



THE DESEGREGATION OF THE LINCOLN MUNICIPAL SWIMMING POOL

BY JESSE S. ISHIKAWA

Shortly after Lincoln's municipal swimming pool opened in 1921, Rev. Trago T. McWilliams, a leader in Lincoln's black community, attempted to enter with his son (also named Trago). Both were turned away because of their race. Rev. McWilliams protested to Mayor Frank Zehrung. The mayor agreed that while the situation doubtlessly seemed unjust, "there were comparatively few colored people in Lincoln and . . . a much larger number of white people would feel that it was unjust to permit Negroes to use the pool."¹

Lincoln's racial segregation policy was typical of policies adopted by many northern cities in the 1920s. It had not always been that way. Until World War I, public swimming pools throughout the northern United States were generally open to all races. They were, however, segregated by sex, with men and women either swimming in separate pools, or using the same pools on different days.² After World War I, segregation by gender ended. With both sexes wearing bathing suits that, for the times, were revealing, the temptations for some patrons became too great. The *Lincoln Star* reported,

for example, a police crackdown on "petting" and "spooning" parties in the shrubbery near the municipal pool.³ As pools became "eroticized public spaces," fear of interaction between white women and African American men caused many northern cities to segregate their pools by race.⁴

Lincoln's Jim Crow policy remained the status quo until 1946.⁵ On July 12 of that year, Joseph Ishikawa—a twenty-seven-year old curator at the predecessor of the University of Nebraska's Sheldon Museum of Art and a part-time assistant director at the Whittier playground—stopped by the city's recreation department to pick up thirty free pool passes to pass out to children. Zora Tennent, a recreation department employee, gave Ishikawa the passes. Ishikawa then asked if black children could use the pool. After checking with her supervisor, Director of Recreation James Lewis, she said they could not. Ishikawa handed the passes back to her. He did not, he said, want to embarrass any black child who might ask for one. Tennent agreed that the situation was regrettable but that she could do nothing about it.



Ishikawa was born to Japanese immigrants in Los Angeles, and was a 1942 graduate of the University of California—Los Angeles. He had grown up in the racially mixed East Hollywood neighborhood, an “Our Gang”-type melting pot where he developed close friendships with African Americans, Jews, and whites as well as fellow Japanese Americans. Prior to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, Ishikawa learned he could shorten his upcoming incarceration by continuing his education outside of Oregon, California, Nevada, Washington, and Arizona.⁶ The University of Nebraska, which enrolled over 100 Japanese Americans between 1942 and 1945, was one of the few institutions willing to accept internees as students.⁷ Ray Richards and Bernie Masterson, two former stars of the Cornhusker gridiron then on UCLA’s athletic staff, convinced the gullible Ishikawa to attend Nebraska by extolling the state’s mountainous beauty. Nebraska accepted his application, and he arrived in Lincoln in late September 1942. The day after his arrival, he went to the top of the State

Above: Lincoln Municipal Swimming Pool, July 11, 1935. African Americans were prohibited from using the pool from its opening in 1921 until 1946.
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Left: Rev. Trago T. McWilliams (1885-1951) was active in civil rights issues and, together with his son Trago O., is the namesake of Lincoln’s Trago Park. His parents, John J. and Sarah J. McWilliams, founded Lincoln’s first racially integrated church in 1896.
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Trago O. McWilliams (1909-1986), son of Trago T., shown as a Lincoln High School senior in 1928. The younger McWilliams also became an ordained minister. He and his wife, Margaret, founded Christ Temple Mission in 1940 as a nondenominational, interracial church. *The Links 1928*, Vol. 12, p. 31



Capitol to see the mountains and was shocked to find himself “in the middle of a big flat circle.”⁸

Ishikawa had spent the previous six months behind barbed wire at the Santa Anita (California) Assembly Center and the Granada (Colorado) Relocation Center. Many other Japanese Americans viewed their time in the internment camps as a chance to prove that they were truly Americans, but Ishikawa was having none of this. “I was born American,” he explained years later. “I didn’t need to prove to anybody that I was American.”⁹ On the night of the Pearl Harbor attack, Ishikawa and his older brother had unsuccessfully tried to enlist in the Army. Once in the internment camp, however, he discouraged other internees from joining the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team because it was a segregated unit. His experience as in the internment camps left him with a lifelong hatred of injustice, especially when manifested as racial discrimination.¹⁰

