

ENDURING COMMUNITIES

Arizona Curriculum Units*

* Download other [Enduring Community units](#) (accessed September 3, 2009).



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Enduring Communities



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Enduring Communities is a partnership between the Japanese American National Museum, educators, community members, and five anchor institutions:

[Arizona State University's Asian Pacific American Studies Program](#)

[University of Colorado, Boulder](#)

[University of New Mexico](#)

[UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures](#)

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Project Overview

Enduring Communities: The Japanese American Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah is dedicated to reexamining an often-neglected chapter in U.S. history and connecting it with current issues.

The collaboration with educators, community members, students, and five partner anchor institutions—Arizona State University’s Asian Pacific American Studies Program; University of Colorado, Boulder; University of New Mexico; UTSA’s Institute of Texan Cultures; and Davis School District, Utah—resulted in the curricula created by educator teams from five states. Two other components of the project include a national conference, “Whose America? Who’s American? Diversity, Civil Liberties, and Social Justice,” hosted in Denver in July 2008, and a practical handbook about partnership projects for peer institutions.

During World War II about 65,000 Japanese Americans—nearly one half of the mainland Japanese American population—lived in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah, either in concentration camps created by the United States government, as long-standing community members, or as “resettlers” from the West Coast. The situation of Japanese American populations in these states during World War II affords the opportunity to explore the contradictions and racism inherent in how we have defined citizenship and dealt with diversity.

These stories have provided—and continue to provide—a compelling point from which to consider more broadly the experiences of other regional communities during World War II and beyond. In this way, the collaboration has generated materials and dialogue that reveal how the diverse realities of American communities have challenged and shaped this country’s definitions of citizenship, patriotism, and democracy.

Introduction to the Curricular Units

These curricular units were developed over the course of four years by phenomenal educators who thoughtfully and collaboratively tackled the challenge of teaching their students about a lesser-known part of United States history. Although everybody may not have been familiar with the Japanese American experience prior to joining this project, they are committed to being lifelong learners. Together they embarked upon a three-year quest to hear more first-person stories, seek out primary resources, read scholarly works, and engage in reflection and discussion about how to most effectively teach young people.

The intense process of developing and sharing units with colleagues and then receiving feedback from field testers resulted in two dynamic outcomes. The first is a five-state collection of standards-based elementary and secondary curricular units and accompanying media pieces. Although these materials have been edited for consistency, we hope that the distinctive style and spirit of each of the individuals, teams, and communities still remains.

The second, less tangible outcome has been the formation of interstate and intrastate educator com-

munities. Seeing these communities develop and be sustained via email, telephone calls, and face-to-face meetings has been one of the most rewarding aspects of this project. The camaraderie and mutual respect of these educators is at the heart of all of these materials.

Consequently, we hope that even more teachers will be able to use these materials in their classrooms. We hope that the essential questions might cause new groups of teachers and students to think about how the World War II Japanese American experience relates to contemporary events. We hope that these materials expand and rethink the notion of what it means to be American.

In this spirit, we hope that these materials are helpful, and we welcome your feedback. Thank you!

Sincerely,

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Name of Unit

Investigating the Japanese American Experience

Students Use Lessons of Inquiry and Understanding in Reading, Writing, and Analytical Activities to Explore the Japanese American Experience

Suggested Grade Level(s)

8/Adaptable 7–12

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies/English

The *Enduring Communities* team would like to thank Mr. Masaji Inoshita and his family for generously sharing their stories with the students and teachers of Arizona.

Mr. Masaji Inoshita at Gila River, 2003.

Photo courtesy of Lynn Galvin



Unit Map

Author

Lynn Galvin

Name of Unit

Investigating the Japanese American Experience

Students Use Lessons of Inquiry and Understanding in Reading, Writing, and Analytical Activities to Explore the Japanese American Experience

Suggested Grade Level(s)

8/Adaptable 7–12

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies/English

Number of Class Periods Required

10 class periods (50 minutes/period)

Essential Question

- What are the responsibilities that every American must follow in order to protect the rights of other Americans?

Guiding Questions

- What was the true reason for the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government?
- How did most people in the U.S. react to the Japanese American incarceration?
- How did Japanese Americans react to the incarceration?
- What cultural background helped Japanese Americans endure the experience?

Teacher Overview

This unit is designed for Social Studies classes. It can be used in U.S. History, World History, or Arizona History classes, in Civics classes, or in Reading classes. Ideally, this unit would be taught with a thematic/cross curricular approach in conjunction with an English class.

The unit is aimed so that the teacher may select lessons singly, or combine a few, in the interests of time.

Reading and writing exercises are used throughout the lessons and are designed to involve the reader. Most of the lessons deal with actual historical experiences, although the activity “How Racial Discrimination Feels” is designed to help students understand that discrimination is unearned and unfair. If that activity is used, the teacher should budget time afterwards to discuss how class members felt during the exercise so they can be debriefed. It can be an emotional experience. Student respect for those who pull ballots that designate them as discriminated against, and the challenges they face, must be enforced.

A Note on Terminology

The words and phrase used to describe this history vary considerably amongst scholars, government officials, and even those directly affected by Executive Order 9066: “relocation,” “evacuation,” “incarceration,” “internment,” “concentration camp.” There is no general agreement about what is most accurate or fair.

Officially, the camps were called “relocation centers.” Many now acknowledge that “relocation center” and “evacuation” are euphemisms used purposefully by the government to downplay the significance of its actions.

America's concentration camps are clearly distinguishable from Nazi Germany's torture and death camps. It is difficult to accept the term "concentration camp" because of the term's associations with the Holocaust. This educational material uses "concentration camp" not in an effort to bear comparisons to the atrocities of the Holocaust, but to express the veritable magnitude of what was done to Japanese Americans.

It is an unequivocal fact that the government itself, including the President, used the term "concentration camp" during World War II in speeches and written documents. It is also crucial to note that a "concentration camp" is defined broadly as a place where people are imprisoned not because they are guilty of any crimes, but simply because of who they are. Many groups have been singled out for such persecution throughout history, with the term "concentration camp" first used at the turn of the twentieth century in the Spanish-American and Boer wars.

Despite some differences, all concentration camps have one thing in common: People in power remove a minority group from the general population, and the rest of society lets it happen.

Where Could This Happen?

Overview

This lesson uses reading analysis (prediction and detail) to introduce the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. A pre-test and word wall are used to familiarize students with background information and vocabulary that prepare them for the topic.

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Analyze historical facts about the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.
- Recognize key terms about the Japanese American incarceration and Japanese culture.
- Use context clues to determine the relevant meaning of a word.
- Discuss context clues and comprehend that loss of Constitutional rights to citizens occurred in the U.S. based solely on ethnicity.

Essential Question

- What are the responsibilities that every American must follow in order to protect the rights of other Americans?

Guiding Questions

- What was the true reason for the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government?
- How did most people in the U.S. react to the Japanese American incarceration?
- How did Japanese Americans react to the incarceration?

National History Standards

Part Two—United States and World History
Grades 5–12

Chapter 2: Historical Thinking

- Standard 3: Historical Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 3: U.S. History Standards

- Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929–1945)
- Era 9: Postwar United States (1945 to early 1970's)
- Standard 3: The causes and course of WWII, the character of the war at home and abroad, and its reshaping of the U.S. role in world affairs.
- Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and the extension of civil liberties.

Arizona State Standards

Social Studies—Grade 8

Strand 2: American History

Concept 8: Great Depression & WWII.

- PO 2. Describe how Pearl Harbor led to U.S. involvement in WWII.
- PO 4. Explain how the following factors affected the U.S. home front during WWII.
 - a. internment of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans.
- PO 5. Describe Arizona's contributions to the war effort:
 - a. POW and internment camps

Strand 2: World History

Concept 1: Research Skills for History

- PO 4. Formulate questions that can be answered by historical study and research.

Strand 3: Civics/Government

Concept 3: Functions of Government

- PO 8. Describe the impact of the following executive orders and decisions:
 - a. Executive Order 9066—creation of internment camps on U.S. soil.

Strand 4: Geography*Concept 1: The World in Spatial Terms*

- PO 4. Locate physical and cultural features (e.g., continents, cities, countries, significant waterways, mountain ranges, climate zones, major water bodies, landforms) throughout the world.
- PO 5. Interpret thematic maps....depicting various aspects of the U.S. and world regions. (Apply to regions studied).

Concept 2: Places and Regions

- PO 4. Identify how the role of the media, images, and advertising influences the perception of a place.
- PO 5. Describe how a place changes over time. (Connect with content studied).

Concept 4: Human Systems

- PO 6. Describe the aspects of culture (e.g., literacy, occupations, clothing, property rights) related to beliefs and understandings that influence the economic, social, and political activities of men and women.

Concept 6: Geographic Applications

- PO 2. Describe ways different groups of people (i.e., Native Americans, Hispanics, retirees) create and shape the same environment.
- PO 3. Use geographic knowledge and skills (e.g., recognizing patterns, mapping, graphing) when discussing current events.

Reading—Grade 8**Strand 1: Reading Process***Concept 4: Vocabulary*

- PO 2. Use context to identify the intended meaning of unfamiliar words (e.g., definition, example, restatement, synonym, contrast)..

Concept 6: Comprehension Strategies

- PO 1. Predict text content using prior knowledge and text features (e.g., illustrations, titles, topic sentences, key words).
- PO 2. Confirm predictions about text for accuracy.
- PO 3. Generate clarifying questions in order to comprehend text.

- PO 7. Use reading strategies (e.g., drawing conclusions, determining cause and effect, making inferences, sequencing) to interpret text.

Strand 2: Comprehending Informational Text*Concept 1: Expository Text*

- PO 1. Restate the main idea (explicit or implicit) & supporting details in expository text.
- PO 2. Summarize the main idea (stated or implied) and critical details of expository text, maintaining chronological, sequential, or logical order.
- PO 10. Make relevant inferences about expository text, supported by text evidence.

Writing—Grade 8**Strand 2: Writing Elements***Concept 1: Ideas and Content*

- PO 1. Use clear, focused ideas and details to support the topic.
- PO 2. Provide content and selected details that are well-suited to audience and purpose.
- PO 3. Develop a sufficient explanation or exploration of the topic.
- PO 4. Include ideas and details that show original perspective.

Concept 5: Sentence Fluency

- PO 1. Write simple, compound, and complex sentences.
- PO 2. Create sentences that flow together and sound natural when read aloud.
- PO 3. Vary sentence beginnings, lengths, and patterns to enhance the flow of the writing.

Strand 3: Writing Applications*Concept 2: Expository*

- PO 2. Write a summary based on the information gathered that include(s): a topic sentence, supporting details, and relevant information.



Materials

- (1-A) Vocabulary—Word Wall with KEY
- (1-B) Where Could This Happen? Article/worksheet and KEY
- (1-C) Japanese American Experience Pre-Test with KEY
- Classroom Dictionaries

Background

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 is known in history as a “day of infamy.” Within just a few days, the U.S. government moved to isolate any possibility of Japanese assistance within the United States by isolating community leaders of Japanese birth or heritage. If a citizen had “the face of the enemy,” they were deemed a risk, and all persons of Japanese descent, whether citizens or not, who lived along the west coast of the United States were targeted for restricted movement and removal. On the west coast the Japanese immigrant community had historically been denied the right to purchase property, or to become naturalized citizens. In spite of such hostility, the Japanese community had prospered through sheer hard work, provoking envy.

There was little interest from the general population in the welfare of people of Japanese descent as the fear of internal espionage grew. In fact more than two-thirds of the incarcerated Japanese Americans were American by birth. They had exactly the same Constitutional rights as any other citizen. Because their rights were violated they endured severe economic loss, as well as social and civil standing.

The lesson opens with a reading designed to stimulate interest in the idea that such an incident violating basic Constitutional rights could occur in the United States. The scene in the reading “Where Could This Happen?” actually took place in the home of Mr. Masaji Inoshita, a Japanese American who was incarcerated at Gila Rivers, AZ, just as it is told.

Teacher Instant Expert Notes are designed to help the teacher with further background information in discussing student worksheets.

Opening

- Teacher Preparation: Place selected vocabulary words on classroom Word Wall from the provided vocabulary word list (1A).

Activities—Day 1

Where Could This Happen? Student Reading Analysis (Prediction and Details)

- Distribute “Where Could This Happen?” (1-B) article/worksheet.
- The article may be read individually, in partnerships, or as a class. Ask students to complete questions and be prepared to discuss. Emphasize that the answers need to be in complete sentences. (Reading and questions 20 minutes. Class discussion of answers 20–30 minutes.)

Discussion: Where Could This Happen?

Teacher Instant Expert Notes:

1. Usually students have heard of “camps,” but associate them with Siberia, Afghanistan, or somewhere else in the world.
2. Some community leaders were picked up within a few hours of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Community leaders were generally men. Many were not allowed to pack anything at all. Initially community leaders ended up in camps run by the Department of Justice in remote locations like North Dakota and Montana. They were not allowed communication with their families and suffered from the extreme temperatures.
3. The breakfast details are interesting to students. Once Japanese Americans were placed in camps, some camp personnel and administration took pleasure in providing foods with which the

Japanese American community were unfamiliar. One result was that many suffered from intestinal troubles. Assembly center mess halls, for instance, at first offered no rice to a community who had previously eaten rice three times a day.

4. An excellent opportunity to discuss “just following orders” mentality is presented here, and a discussion/comparison of Germans after the end of the war who claimed to be “just following orders” is a possibility.
 5. Generally people are handcuffed when they are perceived to be dangerous to themselves or others. In fact, seeing the father of the family, a law-abiding, peaceful man handcuffed by government officials was shocking to the family. Although they immediately tried to learn where the father had been taken, it was many months before they had contact.
3. If a person of Japanese descent lived within the exclusion zone (effectively western California, Oregon, Washington and parts of Arizona) they were removed from their homes. If they lived outside the zone, they were allowed to stay, although they were often treated poorly and subjected to all kinds of questioning and accusation by local and federal law enforcement. Those in business had a difficult time holding on to their non-Japanese customers.
 4. Japanese Americans were given very short notice and allowed to store furniture and other possessions, although the U.S. government refused to guarantee the storage it offered. Many Japanese Americans simply sold their goods for reduced prices.
 5. There were ten major War Relocation Authority camps euphemistically called “Relocation Centers.” For more information, see “A Note on Terminology” at the beginning of this unit.
 6. Most Japanese Americans had no ties at all with the Emperor of Japan. They were American and proud of it.
 7. A few were given meaningful work, such as those who were dentists and doctors. But most working adults found themselves suddenly without employment. Jobs were available in the camps, but they were low paid, and menial. Jobs included work in the mess halls, in local businesses such as picking cotton or other crops, making camouflage nets, and other general labor. To their credit, in every one of the camps, Japanese Americans set up and organized schools, clubs, bands and orchestras, and other activities which helped people become involved within the community.
 8. Most persons did report for removal. There were some legal protests which resulted in verdicts of guilty and incarceration (they were later overturned).
 9. Most Americans seemed to be fearful. Some encouraged their Japanese American friends and neighbors to take heart, but most of the non-

Activities—Day 2

Japanese American Experience Pre-Test

Student Assessment of Historical Knowledge

- Distribute and administer the Japanese American Experience Pre-Test (1-C). (10 minutes)
- Teacher leads a review of answers as a class. **Important: Teacher must use Word Wall vocabulary in discussion.** Numbers align with pre-test questions. (15 minutes)

Discussion: Japanese American Experience Pre-Test - Teacher Instant Expert Notes

1. Absolutely not. Anyone of Japanese descent who lived on the west coast within a designated zone, were confined in American concentration camps. Japanese Americans who lived outside the zone were treated with suspicion and prejudice, because they looked like the enemy.
2. No Japanese American in the U.S. was found guilty of treason during or after World War II. Ten individuals were prosecuted for treason and all ten were Euro American.

Japanese American community ignored or took advantage of the plight of the Japanese Americans.

10. There was a list of forbidden items to take into the camps; radios and cameras were on the list. However, the prohibition was later relaxed.
11. Pets were on the prohibited list. And yet, each camp had some pets, although they were kept in a very low-key way.
12. Japanese customs and manners did help weather the incarceration. Patience was very helpful. Many in the Japanese American community hoped that their peaceful removal and confinement was proof of their loyalty to the U.S.
13. The fact that so many people of Japanese descent lived in Hawaii is exactly why Hawaiian Japanese Americans were not mass incarcerated. The logistical and economic impact would have been too great.
14. Mass incarceration made no real sense at all. It was an out and out over-reaction to fear and wartime hysteria, and a continuing emphasis on anti-Asian sentiment.
15. It should never happen again, if we citizens protect the rights of one another, regardless of racial background or religious beliefs. It is an embarrassment that a democratic society based on the rights of freedom, allowed it to happen.
 - Teacher will lead a class discussion on student knowledge of group discrimination in the world. (examples: slavery, Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, Shia and Sunni divisions of Islam, African tribal wars, Chinese and Koreans, etc.) Teacher will lead students towards analysis of complex reasons why such discrimination might exist (competition for land or power/ethnic/religious beliefs/tribal affiliations/racism, etc.) (15–20 minutes)

Activities—Day 3

Word Wall Vocabulary Exercise

Teacher Preparation: Prior to class prepare Word Wall words (1-A) in groups of 5 for distribution.

- Provide students individually with five Word Wall words each. Instruct students to (1) In their own words write definitions of vocabulary words, although they may use Dictionaries if they do not know a word. (2) Students will then use each word in a sentence, insuring that the words are used correctly and with meaning. (15–20 minutes)
- Place students into partnerships. Each is to share sentences with a partner, and critique one another's work. (10 minutes)
- Ask for volunteer sharing of words and meanings with class. (15 minutes)
- Class discussion that investigates the question of: What if the rest of America refused to allow the incarceration of people of Japanese descent in WWII? (5–10 minutes)

Closing

- Think-Pair-Share. Each partner shares with the other what they have learned about the way World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans was initiated, and specifically should express to one another their opinions about how protected U.S. citizens are by their Constitutional rights. (5 minutes)

Extensions

- Set up a debate between people who supported the confinement of all people of Japanese descent.
- Internet research on the question: Whose responsibility is it to protect Constitutional rights?
- Read excerpts aloud from one of the many personal histories of Japanese Americans. See examples under References.
- Compare the Japanese American experience with the treatment of American Muslims after 9/11.



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Vocabulary Word Wall

Handout 1-A (1)

15

Alien land laws _____

Assembly Centers _____

bonsai _____

calligraphy _____

concentration camp _____

contraband _____

December 7, 1941 _____

espionage _____

Executive Order 9066 _____

Fifth Column _____

furo _____

Gila River Relocation Center _____

Internment camp _____

Issei _____

JACL (Japanese American Citizens League) _____

koi _____

Vocabulary Word Wall

Handout 1-A (2)

16

Leupp Citizen Isolation Camp _____

Nisei _____

Pearl Harbor _____

picture bride _____

Poston Relocation Center _____

prejudice _____

racism _____

sabotage _____

Sansei _____

sumo _____

treason _____

wa _____

War Relocation Authority _____

Yonsei _____

1924 Immigration Act _____

442nd Regimental Combat Team _____

Vocabulary

Word Wall

Handout 1-A (3)

17

Note to the Teacher:

Not all words need be used on the Word Wall. Or, words may be changed to support the topic of a specific lesson.

- Alien land laws (1913, 1920, 1921) The states of California and Washington passed laws restricting Japanese from both owning or leasing land, and a 1923 amendment closed a loophole for Nisei owners, making agricultural success for Japanese in America very difficult.
- Assembly Centers There were 15 assembly centers (1 in Oregon, 1 in Arizona, 1 in Washington, the remainder in California), most of them state or county fairgrounds where persons of Japanese descent from the west coast were required to assemble before being assigned to a permanent camp.
- bonsai* Miniaturized trees are believed to have originated in the mountains of China, dwarfed naturally by altitude. The first mention of *bonsai* in Japan places their existence to about 1200 years ago in the Heian period. Today's *bonsai* are famous for being raised in ceramic pots and twisted into unusual shapes, sometimes living for hundreds of years.
- calligraphy A handwriting art which is used in written Japanese/Chinese characters or words. A person's handwriting is supposed to be an indication of his character.
- concentration camp A camp where prisoners (as prisoners of war, political prisoners, or refugees) are detained or confined. For more information, see "A Note on Terminology" at the beginning of this unit.
- contraband illegal or prohibited possession of goods.
- December 7, 1941 "A day that shall live in infamy!" (Franklin D. Roosevelt). The day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and WWII began for the U.S.
- espionage the practice of spying or the use of spies to obtain information.
- Executive Order 9066 (2/19/1942) President Roosevelt authorized the establishment of military areas from which any person might be excluded, paving the way for the forced removal of Japanese Americans from their home states as potential threats to American security.

Vocabulary

Word Wall

Handout 1-A (4)

18

- Fifth Column Secret sympathizers or supporters of an enemy that engage in espionage or sabotage within defense lines or national borders.
- furo* A Japanese style bath that involves scrubbing and rinsing the body before soaking in a hot tub.
- Gila River Relocation Center The site was divided into two, Butte Camp and Canal Camp, and was located on the Gila River Indian Reservation about 20 miles south of Phoenix.
- Internment camp A location to confine or impound enemy aliens, especially during war. For more information, see “A Note on Terminology” at the beginning of this unit.
- Issei* The first generation of Japanese (born in Japan) who immigrated to the U.S.
- JACL (Japanese American Citizens League) ... Organized in 1930, the JACL was founded in the Pacific Coast states, and emphasized the loyalty to the U.S. of American-born persons of Japanese descent.
- koi* A type of carp, raised to large sizes often 5 pounds and up, and bred for beauty. Colors and patterns vary greatly. Koi are not generally eaten. They are raised to be placed in ponds to admire, and are relatives of the common goldfish.
- Leupp Citizen Isolation Camp Inmates were housed in railroad cars on the Navajo Reservation at Leupp, AZ, about 35 miles northeast of Flagstaff. Their responsibilities were connected with upkeep of railway lines.
- Nisei* The second generation of Japanese in America, and born in America as U.S. citizens.
- Pearl Harbor The location of the attack by Japan on the Pacific Naval fleet in Hawaii.



Vocabulary

Word Wall

Handout 1-A (5)

19

picture bride.....	A loophole in the 1908 legislation limiting Japanese immigration, allowed wives and relatives of Japanese men in America to join them. Japanese men would exchange pictures with prospective brides in Japan. A wedding in Japan would be held and the wives allowed to join their husbands in the U.S.
Poston Relocation Center.....	Located on the Colorado River Indian Reservation, about 15 miles south of Parker, AZ.
prejudice.....	preconceived judgment or opinion
racism.....	A belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race.
sabotage.....	Destructive or obstructive action carried out by a civilian or enemy agent to hinder a nation's war effort.
<i>Sansei</i>	The third generation of Japanese Americans, born in America as citizens.
<i>sumo</i>	A Japanese form of wrestling.
treason.....	The offense of attempting to overthrow the government to which one owes allegiance.
<i>wa</i>	A traditional Japanese social concept, usually translated as peace or harmony.
War Relocation Authority.....	A WWII agency organized in 1942 by the War Department to oversee and administer the removal and confinement of Japanese Americans.
<i>Yonsei</i>	The fourth generation of Japanese in America, born in America as citizens.
1924 Immigration Act.....	U.S. limited Japanese immigration to 100 persons per year.
442nd Regimental Combat Team.....	The all-Nisei Regimental Combat Team was the most highly decorated unit of its size and length of service in U.S. military history.

