanese Ancestry.

In April 1942, the Nisei at the University of Washington indicated a decided preference for being relocated in public supported institutions with 79 per cent selecting state schools, 19 per cent private, and 2 per cent Protestant colleges.

Factors which account for the change in the type of institutions attended by the evacuees are many. Lack of money for out of state tuition, and exclusion of out of state students who could not attend their own state supported institutions barred many Nisei. The failure to obtain Army and Navy clearance for many of the larger institutions contributed to the dispersion pattern. Positive action on the part of private and denominational schools in offering scholarships and jobs stimulated migration to many schools.

The future of the student relocation program and hence the future of the college Nisei depends upon a number of factors, such

as scholarship aid, job opportunities, army enlistment, the selective service program, and the rate of return of people of Japanese ancestry to the Pacific Coast.

The significance of student relocation lies in its role of dispersion. In 1941, the Nisei numbering 271 were registered in a total of 93 colleges outside the Pacific Coast, while three years later 3516 Nisei were registered in 529 different institutions. These institutions were located in 46 states including fourteen which had no second generation Japanese students in 1941 and 15 more in which Nisei were in attendance at only one college in the state. Though the importance of the two way educational process of dispersion upon the Nisei and those in contact with them is difficult to measure objectively, it is an important factor in more complete assimilation and is discussed in the concluding chapter of the thesis. When the Nisei college students were largely concentrated in Pacific Coast institutions, relatively little active concern for their complete integration into American social life was expressed by their classmates. Today in many of the colleges there have been formed welcome committees and Nisei have been elected to positions of leadership. There are at least four Nisei who are presidents of the student government on their campuses at Oberlin, Haverford, Bard, and South Dakota Wesleyan. It is clear that the college Nisei have participated in a migration pattern unique in the history of the United States.

Whereas in 1941 more than five Nisei college students in eight were concentrated in some nine educational institutions along the Pacific Coast, three years later the second generation Japanese students were dispersed in small units in more than 500 colleges and universities. As an educated non-competitive group, the college Nisei are playing a dominant role in opening the way for other people of Japanese ancestry to settle in various sections of the United States and to promote more rapid assimilation. As ambassadors for the entire Japanese American group, they have paved the way for others to follow. They have stimulated and encouraged their families to leave the relocation centers and join them. In requiring community acceptance in advance of their migration, the college Nisei have reduced the possibilities of conflict and thus have set a new pattern of race relations.