Ishikawa’s quiet and unassuming nature belied a stubborn streak. It was, therefore, no surprise that Ishikawa refused to accept Tennent’s “I can do nothing about it” as the City’s final answer. He wrote a flurry of letters on July 15 and 16. The first, to Tennent, was a letter of resignation. He ended the letter as follows: “Please do not regard

this as a hostile move on my part against any individual. I do not think that any one person is any more responsible than any other citizen of the community for allowing such an injustice to exist, and I am taking this method as a citizen of this community to try to rectify my part of this wrong.”¹¹

His second letter was to Mayor Lloyd J. Marti, who a few weeks earlier had given Ishikawa, an occasional hitchhiker, a lift to Beatrice. Ishikawa reminded him of Marti’s offer to help should Ishikawa ever need help in Lincoln. He now asked Marti for help in ending the discriminatory pool policy.¹² The third letter he sent to the president of the City Council, noting that the discrimination policy was a flagrant violation of the Nebraska’s civil liberties statute.¹³ Finally, he wrote to every playground director and assistant director in the city, describing his encounter with Tennent (whom he mentioned by name), and urging them to resign en masse so that “we shall have the satisfaction of not working for a Jim Crow organization.” For good measure, he added a copy of this manifesto as an enclosure to his letters to Tennent and Marti.¹⁴

On July 18, Ishikawa and his immediate boss, playground director Lynwood Parker, met with Tennent. Parker was an African American World War II veteran who later served as executive secretary of the Lincoln Urban League. He was the only other playground employee to heed Ishikawa’s call for a mass resignation. Tennent began by reprimanding Ishikawa for not having gone through the proper channels. Your complaint, she said, should have been to your supervisor, Mr. Parker, rather than to me. Plus, she said, the issue is not your concern: if anybody had the right to complain, it was the Urban League.¹⁵

Ishikawa replied that the issue was the business of every citizen of Lincoln. You and I, he said, are as responsible for the situation as anybody, and my resignation was done to rectify my part of the injustice. He told her that because he had resigned his City post and was now a private citizen, he was bound by no chain of command. He could write to whomever he chose.¹⁶

The meeting moved into the office of Tennent’s boss, Director of Recreation James Lewis. Lewis and Ishikawa shook hands. Lewis pointed out that because of the City’s funding of the Urban League Center,¹⁷ Lincoln’s black citizens actually had more recreational facilities than its white ones. Lewis got along very well with Negroes, he said, and many were his personal friends. To preserve racial harmony, he continued, he did not want to put any Negro in a position where he

might be insulted by whites. “God, what greater insult is there than that!?” Ishikawa wrote in his notes.¹⁸ This argument was disturbingly similar to one used by advocates of the internment camps, namely, that the relocation and imprisonment of Japanese Americans was for their own protection.¹⁹ Ishikawa responded that any worries of increased racial tensions were only hypothetical and that other communities with racial tensions much more severe than those in Lincoln had successfully integrated their pools with no trouble. His home town, Los Angeles, had integrated its pools under court order in 1931 without social upheaval.²⁰

At that point, Lewis lost his temper. In a loud voice, he accused Ishikawa of trying to stir up trouble and of going behind his back. Yes, I am stirring up trouble, Ishikawa replied, not for its own sake but to correct an injustice. Lewis then defended himself by saying that although he was profoundly liberal on the race question, and although the city’s policy violated the state’s civil rights law, “other people” might object. “It’s always other people,” Ishikawa thought to himself. “I haven’t seen an honestly prejudiced person yet.”²¹

“He even went so far as to admit that maybe it was wrong to keep the pool closed to colored participants and openly admitted that it was a violation of the law,” Ishikawa wrote in his notes of the meeting, “but all the time he prevented me from saying anything by raising his voice in an obvious effort to browbeat me.” Realizing that the conversation was going nowhere, Ishikawa let Lewis’s rant continue until it ran out of steam. As he left the meeting, Ishikawa remembered his initial handshake with Lewis. He ducked into the restroom and washed his hands.²²

Later, in a moment of reflection, Ishikawa deduced: “Mr. Lewis is extremely political in the worst non-Aristotelian sense of the word. He is afraid of what he calls ‘trouble.’ At the same time, he regards me as a trouble maker. The implication is that if our side creates a greater degree of ‘trouble’ for their not opening the pool than can be caused by their opening the pool, he would switch his stand.”