Where Could This Happen?

Handout 1-B (1)

20

Name _____

What follows is a true story. See if you can analyze the clues and answer the questions correctly. Write in full sentences.

December 12, 1941 It is breakfast time on a family farm. A family of nine children ages 4 to 20, with their mother and father, have just sat down to eat eggs, pickled cabbage, rice and tea. The oldest son is home from his first year in college to help his parents. There is a knock at the door, and several men identify themselves as government agents who are there to pick up the father of the family. The family asks why the father is being taken away, but receive no answer. They ask where the father is being taken, and also receive no answer. The father, dressed in shirt, pants, and slippers, is handcuffed and taken out. The oldest daughter runs after them and throws a pair of shoes and a coat to her father. It is the last time the family sees or communicates with the father for over a year.

1. Where in the world do you think this story took place? _____

2. Does the date help you decide where the location of the story might be? How? _____

3. Are there any details that make you think the family might be of a particular ethnicity? Write them down.

4. Why do you think the government agents will not tell why the father is being taken away or where he is being taken to?

5. What does handcuffing the father imply? _____

Where Could This Happen?

Handout 1-B (2)

21

1. Where in the world do you think this story took place?
This real-life incident took place on a farm in Santa Maria, California, U.S.A.
2. Does the date help you decide where the location of the story might be? How?
The date is 5 days after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.
3. Are there any details that make you think the family might be of a particular ethnicity? Write them down.
The family's breakfast includes pickled cabbage, rice, and tea, which are Japanese foods.
4. Why do you think the government agents will not tell why the father is being taken away or where he is being taken to?
The government agents are F.B.I. They do not know what the charge is. They do not know where the father will be going. They are just following instructions.
5. What does handcuffing the father imply?
Handcuffing a person indicates the person may try to get away or is dangerous. It implies the person is a criminal.

Japanese American World War II Experience

Pre-Test

Handout 1-C (1)

22

Name _____

What do you know about the Japanese American World War II experience?

Answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

True-False Place a T or an F in the blank provided.

- _____ 1. Individuals of Japanese descent in Arizona were treated like everyone else in America during WWII.
- _____ 2. Many persons of Japanese descent in America were found guilty of treason during WWII.
- _____ 3. Depending on where persons of Japanese descent lived in America, they were removed from their homes.
- _____ 4. Persons of Japanese descent were allowed time to sell their possessions or store them before being removed from the area.
- _____ 5. There were ten major War Relocation Authority camps located in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.
- _____ 6. Most persons of Japanese descent were supporters of the Japanese empire.
- _____ 7. Persons of Japanese descent in the camps were given meaningful work and acceptable living conditions.
- _____ 8. Most persons slated for removal reported as instructed.
- _____ 9. Most Americans questioned whether civil rights were being violated when persons of Japanese descent were separated and confined.
- _____ 10. Persons in the camps were not allowed to have cameras or radios.
- _____ 11. Persons in the camps were not allowed to keep their pets.
- _____ 12. Japanese traditions, including patience and loyalty, helped inmates weather the things that happened to them.
- _____ 13. In spite of Hawaii's population being almost one-third Japanese American, no large-scale confinement sites were established there.
- _____ 14. Mass incarceration of persons of Japanese descent made sense, as America was at war with Japan.
- _____ 15. This kind of government policy can never happen again.



Japanese American World War II Experience

Pre-Test

Handout 1-C (2)

23

Name _____

What do you know about the Japanese American World War II experience?

Answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

True-False Place a T or an F in the blank provided.

- False** 1. Individuals of Japanese descent in Arizona were treated like everyone else in America during WWII.
- False** 2. Many persons of Japanese descent in America were found guilty of treason during WWII.
- True** 3. Depending on where persons of Japanese descent lived in America, they were removed from their homes.
- False** 4. Persons of Japanese descent were allowed time to sell their possessions or store them before being removed from the area.
- True** 5. There were ten major War Relocation Authority camps located in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.
- False** 6. Most persons of Japanese descent were supporters of the Japanese empire.
- False** 7. Persons of Japanese descent in the camps were given meaningful work and acceptable living conditions.
- True** 8. Most persons slated for removal reported as instructed.
- False** 9. Most Americans questioned whether civil rights were being violated when persons of Japanese descent were separated and confined.
- True** 10. Persons in the camps were not allowed to have cameras or radios.
- True** 11. Persons in the camps were not allowed to keep their pets.
- True** 12. Japanese traditions, including patience and loyalty, helped inmates weather the things that happened to them.
- True** 13. In spite of Hawaii's population being almost one-third Japanese American, no large-scale confinement sites were established there.
- False** 14. Mass incarceration of persons of Japanese descent made sense, as America was at war with Japan.
- False** 15. This kind of government policy can never happen again.

Life in a Horse Stall

Overview

When President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 life changed for everyone of Japanese descent in the United States. Notices appeared allowing Japanese American families only a week (sometimes two) to dispose of all property and report to designated locations with a list of items that could be carried. This lesson uses reading analysis to investigate what the assembly experience was like, using the life of Masaji Inoshita, and following him into camp life at the concentration camp in Gila River, AZ.

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Analyze historical facts about the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.
- Recognize key terms about the Japanese American incarceration and Japanese culture.
- Use context clues to determine the relevant meaning of a word.
- Discuss context clues and comprehend that loss of Constitutional rights occurred in U.S.

Essential Question

- What are the responsibilities that every American must follow in order to protect the rights of other Americans?

Guiding Questions

- What was the true reason for the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government?
- How did most people in the U.S. react to the Japanese American incarceration?
- How did Japanese Americans react to the incarceration?

National History Standards

Part Two—United States and World History
Grades 5–12

Chapter 2: Historical Thinking

- Standard 3: Historical Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 3: U.S. History Standards

- Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929–1945)
- Era 9: Postwar United States (1945 to early 1970's)
- Standard 3: The causes and course of WWII, the character of the war at home and abroad, and its reshaping of the U.S. role in world affairs.
- Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and the extension of civil liberties.

Arizona State Standards

Social Studies—Grade 8

Strand 1: American History

Concept 9: Postwar United States

- PO 6. Describe the importance of the following civil rights issues and events:
 - a. nonviolent protests
 - b. desegregation

Strand 2: American History

Concept 8: Great Depression & WWII.

- PO 2. Describe how Pearl Harbor led to U.S. involvement in WWII.
- PO 4. Explain how the following factors affected the U.S. home front during WWII.
 - c. internment of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans.
- PO 5. Describe Arizona's contributions to the war effort:
 - e. POW and internment camps

Strand 2: World History

Concept 1: Research Skills for History

- PO 4. Formulate questions that can be answered by historical study and research.

Strand 3: Civics/Government

Concept 3: Functions of Government

- PO 8: Describe the impact of the following executive orders and decisions:
 - a. Executive Order 9066 – creation of internment camps on U.S. soil.

Concept 4: Rights, Responsibilities, and Roles of Citizenship

Strand 4: Geography

Concept 1: The World in Spatial Terms

- PO 4. Locate physical and cultural features (e.g., continents, cities, countries, significant waterways, mountain ranges, climate zones, major water bodies, landforms) throughout the world.
- PO 5. Interpret thematic maps....depicting various aspects of the U.S. and world regions. (Apply to regions studied).

Concept 2: Places and Regions

- PO 4. Identify how the role of the media, images, and advertising influences the perception of a place.
- PO 5. Describe how a place changes over time. (Connect with content studied).

Concept 4: Human Systems

- PO 6. Describe the aspects of culture (e.g., literacy, occupations, clothing, property rights) related to beliefs and understandings that influence the economic, social, and political activities of men and women.

Concept 6: Geographic Applications

- PO 2. Describe ways different groups of people (i.e., Native Americans, Hispanics, retirees) create and shape the same environment.
- PO 3. Use geographic knowledge and skills (e.g., recognizing patterns, mapping, graphing) when discussing current events.

Reading—Grade 8

Strand 1: Reading Process

Concept 4: Vocabulary

- PO 2. Use context to identify the intended meaning of unfamiliar words (e.g., definition, example, restatement, synonym, contrast)..

Concept 6: Comprehension Strategies

- PO 1. Predict text content using prior knowledge and text features (e.g., illustrations, titles, topic sentences, key words).
- PO 2. Confirm predictions about text for accuracy.
- PO 3. Generate clarifying questions in order to comprehend text.
- PO 7. Use reading strategies (e.g., drawing conclusions, determining cause and effect, making inferences, sequencing) to interpret text.

Strand 2: Comprehending Informational Text

Concept 1: Expository Text

- PO 1. Restate the main idea (explicit or implicit) & supporting details in expository text.
- PO 2. Summarize the main idea (stated or implied) and critical details of expository text, maintaining chronological, sequential, or logical order.
- PO 10. Make relevant inferences about expository text, supported by text evidence.

Writing—Grade 8

Strand 2: Writing Elements

Concept 1: Ideas and Content

- PO 1. Use clear, focused ideas and details to support the topic.
- PO 2. Provide content and selected details that are well-suited to audience and purpose.
- PO 3. Develop a sufficient explanation or exploration of the topic.
- PO 4. Include ideas and details that show original perspective.

Materials

- (2-A) Life in a Horse Stall Article/worksheet and KEY
- (2-B) Executive Order 9066 (transcript)
- (2-C) Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43
- (2-D) Life as an Inmate Article/worksheet
- Japanese American Confinement Sites in the United States During World War II Map – found in the appendix of this unit plan and made into overhead

Opening

Teacher Leads Discussion (10 minutes)

- Ask students: Think. If you and your family were going to move out of state, how long would it take you to get ready? You have to sell your car, furniture, close your bank accounts, say good-bye to your friends.
- Read excerpts (1st and 2nd paragraphs) of Executive Order 9066 (2B). Ask students to listen and tell you who the order is given to. (Japanese Americans are not named. Military commanders are ordered to remove persons from ‘designated exclusion areas’ when deemed necessary).

Activities—Day 1

- **Life in a Horse Stall Student Reading Analysis (Details)** (20 minutes)
Distribute Life in a Horse Stall (2-A) Article/Worksheet
The article may be read individually, in partnerships, or as a class. Ask students to complete questions and be prepared to discuss. Emphasize that the answers need to be in complete sentences.
- **Discussion: Life in a Horse Stall** (20 minutes)
Teacher Instant Expert Notes
 1. The notice time given to Japanese communities varied from none (as on Pearl Harbor day when community leaders were picked up within hours of the attack) to 30 days. However, in general, notice was 7 to 10 days.
 2. People turned to public auctions and sold their

possessions at a great loss. Some people advertised furniture and other goods for sale and were taken advantage of by the pressure of time. Some families put things in storage that had disappeared by the time they returned to pick them up. The entire Japanese American community was cash short, as all bank accounts had been seized and frozen, so immediate cash was needed.

3. Japanese Americans were horrified at the conditions of the assembly centers. They were surrounded by military personnel with weapons. They were fenced in. They were not allowed to leave. Most did the best they could to clean up the stalls and make a clean place for themselves.
4. The neighbor turned out to be a major friend for the family. He stored some of their possessions and farm equipment. When asked by the family, he sold items off and gave them the proceeds at a much higher rate than when they had their first auction. He was probably any adjective a student might come up with, both brave and foolish, under the circumstances of the times.
5. People did not know where they were going, and they did not know what to pack. They were instructed to bring their own dishes and silverware, towels, sheets, etc. Many packed heavy coats and ended up in the Arizona desert. Some packed shorts and sleeveless shirts and ended up in Wyoming.

Activities—Day 2

- **Opening:** Teacher reads excerpt from Civilian Exclusion #43 (2-C), 2nd page paragraph beginning with “The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:” sentences 1–6. Ask students if they find anything offensive in the instructions, and ask them to explain why. (10 minutes)
- **Life as an Inmate Student Reading Analysis (Analysis and Summary)** (15 minutes) Distribute Life as an Inmate (2-D)

The article may be read individually, in partnerships, or as a class. Ask students to complete questions and be prepared to discuss. Emphasize that the answers need to be in complete sentences.

• **Discussion: Life as an Inmate** (15 minutes)

1. Many inmates were in shock, some angry, and everyone felt resentment and humiliation. Approximately 120,000 lives were altered dramatically by the government's decision. The economic burden was tremendous. Everyone felt a fear of the unknown. It is a fact that some inmates were shot by guards when guards suspected them of attempting to escape from camp. It is a fact that there were riots by inmates in one camp, protesting their treatment.
2. Juvenile delinquency became a problem directly related to the incarceration and some youth's perception of themselves and their families as "enemy aliens." Schools were set up within all of the camps and operated under very difficult circumstances. Teachers were discouraged from going into the camps to teach the "enemies." Teachers were threatened locally with future unemployment if they taught in the camps. To the credit of many teachers, they taught anyway. At first they operated with virtually no books or materials. Eventually, some materials were supplied by groups such as the American Society of Friends (Quakers), whose donations helped improve camp life, and also sponsored college age students to enroll in universities and colleges elsewhere in America.
3. Housing was inadequate and crowded. Initially most families had to live without furniture, as they had not been allowed to bring any. Carpenters in camp made some furniture. People ordered some things from catalogs. Arizona inmates reported that they lived, ate, and slept in dust. The flimsy buildings had so many cracks that dust constantly filtered into them. In Heart Mountain, Wyoming cold was the enemy, and inmates had

to adjust to living in surroundings where rooms were never truly warm. Everybody could hear everything everyone said in a building. It was truly institutional living.

Closing

- Prepare Japanese American Confinement Sites in the United States During World War II Map for digital or overhead display, and review the main site locations. Remind students that there were other smaller locations, as well.
- Ask students if they believe the Japanese American community acted correctly in following the government directives. Discuss. (5–10 minutes)

Extensions

- Study the U.S. Supreme Court case, *Korematsu vs. U.S.*, which held it was constitutional to remove people of a particular ancestry, based on race alone.
- Ask students to research and write a short paper on what other nationalities were incarcerated in the U.S. during WWII.

References

- Fugita, Stephen S. and Marilyn Fernandez. *Altered Lives, Enduring Community. Japanese Americans Remember Their World War II Incarceration*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.
History on the Net.com. <http://www.historyonthenet.com>. (accessed September 3, 2009).
- Hoobler, Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler. *The Japanese American Family Album*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco. <http://www.sfmuseum.org>. (accessed September 3, 2009).

Life in a Horse Stall

Handout 2-A (1)

Name _____

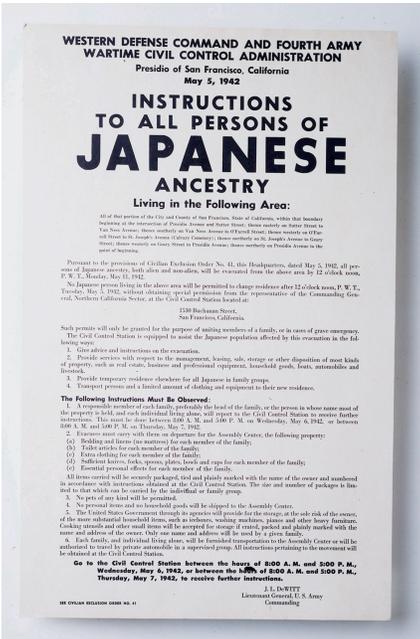
Read and analyze the following true account. Answer the questions after the story.

The government posted a notice in town on telephone poles and on store windows and doors. We didn't know until a friend came to tell us about the notice. It began: "Instructions to All Persons of JAPANESE Ancestry," and gave us seven days to dispose of all of our property and end our businesses. It told us to report to a place in town where a bus would pick us up. It told us we could only take one suitcase each and that we would have to carry anything we took. We sold off our stock at auction, and got about 10 cents on the dollar for it. When we got to town we waited for the bus, surrounded by military police and a large crowd of people we used to think of as neighbors. One man stepped forward and hugged our mother. He told her to come back to Santa Maria when she could. He told our family we were honest, loyal people and he would help us any way he could. He said this out loud and in front of everyone. My mother was very proud to know him, and it made her realize that not everyone agreed with the government.

When we got to the Tulare fair grounds we were assigned a place to sleep in the horse barns. Our first address in our new life as enemy aliens was Row F, Stall 12. We had to clean the muck out. Imagine a family of 10 living in a horse stall! We were there for 3 months.

1. How many days did the government give the family to dispose of their possessions? _____
2. How would you dispose of your possessions in such a short time? _____
3. How would you react if your family was forced to live in a horse stall? What would you do? _____
4. Write five adjectives that describe the neighbor's behavior to the family. Be ready to discuss. _____
5. List 10 things you would put in your suitcase, if this happened to you. _____

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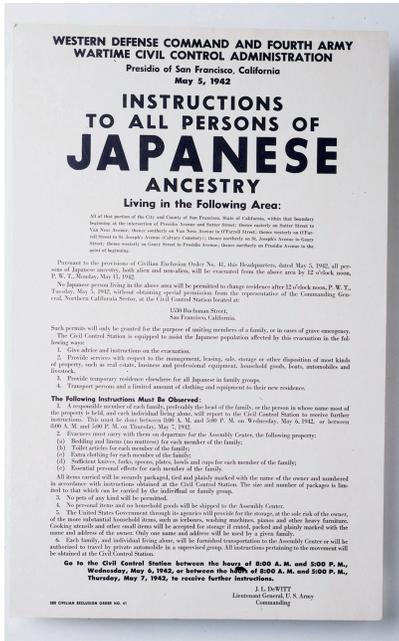


Life in a Horse Stall

Handout 2-A (2)

29

Name _____



Read and analyze the following true account. Answer the questions after the story.

The government posted a notice in town on telephone poles and on store windows and doors. We didn't know until a friend came to tell us about the notice. It began: "Instructions to All Persons of JAPANESE Ancestry," and gave us seven days to dispose of all of our property and end our businesses. It told us to report to a place in town where a bus would pick us up. It told us we could only take one suitcase each and that we would have to carry anything we took. We sold off our stock at auction, and got about 10 cents on the dollar for it. When we got to town we waited for the bus, surrounded by military police and a large crowd of people we used to think of as neighbors. One man stepped forward and hugged our mother. He told her to come back to Santa Maria when she could. He told our family we were honest, loyal people and he would help us any way he could. He said this out loud and in front of everyone. My mother was very proud to know him, and it made her realize that not everyone agreed with the government.

When we got to the Tulare fair grounds we were assigned a place to sleep in the horse barns. Our first address in our new life as enemy aliens was Row F, Stall 12. We had to clean the muck out. Imagine a family of 10 living in a horse stall! We were there for 3 months.

- How many days did the government give the family to dispose of their possessions?
The government gave them seven days.
- How would you dispose of your possessions in such a short time?
I would try and sell things to people I knew might want them. I guess I would see them for less than their value.
- How would you react if your family was forced to live in a horse stall? What would you do?
I would be mad. I wouldn't go. I'd leave. They can't treat people like that! If I had to be there I would do my best, but I might try to escape.
- Write five adjectives that describe the neighbor's behavior to the family. Be ready to discuss.
Brave. Foolhardy. Courageous. A true friend. Stupid. Warm-hearted.
- List 10 things you would put in your suitcase, if this happened to you.
Toothbrush. Pajamas. Shoes. Sweater. Shirts. Pants or skirts. Hairbrush. Paper & Pen. Books. Pocket Knife. Glasses. Socks & Underwear.

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Executive Order 9066

Handout 2-B

30

Whereas, the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises and national defense utilities as defined in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220. and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U.S.C.01 Title 50, Sec. 104):

Now therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action to be necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any persons to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restriction the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion.

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

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

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

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

Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
February 19, 1942

Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43

Handout 2-C

31

**WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION**
Presidio of San Francisco, California
May 5, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the intersection of Presidio Avenue and Sutter Street; thence easterly on Sutter Street to Van Ness Avenue; thence southerly on Van Ness Avenue to O'Farrell Street; thence westerly on O'Farrell Street to St. Joseph's Avenue (Calvary Cemetery); thence northerly on St. Joseph's Avenue to Geary Street; thence westerly on Geary Street to Presidio Avenue; thence northerly on Presidio Avenue to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 41, this Headquarters, dated May 5, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Monday, May 11, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

1530 Buchanan Street,
San Francisco, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Wednesday, May 6, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Thursday, May 7, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
 - (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
 - (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
 - (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
 - (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
 - (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Wednesday, May 6, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Thursday, May 7, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

SEE CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 41

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Life As An Inmate

Handout 2-D (1)

32

Name _____

Read and analyze the following true story. Answer the questions in complete sentences.

They did not tell us where we were going. 500 of us were ordered onto a train with black-out curtains and could not even see what direction we traveled. There were rumors we were going to be shot. When we got off it was very hot. We were in a desert. Each family shared a 4 room barracks building with other families. We had 10 family members and had two rooms. The buildings were hastily constructed, the lumber used was green, and as it dried there were large spaces between floorboards and wallboards. There was always a layer of dust on everything. Bathrooms and showers were in separate buildings and all in one open room, with no closed cubicles. There was virtually no privacy anywhere. Food was cooked by inmates and we lined up three times a day to eat in a mess hall. Suddenly, there was nothing to do. In time clubs would be organized and schools provided, but at first boredom was the enemy. We were not allowed contraband items, such as radios, newspapers, or cameras. Adults, initially in a kind of shock, lost control of their families, and juvenile delinquency became a problem in most camps. We were forbidden to keep pets, but some people managed to sneak in pets, and some people kept desert animals. Guards were on duty at the camp 24 hours a day, and inmates could not leave without special permission.

1. What emotions did inmates feel about where they were going? _____

2. Name one social problem encountered by the inmates. _____

3. How many people lived in a room in the author's family? _____

4. What do you think the biggest problem in camp life was? Why? _____

5. On the opposite side, write a paragraph of 5 or more sentences describing what you might have done with your time in camp.

Life As An Inmate

Handout 2-D (2)

33

Name _____

Read and analyze the following true story. Answer the questions in complete sentences.

They did not tell us where we were going. 500 of us were ordered onto a train with black-out curtains and could not even see what direction we traveled. There were rumors we were going to be shot. When we got off it was very hot. We were in a desert. Each family shared a 4 room barracks building with other families. We had 10 family members and had two rooms. The buildings were hastily constructed, the lumber used was green, and as it dried there were large spaces between floorboards and wallboards. There was always a layer of dust on everything. Bathrooms and showers were in separate buildings and all in one open room, with no closed cubicles. There was virtually no privacy anywhere. Food was cooked by inmates and we lined up three times a day to eat in a mess hall. Suddenly, there was nothing to do. In time clubs would be organized and schools provided, but at first boredom was the enemy. We were not allowed contraband items, such as radios, newspapers, or cameras. Adults, initially in a kind of shock, lost control of their families, and juvenile delinquency became a problem in most camps. We were forbidden to keep pets, but some people managed to sneak in pets, and some people kept desert animals. Guards were on duty at the camp 24 hours a day, and inmates could not leave without special permission.

1. What emotions did inmates feel about where they were going?
They felt fearful, worried, powerless, terrified, depressed, angry, and confused.
2. Name one social problem encountered by the inmates.
There was a generation separation and some youth became undisciplined and a social problem. There was no privacy. There was nothing to do at first.
3. How many people lived in a room in the author's family?
There were 10 people in 2 rooms, so five persons lived in each room.
4. What do you think the biggest problem in camp life was? Why?
Isolation from society, social break-down of families, no purpose in life, anger at the way people were treated were all major problems.
5. On the opposite side, write a paragraph of 5 or more sentences describing what you might have done with your time in camp.