Ishikawa had found his strategy: start some trouble.²³ The next day, Ishikawa, Parker, and two like-minded friends, John Healy from the American Veterans Committee and Rev. Robert Drew, the Methodist student pastor at the University, met with Homer Kyle, an assistant state attorney general. Kyle was sympathetic and said there was a good case for a lawsuit. After describing the pros and cons, he recommended a

political rather than a legal fight. The Lincoln City Council would be meeting soon. Kyle volunteered to talk to various Council members and schedule a time for the group to testify. If the Council failed to repeal the ban, Kyle said that he would, as a private citizen, help the group start a lawsuit.²⁴

Kyle kept his word. On July 22, he called Ishikawa to report that the group was on the schedule to testify that afternoon. Healy lined up speakers from the American Veterans Committee, and Rev. Drew brought some other ministers. At the council meeting, Ishikawa described his meeting with Recreation Director Lewis, and urged repeal of the Jim Crow policy. Others who spoke included Rev. G. W. Harper, pastor of the Newman Methodist Church, representatives of the University of Nebraska Wesley Foundation, J. B. White, president of the American Veterans Committee, and Parker, Ishikawa’s former boss. The Council took no action at the meeting but promised an answer within the next week to ten days.²⁵

Ishikawa’s resignation from the playground position and his appearance at the council meeting made page 1 of the next day’s *Nebraska State Journal*, which misidentified him as being “of Filipino descent.” (Ishikawa corrected the paper in a letter to the editor in which he said of his descent: “actually it is Japanese but I hope I would have acted the same way had I been born of Filipino,



Joseph Ishikawa as a University of Nebraska student. Author’s collection

Scotch, Arabian, Moravian, English, Greek or any other kind of parents.”²⁶) The story included quotes from his letters to Lewis and to other playground supervisors.²⁷ The same day, *Lincoln Evening Journal* editorialized: “The color won’t wash off. It won’t dissolve. A clean Negro is as clean as a clean white. . . . Caucasian patrons of the pool who wish to cater to their baseless sensitivities should be allowed to do so by refraining from swimming at the pool until the heat drives them to an objective re-examination of their hearts and minds.”²⁸

On August 5, Ishikawa, Rev. Drew, and John Handley, a University of Nebraska student, met again with the Council. One council member, J. Lloyd McMaster, chastised the three petitioners: “We are trying to solve a problem which has arisen, in large measure, because of your agitation. This agitation could do irreparable injury to the people you speak for. We don’t want things to happen here that have happened in the south.”²⁹ Mayor Marti then expressed concern that if the policy were changed, white attendance might drop materially, depriving the City of income and leading to the closing of the pool. “It was stated that perhaps

three to four Negroes per day would patronize the pool if it were opened,” the mayor said. “Certainly we cannot spend thousands in tax money for that.” He also noted: “I have not been asked by locally recognized Negro leaders to do what you are asking. We have placed them on civic committees and work with them in other ways. Not one Negro has asked me for this.”³⁰

This response gave Ishikawa an opening. After considering the Mayor’s statement that “not one Negro has asked me for this,” Ishikawa recruited every black person he knew to come to the meeting, including players on his softball team and a couple of car mechanics. “They were the kind of people who wouldn’t be interested in this normally,” Ishikawa recalled later, “but they did come and support us.” He also contacted the local chapters of the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and they promised to generate a large turnout. He had less success with some exchange students from Southern University, an all-black university in Louisiana. The Southern students gave moral support but, understandably concerned

Below Left: *Nebraska State Journal*, July 23, 1946, p. 1.

Below Right: *Nebraska State Journal*, August 13, 1946, p. 1.

Play Area Aide Quits on Race Issue at Pool

An assistant playground director employed by the city recreation department Monday afternoon announced to the city council that he had resigned in protest to what he described as a violation of the state civil rights statute at the municipal swimming pool in that Negroes are not admitted.

The playground assistant, Joseph Ishikawa, appeared before the council to describe the situation which had confronted him and to ask that something be done to relieve it.

ISHIKAWA, of Filipino descent, is an assistant curator at

Council Opens Municipal Pool To All Races

Advocates of a municipal swimming pool open to all without regard to race left the city hall late Monday with victory in their grasp. This became actual when the council emerged from a star chamber session which followed the regular meeting.

From now to the end of the season, Sept. 1 at the earliest, the pool is open to Negroes as well as to whites. Council members indicated that policy next spring will depend in a measure on the current experiment.

The decision followed a two-hour open hearing attended by more than 50 persons, divided almost equally between Negro and white, in which most of those present participated, some speaking two or three times.

Racial Issues Topic of Social Action Meeting

Ways of maintaining good public relations among racially mixed swimming groups at the municipal pool were discussed Monday night during the second meeting of the central social action committee at the Methodist Student house. The action followed the decision of the city council Monday afternoon to open the pool to all races for a trial period.

Several means for preventing trouble were suggested by Lincoln Negro pastors who were in favor of educational programs emphasizing the responsibilities of individual behavior in mixed racial situations. Cooperation among individuals in small groups was cited as a means of making the pending mixer swimming program a success in Lincoln pools.

about losing their scholarships, said they could not attend. Ishikawa was especially disappointed that he was unable to convince any other Japanese Americans to show.³¹

During the first week of August, thirty representatives of ten organizations formed an unnamed inter-racial organization to support the pool's desegregation. The group selected Ishikawa as temporary chairman and Rev. Trago O. McWilliams as its spokesman before the council. McWilliams was the young man who, with his father, had been turned away from the pool when it opened in 1921. Organizations represented in this new group included the American Veterans Committee, the NAACP, the Negro Ministerial Alliance, the Lincoln Council of Church Women, the Presbyterian student group, the Wesley Foundation, the students' International House, the Cirlet Theater, the Lincoln Committee on Racial Equality, and, for good measure, the Bethune Booklovers Club.³²

On August 12, 1946, a half-black, half-white crowd of opponents of the Jim Crow policy packed the City Council chambers. Ishikawa recalled a crowd of perhaps 200 people.³³ The local newspapers reported, less generously, "more than 50 persons."³⁴ "At previous council sessions where open pool advocates appeared, Negroes had been in the minority—almost conspicuous by their absence," the *State Journal* reported. "Monday, however, ministers of the several Negro churches were present, along with many other Negroes." Almost all the attendees spoke, some two or three times.³⁵

Mayor Marti recalled that shortly after the pool's construction, Mayor Zehrung had conferred with a Negro group and that the conclusion had been reached that all would be better off if the pool stayed segregated. If that were the case, responded Rev. John Favors of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, then Negroes should be excused from paying taxes. "Assuming that the city built a modern swimming pool near the Urban League, would it meet your objections?," the mayor asked Favors. Favors's "no" was followed by prolonged applause.³⁶ James Cole, a disabled veteran, told the council that he had served overseas in the same army as white boys "and I didn't contaminate them." He noted that fair-skinned African Americans were already swimming in the pool. "It seems so silly to keep me out because I'm black," Cole said, "and still let another black man in because he's white." Cole, who originally came from Cleveland, noted that no discrimination in use of municipal facilities existed in that city.³⁷



After listening to two hours of speakers urge that the pool be integrated (the *State Journal's* account reported no speaker in support of the City's policy) and to the applause that followed many of their statements, the mayor was wearing down. He had been told, he said, that desegregating the pool could cause overall pool attendance to drop by fifty percent. But the mayor, who like his recreation director wanted above all else to avoid trouble, was rapidly realizing that it would be more trouble to continue the Jim Crow policy than to end it. The possible loss of black votes at the next mayoral election could not have been far from his mind. Mayor Marti's internal turmoil is on display in his somewhat awkward response to the audience: "You have convinced me that there's race prejudice in Lincoln—more than I ever thought we had. Our duty also is to try to prevent things happening here that have happened elsewhere. We have the finest Negro population of any city I was ever in. I've attended your churches, the Urban League and have placed people of your race on important committees. You are good citizens and I don't want any unfortunate incident to happen."³⁸

After the public hearing, the Council went into to closed session to deliberate. Mayor Marti returned some time later and announced that the Council had unanimously agreed to drop the discriminatory policy on a "trial basis" only for the few weeks left in the 1946 swim season. Pool

**Former Lincoln mayor
Lloyd Marti, shown in 1954.**
HN RG809



Honeymoon photo of Olivia and Joseph Ishikawa, 1951. They were married in Colorado because interracial marriage was illegal in Nebraska. Author's collection

attendance during those weeks in fact did fall slightly from the comparable period of 1945, not surprising given an unseasonal cold snap and the fact that many families could travel out of town for vacation for the first time since the outbreak of World War II. Despite Recreation Director Lewis's attempt to blame the falling numbers on the admission of black patrons, the City never again took up the issue.³⁹ And that was the end of Jim Crow at the Lincoln municipal pool.