A Hero's Story

Overview

Students use reading analysis (details and summary) to investigate the choices Japanese Americans made in regard to their own lives. Kazuo Masuda was one of many young men who decided to fight for his country, in spite of the way his country had treated him and his community. His story is important because it did draw national attention, and was actually part of the background 40 years later of the eventual redress bill and apology that was made to all living persons of Japanese descent who had been incarcerated during World War II.

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Analyze historical facts about one American patriot, and recognize race/ethnicity plays no part in what makes an American or a hero.
- Recognize key terms about the Japanese American incarceration and Japanese culture.
- Use context clues to determine the relevant meaning of a word.
- Discuss context clues and comprehend that loss of Constitutional rights occurred in U.S.

Essential Question

- What are the responsibilities that every American must follow in order to protect the rights of other Americans?

Guiding Questions

- What was the true reason for the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government?
- How did most people in the U.S. react to the Japanese American incarceration?
- How did Japanese Americans react to the incarceration?

National History Standards

Part Two—United States and World History
Grades 5–12

Chapter 2: Historical Thinking

- Standard 3: Historical Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 3: U.S. History Standards

- Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929–1945)
- Era 9: Postwar United States (1945–1970's) to early Standard 3: The causes and course of WWII, the character of the war at home and abroad, and its reshaping of the U.S. role in world affairs.
- Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and the extension of civil liberties.

Arizona State Standards

Social Studies—Grade 8

Strand 2: American History

Concept 8: Great Depression & WWII.

- PO 2. Describe how Pearl Harbor led to U.S. involvement in WWII.
- PO 4. Explain how the following factors affected the U.S. home front during WWII.
 - a. internment of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans.
- PO 5. Describe Arizona's contributions to the war effort:
 - e. POW and internment camps

Strand 2: World History

Concept 1: Research Skills for History

- PO 4. Formulate questions that can be answered by historical study and research.

Strand 3: Civics/Government

Concept 3: Functions of Government

- PO 8: Describe the impact of the following executive orders and decisions:
 - a. Executive Order 9066—creation of internment camps on U.S. soil.

Strand 4: Geography

Concept 1: The World in Spatial Terms

- PO 4. Locate physical and cultural features (e.g., continents, cities, countries, significant waterways, mountain ranges, climate zones, major water bodies, landforms) throughout the world.
- PO 5. Interpret thematic maps....depicting various aspects of the U.S. and world regions. (Apply to regions studied).

Concept 2: Places and Regions

- PO 4. Identify how the role of the media, images, and advertising influences the perception of a place.
- PO 5. Describe how a place changes over time. (Connect with content studied).

Concept 4: Human Systems

- PO 6. Describe the aspects of culture (e.g., literacy, occupations, clothing, property rights) related to beliefs and understandings that influence the economic, social, and political activities of men and women.

Concept 6: Geographic Applications

- PO 2. Describe ways different groups of people (i.e., Native Americans, Hispanics, retirees) create and shape the same environment.
- PO 3. Use geographic knowledge and skills (e.g., recognizing patterns, mapping, graphing) when discussing current events.

Reading—Grade 8

Strand 1: Reading Process

Concept 4: Vocabulary

- PO 2. Use context to identify the intended meaning of unfamiliar words (e.g., definition, example, restatement, synonym, contrast).

Concept 6: Comprehension Strategies

- PO 1. Predict text content using prior knowledge and text features (e.g., illustrations, titles, topic sentences, key words).
- PO 2. Confirm predictions about text for accuracy.
- PO 3. Generate clarifying questions in order to comprehend text.

- PO 7. Use reading strategies (e.g., drawing conclusions, determining cause and effect, making inferences, sequencing) to interpret text.

Strand 2: Comprehending Informational Text

Concept 1: Expository Text

- PO 1. Restate the main idea (explicit or implicit) & supporting details in expository text.
- PO 2. Summarize the main idea (stated or implied) and critical details of expository text, maintaining chronological, sequential, or logical order.
- PO 10. Make relevant inferences about expository text, supported by text evidence.

Writing—Grade 8

Strand 2: Writing Elements

Concept 1: Ideas and Content

- PO 1. Use clear, focused ideas and details to support the topic.
- PO 2. Provide content and selected details that are well-suited to audience and purpose.
- PO 3. Develop a sufficient explanation or exploration of the topic.
- PO 4. Include ideas and details that show original perspective.

Concept 5: Sentence Fluency

- PO 1. Write simple, compound, and complex sentences.
- PO 2. Create sentences that flow together and sound natural when read aloud.
- PO 3. Vary sentence beginnings, lengths, and patterns to enhance the flow of the writing.

Strand 3: Writing Applications

Concept 2: Expository

- PO 2. Write a summary based on the information gathered that include(s): a topic sentence, supporting details, and relevant information.

Materials

- (3-A) Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story, Article/Worksheet and KEY
- Kazuo Masuda—photo must be downloaded from the Kazuo Masuda Memorial VFW Post 3670 Youth Group of Orange County at <http://vfwyouthgroup.org/forms/kazuoi.pdf> (accessed September 3, 2009)
- (3-B) Letter from June Masuda Goto to President Ronald Reagan
- (3-C) How Racial Discrimination Feels Activity Instructions and Ballots

Opening

Teacher asks students to write a paragraph answering the question: Why, after the attack on Pearl Harbor and the U.S. government's policies involving persons of Japanese descent, would Japanese Americans be willing to fight as soldiers for the U.S.? (5 minutes)

Activities—Day 1

Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story Student Reading Analysis

- Distribute Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story (3A) article and worksheet (20 minutes)
The article may be read individually, in partnerships, or as a class. Ask students to complete questions and be prepared to discuss. Emphasize that the answers need to be in complete sentences.

Discussion: Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story (20–30 minutes)

Teacher Instant Expert Notes (Numbers align with worksheet questions).

2. The Japanese generations each have a particular reference name. Issei are those who were born in Japan and emigrated. They are the first generation. Many of the Issei generation did not speak fluent English, but nonetheless tended to be the community leaders. Nisei are the second generation, born in America. They were usually

fluent in both Japanese (at least for purposes of basic communication) and English, as they were raised attending American schools. The third generation was known as Sansei, and the fourth generation as Yonsei. The total population of Japanese Americans on the American mainland was 150,000 in 1941, and 120,000 were sent to concentration camps. Two-thirds of the 120,000 were native-born citizens who were stripped of their rights without due process. In Hawaii, where almost 50% of the population was of Japanese descent, only a relative few were confined.

3. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team distinguished itself for bravery. It was the most decorated unit for its size and length of service in U.S. military history and is reported to have suffered a casualty rate of 314 percent (i.e. on average, each man was injured more than three times). The 4,000 men who initially came in April 1943 had to be replaced nearly 3.5 times. In total, about 14,000 men served. 18,000 total awards were bestowed upon the 442nd, including 9,486 Purple Hearts, 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, eight Distinguished Unit Citations, and twenty-one Congressional Medals of Honor.
4. This is a good place to display a map of Italy showing the boot shape, and of perhaps following the path of the 442nd in Europe. The Regimental Combat Team was trained in Camp Shelby, Mississippi. They landed in Italy and worked their way up the Italian boot to Naples, through Anzio to Rome, across the Arno River and into southern France, eventually helping to liberate the Dachau Death Camp in Germany.
5. The Masuda family was originally sent to a concentration camp at Jerome, Arkansas from October 1942 to June 1944. They were then transferred to Gila River just south of Phoenix, Arizona and lived there from June 1944 to July 1945. When Gila River was being closed the oldest sister, Mary, scouted the family's return to their

former home in Orange County, California and was warned not to return by a self-appointed group of vigilantes who told her Japanese were not welcome there. She defended her family's return in spite of repeated warnings based on her family's endurance of the incarceration, her brothers' service in the military, and Kazuo's death fighting for America. She received support from all over the county, and the Masuda family returned home to the same place they had left.

6. After the ceremony where General Stillwell presented the medal to the Masuda family, a public gathering was held, called the United America Day at the Santa Ana Bowl, and Captain Ronald Reagan spoke. Reagan thanked Masuda's parents for their son's sacrifice: "The blood that has soaked into the sands of the beaches is all one color," he said. "America stands unique in the world—a country not founded on race, but on a way and an ideal. Not in spite of, but because of our polyglot background, we have had all the strength in the world. That is the American way."
7. The manager of the cemetery told the Masuda family the Westminster Memorial Cemetery was a racially restricted cemetery and S/Sgt. Masuda could not be buried in a "desireable" location, meaning a place where grass would grow and in a central area of the cemetery. Public pressure was intense, and the manager changed his rule and allowed the family to have the plot they wished for the burial of Kazuo Masuda.
8. A Hollywood movie was produced called "Go For Broke!" starring Van Johnson in 1951, based on the exploits of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.
9. It is interesting that Ronald Reagan was the president in office when the redress bill for incarcerated Japanese Americans occurred. The bill provided for a payment of \$20,000 to anyone of Japanese descent who spent time in America's concentration camps. Those no longer living

were not eligible. The idea of the bill was not to reimburse, but to apologize. There was no way that people could be paid for losing their civil liberties and enduring the humiliation of being incarcerated simply because of their ancestry. See a copy of the attached letter from June Masuda Goto (3-B) to President Reagan. The teacher might choose to read it out loud to the class.

- Display war photo of Kaz Masuda digitally or on prepared overhead.
- **Close:** Teacher leads short discussion considering the question: Why did the U.S. government offer redress payments to Japanese Americans?
- **Pair-Share:** Partners discuss their opinions as to whether it was a correct or an incorrect thing to do.

Activities—Day 2

How Racial Discrimination Feels – An activity designed to help students understand the pain of discrimination.

- Teacher prepares before class by reviewing the Activity Instruction sheets, How Racial Discrimination Feels (3-C & 3-C2). Ballots (3-C3 & 3C4) should be reproduced and cut apart for distribution.
- Teacher explains activity to students and distributes ballots. Activity is conducted. Do not rush the activity. Part of the experience is kinetic. Students need time during and after the activity to process the experience.

Closing

Ask students to write two paragraphs: "What is the real damage of discrimination? If it is tolerated, what happens to a society? Explain."

Extensions

- Do an internet research project on the record of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Ask students to locate specific statistics, such as number of Purple Hearts awarded, number of soldiers who died in

- battle, where the 442nd fought, etc.
- Invite somebody who was incarcerated during World War II to visit the classroom. Even though it is sometimes difficult to recount their experiences, there are people in the Phoenix area who can be contacted through local museums or the JACL (Japanese American Citizens League.)
 - Compare the World War II Japanese American experience with the treatment of American Muslims after 9/11. Ask classes to discuss the dangers of a discriminatory society.

References

Go for Broke National Education Center. <http://www.GoforBroke.org>. (accessed September 3, 2009).

Hoobler, Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler. *The Japanese American Family Album*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 96-103.

Murray, Alice Yang, ed. *What Did the Internment of Japanese Americans Mean?* Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000.

Parker Unified School District. "WebQuest: Japanese American Internment Camps." <http://www.parkerusd.org/phs/library/lisstudents/postoncamp>. (accessed September 3, 2009).

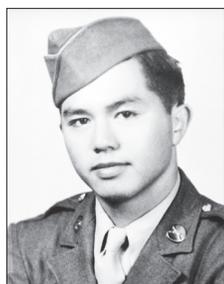
Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story

Handout 3-A (1)

39

Name _____

**Read this true story and answer the questions at the end in full sentences.
As you read, think about what makes a person a hero.**



Kazuo (Kaz) Masuda, born in 1918, was one of eleven children in a farming family of Japanese descent in southern California. He and his brother Takashi were drafted into the peacetime army in October, 1941 and were in basic training when Pearl Harbor was bombed by Japan. The Masuda family was removed from the West Coast under Executive Order 9066. The family spent the next several years in concentration camps in Arkansas and Arizona.

Meanwhile both brothers in army training were placed in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, an all Nisei (second generation Japanese American) unit. The 442nd is famous for having been the most highly decorated unit in military history for its size and length of service. Altogether over 33,300 Nisei soldiers served during World War II.

Kaz Masuda's first notice by his superiors was in awarding him the rank of Staff Sergeant. It might be because they recognized his spirit matched the regimental slogan: "Go for Broke." When his battalion reached Italy he was also recognized for his part in the landing at Anzio. His squad was the only group to remain on the beach throughout the entire battle.

As the 442nd pushed north into Italy it met heavy resistance from the German lines, and enemy shells had cut off communications. Unwilling to risk the men under his command, he obtained a mortar tube, 20 rounds of ammunition, and an extra helmet. He then crawled 200 yards with this heavy load under extreme enemy fire, packed dirt into the helmet and used it for a mortar base. When the Germans attacked he fired all 20 rounds and turned them back. The Germans found his location and poured mortar and artillery fire on his position. He returned for more ammo and held his position for 12 hours. He was awarded the second highest decoration the United States gives, the Distinguished Service Cross, for his bravery.

However, he did not live to receive it. A few weeks later S/Sgt. Masuda volunteered to lead a squad on a night patrol across the Arno River. The riverbanks were mined and booby-trapped and he and his men were surrounded by enemy forces. He ordered his squad to withdraw, leading them to believe he would follow, and he covered their retreat. They found him the next morning, his sub-machine gun still in his hands, facing the enemy, lying over a dead German machine gunner.

It was General Joe Stillwell who presented the Distinguished Service Cross to Kazuo Masuda's family, assisted by a young lieutenant who would one day become a president of the United States, Ronald Reagan. General Stillwell said: "...the amount of money, the color of one's skin, do not make a measure of Americanism. ...The real American is a man who calls it a fair exchange to lay down his life in order that American ideals may go on living. Judging from such a test, S/Sgt. Masuda was a better American than any of us here today."

All requests to publish or reproduce images in this collection must be submitted to the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. More information is available at <http://www.janm.org/nrc/>. Gift of Masao Masuda, Japanese American National Museum (97:143:1)

Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story

Handout 3-A (2)

40

In 1948 when S/Sgt. Masuda's remains were brought from Italy to be buried in his hometown, his family was denied a burial plot because he was of Japanese descent. His family made this rejection known in the community, and the public reacted intensely, supporting his burial as a hero. The family was allowed to bury him in the cemetery, with full military honors.

Today, there is a middle school in California bearing his name. He is honored on a monument at the site of the Gila River Concentration Camp near Phoenix, Arizona, and several veterans' and youth organizations are also named after him. More than that, Kazuo Masuda is remembered and honored by those who knew him, who owe their lives to him, and who realize that the ultimate self-sacrifice of one human for others, is the most extreme measure of courage, and of a true American.

1. How old was Kaz Masuda when he was drafted? _____
2. Explain what the word "Nisei" means. _____
3. What was the regimental slogan of the 442nd? What does it mean? _____

4. Where did S/Sgt Kaz Masuda fight in Europe? What is the shape of this country on a map? _____

5. Where was S/Sgt Masuda's family living while he fought in Europe? Why? _____
6. Summarize in one or two sentences what General Stillwell thought of S/Sgt Kaz Masuda. _____

7. Why did the cemetery refuse to bury S/Sgt Kaz Masuda's remains? _____
8. If you wanted to honor S/Sgt Kazuo Masuda as an American hero, what would you do? _____

9. Can you guess which American President in the 1980's signed a bill to redress persons of Japanese descent for their confinement during WWII? _____

10. Write a 5 sentence paragraph on what you believe makes a human a hero. Use the other side if necessary.

Kazuo Masuda: A Hero's Story

Handout 3-A (3)

41

1. How old was Kaz Masuda when he was drafted?
Kaz Masuda was 23 years old.
2. Explain what the word "Nisei" means.
"Nisei" is a Japanese word meaning "second generation." A person who is Nisei is a person of Japanese descent who was born in America.
3. What was the regimental slogan of the 442nd? What does it mean?
The regimental slogan of the 442nd was: Go for Broke. It is a Hawaiian slang phrase meaning "give it your all," or "give it everything you've got." Broke is a reference to money indicating you should use up everything you have to the point of being "broke."
4. Where did S/Sgt Kaz Masuda fight in Europe? What is the shape of this country on a map?
S/Sgt. Masuda fought in Italy. Italy is shaped like a boot.
5. Where was S/Sgt Masuda's family living while he fought in Europe? Why?
S/Sgt Masuda's family was put into camps in Arkansas and Arizona. Like all west coast Japanese Americans they were ordered to dispose of their property and belongings before being sent to camp.
6. Summarize in one or two sentences what General Stillwell thought of S/Sgt Kaz Masuda.
General Stillwell thought that S/Sgt Kazuo Masuda was an American hero. He believed that Kaz Masuda was a better man than most and should be honored.
7. Why did the cemetery refuse to bury S/Sgt Kaz Masuda's remains?
The cemetery refused to bury S/Sgt Kaz Masuda's remains because he was of Japanese descent.
8. If you wanted to honor S/Sgt Kazuo Masuda as an American hero, what would you do?
Answers will vary. It would be nice to see a major Hollywood movie depict what happened to Japanese Americans.
9. Can you guess which American President in the 1980's signed a bill to redress persons of Japanese descent for their confinement during WWII?
President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988.
10. Write a 5 sentence paragraph on what you believe makes a human a hero. Use the other side if necessary.
Answers will vary.

Letter from June Masuda Goto

Handout 3-B (1)

42

November 19, 1987

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

Thank you for taking the time to read my letter.

Perhaps you recall a very special day for our family, December 9, 1945, in Santa Ana, California, when General “Vinegar Joe” Stilwell awarded a posthumous Distinguished Service Cross medal to my brother, Kazuo Masuda. He was killed in action on the banks of the Arno River in Italy on August 27, 1944, while serving with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

You were then Captain Ronald Reagan, and joined General Stilwell after his 3000-mile flight from Washington. All of you came, I feel, not only to honor Kaz, but to help calm great hostility in Orange County to Japanese Americans. People at the time did not accept us as Americans, even after my brother’s death. The local cemetery, for example, refused to accept my brother’s body for burial. The presence of you and General Stilwell greatly affected the community, and led to a better life for our family.

After General Stilwell pinned the medal on my sister in front of our farmhouse (I have enclosed a photograph), there was a ceremony at the Santa Ana Bowl. General Stilwell said: “The amount of money, the color of one’s skin do not make a measure of Americanism. A square deal all around; free speech; equality before the law; a fair field with no favor; obedience to the majority. An American not only believes in such things, but is willing to fight for them. Who, after all, is the real American? The real American is the man who calls it a fair exchange to lay down his life in order that American ideals may go on living. And judging by such a test, Sgt. Masuda was a better American than any of us here today.”

You then rose, and said the following words: “The blood that has soaked into the sand is all one color. America stands unique in the world, the only country not founded on race, but on a way—an ideal. Not in spite of, but because of our polyglot background, we have had all the strength in the world. That is the American way. Mr. and Mrs. Masuda, just as one member of the family of Americans, speaking to another member, I want to say for what your son Kazuo did—Thanks.”

Many times I have been asked to speak at the Kazuo Masuda middle school. I speak to all the history classes, and quote your words to the students.

I bring this up to you because our family feels that what you and General Stilwell said in 1945 are as true and important as ever: the ideals for which all good Americans should be willing to fight and die. My brother did both,

Letter from June Masuda Goto

Handout 3-B (2)

43

even though his parents and family were stripped of all their American rights, and placed in an Arizona internment camp.

The words also express why so many of us in the Japanese American community so deeply support redress legislation now pending in Congress. If the legislation comes to you, I hope you will look upon it favorably. All of us in our family—I believe Kaz as well—would be greatly honored if you would. I also believe that America, through you, would honor itself.

Yours truly,

June Masuda Goto

How Racial Discrimination Feels

Handout 3-C (1)

44

An activity designed to help students understand the pain and humiliation of discrimination to Japanese Americans when they were singled out for different treatment because of ancestry, race, and religion.

5 minutes

Allow students to pick a ballot from a hat. The ballots will have been prepared before class and indicate several different categories. See attached reproducible page of ballots. Or if you wish to reflect your own community's population more closely, adjust the balance. Ask students to read the information on their ballot and to act accordingly throughout the exercise.

5 minutes

Have students line up at the back of a classroom. Aisles between seats may be used, or desks may be pushed against the walls, or even a corridor used for this activity. Use a mix of the ballots.

Teacher will read a series of instructions. Instructions should be read slowly enough that students can consider their own exercise status and react accordingly.

15 minutes

TEACHER: Listen carefully. The first individuals who reach the front of the classroom will “win.” A move is one or two steps at a time, depending on what I tell you. In order to observe the results of this exercise it is important that everyone follow the instructions and remain where they land. Remember, this is a demonstration exercise. Whatever role you have drawn you must follow, and for purposes of this exercise consider yourself 18 or older.

How Racial Discrimination Feels

Handout 3-C (2)

45

Activity Instructions

1. Everyone who is living in the U.S. take one step forward.
2. Everyone who was born in the U.S. take a step forward.
3. Everyone who has full citizenship rights take a step forward.
4. Everyone who has money saved in the bank take one step forward.
5. Everyone whose savings and bank accounts have been frozen, take a step backwards.
6. Everyone who can vote, and who use that privilege, take one step forward.
7. Everyone who is a high school graduate take one step forward.
8. Everyone who is a college graduate take two steps forward.
9. Everyone who speaks English take a step forward.
10. Everyone whose ethnicity is connected to an AXIS power (Germany, Japan, Italy) take one step backward.
11. Everyone who is patriotic and believes themselves to be an American take a step forward.
12. Everyone who owns land and/or a home take a step forward.
13. Everyone who speaks English and one other language take a step forward.
14. Everyone who must be in by curfew, and who is limited to travel within 5 miles of where they live, take a step backward.
15. Everyone who must report to an assembly point in under a week, take a step backward.
16. Everyone who is of Asian descent take a step backward.
17. Everyone who is of Asian descent, but not Japanese, take a step forward.
18. Everyone whose religion is some form of Christianity take a step forward.
19. Everyone who was forced to turn in their radio, camera, binoculars, and/or knives take a step backwards.
20. Everyone who believes in equality and justice take a step forward.

20 minutes

Assignment: Students will be partnered or grouped and discuss the following issues:

1. Who was happy with how far they moved? Why?
2. Who was not happy with how far they moved? Why?
3. What problems were raised by the way people were treated?
4. Can you think of any present examples of similar treatment?
5. Do you think all of the people were treated equally? Why or why not?

How Racial Discrimination Feels

Activity Ballots

Handout 3-C (3)

46

You are Issei. You were born in Japan. You are not allowed to become a citizen. You are not able to vote. You are not allowed to own land. You do not speak English, and rely on your children to translate. You have your life savings in the bank which has been frozen. Your favorite sport is sumo. You are ordered to report to an assembly point with just what you can carry. Meanwhile you must follow a curfew and may not travel more than 5 miles from home. You are also instructed to turn in your binoculars, cameras, radios. Your religion is Shinto.

You are Nisei, the second generation of a family of Japanese descent. You were born in the U.S. and are a citizen. You vote. You speak English and have a college degree. You do not own land, but you do have a savings account that has been frozen. You are ordered to report to an assembly point with just what you can carry. You must follow a curfew and may not travel more than 5 miles from home. You are also instructed to turn in your binoculars, cameras, radios. Your religion is Buddhism.