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The desegregation of the Lincoln pool was devoid of the racial violence and court battles that attended pool desegregation efforts elsewhere in the Midwest.⁴⁰ The 1949 desegregation of the pools in St. Louis triggered a riot by whites that took 400 policemen to quell.⁴¹ The 1963 desegregation of Omaha's Peony Park pool followed a court case and two weeks of demonstrations by the NAACP.⁴² In Lincoln, the Jim Crow policy was an evil that had triumphed simply because good people did nothing until they were shamed into doing otherwise. Ishikawa was struck by the banality of the arguments advanced by the city officials: "They had the status quo that they didn't want disturbed," he said, even if it meant defending a policy that each of them, from Miss Tennent to Recreation Director Lewis to Mayor Marti, agreed was unfair.⁴³

While in Lincoln, Ishikawa became engaged to Olivia Brandhorst, a Caucasian from Seward. Nebraska then had a law on the books prohibiting

interracial marriage. Ishikawa saw a great opportunity for his next crusade: he would use his marriage as a test case to overturn Nebraska's miscegenation law.⁴⁴ Publicity-shy Olivia prevailed upon him instead to marry quietly in Colorado, which they did in a small ceremony. After Dwight Kirsch, director of the Sheldon Museum, assumed the directorship of the Des Moines Art Center, Ishikawa joined his staff as assistant director in 1951. Ishikawa later served as director of the Sioux City Art Center and Beloit College's Wright Art Center. He finished his career as director of the Kresge Art Museum at Michigan State University, from which he retired as a full professor. He and Olivia spent their retirement years in Verona, Italy.⁴⁵

Ishikawa felt kindly toward Nebraska and Nebraskans for the rest of his life. In Nebraska, he had met his future wife and discovered his passion for art. Even during the pool controversy, he later said, his opponents "called me a troublemaker and all kinds of names, but nobody ever used the J-word."⁴⁶ They never said anything about my being Japanese."⁴⁷ For a person who had been forcibly moved halfway across the country because of his ancestry, that meant something.

NOTES

¹ Lynn Johnson, "Application for Local Landmark for Muny Building," Lincoln Parks and Recreation Department memorandum, Nov. 13, 2013, <http://lincoln.ne.gov/city/plan/boards/hpc/reports/2013/novitem4.pdf> (retrieved June 14, 2017), citing family correspondence shared by Arthur McWilliams with E. F. Zimmer, 2013.

² Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 61.

³ "'Petting Parties' in Bathing Suits Latest Police Problem," *Lincoln Star*, July 19, 1923, 1.

⁴ Wiltse, 17-18.

⁵ Lincoln's policy, at least in 1946, is more accurately characterized as "no blacks" rather than "whites only." Ishikawa, who was Asian, had no trouble entering the pool. Joseph Ishikawa, notes of attempt to enter the swimming pool, July 30, 1946, in the author's possession.

⁶ Jesse Ishikawa, *His Own Man: A Story of School, Sports and Perseverance Featuring Joe Ishikawa, the All-American Boy* (Lulu Press, 2011), 82.

⁷ Archives of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, "Nisei Experience at UNL," <http://unlhistory.unl.edu/exhibits/show/nisei/nisei-experience-at-unl/nisei-experience-at-unl> (retrieved June 14, 2017); Andrew B. Wertheimer, "Admitting Nebraska's Nisei: Japanese American Students at the University of Nebraska, 1942-1945," *Nebraska History* 83 (2002): 58-72.

⁸ In 1942, Richards was Ishikawa's UCLA wrestling coach and Masterson was a UCLA assistant football coach. Masterson later served as Nebraska's head coach. Jesse Ishikawa, 121-122; transcript of conversation with Joseph Ishikawa on April 2, 1994, in the author's possession.