You are the child of a Japanese mother and a Euro American father. You were born in the U.S. and are a citizen. You are 19 and cannot vote until you are 21. You graduated from high school. You just started college when you received a letter from your mother that you and she must report to an assembly point. Meanwhile you must follow a curfew and may not travel more than 5 miles from home. You are also instructed to turn in your binoculars, cameras, radios. You are Christian.

You are the fourth generation in your family who came from Ireland during one of the 1800 potato famines. You were born in the U.S. and are a citizen. You vote. You speak English. You finished the 10th grade and then went on to get a good job in a factory. You mean to open a savings account, but you currently don't have any savings. You do not own a home. You are a Protestant.

Your ancestors have been in America so long you do not even know when they came. You are a college student who plays part time in a rock and roll band. You speak English. You could have voted in the last election but did not. You have no savings and live from pay check to pay check. You live at home with your parents. You are Irish Catholic.

How Racial Discrimination Feels

Activity Ballots

Handout 3-C (4)

47

You were born and raised on the Navajo Reservation at Window Rock, AZ. You have an Associates Degree (2 years) in accounting and work in a bank. You have a savings account. You speak English, Navajo, and Spanish. You are a citizen and vote. You own your own home which is a hogan. You follow your tribe's traditional religion.

You were born and raised on the Hupa Reservation in California. You are $\frac{1}{4}$ Hupa, $\frac{1}{4}$ Japanese, and $\frac{1}{2}$ Italian American. You finished high school. You are in the army and you are 20 years old, so you cannot yet vote. You have no savings. You are stationed in Hawaii. You speak English and Hupa. You are a member of the Protestant church.

You were born and raised in Georgia, a descendent of slaves. You are a citizen and vote. You do not own a home, but are saving money in your savings account towards that goal. You finished high school and college. You speak English. Your religion is Protestant.

You were born in Germany but have grown up in the U.S. You have never become a citizen, but you plan to sometime. You finished high school. You are 21 years old and are a college student. You live at school and do not own a home. You do have some savings. You speak English and German. You are a Lutheran (Protestant).

You are a third generation German American. You are over 21 and you did not vote in the last election. You speak English. You have savings. You did not complete high school, but you plan to finish. You own your own home. You are a Catholic.

You are a naturalized American, born in Rome. You have full citizenship rights and vote. You own a piece of land that you are building your own home on. You have a savings account. You are Catholic.

You were born and raised in Arizona and are of Mexican descent. You have full citizenship rights and you vote. You do not own land. You have a savings account. You are Catholic. You just finished high school. You speak English and Spanish.

You were born and raised in New Mexico and are of Chinese descent. You have full citizenship rights, and you vote. You own a home and land. You have a savings account. You finished high school. You speak English and Mandarin. Your religion is Buddhism.

Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy

Overview

The World War II incarceration of the Japanese Americans in some ways is a conundrum. It was possible because the Japanese American community followed the instructions of the U.S. government in what is today recognized as unconstitutional. Why did the Japanese Americans obey the orders so readily? Why did they stay in camps they could have escaped from?

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- Analyze historical facts about the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.
- Recognize key terms about the Japanese American incarceration and Japanese culture.
- Comprehend how shared Japanese culture shaped the Japanese American community.

Essential Question

- What are the responsibilities that every American must follow in order to protect the rights of other Americans?

Guiding Questions

- What was the true reason for the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government?
- How did Japanese Americans react to the incarceration?
- What cultural background helped Japanese Americans endure the experience?

National History Standards

Part Two—United States and World History
Grades 5–12

Chapter 2: Historical Thinking

- Standard 3: Historical Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 3: U.S. History Standards

- Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929–1945)
- Era 9: Postwar United States (1945 to early 1970's)
- Standard 3: The causes and course of WWII, the character of the war at home and abroad, and its reshaping of the U.S. role in world affairs.
- Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and the extension of civil liberties.

Arizona State Standards

Social Studies—Grade 8

Strand 2: American History

Concept 8: Great Depression & WWII.

- PO 2. Describe how Pearl Harbor led to U.S. involvement in WWII.
- PO 4. Explain how the following factors affected the U.S. home front during WWII.
 - a. internment of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans.
- PO 5. Describe Arizona's contributions to the war effort:
 - e. POW and internment camps

Strand 2: World History

Concept 1: Research Skills for History

- PO 4. Formulate questions that can be answered by historical study and research.

Strand 3: Civics/Government

Concept 3: Functions of Government

- PO 8: Describe the impact of the following executive orders and decisions:
 - a. Executive Order 9066—creation of internment camps on U.S. soil.

Strand 4: Geography

Concept 1: The World in Spatial Terms

- PO 4. Locate physical and cultural features (e.g., continents, cities, countries, significant waterways,

mountain ranges, climate zones, major water bodies, landforms) throughout the world.

- PO 5. Interpret thematic maps....depicting various aspects of the U.S. and world regions. (Apply to regions studied).

Concept 2: Places and Regions

- PO 4. Identify how the role of the media, images, and advertising influences the perception of a place.
- PO 5. Describe how a place changes over time. (Connect with content studied).

Concept 4: Human Systems

- PO 6. Describe the aspects of culture (e.g., literacy, occupations, clothing, property rights) related to beliefs and understandings that influence the economic, social, and political activities of men and women.

Concept 6: Geographic Applications

- PO 2. Describe ways different groups of people (i.e., Native Americans, Hispanics, retirees) create and shape the same environment.
- PO 3. Use geographic knowledge and skills (e.g., recognizing patterns, mapping, graphing) when discussing current events.

Reading—Grade 8

Strand 1: Reading Process

Concept 4: Vocabulary

- PO 2. Use context to identify the intended meaning of unfamiliar words (e.g., definition, example, restatement, synonym, contrast)..

Concept 6: Comprehension Strategies

- PO 1. Predict text content using prior knowledge and text features (e.g., illustrations, titles, topic sentences, key words).
- PO 2. Confirm predictions about text for accuracy.
- PO 3. Generate clarifying questions in order to comprehend text.
- PO 7. Use reading strategies (e.g., drawing conclusions, determining cause and effect, making inferences, sequencing) to interpret text.

Strand 2: Comprehending Informational Text

Concept 1: Expository Text

- PO 1. Restate the main idea (explicit or implicit) & supporting details in expository text.
- PO 2. Summarize the main idea (stated or implied) and critical details of expository text, maintaining chronological, sequential, or logical order.
- PO 10. Make relevant inferences about expository text, supported by text evidence.

Writing—Grade 8

Strand 2: Writing Elements

Concept 1: Ideas and Content

- PO 1. Use clear, focused ideas and details to support the topic.
- PO 2. Provide content and selected details that are well-suited to audience and purpose.
- PO 3. Develop a sufficient explanation or exploration of the topic.
- PO 4. Include ideas and details that show original perspective.

Concept 5: Sentence Fluency

- PO 1. Write simple, compound, and complex sentences.
- PO 2. Create sentences that flow together and sound natural when read aloud.
- PO 3. Vary sentence beginnings, lengths, and patterns to enhance the flow of the writing.

Strand 3: Writing Applications

Concept 2: Expository

- PO 2. Write a summary based on the information gathered that include(s): a topic sentence, supporting details, and relevant information.

Materials

- (4-A) Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy article with worksheet and KEY
- (4-B) What Happened After the War? Article with work sheet and KEY

- (1-C) Japanese American Experience Pre-Test and KEY
- (4-D) Photograph of Mr. Mas Inoshita at Gila River in 2003
- (4-E) *Lessons in Loyalty* DVD provided with this lesson.

Background

Traditional Japanese customs and manners are at least partly the result of a desire to keep the peace within the family and the greater community. Obeying the U.S. government's orders, then was a natural reaction for those who had been raised in culturally Japanese homes.

But even more influential than cultural traditions, the Issei (who at the time of World War II were ineligible for U.S. citizenship) feared what the U.S. government could do to them and their families. Without the basic protections guaranteed to citizens, they worried that if they didn't follow the orders being issued by the U.S. government, they would be separated from their families.

Once the camps were set up then, many Japanese Americans found solace and hope in gardens or other natural environments.

Opening

Inform students that the activity will discuss what Japanese Americans did while they were in camp for the duration of World War II. Ask if students can name an activity or sport that their ancestors performed, and whether or not it is one their family still follows. (5 minutes)

Activities—Day 1

Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy—A cultural analysis that encourages understanding of one Japanese American's perspective of the World War II incarceration. Student Reading Analysis.

- Distribute "Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy" (4-A) article with worksheet and key. (20 minutes)

- The article may be read individually, in partnerships, or as a class. Ask students to complete questions and be prepared to discuss. Emphasize that the answers need to be in complete sentences.

- **Discussion: Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy** (20 minutes)

Teacher Instant Expert Notes

1. The Japanese in America came from a long history of challenges in dealing with extreme weather, political struggles, and pragmatism. "Shikata ga nai" means "It can't be helped." These words and philosophy helped many to weather all kinds of situations and challenges, including the World War II incarceration.
- 2 & 3. The concept of shame and humiliation is a strong concept within the Japanese culture. The concept of shame is not limited to just the individual, but is felt by entire families, a group of relatives, or in the case of mass incarceration, anyone of Japanese descent. Overcoming this shame required a concerted and pointed effort to reclaim pride and to re-establish honor, hence the intense desire for the 442nd Regimental Combat Team to fight for the United States.
6. Fish ponds gave the inmates a focus point. Building one produced the necessity of planning, obtaining construction materials, constructing, improving, and enjoying a creation that was a product of a person's own unique style and effort. Today, crumbling fish ponds are one of the few things left at places like the Gila River site, south of Phoenix, AZ. There are dozens and dozens of them scattered throughout the two parts of Gila River: Butte Camp and Canal Camp. Some of them have so many details (bridges, underwater features, pebble trim in designs or letters) that it is striking to think of the time needed to create them. They are in all kinds of shapes and sizes, with a multitude of different details. It must have taken painstaking labor. It must have brought a lot of satisfaction in a very unsatisfying situation.

- **Close:** Pair-Share: Ask students to consider what would bring them comfort if they and their families were put into camp? (5 minutes)

Activities—Day 2

What Happened After the War?—A summary reading activity, aimed at synthesizing information.

- Distribute What Happened After the War article/worksheet (4-B) (20 minutes).

- **Discussion: What Happened After the War?** (15 minutes)

Teacher Instant Expert Notes

1. There were some Japanese Americans who elected to return to Japan, as they did not feel welcome in the U.S. It was a decision most regretted because returning to a land destroyed by war meant they were immediately confronted with chaos. Most found it exceedingly difficult to return to Japan. Some families like the Masudas, fought discrimination, used the knowledge of their adult children born and raised in America to demand their rights, and returned to their former homes where they were supported by the general community. Some chose to move to areas near where they had been confined, mostly because they did not believe they had anywhere to go. Discrimination against persons of Japanese descent has been slow to fade, and it was not until the Civil Rights Movement that more Japanese Americans began to take pride in their Japanese heritage.
2. Some of the elderly at Gila River did not want to leave because they had no family to return to, were too ill, or too old to travel. Eventually, arrangements were made for most, but it is difficult to think of their fear and dilemma. As the elderly were Issei, most of them did not have strong English skills, which also made it difficult for them to get along in mainstream society.
3. It is heartbreaking to think of people being

handed \$25 and told to go “home.” The eventual redress provided in the 1980’s was partly to offset the bad taste that the entire episode in American history left. It is a fact that no Japanese American was found guilty of espionage during or after WWII.

4. Individuals reacted and survived in different ways. All felt the sting of being rejected and the humiliation of being seen as disloyal. The automatic stripping of civil liberties due to race is the one thing that all agree must never be allowed to happen again.

Activities—Day 3

Teacher announces to students that they will have a chance to meet Mr. Mas Inoshita (digitally), whose story they have become familiar with. **Lessons in Loyalty**, a DVD produced by Ray Gonzales focuses on Mas and his story. It is well worth the time. (30 minutes).

Class Close: Teacher administers the Japanese American Experience Pre-Test (1-C) as a post-test, and allows student discussion of answers. (15 minutes)

Closing

Ask students to think and write down three actions they believe might have stopped the U.S. government from incarcerating the Japanese American community after Pearl Harbor. Explain why these actions could have halted so much misery for so many people.

Discuss: Can this ever happen again? Why?

(5 minutes)

Extensions

- Field Trip to the Phoenix Japanese Friendship Garden, Ro Ho En, in Margaret T. Hance Park, across from Central Library. 1125 N. 3rd Ave., Phoenix, AZ
<http://www.japanesefriendshipgarden.org/> (accessed September 3, 2009)
Discounts and guided tours can be arranged for school groups during the week. (602) 256-3204
- Pretend you are a Japanese American living during World War II. Make a journal with 10 entries that includes the announcement of the removal and incarceration and what you must do, where you must go (if they will tell you), what you may take, and what you may not take, where you end up, and what happens to you.

References

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- Fugita, Stephen S. and David J. O’Brien. *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1991.
- Helphand, Kenneth. *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2006.
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- Uchida, Yoshiko. *Journey Home*. New York: Aladdin Paperbacks, 1978.

Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy

Handout 4-A (1)

53

Name _____

Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy

As told by Mr. Masaji Inoshita, a former inmate of Gila River

What follows is a true story. See if you can analyze the clues and answer the questions correctly. Write in full sentences.

“*Shikata ga nai*,” my mother said, when we were being forced to leave the West Coast. She said the same thing when we shoveled out the horse manure and moved into a stall at the fairgrounds. She said it every day at Gila River, 20 miles south of Phoenix, Arizona. “It can’t be helped.”

The other phrase we heard a lot was, “*Nasakenai*,” or “It’s a shameful situation.” Some people got stuck in those phrases, a kind of Japanese cultural philosophy. They turned bitter and sulked. But most people did not. Most people got busy, as soon as they could. Most people found jobs within the camps. They cooked. They typed. They grew vegetables. Some made camouflage nets. Professionals, like doctors and dentists, treated patients. Children went to school. Adults took classes in all kinds of crafts. There were sports. Baseball stadiums and fields were built, and sumo pits were popular. And so many people built fish ponds.

Fish ponds are part of Japanese culture. Fish ponds are found throughout Japan in gardens, providing a home for koi and turtles and other aquatic creatures. Fish ponds allow the eye a place to rest, to contemplate. They are a refuge for the eye and the heart. Many inmates built fish ponds under their buildings, an early swamp cooler effect in the desert. Ponds were different in shape and concept. Some had children’s handprints all around the border. Some had fairy bridges above and below the water. Some were decorated only in black stones, some in white. Others had Japanese characters written in the cement. Some were a series of interconnecting pools and some had waterfalls.

Whether your passion became your job, sports, a craft, or contemplating fish in a pond, everyone agreed, “*Shikata ga nai*.” It can’t be helped.

Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy

Handout 4-A (2)

54

Name _____

1. What does “Shigata ga nai” mean? _____
2. What does “Nasakenai” mean? _____
3. Think. What do you think the two Japanese phrases above show about the traditional Japanese philosophy? Explain.

4. Name 3 jobs that people worked at in the camps. _____

5. Which would you rather attend, a baseball game or a sumo match? Explain why. _____

6. Explain at least two reasons why the inmates built fish ponds. _____

7. Use the rest of this page (or a blank sheet of paper) to draw the most beautiful fish pond you can dream up. Be creative. Put in interesting details. Don't forget the fish!

Fish Ponds, Sumo and Philosophy

Handout 4-A (3)

55

1. What does “Shigata ga nai” mean?
It can't be helped.
2. What does “Nasakenai” mean?
It's a shameful situation.
3. Think. What do you think the two Japanese phrases above show about the traditional Japanese philosophy? Explain.
Japanese people are sensitive to the world around them. They try to accept the hardships of life and endure what befalls them. They try to be patient and make the best of the situation.
4. Name 3 jobs that people worked at in the camps.
Three jobs that people worked were as cooks, doctors, and making camouflage nets.
5. Which would you rather attend, a baseball game or a sumo match? Explain why.
Answers will vary.
6. Explain at least two reasons why the inmates built fish ponds.
**Fish ponds are a part of Japanese culture.
Fish ponds helped to keep the buildings cool when built under the buildings.
Fish ponds were a refuge for the eye and the heart (nice to look at).
Fish ponds are places where koi and turtles can live.
Note to teacher: The fish were not eaten. They were ornamental only.**
7. Use the rest of this page (or a blank sheet of paper) to draw the most beautiful fish pond you can dream up. Be creative. Put in interesting details. Don't forget the fish!

What Happened After the War?

Handout 4-B (1)

56

Name _____

What follows is a true story. See if you can analyze the clues and answer the questions correctly. Write in full sentences.

Finally the day came when World War II ended and inmates were allowed to return home. But where was home? Many families had no where to return. They did not own homes or land. They had been forced to sell all of their furnishings. For the most part they no longer were business owners. Most had sold everything they could not carry. Those who had left things in storage found much of it had been stolen or ruined. Stories came back to the camps that some Americans still thought a Japanese face meant the enemy. Some people remained near the camps, some returned where they had come from, and some – especially the elderly – refused to go anywhere, because of their uncertainty. Meanwhile each inmate was issued a one-way train ticket and \$25 from the U.S. government and instructed to return home.

Wherever people went they had to start over from scratch. Nisei soldiers came home from the war and found no one would hire them. Signs announced: No Japanese need apply. Men who had proved themselves in battle as heroes were reduced to picking crops or washing dishes. Slowly, slowly Japanese Americans shouldered their next challenge and began to re-establish themselves. The camps closed, and anything of value was recycled, so that today only concrete pads, bits of wire and pipe are left to testify to structures that once held so many people. And memories, lots of memories.

1. Where did Japanese Americans go to when they were released from the camps? _____

2. Why would the elderly refuse to leave? _____

3. How much money did each inmate receive to go home? Was it enough? _____

4. What kind of memories do you think Japanese Americans have of incarceration? _____

5. Pretend you are a Japanese American student and write a one-page letter to a school friend explaining why your family is or is not returning home after World War II ends.

What Happened After the War?

Handout 4-B (2)

57

Name _____

What follows is a true story. See if you can analyze the clues and answer the questions correctly. Write in full sentences.

Finally the day came when World War II ended and inmates were allowed to return home. But where was home? Many families had no where to return. They did not own homes or land. They had been forced to sell all of their furnishings. For the most part they no longer were business owners. Most had sold everything they could not carry. Those who had left things in storage found much of it had been stolen or ruined. Stories came back to the camps that some Americans still thought a Japanese face meant the enemy. Some people remained near the camps, some returned where they had come from, and some – especially the elderly – refused to go anywhere, because of their uncertainty. Meanwhile each inmate was issued a one-way train ticket and \$25 from the U.S. government and instructed to return home.

Wherever people went they had to start over from scratch. Nisei soldiers came home from the war and found no one would hire them. Signs announced: No Japanese need apply. Men who had proved themselves in battle as heroes were reduced to picking crops or washing dishes. Slowly, slowly Japanese Americans shouldered their next challenge and began to re-establish themselves. The camps closed, and anything of value was recycled, so that today only concrete pads, bits of wire and pipe are left to testify to structures that once held so many people. And memories, lots of memories.

- Where did Japanese Americans go to when they were released from the camps?
Some returned home. Some moved somewhere near the camp site. Some refused to go.
- Why would the elderly refuse to leave?
They were afraid, and had no one to help them, and no way to make a living.
- How much money did each inmate receive to go home? Was it enough?
They each received \$25 and a train ticket. It was virtually nothing.
- What kind of memories do you think Japanese Americans have of incarceration?
Their memories are quite mixed and dependent upon a number of variables, including how old they were in camp, whether their family was able to stay together, and what happened to them after the war ended.
- Pretend you are a Japanese American student and write a one-page letter to a school friend explaining why your family is or is not returning home after World War II ends.

Japanese American World War II Experience

Pre-Test

Handout 4-C (1)

58

Name _____

What do you know about the Japanese American World War II experience?

Answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

True-False Place a T or an F in the blank provided.

- _____ 1. Individuals of Japanese descent in Arizona were treated like everyone else in America during WWII.
- _____ 2. Many persons of Japanese descent in America were found guilty of treason during WWII.
- _____ 3. Depending on where persons of Japanese descent lived in America, they were removed from their homes.
- _____ 4. Persons of Japanese descent were allowed time to sell their possessions or store them before being removed from the area.
- _____ 5. There were ten major War Relocation Authority camps located in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.
- _____ 6. Most persons of Japanese descent were supporters of the Japanese empire.
- _____ 7. Persons of Japanese descent in the camps were given meaningful work and acceptable living conditions.
- _____ 8. Most persons slated for removal reported as instructed.
- _____ 9. Most Americans questioned whether civil rights were being violated when persons of Japanese descent were separated and confined.
- _____ 10. Persons in the camps were not allowed to have cameras or radios.
- _____ 11. Persons in the camps were not allowed to keep their pets.
- _____ 12. Japanese traditions, including patience and loyalty, helped inmates weather the things that happened to them.
- _____ 13. In spite of Hawaii's population being almost one-third Japanese American, no large-scale confinement sites were established there.
- _____ 14. Mass incarceration of persons of Japanese descent made sense, as America was at war with Japan.
- _____ 15. This kind of government policy can never happen again.

Japanese American World War II Experience

Pre-Test

Handout 4-C (2)

59

Name _____

What do you know about the Japanese American World War II experience?

Answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

True-False Place a T or an F in the blank provided.

- False** 1. Individuals of Japanese descent in Arizona were treated like everyone else in America during WWII.
- False** 2. Many persons of Japanese descent in America were found guilty of treason during WWII.
- True** 3. Depending on where persons of Japanese descent lived in America, they were removed from their homes.
- False** 4. Persons of Japanese descent were allowed time to sell their possessions or store them before being removed from the area.
- True** 5. There were ten major War Relocation Authority camps located in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.
- False** 6. Most persons of Japanese descent were supporters of the Japanese empire.
- False** 7. Persons of Japanese descent in the camps were given meaningful work and acceptable living conditions.
- True** 8. Most persons slated for removal reported as instructed.
- False** 9. Most Americans questioned whether civil rights were being violated when persons of Japanese descent were separated and confined.
- True** 10. Persons in the camps were not allowed to have cameras or radios.
- True** 11. Persons in the camps were not allowed to keep their pets.
- True** 12. Japanese traditions, including patience and loyalty, helped inmates weather the things that happened to them.
- True** 13. In spite of Hawaii's population being almost one-third Japanese American, no large-scale confinement sites were established there.
- False** 14. Mass incarceration of persons of Japanese descent made sense, as America was at war with Japan.
- False** 15. This kind of government policy can never happen again.

Mr. Mas Inoshita

at Gila River, 2003 Handout 4-D



Photo courtesy of Lynn Galvin

Terminology

and the Japanese American Experience

The present procedure of keeping loyal American citizens in concentration camps on the basis of race for longer than is absolutely necessary is dangerous and repugnant to the principles of our Government.

—Attorney General Francis Biddle, December 30, 1943

In this war we are seeing more euphemistic terms than in previous conflicts. Consequently, the concentration camp which the government is starting to build at Puyallup is termed an “assembly center.” But it is a concentration camp, even though temporary.

—Tacoma News-Tribune, March 31, 1942

They were concentration camps. They called it relocation but they put them in concentration camps, and I was against it. We were in a period of emergency but it was still the wrong thing to do.”