⁹ Several undated conversations between the author and Joseph Ishikawa.

¹⁰ Jesse Ishikawa, 75; transcript of conversation with Joseph Ishikawa on April 2, 1994; undated conversations with Joseph Ishikawa.

¹¹ Letter from Joseph Ishikawa to Zora Tennent, July 15, 1946.

¹² Letter from Joseph Ishikawa to Mayor Lloyd Marti, July 15, 1946.

¹³ Letter from Joseph Ishikawa to Lincoln City Council president, July 15, 1946.

¹⁴ Form of letter from Joseph Ishikawa to playground directors and assistant directors, July 16, 1946, in the author's possession.

¹⁵ Joseph Ishikawa, "Interview with Miss Zora Tennent and Jimmy Lewis," July 18, 1946, in the author's possession.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The Urban League Center was a 35,000-square foot, sixteen-room community center constructed in the black community in 1942. Dennis N. Mihelich, "The Formation of the Lincoln Urban League," *Nebraska History* 68 (1987): 63-73, 72; "Urban League Center," *Lincoln Star*, Apr. 21, 1942, 8.

¹⁸ Joseph Ishikawa, "Interview with Miss Zora Tennent and Jimmy Lewis."

¹⁹ In *Korematsu v. The United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), Justice Murphy's dissent refuted the government's argument that internment was necessary in part because the "situation was fraught with danger to the Japanese population itself." Ibid., 238.

²⁰ Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 60.

²¹ Joseph Ishikawa, "Interview with Miss Zora Tennent and Jimmy Lewis."

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Joseph Ishikawa, "Interview with Homer Kyle, Deputy State Attorney," July 19, 1946, in the author's possession.

²⁵ "Muny Pool Policy on Negroes Hit," *Lincoln Star*, July 23, 1946, 14.

²⁶ *Lincoln State Journal*, July 26, 1946, 6.

²⁷ "Play Area Aide Quits on Race Issue at Pool," *Nebraska State Journal*, July 23, 1946, 1.

²⁸ "More or Less Personal," *Lincoln Star*, July 23, 1946, 6.

²⁹ "No Decision by Council on Muni Swim," *Nebraska State Journal*, Aug. 6, 1946, 7.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Jesse Ishikawa, 131.

³² "Inter-Racial Group Plans Council Call," *Nebraska State Journal*, Aug. 6, 1946, 3; "Inter-Racial Group To Meet Tuesday," *Lincoln Star*, Aug. 4, 1946, 14.

³³ Jesse Ishikawa, 131.

³⁴ "Council Opens Municipal Pool to All Races," *Lincoln Journal*, Aug. 13, 1946, 7; "Muny Pool Opened To All Races," *Lincoln Star*, Aug. 13, 1946, 5.

³⁵ "Council Opens Municipal Pool to All Races," *Lincoln Journal*, Aug. 13, 1946, 7.

³⁶ Ibid., 7.

³⁷ "Muny Pool Opened To All Races," *Lincoln Star*, Aug. 13, 1946, 5.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ "Muny Pool's Attendance Is Down 11,597," *Lincoln State Journal* 7, Sept. 11, 1946; "Swimming Statistics," *Lincoln State Journal*, Sept. 19, 1946, 6.

⁴⁰ See, generally, Wiltse, ch. 6.

⁴¹ "Mayor Restores Old Swim Rules; Disturbances in Fairground Park," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 22, 1949, 1.

⁴² David Bristow, "We Just Wanted to Swim, Sir," *The Reader*, Feb. 5, 2009, <https://davidbristow.com/articles/we-just-wanted-to-swim-sir/> (retrieved Aug. 15, 2017).

⁴³ Jesse Ishikawa, 134.

⁴⁴ Recorded interview with Olivia Ishikawa, May 2008, in the author's possession.

⁴⁵ Obituary of Joseph B. Ishikawa, April 16, 2017, *Wisconsin State Journal*. http://host.madison.com/news/local/obituaries/ishikawa-joseph-b/article_0347ca7d-278b-5deb-b36a-17ec7af2ebdd.html (retrieved Aug. 15, 2017).

⁴⁶ Jap.

⁴⁷ Jesse Ishikawa, 134.

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