—Harry S. Truman in Merle Miller, *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman* (New York: Berkeley Publishing Corp., 1974)

The words and phrases used to describe this history vary considerably amongst scholars, government officials, and even those directly affected by Executive Order 9066: “relocation,” “evacuation,” “incarceration,” “internment,” “concentration camp.” There is no general agreement about what is most accurate or fair.

Officially, the camps were called “relocation centers.” Many now acknowledge that “relocation center” and

“evacuation” are euphemisms used purposefully by the government to downplay the significance of its actions.

America’s concentration camps are clearly distinguishable from Nazi Germany’s torture and death camps. It is difficult to accept the term “concentration camp” because of the term’s associations with the Holocaust. This educational material uses “concentration camp” not in an effort to bear comparisons to the atrocities of the Holocaust, but to express the veritable magnitude of what was done to Japanese Americans.

It is an unequivocal fact that the government itself, including the President, used the term “concentration camp” during World War II in speeches and written documents. It is also crucial to note that a “concentration camp” is defined broadly as a place where people are imprisoned not because they are guilty of any crimes, but simply because of who they are. Many groups have been singled out for such persecution throughout history, with the term “concentration camp” first used at the turn of the twentieth century in the Spanish-American and Boer wars.

Despite some differences, all concentration camps have one thing in common: People in power remove a minority group from the general population, and the rest of society lets it happen.

Adapted from the Japanese American National Museum’s exhibition *Haunting Questions: Understanding the Japanese American Incarceration*

Japanese American Confinement Sites in the United States During World War II*



■ WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY (WRA) sites—
Concentration or so-called relocation camps established to confine Americans of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of whom were American-born citizens.

● ASSEMBLY CENTER sites—
Initial temporary detention sites used to assemble persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens and non-citizens alike, for transit to more long-term incarceration sites predominantly outside of an "exclusion zone."

▲ DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DOJ) sites—
Internment sites that primarily Issei, or alien residents of the United States of Japanese descent excluded from seeking citizenship through naturalization, were detained and/or confined. **

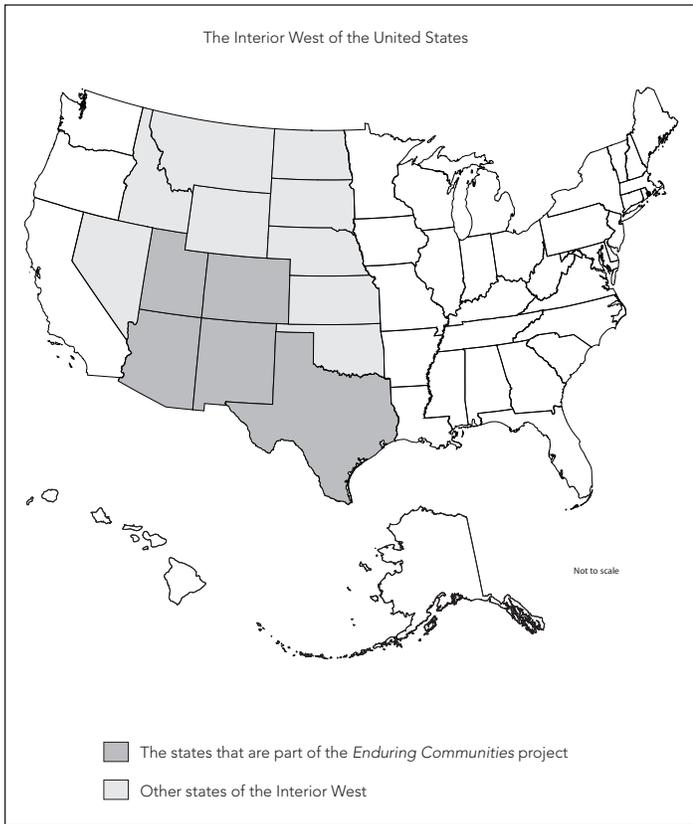
** Crystal City among DOJ sites is notable for having operated similarly to a WRA concentration camp. German and Italian enemy aliens who were treated separately and Latin American Japanese, primarily from Peru who had been involuntarily deported to the United States, also were confined at Crystal City. Other DOJ sites detained and/or confined mixed populations of enemy aliens, as did many of the U.S. Army centers.

★ DEPARTMENT OF WAR sites—
Primarily U.S. Army centers where predominantly non-citizens of Japanese descent were detained and/or confined en route to long-term internment or incarceration sites.

□ PENITENTIARIES—
Federal penitentiaries and facilities where Japanese American citizens who were convicted of "unlawfully" challenging federal government orders such as draft dodging or the constitutionality of the government orders restricting persons of Japanese ancestry, were imprisoned.

* To see a map of the confinement sites for all enemy aliens, please refer to the Web site www.enemyalienfiles.org.

Japanese Americans in the Interior West



Japanese Americans in the Interior West: A Regional Perspective on the Enduring Nikkei Historical Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah (and Beyond)

Arthur A. Hansen

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which allowed U.S. military commanders to designate military areas as “exclusion zones” from which “any or all persons may be excluded.” This action came two and a half months after Japan’s December 7, 1941, attack upon Pearl Harbor—the U.S. naval station in the Territory of Hawaii then home to the main part of the American fleet—which precipitated the United States’s entry into World War II.

Although it did not specifically mention Japanese Americans, E.O. 9066 led to the decision by Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, the Western Defense Command head, to exclude people of Japanese ancestry—both Issei (Japan-born aliens ineligible for American naturalization) and native-born Nisei, who were U.S. citizens—from California, the western

halves of Washington and Oregon, and southern Arizona. Of the roughly 127,000 pre-World War II U.S. Nikkei (Japanese Americans), two-thirds were U.S. citizens and the overwhelming majority lived in the three excluded states bordering the Pacific Ocean. Approximately 94,000 Nikkei resided in California.

Initially, General DeWitt opted for “voluntary” resettlement: this allowed the “excluded” Nikkei to move—at their own expense—to any unrestricted area in the country.¹ As a result, 1,963 people moved to Colorado, 1,519 to Utah, 305 to Idaho, 208 to eastern Washington, 115 to eastern Oregon, 105 to northern Arizona, 83 to Wyoming, 72 to Illinois, 69 to Nebraska, and 366 to other states (including New Mexico and Texas). There were many other potential refugees, however, who were thwarted in their attempts to move inland by the unwillingness of some states to accept them, difficulties in obtaining lodging and automobile fuel en route to their destinations, and upon their arrival, hostile “No Japs Wanted” “reception” committees, both public and private.

Consider the case of Clarence Iwao Nishizu, a 31-year-old Orange County (California) Nisei farmer. Having decided in early March 1942 that he preferred to have his family voluntarily move out of California and resettle inland, he drove his recently purchased 1941 Chevrolet to Colorado to check out possibilities there; he was accom-

¹ See Janis Takamoto, “The Effects of World War II and Wartime Sentiment on Japanese and Japanese American ‘Voluntary’ Evacuees” (master’s thesis, California State University, Long Beach, 1991).

panied by a younger brother, John, and a longtime Nisei friend, Jack Tsuchiura. They were well aware that Colorado—thanks to the courageous civil libertarian commitments of its governor, Ralph Carr—and Utah (to a lesser extent) were the only western states willing to have excluded Japanese American citizens become residents.²

As restricted citizens under curfew on the Pacific Coast, the Orange County Nisei trio was required to carry travel permits, and they were not allowed to be out any later than eight o'clock in the evening. Before their early morning departure from southern California, they had heard rumors that no gas would be sold to Japanese travelers. After passing through Las Vegas on their first evening on the road, they were obliged to test the veracity of these rumors in the gateway southwestern Utah city of St. George. There, practically out of fuel, they stopped at the first filling station they encountered. It was closed, but when they saw someone sleeping inside the station they knocked on the door, and were greeted by a tough, burly man toting a shotgun, who growled: "What do you want?" To which Jack Tsuchiura replied, "We're out of gas, can you sell us some?" Surprisingly, the man responded in the affirmative. Relieved, and now with a full tank of gas, the pilgrims drove to Salt Lake City, via Vernal, Utah, where they bought alcohol for the car's radiator to prevent it from freezing.

It was after midnight when the Nisei travelers crossed the state line into Colorado, after which they drove past Steamboat Springs up to the 12,000-foot summit of the Rockies. There it was snowing, a cold wind was blowing, and the temperature was 35 degrees below zero—and the water in the car's radiator had completely boiled out. While the men initially contemplated filling the radiator with tea, they ultimately rejected this plan due to the tea's high tannic acid content. Instead, they used a roadside cedar post to make a fire and so were able to melt snow for radiator water. With that problem solved, they continued their Colorado journey to Loveland and then on to Denver. There they succumbed in the early morning to their desperate need for sleep, only to be awakened by a policeman who inquired what they were doing sleeping in their car in the daytime. They replied, "Getting some rest after driving all night from California."

Fortified with a letter of introduction from a produce shipper back home in southern California, the three Nisei went to see the head of a seed company in Littleton, a town south of Denver, and he kindly offered to let them stay at his home. After looking around Littleton, however, they realized that there was little hope of their families establishing a footing in that community. They then traveled to San Luis, Colorado's oldest city, in search of suitable agricultural property to farm, but there they found nothing but alkaline soil, so they drove on to La Jara, a town near the Colorado/New Mexico border, to meet with one of the oldest pioneer Issei farmers in the state. Already reluctant to accommodate Nikkei "outsiders," this patriarch apparently used the pretext of an earthy utterance by Clarence Nishizu, made in earshot of several of his ten daughters, to refrain from even inviting the three travelers into his home to discuss resettlement prospects.

After a visit to the alien internment center in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to visit Issei relatives and family friends detained there, the three Nisei drove south to Las Cruces. There they met an Issei who was farming chilies—the crop their own families grew in the world's chili capital, Orange County, California. Known as the "chili king" of Las Cruces, this Issei obviously feared potential competition and so offered his Nisei visitors no encouragement whatsoever to resettle in his area. Before leaving New Mexico, the threesome traveled west to Deming, a town they left in a hurry after an incident in a bar: an edgy local drinker inquired as to whether they were Chinese or Japanese, explaining, ominously, that "I can't tell the difference between a [good] Chinese and a bad Jap." Going next to El Paso, Texas, they met with yet another unfriendly reception, this time from the staff of the Chinese restaurant where they stopped to

2 For a full assessment of Governor Ralph Carr's actions in relation to Japanese Americans during World War II, consult the biographical study by Adam Schrager, *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum, 2008).

eat. Following a meal punctuated by shouts from the restaurant's noticeably agitated personnel, the Nisei returned to their car, only to be menaced by the sight of a knife placed under a tire in order to puncture it.

Clearly it was time to return to California, but even as they attempted to get home the group met with further degradation. Driving through Chandler, Arizona, they were stopped by a state highway patrolman. After informing the Nikkei travelers that they were in a restricted zone, the lawman reminded them that there was a curfew in effect and asked if they possessed an authorized travel permit. When Jack Tsuchida flashed the obligatory document for inspection, the patrolman then patronizingly announced that they were headed in the wrong direction and smugly corrected their mistake.

In May of 1942, Clarence Nishizu's family was detained first at the Pomona Assembly Center on the site of the Los Angeles County Fairgrounds; in August 1942 they were moved to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in northwestern Wyoming. At the time, almost all of the nearly 2,000 Nikkei in Orange County had been evicted from their homes and were incarcerated at the large concentration camp called Poston Relocation Center, located on Colorado River Indian tribal land in southwestern Arizona. After being declared ineligible for military service, in 1944 Clarence resettled with his wife, Helen, and their two young daughters in Caldwell, Idaho (near Boise), where he worked hauling potatoes. Around the same time, his parents and his two brothers, John and Henry, resettled in Ordway, Colorado, where they attempted to farm, unsuccessfully, on leased land. During the winter of 1945, with the West Coast now reopened to Japanese Americans, the entire Nishizu clan returned to southern California.³

The Nishizu family's story of "relocation" and "resettlement" is only one among thousands of parallel versions involving other Japanese American mainlanders—truly a "people in motion"—during the World War II era. It is of particular value, however, because it spotlights and invites strategic exploration of a largely neglected aspect of Japanese American history, society, and culture: the prewar, wartime, and postwar circumstances of Nikkei communities within what historians Eric Walz and Andrew Russell have styled the Interior West of Japanese America.⁴ This essay will examine this topic in some depth, placing special emphasis upon the enduring historical experience of Japanese Americans living in the states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah.⁵ By exploring these lesser-known stories, we achieve a broader and more multidimensional understanding of the Japanese American experience as a whole and give a voice to those communities that have always existed but have often been pushed to the margins in accounts of the more mainstream West Coast Japanese American communities.

In addition to touching upon the five states mentioned above, the Nishizu narrative mentions three other western interior states: Idaho, Nevada, and Wyoming. These eight states—as well as Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North

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- 3 See Clarence Iwao Nishizu, interview by Arthur A. Hansen, June 14, 1982, interview 5b, Japanese American Oral History Project, Oral History Program [Center for Oral and Public History], California State University, Fullerton. This interview was published as a bound volume (edited, illustrated, and indexed) in 1991 by the CSUF Oral History Program. For the resettlement narrative featured here, see pp. 142-44.
- 4 See, in particular, the following studies: Eric Walz, "Japanese Immigration and Community Building in the Interior West, 1812-1945" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1998); "From Kumamoto to Idaho: The Influence of Japanese Immigrants on the Agricultural Development of the Interior West," *Agricultural History* 74 (Spring 2000): 404-18; "Japanese Settlement in the Intermountain West, 1882-1946," in Mike Mackey, ed., *Guilty by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West* (Powell, Wyo.: Western History Publications, 2001), pp. 1-24; and Andrew Benjamin Russell, "American Dreams Derailed: Japanese Railroad and Mine Communities of the Interior West" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2003). In the second of the three citations above, Walz offers a precise definition of the Interior West: "that part of the United States east of Washington, Oregon, and California and west of the Missouri River" (p. 404). In addition to these writings by Walz and Russell, see a relevant new study by Kara Allison Schubert Carroll, "Coming to Grips with America: The Japanese American Experience in the Southwest" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2009).
- 5 My intention here is to avoid, as much as possible, replicating information about these five states that the *Enduring Communities* project state scholars—Karen Leong and Dan Killoren (Arizona); Daryl J. Maeda (Colorado); Andrew B. Russell (New Mexico); Thomas Walls (Texas); and Nancy J. Taniguchi (Utah)—have provided in their respective essays, included in this curriculum and written from a multicultural perspective.

Dakota, Oklahoma, and South Dakota—can be perceived in the present context as constituting the Interior West region. (This categorization is useful despite the fact that these states range over a number of variably designated geographical subregions: Pacific Northwest, Southwest, Intermountain, Great Plains, and Midwest.)

One notable commonality between these fourteen states is their relatively large geographical size. This point is dramatized by their rankings in total area among the 50 U.S. states.⁶ These states also are alike in that they have comparatively small total populations.⁷ Another common denominator for the 14 Interior West states is their comparatively small Asian American population relative to the national average of 3.6 percent (according to the 2000 U.S. census).⁸ In terms of the racial-ethnic population (Asian/Black/American Indian/Hispanic) of the Interior West, however, it is apparent that a noticeable disparity in this regard exists between the five principal states and the nine subsidiary states when the percentages for the two units are compared to the national average percentage of 29.3.⁹

When Clarence Nishizu and his party explored resettlement possibilities in the Interior West in early 1942, the demographic profile for the area's 14 states (based on 1940 census information and arrayed in alphabetical order) reveals the following total and racial-ethnic population figures: **Arizona (499,261 - 174,371)**; **Colorado (1,123,296 - 109,343)**; Idaho (524,873 - 8,300); Kansas (1,801,028 - 79,571); Montana (559,456 - 21,228); Nebraska (1,315,834 - 23,705); Nevada (110,247 - 9,263); **New Mexico (531,818 - 261,387)**; North Dakota (641,935 - 10,791); Oklahoma (2,336,434 - 232,629); South Dakota (642,961 - 24,206); **Texas (6,414,824 - 1,663,712)**; **Utah (550,310 - 9,962)**; Wyoming (250,742 - 10,273).¹⁰ As for the Interior West Nikkei population at the point of the U.S. entry into World War II, it was distributed as follows: **Arizona (632)**; **Colorado (2,734)**; Idaho (1,200); Kansas (19); Montana (508), Nebraska (480); Nevada (470); **New Mexico (186)**; North Dakota (83); Oklahoma (57); South Dakota (19); **Texas (458)**; **Utah (2,210)**; and Wyoming (643). Even in 1940, all fourteen Interior West states could claim enduring com-

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- 6 Rankings in terms of area: Texas (2); Montana (4); New Mexico (5); Arizona (6); Nevada (7); Colorado (8); Wyoming (10); Utah (13); Idaho (14); Kansas (15); Nebraska (16); South Dakota (17); North Dakota (19); Oklahoma (20).
- 7 Rankings in terms of population size: Wyoming (50); North Dakota (47); South Dakota (46); Montana (44); Idaho (39); Nebraska (38); New Mexico (36); Nevada (35); Utah (34); Kansas (33); Oklahoma (27); Colorado (24); Arizona (20); Texas (2). The last three of these states (Colorado, Arizona, and Texas), observably, are exceptional in that their present-day population ranking falls within the upper half of the nation's fifty states. However, viewed historically, only Texas claimed such a ranking in the six national censuses extending from 1910 to 1960: 1910 (5); 1920 (5); 1930 (5); 1940 (6); 1950 (6); 1960 (6). As for Arizona, its population rankings differed markedly, with a population loss from the early part of the twentieth century until 1960: 1910 (45); 1920 (45); 1930 (43); 1940 (43); 1950 (37); 1960 (35). Colorado's ranking during this time period changed very little: 1910 (32); 1920 (32); 1930 (33); 1940 (33); 1950 (34); 1960 (33). When looked at another way, it can be appreciated that Colorado's population increased by a robust 30.6 percent between 1990 and 2000, while Arizona's grew by a whopping 40 percent.
- 8 This is certainly true of the five principal states: Arizona (1.8 percent); Colorado (2.2 percent); New Mexico (1.1 percent); Texas (2.7 percent); and Utah (1.7 percent). But this point applies (with one obvious exception) even more powerfully to the nine other states: North Dakota (0.6 percent); South Dakota (0.6 percent); Nebraska (1.3 percent); Nevada (4.5 percent); Kansas (1.7 percent); Oklahoma (1.4 percent); Wyoming (0.6 percent); Montana (0.5 percent); and Idaho (0.9 percent).
- 9 On the one hand, all but Nevada (32.3) of the latter states fall beneath this percentage (and most substantially so): North Dakota (6.3 percent); South Dakota (10.9 percent); Nebraska (11.7 percent); Kansas (15.3 percent); Oklahoma (20.1 percent); Wyoming (10.1 percent); Montana (9.0 percent); Idaho (10.6 percent). On the other hand, three of the five former states exceed (two quite strikingly) the national average percentage: Arizona (35.2 percent); Colorado (24.1 percent); New Mexico (54.6 percent); Texas (46.0 percent); Utah (12.8 percent).
- 10 Because the primary focus in this essay is on the five states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah, the statistics for these states are rendered in bold type.

munities, however modest, of Nikkei living and working within their boundaries.¹¹ In 1900 there were a total of 5,278 Japanese Americans living in the 14 Interior West states, with 767 of them residing in the primary five states and 4,509 in the supplementary nine states. By 1940, the total number of Nikkei in the Interior West had grown to 9,624—however, their distribution in the primary and supplementary states had almost reversed itself: the five primary states now counted 6,220 as opposed to the nine states’ 3,404 Nikkei. What accounts for this transformed situation?

The work of the late Nisei historian Masakazu Iwata—in particular, his book *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture*—is especially helpful in explaining the population numbers above.¹² Because Iwata’s focus is on Japanese immigrants who came to the U.S. mainland after 1884 when Japan began allowing general emigration of laborers to foreign countries, he only alludes to the 61,111 Japanese who were living in the Hawaiian Islands by 1900, by and large toiling on the many sugar plantations there. For Iwata, what is notable is that between 1902 and 1907 37,000 Japanese migrated to the continental U.S., where they joined the 80,000 who had arrived directly on the mainland between 1893 and 1910; these numbers were augmented by thousands of their fellow countrymen who indirectly entered the U.S., legally and illegally, from Canada and Mexico.¹³

Whether journeying directly to the U.S. mainland or via Hawai‘i, most Japanese immigrants landed at the West Coast ports of Seattle and San Francisco. While some people settled proximate to these cities, many more fanned out to other parts of the West. “In contrast to the westward migration across the American continent of immigrants from Europe after their landing in Atlantic coast ports,” observes Iwata, “those from Japan pushed eastward from the Pacific Coast, their progress generally coming to a halt roughly at the Missouri River in the Nebraska sector, [while] in the south the farthest advance eastward was into the Rio Grande Valley of Texas.”¹⁴

These overwhelmingly unmarried male Issei were drawn to the U.S. primarily for economic reasons. Most came from agrarian backgrounds in southern Japan and—despite the fact that they were preponderantly common laborers—most were relatively well-educated. As compared to those in this immigrant wave with a sojourner mentality (i.e., who determined to stay abroad only long enough to earn sufficient money to alleviate their Japanese families’ dire financial straits and/or to build lives for themselves in Japan), there was only a very small number who intended to settle permanently in America.

Fortuitously, the Issei arrived in the U.S. as the Interior West region was experiencing what historian Eric Walz has described as “an economic boom fueled by railroad construction, coal and hard-rock¹⁵ mining, and agricultural

11 For example, in 1900, at the twentieth century’s outset, the five primary states had these Japanese American populations: **Arizona (281); Colorado (48); New Mexico (8); Texas (13); Utah (417)**. In the three decennial censuses between 1900 and 1940, the almost universally escalating number of Nikkei in these states is captured statistically: **Arizona (371 - 550 - 879); Colorado (2,300 - 2,464 - 3,213); New Mexico (258 - 251 - 249); Texas (340 - 449 - 519); Utah (2,100 - 2,936 - 3,269)**. As for the subsidiary nine states, their Nikkei decade-by-decade populations—recorded in the four U.S. censuses for those decades—from 1900 through 1930 were characterized by a generally fluctuating growth pattern: Idaho (1,291 - 1,263 - 1,569 - 1,421); Kansas (4 - 107 - 52 - 37); Montana (2,441 - 1,585 - 1,074 - 753); Nebraska (3 - 590 - 804 - 674); Nevada (228 - 864 - 754 - 608); North Dakota (148 - 59 - 72 - 91); Oklahoma (0 - 48 - 67 - 104); South Dakota (1 - 42 - 38 - 19); Wyoming (393 - 1,596 - 1,194 - 1,026).

12 Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture*, 2 vols. (New York: Peter Lang, 1992). The two volumes of this work are consecutively numbered.

On Japanese immigration into the western U.S. mainland, see also the following two studies: Azusa Tsuneyoshi, “Meiji Pioneers: The Early Japanese Immigrants to the American Far West and Southwest, 1880–1930” (PhD diss., Northern Arizona University, 1989) and Andrea A. E. Geiger, “Cross-Pacific Dimensions of Race, Caste and Class: Meiji-era Japanese Immigrants in the North American West, 1885–1928” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2006).

13 Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, p. 112.

14 Ibid.

15 Gold, copper, zinc, nickel, lead, etc.

development.”¹⁶ Recruited by labor contractors, the Issei were a mobile workforce. As both individuals and gang laborers, they moved not only between different work opportunities on the Pacific Coast and the western interior sections of the U.S., but also between America and Japan and many other parts of the world in which Japanese workers filled a variety of employment needs. Concurrently, their emigration patterns relieved population pressure on their native Japan, and through remittances, increased its wealth.¹⁷

Many Issei who came to America first found employment with the steam railroad companies in two of the five primary Interior West states, Colorado and Utah, but many more also worked for the railroad industry in such secondary states as Montana, Idaho,¹⁸ Wyoming,¹⁹ and Nevada.²⁰ This largely accounts for why the 1900 census counted so many more Nikkei in the secondary states rather than the primary states. However, as Iwata notes, even though they achieved remarkable success—supplanting Chinese railroad workers; gaining wage parity with (and then employer preference over) other immigrant laborers from such countries as Italy, Greece, and Austria; improving their status within the industry by becoming section workers (occasionally even foremen) and office secretaries and interpreters; and accumulating some surplus capital—the majority of Issei “began to look about for work other than that in the railroads.”²¹ Nonetheless, as Masakazu Iwata is quick to remind us, in spite of this exodus of Issei workers from the railroads during the first decade of the twentieth century, “even as late as 1930 there were over 2,000 Japanese still working in the railroad industry.”²² Moreover, as historian Andrew Russell has more recently indicated, “while their numbers shrank steadily in the prewar [World War II years], the Nikkei of the railroads and mines continued to account for a sizable percentage of the Japanese-American population of most interior states right up to the start of the war.”²³

Russell recounts that sometime after going into railroad work, Issei entered into mining operations (albeit to a far lesser extent). While there were outcroppings of Japanese mining settlements in Rock Springs and other

16 See Eric Walz, “From Kumamoto to Idaho,” p. 405.

17 Remittances were money sent by overseas Japanese laborers to Japan for investment or for family support. Although the largest Issei remittance payments came from Hawaii and California, those sent home by Interior West laborers were also fairly substantial. For example, a 1908 survey of Japanese farmers in Colorado revealed that one-third of them sent annual remittances averaging one hundred dollars.

18 For details about Issei employment in the Pacific Northwest (Montana and Idaho, as well as Washington and Oregon), see William Thomas White, “A History of Railroad Workers in the Pacific Northwest, 1883-1934” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1981) and “Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Railroad Work Force: The Case of the Far Northwest, 1883-1918,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 16 (July 1985): 265-83, especially pp. 273-76. In “Race, Ethnicity, and Gender,” White explains that most of the peak 13,000 Issei workers on western railroads were in the pay of the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, the Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, and Milwaukee lines, with the Great Northern alone employing 5,000 of them, “although their number declined rapidly in the wake of the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907-1908” (p. 274).

19 For an in-depth treatment of Nikkei railway employment within Wyoming, see Barbara Hickman, “Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming, 1891-1941” (master’s thesis, University of Wyoming, 1989). Hickman emphasizes that her study concentrates on “the Japanese who worked for the Union Pacific, both on the tracks and in its related industries across the southern tier of Wyoming, and along the Oregon Short Line northwest from Kemmerer in the southwest of the state” (p. 1).

20 For a brief overview of pre-World War II Issei railroad workers in Nevada, see Andrew Russell, “Friends, Neighbors, Foes and Invaders: Conflicting Images and Experiences of Japanese Americans in Wartime Nevada” (master’s thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1996), pp. 21-24. In “American Dreams Derailed: Japanese Railroad and Mine Communities of the Interior West” (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2003), Russell broadens his 1996 treatment of Issei railroad workers to embrace the Interior West region. After stating that in 1905 one-sixth of the Issei (11,783 out of 61,338) worked for railroads, he writes that initially most worked as trackmen in the northwestern and central mountain states. “However,” he concludes, “by 1906 the number of railroad workers had climbed to between 13,000 and 15,000 dispersed along virtually all of the major roads of the West. Thereafter, the ‘Gentlemen’s Agreement’ went into effect, causing a sharp decrease in Japanese railway workers by 1910. . . . The Union Pacific and other roads that traversed Wyoming, which once employed thousands, by then reported between 600 and 800 Japanese workers” (pp. 15-16).

21 In the peak year of 1906, some 13,000 Issei worked for the railroads.

22 See Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, p. 125.

23 See Russell, “American Dreams Derailed,” p. 3.

southern Wyoming towns in the late 1890s, most Japanese immigrants did not labor in coal and copper mining camps until the first decade of the twentieth century. “The first Japanese coal miners in Utah,” surmises Russell, “probably arrived in 1904, when 145 hired on at the Castle Gate Mine in Carbon County . . . [and] around this time, coal mining companies in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico also began to employ significant numbers of Japanese miners.”²⁴

It is the opinion of Masakazu Iwata that Japanese working in the coal mines of Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah experienced harsher treatment than did Issei laborers in the coal mining industry within Wyoming, where they were more numerous than in the other three states. Although Issei miners in Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah avoided wage discrimination and were paid roughly the same as other immigrant groups, they typically were disallowed union membership and were consigned to live in a “Jap Town” outside of the boundaries of a given community settlement; they were also regarded by other races and ethnic groups to be in the same category as blacks. Wyoming—which in 1909 was home for over 13 percent of the total 7,000 Japanese living in the Interior West region—permitted Nikkei (and Chinese) to become members of the United Mine Workers, and this development led to a shortened work day and higher wages for Asian workers compared to their counterparts elsewhere in the region.

Barbara Hickman, a historian of the Nikkei experience in Wyoming, has observed that by 1909 the Issei residents of that state were increasingly finding the conditions of railroad and mining life too harsh. At the same time, they began to shift their goals: rather than continue to live in deprivation in order to save money and then return to Japan, they sought to become permanent settlers in America. “For those who stayed in the U.S.,” writes Hickman, “savings went towards the establishment of small businesses and family farms. Issei, for the most part, quit the perilous railroad and mining industries by 1910 and [thereafter steadily] moved away from the state of Wyoming.”²⁵

In her work, Hickman seeks to rectify the fact that historians of Wyoming history have tended to restrict their treatment of the Japanese experience in the so-called “Equality State”²⁶ to their World War II incarceration at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center (whose peak population reached 10,767); the camp was located in the northwest corner of the state between the small communities of Powell and Cody.²⁷ Wyoming’s population of people of Japanese ancestry did decline from a 1910 figure of 1,596 (1.09 percent of the state’s total population of 145,965) to 1,194 in 1920 and 1,026 in 1930, dropping somewhat precipitously to 643 in 1940. Despite these falling numbers, Hickman does not feel that this justifies the fact that “the Japanese [have] quietly disappeared” from Wyoming’s

24 Ibid., 16. Nancy Taniguchi, in *Castle Valley America: Hard Land, Hard-won Home* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2004), places the arrival of the first Japanese miners in Castle Valley, Utah, in 1901, when they replaced Italian immigrants in the multinational, multiracial, and semi-segregated workforce. In *Planted in Good Soil*, Masakazu Iwata maintains that “it was not until 1903 that the members of this race [Japanese] entered the mines of southern Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, at which time they were introduced as strikebreakers” (p. 127). For a detailed historical treatment of the experience of Japanese miners within the multicultural coal industry of southern Wyoming, see Ellen Schoening Aiken, “The *United Mine Workers of America* Moves West: Race, Working Class Formation, and the Discourse of Cultural Diversity in the Union Pacific Coal Towns of Southern Wyoming, 1870-1930” (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2002).

25 Hickman, “Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming,” p. 30.

26 This nickname for Wyoming—bestowed because in 1869 it became the first place in the U.S. where women were granted the right to vote—is a bit of a misnomer: in 1869 Wyoming was still a territory and did not become the nation’s forty-fourth state until 1890.

27 The literature on the Heart Mountain Relocation Center is voluminous. The most comprehensive nonfiction studies are Douglas W. Nelson’s *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp* (Madison, Wisc.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1976) and Mike Mackey’s *Heart Mountain: Life in Wyoming’s Concentration Camp* (Powell, Wyo.: Western History Publications, 2000). In addition, Gretel Ehrlich’s *Heart Mountain* (New York: Viking, 1988) represents an overview of this camp’s wartime experience from the perspective of a historical novelist. At present, there is no book extant that examines the overarching history of people of Japanese ancestry in Wyoming.

historical record.²⁸ To make her point, she not only references the existence of pre-1910 communities in Wyoming with a considerable population of Issei, but also documents those towns—such as Rock Springs in south central Wyoming²⁹—that boasted *nihonmachi* (Japantowns).³⁰

Montana shares Wyoming’s historical experience of having had a sizeable Nikkei population at the outset of the twentieth century that thereafter dwindled in the decades prior to World War II.³¹ In 1900 Montana’s Japanese population was 2,441, which then spiraled downward: 1,585 in 1910, 1,074 in 1920, 753 in 1930, and 508 in 1940; this drop was even more dramatic than the Nikkei population numbers in Wyoming. During World War II, the U.S. Department of Justice operated the Fort Missoula Internment Camp for enemy alien Italians and roughly 1,000 Japanese internees. Unfortunately, the camp’s existence and its place within the context of Japanese America’s defining event—wartime exclusion and detention—has seemingly overshadowed all other facets of the Nikkei experience from Montana’s historical narrative and collective memory.³²

The two-pronged cause prompting the mass exodus of Issei railroad and mining gang laborers from Wyoming and Montana was their desire to pursue agricultural employment as well as the comparative paucity of opportunities to do so within these neighboring states. Wyoming suffered the most dismal agricultural scenario; subject to extremely cold temperatures and generally considered to be semi-arid, it was “climatologically inhospitable to farming.”³³ According to Masakazu Iwata, while the great majority of Issei immigrants were toiling in the railroad and mining industries in the southwestern part of the state,³⁴ in northern Wyoming a much smaller number took

28 “Of all the ethnic groups attracted to southwestern Wyoming by employment opportunities in the coal mines and the railroad,” explains Hickman, “the Japanese immigrants are arguably least recognized. Few studies of cultural diversity in Wyoming even mention the presence of Japanese, choosing to focus on the European immigrants.” See, Hickman, “Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming,” p. 52.

29 Rock Springs, Wyoming, was the site of the Rock Springs massacre on September 2, 1885. The result of racial tensions between immigrant Chinese and white (primarily immigrant) miners growing out of an ongoing labor dispute, this event ended with at least 28 Chinese miners dead and another 15 wounded, plus property damage that included 75 Chinese residences burned.

30 Drawing upon oral history evidence provided by a 14-year-old who was living in Rock Springs in 1907, Hickman notes that its Japantown—then consisting of 272 people—had “two Japanese pool halls, two Japanese professional photographers, grocery and fish stores, a noodle restaurant, and a regular restaurant.” Its residents staged a public parade to celebrate the Meiji emperor of Japan’s birthday. Moreover, while conceding that most of the post-1910 Japanese-ancestry population in Wyoming continued to be connected to the railroad and mining industries, Hickman relates that with growing frequency Nikkei entered a wide range of occupations. See Hickman, “Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming,” pp. 2, 32, and 42.

31 “Most of the Japanese [preponderantly men],” writes historian William Lang, “had come to Montana during the late nineteenth century as railroad workers . . . [chiefly maintenance crew members for the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Union Pacific lines] and lived in railroad division-point towns such as Missoula [in the northwest] and Dillon [in the southwest].” See William Lang, “Alloyed Montana: Ethnic Components of a Twentieth-Century People,” in Michael P. Malone, ed., *Montana Century: 100 Years in Pictures and Words* (Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 1999), p. 86.

32 The only published volume spotlighting Nikkei history in Montana is Carol Van Valkenburg’s *An Alien Place: The Fort Missoula, Montana, Detention Camp 1941-44* (Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publication Company, 1995). For two other books covering Nikkei internment at Fort Missoula, see: Yoshiaki Fukuda, *My Six Years of Internment: An Issei’s Struggle for Justice* (San Francisco: Konko Church of San Francisco, 1990); and Louis Fiset, *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998). Within the literature on Japanese Montanans, there is not even a counterpart to a periodical article such as Robert Swartout’s on the Chinese experience in Montana: “Kwangtung to Big Sky: The Chinese in Montana, 1864-1900,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38 (Winter 1988): 42-53.

As in the case in Montana, the placement of an enemy alien internment camp near Bismarck, North Dakota, during World War II (Fort Lincoln, whose Japanese-ancestry population numbered more than 1,800) has resulted in this one momentous chapter of the Japanese experience in North Dakota so overshadowing the rest of the state’s Nikkei story as to render it practically nonexistent. Whereas diverse dimensions of Fort Lincoln’s wartime situation have been featured in a book (Hyung-ju Ahn, *Between Two Adversaries: Korean Interpreters at Japanese Alien Enemy Detention Centers during World War II* [Fullerton, Calif.: Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton, 2002]); a museum exhibition (*Snow Country Prison: Interned in North Dakota*, curated by Laurel Reuter and exhibited in Bismarck, North Dakota, at United Tribes Technical College, 2003); and a documentary film (Satsuki Ina, producer/co-director, *From A Silk Cocoon: A Japanese American Renunciation Story* [San Francisco: Center for Asian American Media, 2005]), there are no media representations whatsoever of any other aspects of the Japanese historical presence in North Dakota.

33 Hickman, “Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming,” p. 32.

34 See A. Dudley Gardner, “The Japanese in Southwest Wyoming,” http://www.wvcc.sy.edu/wyoz_hist/Japanese.htm (accessed July 11, 2009).

up farming in the Powell and Worland districts and around the town of Sheridan.³⁵ Most of the farmers remaining in Wyoming after 1910 found work as gang laborers in the northern sugar beet fields, although the majority of Issei agricultural workers migrated to such nearby Interior West states as Colorado, Nebraska, and, in particular, Idaho, for employment in those states' respective sugar beet operations.³⁶

The Japanese agricultural story in Montana, as Iwata has recorded, played out differently from that in Wyoming—and the primary factor in that difference was not climate, but racism. Very early in the twentieth century, as Japanese immigrant railroad workers began to seek other employment (due in part to the hostility they encountered from white laborers), they were recruited to work on labor gangs in the state's burgeoning sugar beet industry. By 1907 Issei had gained invaluable experience farming sugar beets, and they began raising this crop on land they controlled either as owners, or more generally, as leaseholders; most of these farms were located in south-central Montana, just north of Wyoming's border, around communities like Joliet, Park City, Bridger, and Fromberg. Shortly after World War I (which swelled Montana farm profits), Issei farmers began growing other crops (e.g., potatoes, melons, onions, and cabbage) as well as sugar beets. Issei also launched farming ventures in northwest Montana near the town of Whitefish, with some cultivating crops previously deemed not feasible for the area (such as celery and lettuce), and some abandoned vegetable production altogether for dairy farming. By 1923, anti-Asian sentiments were formalized in the form of an alien land law modeled on the one imposed in California; its strict enforcement both prohibited white landowners from leasing farmland to aliens ineligible for citizenship (i.e., Japanese and Korean immigrants) and persuaded many Issei to either stop farming in Montana or move, as many of their compatriots already had, to more accommodating Interior West states (in particular, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, and Idaho)³⁷ and there pursue their agricultural aspirations.³⁸

The history of the sugar beet industry in the Interior West is too complicated to be discussed in much detail here,³⁹ but since it was of paramount importance to the frontier and settlement stages of Nikkei in this region, a few basic facts are in order. (Thankfully, Masakazu Iwata has admirably tackled how and to what extent the sugar beet industry influenced the development of Nikkei agriculture and community building in not only Colorado, Idaho, Nebraska, and Utah,⁴⁰ but also in such other Interior West states as Arizona, Kansas, Montana, New Mex-

35 Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, pp. 604-05. See also, Cynde Georgen, "Subjects of the Mikado: The Rise and Fall of Sheridan County's Japanese Community, 1900-1930," <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com~wyoming/ar-sheridanmikado.htm> (accessed July 11, 2009)

36 Hickman, "Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming," p. 33.

37 Thus, all four of these states experienced increased Japanese populations between 1910 and 1920—Colorado, 2,300 to 2,464; Idaho, 1,263 to 1,569; Nebraska, 590 to 804; Utah, 2,100 to 2,956— even after the passage of the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement, by which the Japanese government agreed to limit issuance of continental passports to non-laborers; former residents; parents, wives, or children of residents; or settled agriculturists (i.e., those who wished to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a mainland farming enterprise). See Hickman, "Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming," p. 47.

38 The information about Japanese farming in Montana is drawn from Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, pp. 605-07.

39 For a baseline study pertaining to this topic, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966). See also four articles on this same topic that appeared in volume 41 (January 1967) of *Agricultural History*: Leonard Arrington, "Science, Government, and Enterprise in Economic Development: The Western Beet Sugar Industry," pp. 1-18; Paul S. Taylor, "Hand Laborers in the Western Sugar Beet Industry," pp. 19-26; Gerald D. Nash, "The Sugar Beet Industry and Economic Growth in the West," pp. 27-30; and Wayne D. Rasmussen, "Technological Change in Western Sugar Beet Production," pp. 31-36.

40 For a discussion about Colorado, see Iwata, *Planted In Good Soil*, pp. 634-69, especially pp. 634-45 and 661-63; for Idaho, see *ibid.*, pp. 615-24, especially pp. 616 and 622-24; for Nebraska, see *ibid.*, pp. 607-614, especially p. 609; and for Utah, see *ibid.*, pp. 595-604, especially pp. 595-99, 601, and 603-04.

ico, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming.⁴¹)

The research and development phase of the industry—which primarily took place in Utah under the guidance of Mormon Church agricultural supervisors—was effectively completed by 1897; between 1898 and 1920, abetted by irrigation practices and the securing of sufficient labor throughout the region, the industry experienced tremendous expansion.⁴² Working in labor gangs, thousands of Issei dominated the handwork done in the regional sugar beet fields during the twentieth century’s opening decade. (As succinctly described by Masakazu Iwata, in *Planted in Good Soil*, “handwork” in the sugar beet fields consisted of “the bunching and thinning, the arduous hoeing, and the back-breaking work of topping and loading.”⁴³) By about 1920, however, most sugar beet hand laborers were Mexican immigrants.⁴⁴ This change occurred because Issei bachelors began to nurture a family-based Nikkei society here in the United States, in part due to both the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1908 and the Immigration Act of 1924; they began to marry and bring relatives over from Japan. As Eric Walz writes, they “chose to move as quickly as possible from the ranks of the common laborer to operating their own farms and businesses.”⁴⁵

Not all Issei laborers who exchanged railroad and mining employment for agricultural pursuits in the Interior West migrated to this region from within the continental U.S., nor did these migrants always enter farming in their new locations via the sugar beet industry.⁴⁶ One way of giving these abstract points concrete embodiment is through examining a case study, that of the Japanese experience in El Paso, Texas. Invaluable to this case study is work done by two past graduate students at the University of Texas, El Paso: the first by a Japanese social scientist,

41 The situation in Arizona is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 672-701, particularly pp. 674-75; for Kansas, see *ibid.*, pp. 614-15; for Montana, see *ibid.*, pp. 605-07; for Nevada, see *ibid.*, pp. 624-26; for New Mexico, see *ibid.*, pp. 701-08, particularly pp. 702-03; for South Dakota, see *ibid.*, p. 755; for Texas, see *ibid.*, pp. 717-41, particularly pp. 734-35; and for Wyoming, see *ibid.*, pp. 604-05. Of the 14 Interior West states, Iwata fails to mention only Oklahoma and North Dakota relative to the Japanese role in sugar beet agriculture. However, he does state that “in the Dakotas, statistics indicate that the Japanese population in North Dakota was from the earliest years greater than that of South Dakota because of the entry of railroad, mine, and farm workers from the neighboring state of Montana” (*ibid.*, p. 755).

42 Historian Leonard Arrington observes that in the 1898-1913 interval, a total of 86 new beet factories were built, more than half by 1903, involving an \$80 million investment (“Science, Government, and Enterprise in Economic Development,” p. 10). In “Japanese Settlement in the Intermountain West” Eric Walz, being more pointed, writes that in the states of “Colorado, Idaho, Nebraska, and Utah, sugar beet acreage expanded from a total of 168,425 acres in 1910, to 506,200 acres in 1920 [and that] the number of sugar factories in those same four states increased from ten in 1900, to forty-nine in 1920, while the total tonnage of sugar beets produced . . . grew from 39,385 tons in 1901 to 4,779,00 tons in 1920” (p. 2).

43 Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, p. 167. For a detailed account of sugar beet handwork, including a recollection by an Issei who experienced it, see Eric Walz, “Masayoshi Fujimoto: Japanese Diarist, Idaho Farmer” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1994), pp. 16-17.

44 Taylor, “Hand Laborers in the Western Sugar Beet Industry,” p. 22. For the role of Mexican labor in the Interior West sugar beet industry in the states of Wyoming and Colorado, see, respectively, Augustin Redwine, “Lovell’s Mexican Colony,” http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/RobertsHistory/lovells_Mexican_colony.htm (accessed July 13, 2009); Barbara Hawthorne, “Mexican American Cultural History,” http://library.ci.fort-collins.co.us/Local_history/topics/Ethnic/mexican.htm (accessed July 13, 2009).

45 Walz, “From Kumamoto to Idaho,” pp. 408-09.

46 For a useful multicultural study focused on the sugar beet industry within the Interior West, see R. Todd Welker, “Sweet Dreams in Sugar Land: Japanese Farmers, Mexican Farm Workers, and Northern Utah Beet Production” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 2002). Welker’s scholarship builds upon three published studies of the sugar beet industry in Utah and Idaho—Arrington’s *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966*; J. R. Bachman, *Story of the Amalgamated Sugar Company 1897-1961* (Caldwell, Ida.: Caxton, 1962); and Fred G. Taylor, *A Saga of Sugar: Being a Story of the Romance and Development of Beet Sugar in the Rocky Mountain West* (Salt Lake City: Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1944)—and a newer unpublished work on the same subject: John L. Powell, “The Role of Beet Growers in the Cache Valley Sugar Beet Industry 1891-1981” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1995). Whereas the books by Arrington, Bachman, and Taylor are written, as their titles may indicate, from the perspective of the sugar companies, Powell’s thesis generally embodies the point of view of the white, Mormon beet growers. As for Welker’s thesis, it approaches the topic from the frame of reference of two racial-ethnic groups—Japanese/Japanese Americans and Mexicans/Mexican Americans—involved within a single sugar beet farming community in northern Utah.

Tsuyako Miyasato, and the second by an American historian, Christe Celia Armendariz.⁴⁷

Most Issei migrants to El Paso, the largest city along the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border, traveled either from Mexico or from diverse parts of the continental United States. After experiencing difficulty entering America from Mexico during 1906-1907, owing to widespread fears in the U.S. of a so-called “Japanese Invasion,” Issei laborers resorted to smuggling themselves across the border into El Paso, where Texas officials welcomed them because of their reputed agricultural expertise. When the Mexican Revolution erupted in 1910, the United States suspended its immigration laws in order to provide Nikkei refuge from Mexico. Thereafter, the refugees—primarily ex-railroad laborers in Mexico—formed the cornerstone of a small yet flourishing Japanese colony in El Paso.

Texas did not impose an anti-Japanese alien land law until 1921, so prior to that date the Japanese population in the city and the surrounding valley of El Paso grew steadily as Nikkei farmers availed themselves of the twin opportunities to farm their own land and to become permanent settlers. The first Issei to purchase land in El Paso did so in 1914, and just two years later El Paso had 44 Japanese residents. By 1920 Issei farmed—mainly as leaseholders—one-fifth of El Paso Valley’s 50,000 acres of fertile land, and by the next year there were 125 Japanese who owned 70 acres and leased another 5,000 acres proximate to the city. Cantaloupes were the chief crop, although it later suffered devastation by nematodes (i.e., roundworms).

A number of Issei men who came to El Paso not only married Mexican women, but they also adopted Spanish first names; thus, Ryiochi Okubo became José Okubo. During the 1930s, the El Paso Nikkei population swelled due to those who moved to Texas to escape the unbearable racism leveled against those of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast and in Mexico. Then, too, in the 1930s, as the actions of the fascist Japanese government became manifest in the media, some Japanese El Pasoans sought to protect themselves by changing their Japanese surnames to Mexican ones.⁴⁸ Of the 38 Nikkei who made El Paso their home during World War II, the majority escaped confinement in concentration camps, while El Paso Valley’s mainstream population and their organizations refrained from publicly demanding the wholesale removal of its Japanese-ancestry residents. When the war ended, however, the Japanese in El Paso became the victims of racial hatred, and this persecution drove many to move to other parts of the U.S.⁴⁹

Unlike Armendariz, who chiefly builds her account of El Paso’s early Nikkei community from local newspaper articles, Miyasato relies heavily upon oral history interviews to construct her community narrative. Because these life stories provide a window through which to apprehend the special character of the Japanese El Pasoans and the complex ways they became embedded in the history, culture, and society of the Interior West region, they merit careful attention. The following representative sample focuses on Mansaku Kurita, an Issei man, but it also captures his Issei wife Teru’s experiences.

47 See Miyasato Tsuyako, “The Japanese in the El Paso Region” (master’s thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 1982); and Christe Celia Armendariz, “Inconspicuous but Estimable Immigrants: The Japanese in El Paso, 1898-1948” (master’s thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 1994). A note: the author’s name on the title page of the first of these studies follows the Japanese practice of placing the surname before the given name; however, all references made to this source will follow the practice in English of a given name preceding the surname. For additional information on the early Japanese community in El Paso, see Beverly Ramirez, Kenneth Kurita III, and Elvi Nieto, “Japanese Immigration Came Slowly to Borderland,” *Borderlands: An El Paso Community College Local History Project*, <http://www.epcc.edu/nwlibrary/borderlands/26/japanese.htm> (accessed July 26, 2009); with respect to the World War II experience of the Nikkei community in El Paso, see Beverly Ramirez and Elvi Nieto, “World War II Affected Japanese Immigrants,” *Ibid.*

48 See Armendariz, “Inconspicuous but Estimable Immigrants,” pp. 18-44 passim.

49 See *ibid.*, 105-15 passim.

Around 1910, Mansaku Kurita came to El Paso through Mexico. He once worked for the railroad company, [and] then he started farming in Colorado. . . . In Colorado, he was in real good shape financially, but he got wiped out when his crops failed, so his friend Kuniji Tashiro called him in 1928 to come to New Mexico and farm there for a year. Then he came to El Paso. By the time he settled down in El Paso, he was financially secure. Mansaku married Teru, a woman from Shizuoka [Japan], who was about five years younger than he. When Mansaku called for Teru, she lived in Kansas. Teru had a college education and taught school in Japan. Later she worked as a midwife to many Mexicans in El Paso, and was known as the mother of El Paso.⁵⁰

For Nikkei, life in Arizona pre-World War II and during the war was markedly different from that in Colorado in important respects. By 1910 Colorado had some 2,500 Japanese immigrants, while fewer than 400 people of Japanese ancestry resided in Arizona; by 1940 Colorado claimed close to 3,225 Nikkei and Arizona nearly 900. The prewar distribution of these two states' Nikkei populations was also very different. Most Japanese Coloradans were scattered around their state in modest-sized farming communities; there was also a comparatively dense cluster in the area of Denver, where they were supported by the budding Japantown located within the city's deteriorated core. In contrast, Japanese Arizonans—who were primarily agriculturalists—congregated in the Salt River Valley's Maricopa County, in central Arizona, where they found rudimentary ethnic support systems in Phoenix, Glendale, Tempe, and Mesa.

Another distinguishing feature differentiating life for Japanese in Arizona and Colorado during this era is that Nikkei in Arizona had to contend with a greater degree of legal and extralegal prejudice, discrimination, and out-right racism than those residing in Colorado. This is not to say that Colorado's anti-Japanese climate was mild or sporadic—in fact, it was both severe and unremitting, as historian Kara Miyagishima has copiously documented. In the early twentieth century, because Colorado's laboring class generally viewed “little yellow men” from the Far East to be “invading” their state and, as railroad, mining, and farm workers, they were felt to be posing unfair employment competition. To counter this perceived problem, labor groups excluded them by creating associations such as the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League founded by the Colorado State Federation of Labor in 1908. Even after the Issei bachelors progressively transformed the Nikkei population within Colorado from one dominated by mobile laborers with a bird-of-passage mentality to one characterized by stabilized family-based farm and commercial enterprises, nativist groups organized against the Nikkei to hinder their ascent of the social and economic ladder. “Like the Negroes of the South,” writes Miyagishima, “the Japanese were accepted without rancor only so long as they remained in their place.”⁵¹ In Denver, where by 1920 some 85 percent of the population

50 Miyasato, “The Japanese in the El Paso Region,” p. 21. Although the names in this mini-biography were rendered in the Japanese mode—family names preceding given names—they have been reversed to reflect the American naming style.

Miyasato's study of the Japanese in El Paso does not end with World War II, an event that “fragmented psychologically the small number of Japanese living in the region.” Instead, she reveals how a new El Paso Nikkei community was formed in the post-World War II years by an amalgam of Japanese Americans, Japanese-Mexicans, and Japanese war brides who, during World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, came in substantial numbers from Japan (where they met and married American soldiers—including, increasingly, African Americans—stationed there) to live in the El Paso area with their husbands at the nearby Ft. Bliss military base. See *ibid.*, pp. 38 and 38-92 *passim*, especially 38-53.

51 Kara Mariko Miyagishima, “Colorado's Nikkei Pioneers: Japanese Americans in Twentieth Century Colorado” (master's thesis, University of Colorado, Denver), p. 124. Miyagishima's study and another recent work by the late Bill Hosokawa—*Colorado's Japanese Americans from 1886 to the Present* (Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 2005)—cover the same general historical territory. However, Hosokawa does so in an episodic, anecdotal, and engagingly colorful and palpable way without benefit of footnotes, while Miyagishima fashions a narrative featuring lineal chronological development, exacting factual detail, contextual amplification, extensive documentation, and clear writing. Accordingly, these two texts very nicely complement one another in style as well as content.

was native-born, restrictive covenants and similar segregating mechanisms were imposed, leaving only the city's Skid Row area open for residency by Nikkei and other people of color. With the onset of World War II, Colorado—and Denver, in particular—experienced a large infusion of Nikkei from the West Coast. Many arrived in Colorado during the period of “voluntary evacuation” and afterwards, with a large number settling there as a consequence of temporary work leaves and semipermanent resettlement from the WRA camps.

With an increase in Nikkei residents came a sharp increase in anti-Japanese sentiment and activity. The state's major newspaper, the *Denver Post*,⁵² became America's most venomous journalistic purveyor of Nikkei race-baiting. It pervasively promoted the notion that Japanese Americans “were not genuine U.S. citizens, but unassimilable and untrustworthy,” unacceptable even to harvest the state's direly endangered sugar beet crop, and altogether unwanted in Colorado without strict federal and military supervision and control. The *Post* also helped to provoke a rising wave of vigilante violence against Nikkei and championed the 1944 campaign mounted for a state constitutional amendment to restrict land ownership by alien Japanese residents (as well as East Indians, Malaysians, and Filipinos).⁵³

But the anti-Japanese movement in Colorado, from the early twentieth century through World War II, always had to contend with countervailing forces. Some came from within the Nikkei community, which possessed sufficient numbers to command the Japanese government's attention and to capitalize upon its considerable international power and influence. Nikkei had also developed an institutional network that could resist—or at least deflect—oppressive measures and campaigns designed to inflict damage upon or destroy Japanese Colorado. Thus, in 1908, to protect the interests of Japanese against the Colorado State Federation of Labor's Japanese and Korean Exclusion League and similar organizations, the state's Issei established, in Denver, the Japanese Association of Colorado. Along with other Japanese Association branches that developed throughout Colorado, it concurrently forged political ties to the Japanese government and encouraged the assimilation of Japanese Coloradans. This situation no doubt was a key reason why Colorado, unlike most other Interior West states, did not institute an anti-Japanese alien land law.

Although an attempt was made to do precisely that during World War II—at a point when mainstream negative feeling toward the Nikkei was at its zenith—via a state constitutional amendment, what transpired showed that the Japanese American community could count on countervailing support on its behalf outside the boundaries of its ethnic subculture. In seeking to counteract the drive for the amendment, which was spearheaded by the American League of Colorado in conjunction with such other supporters like the Colorado Veterans of Foreign Wars and citizens of Brighton and Adams counties (most of whom were truck drivers of Italian descent), the Nikkei were aided by a diverse array of backers. Organizations who sided with the Japanese in opposition to the amendment included a Citizens Emergency Committee formed by ministers and educators (with a statewide executive committee made up of prominent citizens), which disseminated its message via public meetings, newspapers, and radio; the Denver Council of Churches; the Denver YWCA; the Colorado State League of Women Voters; the Denver-headquartered National Civic League; the Cosmopolitan Club, a student organization at the University of Colorado; the Rocky Mountain Farmer's Union; and mainstream newspapers like the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Pueblo Star Journal and Chieftain*, as well as vernacular newspapers such as the *Intermountain Jewish News* and the *Colorado Statesman* and the *Denver Star* (both of which were African American publications). As a result of this diverse

52 For an assessment of the *Denver Post*'s anti-Nikkei campaigns, see Kumiko Takahara, *Off the Fat of the Land: The Denver Post's Story of the Japanese American Internment during World War II* (Powell, Wyo.: Western History Publications, 2003).

53 See Miyagishima, “Colorado's Nikkei Pioneers,” pp. 57-178 passim, but especially pp. 57-60, 122-26, and 175-78.

support, the amendment was defeated.⁵⁴

The smaller number of Issei in pre-World War II Arizona—as well as the state’s proximity to California, where anti-Japanese emerged earliest and most intensely—made Japanese Arizonans more vulnerable than Japanese Coloradans to racist mainstream attacks. Thus, as Eric Walz has documented, beginning in 1913, the state’s Nikkei farmers had to contend with the alien land law that Arizona (following California’s lead) passed that year; this law forbade members of racial groups ineligible for U.S. citizenship, which included the Japanese, from purchasing land but did permit them to enter into leasing arrangements.⁵⁵ An attempt was made in 1921 to legally close this loophole, although Issei circumvented the new law by leasing land in their children’s names or through non-Japanese landlords and neighbors. Still, the Issei were swimming against the tide of public opinion, for “non-Japanese farmers in Maricopa County,” to quote Walz, “resented competition from Japanese immigrants . . . and accused the Japanese of using unfair labor practices (Japanese wives and children worked in the fields), of paying too much in rent, and of taking up the best farmland in the [Salt River] valley.”⁵⁶

In late 1923, the Maricopa County Farm Bureau’s president forwarded Arizona’s governor a Farm Bureau resolution opposing creation of a Japanese population with the potential to “expand in time and prove to be undesirable residents” and requesting “a strict enforcement of the Arizona Statute which forbids the selling to [Japanese] or leasing of farming lands in this state.”⁵⁷ In reply, the governor promised to urge the state attorney general and the county attorneys to strictly enforce the laws. Notwithstanding this official resolve to see that the alien land law’s spirit as well as its letter were respected, the Issei community was “cohesive enough to defend itself”: while Japanese immigration was slowed, “the number of Japanese farm operators in Arizona increased from sixty-nine in 1920 to 121 in 1930.”⁵⁸

By the early 1930s, with the Depression in full swing, this situation was reversed. In that dire economic climate, the market value of agricultural products was slashed, and a series of circumstances led to Japanese farmers essentially monopolizing cantaloupe production. They also enjoyed a bumper crop that, confronted by very little competition, brought windfall profits even as Maricopa County’s non-Japanese farmers, who had reduced their sideline cantaloupe acreage, were hit by dismal returns for their principal cotton and alfalfa crops. As a consequence, strong anti-Japanese sentiments—including enforcement of the alien land laws—came to the fore once again. The capstone to this escalating racist climate was the explosive situation that Eric Walz has so graphically depicted:

On August 16, 1934, 600 Caucasian farmers met in Glendale to decide how to rid the [Salt River] valley of their Japanese competitors. At a rally the following day, more than 150 cars paraded through town. One carried a banner that read:

WE DON’T NEED ASIATICS
JAP MOVING DAY AUGUST 25TH, WE MEAN IT

54 Ibid., pp. 177–8. It should be noted, however, that the legislative vote on the measure (the Senate’s narrow victory margin of 15 to 12 and the House’s overwhelming repudiation of 48 to 15) highlighted the prevalence of anti-Japanese sentiment in Colorado.

55 Eric Walz, “The Issei Community in Maricopa County: Development and Persistence in the Valley of the Sun, 1900–1940,” *Journal of Arizona History* 38 (Spring 1997): 1–22.

56 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

57 Ibid., pp. 9–10.

58 Ibid.

MOVE OUT BY SATURDAY NOON AUGUST 25TH
OR BE MOVED

Over the next few weeks nativists and their minions flooded Japanese farms, bombed Japanese homes, pushed pick-ups owned by Japanese farmers into irrigation canals, and fired shots at Japanese farmers who tried to protect their growing crops.⁵⁹

A bloody catastrophe was prevented by timely intervention by the general community's educational and religious leaders, Arizona Japanese Association lobbying efforts, and the local Japanese community's appeals to the Japanese consulate. However, in the long run persecution was halted by economic pragmatism: the Mitsubishi Company, a large Southwest cotton purchaser, warned that the price of persisting violence against Japanese farmers would be the loss of cotton contracts; the U.S. government also made it clear that federal water projects for Arizona would be put at risk should the maltreatment of Japanese farmers continue. But the damage had already been done. "While few Japanese farmers actually left the valley as a direct result of violence," concludes Walz, "discrimination and depression reduced their numbers in Arizona from 121 in 1930 to 52 by 1940."⁶⁰

In prewar Arizona's towns and cities there also existed racist feelings toward Nikkei (as well as other people of color) which had hardened into customs and institutional practices. Susie Sato, an Arizona native reared in Lehi, a small Mormon community in the central part of the state, has testified that while the kindness of Mormon neighbors mitigated prejudice against her Nikkei family, she encountered discrimination at movie theaters and swimming pools in the municipalities surrounding her hometown. Nikkei, along with other Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Native Americans, "were not permitted to swim in the Tempe public pool, and throughout the [towns of the] Phoenix area, movie theaters practiced a strict policy of segregation."⁶¹

The Japanese Arizona World War II experience has been assayed by two historians, both working at Arizona universities: Charles Ynfante at Northern Arizona University and Andrew Russell at Arizona State University. Their work on this topic has in common the fact that both consider it within the context of Arizona's overall home-front experience during World War II.⁶² Russell's article in *Arizona Goes to War: The Home Front and the Front Lines during World War II*, co-edited by Brad Melton and Dean Smith, is not very compatible with the celebratory tenor of the anthology. Smith, for example, observes that World War II "brought about amazing changes in Arizona's economy," and he suggests that these changes were matched by Arizona's "improvement in race relations." To support his contention, he does not emphasize changes occurring during or immediately after the war, instead

59 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

60 Ibid., p. 12.

61 See Vicki S. Ruiz, "Tapestries of Resistance: Episodes of School Segregation in the Western United States," in Peter F. Lau, *From the Grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American Democracy* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 55. See also the following sources: Susie Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History* 14 (Winter 1973): 317-34; Mesa Historical Museum, "Mesa Leadership Talk with Angy Booker, Celia Burns, and Susie Sato," audio recording, November 1, 2003 at the Mesa Historical Museum in Mesa, Arizona; and Valerie Matsumoto, "Shigata Ga Nai": Japanese American Women in Central Arizona, 1910-1978" (senior honors thesis, Arizona State University, Tempe, 1978); and Valerie J. Matsumoto, "Using Oral History to Unearth Japanese American History," presentation at Japanese Americans in Arizona Oral History Project Workshop, Arizona State University, Tempe, November 8, 2003.

62 See Charles Ynfante, "Arizona during the Second World War, 1941-1945: A Survey of Selected Topics" (PhD diss., Northern Arizona University, 1997), later revised and published as *The Transformation of Arizona into a Modern State: The Contribution of War to the Modernization Process* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen Books, 2002); and Andrew B. Russell, "Arizona Divided," in Brad Melton and Dean Smith, eds., *Arizona Goes to War: The Home Front and the Front Lines during World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), pp. 38-55.

focusing on ones that, while catalyzed by the war, did not materialize until later in the postwar period.⁶³ “Even the Japanese Americans,” contends Smith, “[who were] vilified after Pearl Harbor and herded into relocation centers, gained new acceptance after the war as Arizonans increasingly embraced the ideal of cultural diversity.”⁶⁴ While Russell’s narrative and sidebars are not without some triumphalism, he does not shield readers from the darker aspects of the wartime exclusion and detention experience in Arizona. Thus, at one point, he writes:

Within a few short weeks [after Pearl Harbor] the climate of tolerance evaporated [in Arizona]. By March of 1942 the southern half of Arizona (including much of Maricopa County) became part of the huge military zone from which all Japanese Americans were to be evacuated. Military planners at the headquarters of the WDC [Western Defense Command] ultimately drew the exclusion line that cut across Arizona, but Arizona forces probably played a significant role in the shaping of evacuation policy within the state. Considering the high levels of anti-Japanese antagonism that had surfaced during the Salt River War [in 1934], it is not difficult to imagine that some Arizonans would have jumped at an excuse to finally rid the valley of Japanese farmers. Governor [Sidney P.] Osborne’s collected papers and state newspapers bear witness to the steady growth of anti-Japanese sentiment in wartime Arizona.⁶⁵

Russell indicates, too, how the Arizona press barely even paid attention to the U.S. government-sited concentration camps in Arizona for incarcerating Nikkei.⁶⁶ When newspapers did write about the Japanese they “tended to be negative,” as headlines such as “[Gila] River’s Japs Take 600 Jobs” and “[Officials] Forbid Japs to Leave Camps Lest Hostile Acts Occur” confirm. Russell also describes specific developments about the Nikkei presence in wartime Arizona that incited negative press coverage.⁶⁷ Finally, he floats this mordant note: “Japanese Arizonans can recount few if any pleasant memories of World War II.”⁶⁸

As for Charles Ynfante’s study of World War II Arizona, it tests historian Gerald Nash’s thesis that the war transformed the western region into a modern economy by applying it to a western state Nash largely neglects in

63 Smith cites, for example, a desire by Native Americans to “broaden their horizons” and the breakdown of segregation for African Americans and Mexican Americans (along with Raul Castro’s 1974 gubernatorial election). In 1962, the United States Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR), which five years earlier Congress had established “to document disparities in the rights, laws, and social experiences of those deprived of rights and legal recourse as a result of race, color, religion, or national origin,” made Phoenix its first urban metropolis study site, “because of its tremendous growth, the diversity of its minority groups, and because it is a city where there are few, if any, antidiscrimination laws, and where progress in the realization of civil rights has reportedly been made.” However, after hearings held in Phoenix, the USCCR discovered that Arizona’s largest city, whose population had exploded from 65,000 to 440,000 between 1940 and 1960, and contained a modest “Oriental” and “Indian” population, a substantial number of “Negroes,” and a large, rapidly growing “Mexican American” community, had as late as the 1950s segregated schools, theaters, and even many restaurants—sometimes with the force of law. See Tom I. Romero, “Of Race and Rights: Legal Culture, Social Change, and the Making of a Multicultural Metropolis, Denver 1940-1975” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2004), pp. 253-55, which compares the findings of the USCCR in Denver with those in other western urban centers such as Phoenix.

64 Dean Smith, “Conclusion,” in Melton and Smith, *Arizona Goes to War*, 178-79.

65 Russell, “Arizona Divided,” pp. 44, 46.

66 Arizona’s detention facilities included Mayer Assembly Center, Poston and Gila River Relocation Centers, Leupp Isolation Center, and Catalina Federal Honor Camp, which collectively imprisoned upward of 35,000 Nikkei, far more than in any other Interior West state during World War II.

67 Specific developments mentioned by Russell include the following: when a profit-making cooperative at the Gila River camp was established in 1942; when the War Relocation Authority [WRA] instituted a policy allowing those behind barbed wires to accept temporary jobs or long-term employment outside the military zone (especially in the Intermountain states); when, in mid-summer 1943, “a team of army investigators from WDC had to travel to Phoenix . . . because some Arizonans had blamed ‘Japanese sabotage’ for fires that consumed two produce-packing sheds”; and when, in 1944, the federal government lifted West Coast exclusion orders and announced the imminent closing of the WRA camps, thereby causing “renewed concerns that the camp populations might try to settle in Arizona.”

68 Ibid., 53-55.

his scholarship—Arizona.⁶⁹ Additionally, Ynfante explores the wartime experiences of Native Americans, African Americans, Japanese Americans, and Mexican nationals (but not Mexican Americans) to determine whether Nash is right in judging World War II a watershed for Arizona’s racial-ethnic minorities. While conceding that Nash is correct in concluding that Arizona experienced a major turning point economically during and after the war, Ynfante enters this caveat:

At the same time, Arizona’s dominant Anglo society was generally racist toward its resident minority groups. Perhaps Nash should have made further inquiry into the social experiences of this southwestern state before making his optimistic assessment about the war’s impact upon minority groups in western society. Had he done so, he would have found that Arizona was laggard in improving its own racial relations. Arizona is as vital a state as any in the western region. Its experiences deserve exploration that penetrates deeper than Nash’s general assessment.⁷⁰

Ynfante’s closing words nicely lend themselves to appropriation and reapplication here. Directly put, they can be used to support the argument that the Interior West experience of Japanese Americans is as vital as that for any other region of the United States, and that it deserves a much deeper exploration by dedicated students of Nikkei history, society, and culture than it has received to date.

This essay has thus far examined how scholars from varying disciplines have, in recent years, supported a deeper exploration of the Interior West Nikkei experience from pioneering days through World War II. Let us now briefly explore recent scholarship pertaining to the post-World War II experience of Interior West Nikkei. A strategic starting point is a 2006 study done by Joel Tadao Miyasaki.⁷¹ The larger and direct concern of Miyasaki—who describes himself as “the son of a Japanese American father and a white mother”—is Nikkei identity in Utah and Idaho during the World War II exclusion and detention experience of Japanese Americans (and, indirectly, for Nikkei generally in the period since World War II).⁷²

Miyasaki’s study has a three-part theoretical base: first, it draws on a concept from sociologists Michael Omi and Howard Winant, that “historical circumstances influence the process of ‘racialization,’ the creation of racial identity [and that] this identity in turn affects the way that historical actors live and make decisions within any particular moment in time”⁷³; second, it explores the idea from historian George Sánchez, “that cultural adaptation affects identity [which] occurs when ethnic groups encounter the dominating influence of white society”⁷⁴; and third, it examines the concept, put forth by historian Lisbeth Haas, that “history occurs both in time and space [and] power relationships [are] formed by different groups as they enter a particular space and attempt to manipulate that space for their own purposes.”⁷⁵

69 See Gerald D. Nash, *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1988) and *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1985).

70 Ynfante, “Arizona during the Second World War,” p. 317; for Ynfante’s evaluation of the Japanese American experience in World War II Arizona, see Chapter 8, pp. 208-39, in which he baldly states that “the legacy of Japanese internment is deplorable” (p. 232).

71 See Joel Tadao Miyasaki, “Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West: Japanese American Ethnic Identity in Utah and Idaho” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 2006).

72 Miyasaki’s specific interest is with the area extending southward from Rexburg in southeastern Idaho to Price in northern Utah.

73 See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987).

74 See George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

75 See Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

For Miyasaki’s articulation of his study’s tripartite theoretical base, see “Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West,” pp. 1-3.



Miyasaki uses this conceptual framework to illuminate the World War II story of the “small, but influential” and “largely ignored” Japanese American population in Utah and Idaho, who “found themselves dispersed inside a largely white, Mormon population.” He then concludes that, in general, “these regional circumstances created a much different communal identity” from that constructed by West Coast Nikkei, and in particular, that the relative “freedom” Interior West Japanese Americans had during World War II (together with the wartime prejudice in their region) “created a discourse of self-preservation among Utah’s and Idaho’s Nikkei [and] the spirit of survival found its way into the JACL’s [Japanese American Citizens League] wartime policies and [thereby] consequently affected the United States’ larger Japanese American population in real and tragic ways.”⁷⁶

Miyasaki argues that not only have scholars showed a preoccupation with World War II politics and prejudice, but also that traditional Japanese American historical scholarship has been “California-centric.” As a result, the wartime experience of Utah and Idaho—Interior West states in the “Free Zone”—has been woefully slighted. Still, recent work on the Nikkei experience, especially that stimulated by oral history interviewing, has placed a premium on first-person perspectives; this work has provided Japanese Americans in the Interior West a chance to examine “how they participated in the creation and absorption of culture.” This, in turn, has allowed studies like “Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West” to at long last “find a home and [gain] a sense of importance.”⁷⁷

The heart of Miyasaki’s study is its fourth chapter, entitled “A Discourse of Survival.” Therein, Miyasaki maintains that the two Utah-based Japanese vernacular newspapers—the *Utah Nippo* and the *Pacific Citizen*—progressively sounded a chauvinistic message reflecting a “discourse of good citizenship.” (The *Utah Nippo* had an English-language section edited by Mike Masaoka, a Mormon convert; just before the outbreak of World War II he became national secretary and field executive for the Japanese American Citizens League, the organization recognized by the U.S. government as the Nikkei community’s “voice.” The *Pacific Citizen* was the JACL’s newspaper, and during the war it relocated, along with the organization’s national leadership, from San Francisco to Salt Lake City.) Convinced that for Nikkei to “survive” in Utah and Idaho they needed, at all costs, to preserve the American way of life, Sunao Ishio—Masaoka’s successor as *Utah Nippo*’s English-language section successor—trumpeted this uncritical patriotic anthem on October 8, 1941: “Let there not be found within the Japanese American Community one to criticize the course set by the people of the United States.”⁷⁸

Ishio’s verbal flag-waving, as Miyasaki explains, foreshadowed “the policy the JACL and its allies would use in the months and years after Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor.”⁷⁹ Moreover, because the national JACL increasingly relied on those chapters constituting the organization’s newly organized Intermountain District Council⁸⁰ (which just weeks before Pearl Harbor held its second annual convention in Pocatello, Idaho, with the theme of “Thank God I am an American”)⁸¹ for membership and funding support during the war, the “local” survival discourse of

76 Ibid., iii-iv.

77 Ibid., 4.

78 Ibid., pp. 68-69. The gold standard for the articulation of the JACL’s discourse of citizenship was achieved the previous year by Mike Masaoka in his widely circulated “Japanese-American Creed” (for this creed, see *ibid.*, p. 67). By way of prefacing it, Miyasaki notes that Masaoka’s creed “represents his feelings as an intermountain Nisei” and characterizes it as “the first written manifestation of the policies the JACL supported during World War II.” Miyasaki alludes to precursors to this brand of nationalistic boosterism in Utah, such as the *Rei Nei Magazine*; this periodical was published in the 1920s in Salt Lake City explicitly to “promote patriotism,” and the existence of an informal Salt Lake City-based organization in the 1930s, the *Rei Nei Kwai*, that “often found ways to perform . . . patriotic fervor” (*ibid.*, pp. 63-64).

79 Ibid., p. 69.

80 Ibid., p. 89.

81 Ibid., p. 72.

militant Americanism increasingly reverberated in the public philosophy espoused by national JACL leaders and within the pages of both the *Utah Nippo* and the *Pacific Citizen*.

These two newspapers, along with two Denver-based vernaculars, the *Colorado Times* [*Kakushu Jiji*] and the *Rocky Shimpō* [*Rocky Jiho*], were all “authorized” by the U.S. government to serve as the “free” Japanese American wartime press, and they substantially enlarged their print runs to serve the expanded Nikkei readership within the concentration camp and resettlement populations. Responding to government subsidization (and a fear of being forced by the government to suspend operations), the *Utah Nippo* and *Colorado Times* English-language sections intensified their prewar editorial policy espousing a muscular Americanism, and in so doing they complemented—and, arguably, deepened—the all-English *Pacific Citizen*’s nationalistic message and tone.⁸²

As interpreted by Miyasaki, the content and tenor of both the JACL and the vernacular press led to Japanese Americans feeling as if they had to fit into American society in a nonthreatening way: they had to work harder than whites, maintain low profiles, fully support government actions, personify the idea of “blood assimilation” through risking and even losing their lives on the battlegrounds of America’s wars, and privilege “playing American” over protecting civil liberties and individual rights.⁸³ According to an influential theory postulated by historian Gary Okihiro, this situation represents a quintessential example whereby the mainstream (in this case, the national Japanese American community) was transformed through the ideas and actions occurring on one of its margins (in this instance, the regional Nikkei community of the Intermountain West).⁸⁴

In his study of World War II Nevada, Andrew Russell contends that “few scholars have looked east of California at Japanese-American life, history and wartime experiences outside the camps.”⁸⁵ He suggests that this neglect of the Interior West states, where some 12,000 to 14,000 Japanese Americans (one-tenth of the pre-World War II Nikkei population) lived prior to and just after Pearl Harbor, “represents a large gap in history.” In his opinion, this gap represents a serious problem, not simply because “historical significance of a group is not determined strictly by its size,” but also because information about the general Japanese American experience provides a master “mainstream” narrative to which are bound the stories and struggles of the “marginal” Interior West region. Russell reveals his indebtedness to Okihiro’s work in the observation that if “great lessons for mainstream America have emerged from the study of how Japanese Americans were victimized and how they protested these transgressions of justice during and after the war,” so too can “the images and experiences of Japanese Americans that emerged and evolved beyond the West Coast and the barbed-wire parameters of the camps . . . shed additional light on experiences of the ethnic mainstream, on the attitudes and actions of the larger American mainstream, and, most importantly, on the historic margins and mainstreams of interior states like Nevada.”⁸⁶ Thus, a searching examination of both “the historic margins and mainstreams” is crucial to achieve the broadest and deepest understanding of the Japanese American experience.

82 For a critical assessment of the Japanese American press during World War II, see Takeya Mizuno, “The Civil Libertarian Press, the Japanese American Press, and Japanese American Mass Evacuation” (PhD diss., University of Missouri, 2000). The situation of the *Rocky Shimpō*’s English-language edition, particularly during the January-April 1944 editorship of James Omura, which featured editorial support for the organized Nisei draft resistance at the Heart Mountain concentration camp, was different from these other three papers both in its greater emphasis upon civil liberties and social justice and its independence from and even spirited opposition to the JACL. However, after the U.S. government, encouraged by the JACL leadership, forced Omura out of his editorship and replaced him with JACL stalwart Roy Takeno, the *Rocky Shimpō*’s English-language section was in editorial accord with its three Interior West counterparts.

83 See Miyasaki, “Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West,” pp. 71-72, 86, and 89.

84 See Gary Y. Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

85 See Russell, “Friends, Neighbors, Foes and Invaders,” pp. 1-4.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

In order for scholarship to continue in this area, the present wealth of studies pertaining to the mainstream Japanese American experience before, during, and after World War II must be supplemented by a proliferation of *published*—and thus readily accessible—work centering on the Interior West Nikkei experience. While a good start has been made by the appearance in print of some of the books and articles referred to in this essay,⁸⁷ a next step must be to convert a selected number of currently unpublished book-length manuscripts cited in this essay.⁸⁸ Readers are encouraged to go beyond the select secondary sources cited in this essay to explore some of those not mentioned but nonetheless pertinent and readily obtainable,⁸⁹ along with the abundant (if more ephemeral) virtual

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- 87 Bill Hosokawa, *Colorado's Japanese Americans from 1886 to the Present* (2005); Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture* (1992); Mike Mackey, ed., *Guilty by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West* (2001); Andrew Russell, "Arizona Divided" (2003); Susie Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona" (1973); Kumiko Takahara, *Off the Fat of the Land: The Denver Post's Story of the Japanese American Internment during World War II* (2003); Eric Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County: Development and Persistence in the Valley of the Sun, 1900-1940" (1997), "From Kumamoto to Idaho: The Influence of Japanese Immigrants on the Agricultural Development of the Interior West" (2000), and "Japanese Settlement in the Intermountain West, 1882-1946" (2001); and Charles Ynfante, *The Transformation of Arizona into a Modern State: The Contribution of War to the Modernization Process* (2002).
- 88 Ellen Schoening Aiken, "The *United Mine Workers of America* Moves West: Race, Working Class Formation, and the Discourse of Cultural Diversity in the Union Pacific Coal Towns of Southern Wyoming, 1870-1930" (2002); Kara Allison Schubert Carroll, "Coming to Grips with America: The Japanese American Experience in the Southwest" (2009); Barbara Hickman, "Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming, 1891-1945" (1989); Kara Miyagishima, "Colorado's Nikkei Pioneers: Japanese Americans in Twentieth Century Colorado" (2007); Joel Tadao Miyasaki, "Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West: Japanese American Ethnic Identity in Utah and Idaho" (2006); Tom I. Romero, Jr., "Of Race and Rights: Legal Culture, Social Change, and the Making of a Multiracial Metropolis, Denver 1940-1975" (2004); Andrew Benjamin Russell, "American Dreams Derailed: Japanese Railroad and Mine Communities of the Interior West" (2003) and "Friends, Neighbors, Foes and Invaders: Conflicting Images and Experiences of Japanese Americans in Wartime Nevada" (1996); Eric Walz, "Japanese Immigration and Community Building in the Interior West, 1812-1945" (1998) and "Masayoshi Fujimoto: Japanese Diarist, Idaho Farmer" (1994); and R. Todd Welker, "Sweet Dreams in Sugar Land: Japanese Farmers, Mexican Farm Workers, and Northern Utah Beet Production" (2002).
- 89 Since books are much easier to access and use than articles, the references here pertain only to books. Listed by state, they represent but a select sampling of those rendered within an interethnic/multicultural context: (Arizona) Brad Melton and Dean Smith, *Arizona Goes to War: The Home Front and the Front Lines during World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); (Colorado) Adam Schrager, *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2008); (Idaho) Robert Hayashi, *Haunted by Waters: A Journey through Race and Place in the American West* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2007); (New Mexico) Richard Chalfen, *Turning Leaves: The Photograph Collections of Two Japanese American Families* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991) and Everett M. Rogers and Nancy R. Bartlit, *Silent Voices of World War II: When Sons of the Land of Enchantment Met Sons of the Land of the Rising Sun* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2005); (Oklahoma) Juli Ann Nishimuta, *The Nishimutas: An Oral History of a Japanese and Spanish Family* (New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2006); (Texas) Irwin A. Tang, ed., *Asian Texans: Our Histories and Our Lives* (Austin, TX: The It Works, 2007) and Thomas K. Walls, *The Japanese Texans* (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1987); and (Utah) Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Stone, *Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2000) and Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1991).

sources available on the Internet.⁹⁰ Before proceeding down this path of inquiry, you are invited—and strongly encouraged—to read the contents and ponder the meanings of the luminous five essays that are included with this curriculum: each has a unique perspective on the enduring communities created by Japanese Americans in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah.⁹¹

- 90 The following state-by-state entries for websites pertaining to the Interior West Japanese American experience are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to provide information that is particularly relevant, interesting, reliable, useful, and, when possible, interethnic/multicultural: ([Arizona](#)) Naomi Miller, “Racial Identity in Balance,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 7, 2004, <http://chronicle.com/article/Racial-Identity-in-Balance/44738/> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Colorado](#)) “History of Longmont,” *ColoradoInfo*, <http://coloradoinfo.com/longmont/history> (accessed August 15, 2009), Takeya Mizuno, “Keep and Use It for the Nation’s War Policy: The Office of Facts and Figures and Its Use of the Japanese-Language Press from Pearl Harbor to Mass Internment,” <http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=indo309D&L=aejmc&P=7317> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Takeya Mizuno, “To Suppress or Not to Suppress, That is the Question: Pros and Cons Over the Suppression of the Japanese-Language Press from Pearl Harbor to Mass Evacuation,” <http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=indo411a&L=aejmc&P=11852> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Idaho](#)) Laurie Mercier, “Japanese Americans in the Columbia River Basin,” <http://www.vancouver.wsu.edu/crbeha/ja/ja.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Nebraska](#)) Twin Cities Development Association, Inc., “Cultural Diversity [in Southern Panhandle of Nebraska],” <http://www.tcdne.org/cultural.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), and “Sugar Beet Production in Nebraska,” Panhandle Research and Extension Center, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, http://panhandle.unl.edu/web/panhandlerec/sugarbeet_nebhistory (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Nevada](#)) “Japanese-American Experience,” University of Nevada, Reno, Oral History Program, <http://oralhistory.unr.edu/JapanWW.html> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Joan Whitely, “Bill Tomiyasu (1882-1969),” Stephens Press, <http://www.ist100.com/parti/tomiyasu.html> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Oklahoma](#)) Dianna Everett, “Asians [in Oklahoma],” Oklahoma Historical Society, *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/A/ASoo6.html> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Wyoming](#)) Western Wyoming Community College, *Wyoming History*, http://www.wvcc.cc.wy.us/wyo_hist/toc.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), and Cynde Georgen, “Subjects of the Mikado: The Rise and Fall of Sheridan County’s Japanese Community, 1900-1930,” <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wyoming/ar-sheridanmikado.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([New Mexico](#)) “Albuquerque Ethnic Cultures Survey,” <http://www.abqarts.org/cultural/survey/index.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), “Japanese Americans – City of Albuquerque,” <http://www.cabq.gov/humanrights/public-information-and-education/diversity-booklets/asi...> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Brian Minami, “Justice Camp Remembered in Santa Fe,” April 20, 2002, <http://manymountains.org/santa-fe-marker/020420.sfemoument.php> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Texas](#)) “The Japanese Texans,” The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, <http://www.texascultures.utsa.edu/publications/texasnoneandall/japanese.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), “Japanese-Texans,” *Texas Almanac*, <http://www.texasalmanac.com/culture/groups/japanese.html> (accessed August 15, 2009), and “Texas Since World War II,” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/TT/npt2.html> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Utah](#)) Helen Zeese Papanikolas, “Peoples of Utah” (updated by Phil Notarianni), *Utah History to Go*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/peoplesofutah.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Raymond S. Uno, “Minority Racial and Ethnic Mix of Utah,” Utah Minority Bar Association, February 2005, http://www.utahbar.org/bars/umbajudge_uno_racial_ethnic_mix.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, “Japanese Life in Utah,” *Utah History to Go*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_peoples_of_utah/japaneselifeinutah (accessed August 15, 2009), Nancy Taniguchi, “Japanese Immigrants in Utah,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, <http://www.media.utah.edu/UHE/j/JAPANESE.html> (accessed August 15, 2009), Barre Toelken, “Dancing with the Departed: Japanese Obon in the American West,” <http://www.worldandi.com/specialreport/1994/august/Sau588.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Joel Tadao Miyasaki, “Mike Masaoka and the Mormon Process of Americanization,” *The Juvenile Instructor*, March 22, 2008, <http://www.juvenileinstructor.org/mike-masaoka-and-the-mormon-process-of-americanization> (accessed August 15, 2009).
- 91 The author would like to extend his profound appreciation to Sherri Schottlaender for her remarkable work in copy-editing the present essay. The time, energy, and intelligence she invested in this undertaking far exceeded reasonable expectations. Her efforts not only greatly improved the essay, but also provided the author with an invaluable learning experience.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in the Interior West

(Compiled by Arthur A. Hansen)

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- 1882 • U.S. Congress passes the Chinese Exclusion Act, essentially cutting off Chinese immigration and creating a demand for Japanese labor for the American West's railroad, mining, and agricultural industries
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- 1900 • Issei immigrant population in the Interior West is 5,278
 - 1907–8 • Gentlemen's Agreement between the U.S. and Japan becomes effective and greatly reduces Japanese immigration into the American West
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- 1910 • In the decade between 1910 and 1920, Interior West region experiences an economic boom fueled by railroad construction, coal and hard-rock mining, and agricultural development; also, sugar beet production increases dramatically in this region during this peak period of Japanese immigration to the U.S., as seen in the rise in acreage devoted to this crop in Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Nebraska from 168,425 to 506,200
 - 1913 • California and Arizona pass anti-Japanese alien land laws, leading to migration of Issei laborers to Interior West states
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- 1921 • Washington, Texas, and Nevada enact anti-Japanese alien land laws, while New Mexico adds an amendment to its constitution that serves a similar function
 - 1922 • The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Takao Ozawa v. United States* that Japanese aliens are definitely prohibited from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens on the basis of race, and this ruling remains in effect until 1952
 - 1923 • Oregon, Montana, and Idaho pass anti-Japanese alien land laws
 - 1925 • Kansas enacts an anti-Japanese land law
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- 1930 • Population of Japanese immigrant community in Interior West is estimated at 12,862
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- 1940 • U.S. Census reports Japanese American population of Interior West to be 9,624, a numerical loss reflecting the Depression's impact
 - 1941 • Mike Masaru Masaoka, a Mormon from Salt Lake City, Utah, becomes executive secretary of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japan bombs U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i, an act that precipitates America's entry into World War II and marks the beginning of arrests of Nikkei and the imposition of restrictive measures on the Japanese American community
 - 1942 • President Franklin Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066, setting the stage for the mass removal of people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast and detention in U.S. Army, Department of Justice, and War Relocation Authority (WRA) concentration camps sited mostly in Interior West states; Fred Isamu Wada departs Oakland, California, with 21 people, en route to Keetley, Utah, to form Keetley Farms, a "voluntary resettler" community in the Interior West; U.S. Army issues Public Proclamation No. 4, which effectively ends the period of "voluntary evacuation" responsible for a substantial migration of West Coast Japanese Americans into the "free zone" states of the Interior West; JACL moves its national headquarters from San Francisco to Salt Lake City; U.S. government authorizes two Nikkei newspapers in Denver, Colorado (the *Colorado Times* and the *Rocky Nippon/Shimpo*) and two in Salt Lake City (the *Utah Nippo* and the *Pacific Citizen*) to serve as the "Free Zone" Japanese American wartime press; emergency meeting of JACL leaders

held in Salt Lake City, which is followed by wave of anti-JACL beatings, riots, and strikes in the WRA camps; WRA issues policy statement on resettlement from its camps, resulting in a greatly enlarged Interior West Nikkei population, including a substantial number of farm workers credited with saving the region's imperiled sugar beet crop

- 1943 • Utah and Wyoming pass anti-Japanese land laws
- 1944 • Native Nebraskan Ben Kuroki, an Army Air Corps sergeant, achieves acclaim as Japanese America's first war hero upon completing 28 bombing missions in the European Theater, and then goes by order of the U.S. War Department on a controversial morale-raising tour of three Interior West WRA camps; two federal trials are held in Cheyenne, Wyoming, for Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee draft resisters and their leaders, and another federal trial, for treason, is held in Denver for three Nisei sisters charged with assisting in the escape of two German prisoners of war that they met when all five were working on a Trinidad, Colorado, farm; U.S. government removes restrictions preventing resettlement of Japanese Americans on the West Coast, which catalyzes a steady migration in the following years from the Interior West to California, Oregon, and Washington
- 1945 • World War II ends
- 1946 • JACL holds its first postwar biennial convention in Denver, at which former Colorado governor Ralph Carr, the keynote speaker, is feted for being the only Interior West governor to welcome West Coast Nikkei to resettle in his respective state after Pearl Harbor
- 1948 • JACL holds its second postwar biennial convention in Salt Lake City

1953 • President Dwight Eisenhower confers the Congressional Medal of Honor on Hiroshi "Hershey" Miyamura of Gallup, New Mexico

1962 • Idaho voters approve a constitutional amendment extending basic American rights to naturalized Asian Americans, ending their exclusion from voting, holding civil office, and serving as jurors, and also terminating Idaho's status as the only U.S. state holding such restrictions

1967 • Salt Lake City razes its *nihonmachi* (Japan Town) and replaces it with the Salt Palace Convention Center

1973 • Sakura Square, a one-block complex of shops, housing, and a remodeled Buddhist church, opens in downtown Denver, near the heart of the Nikkei community's historic *nihonmachi*

1978 • At the JACL biennial convention in Salt Lake City, the organization adopts a resolution calling for redress in the form of individual payments of no less than \$25,000 to compensate Japanese Americans for their World War II mass exclusion and detention by the U.S. government

1988 • President Ronald Reagan signs Civil Liberties Act, which involves a presidential apology to the Japanese American community for its World War II mistreatment, along with a redress payment of \$20,000 for each surviving camp inmate and the establishment of a civil liberties public education fund

2006 • New Mexico repeals its anti-Asian alien land law

2008 • Bryan Clay, a Texan of mixed African American and Japanese American heritage,

wins the gold medal for the decathlon held in Beijing, China, and is declared “the world’s best athlete”; the Japanese American National Museum ‘s project *Enduring Communities: Japanese Americans in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah*, as a highlight to its three-year existence, stages a national conference in Denver, “Whose America? Who’s American? Diversity, Civil Liberties, and Social Justice”

Japanese Americans in Arizona

Karen J. Leong and Dan Killoren

The area known today as Arizona has hosted multiple civilizations for thousands of years. During the first millennium AD, the Huhugam established villages in Arizona's Lower Gila Valley and the Sonoran Desert of northern Mexico. Distinct indigenous cultures, including the Maricopa, Navajo, Apache, Walipai, Yavapai, Aravaipai, Pima, Pinal, Chiricahua, Cocopah, Hopi, Havasupai, Pascua Yaqui, Kaibab-Paiute, and Quechan coexisted throughout the area. However, with Spanish colonization in the sixteenth century and the establishment of settlements, tensions flared between colonists and Indian nations.

The region underwent more dramatic change as a result of the 1821 Mexican Revolution in which Mexico overthrew Spanish rule and as the belief in Manifest Destiny motivated the arrival of land-seeking American families and individuals. The U.S.–Mexico War in 1848 and the subsequent 1853 Gadsden Purchase resulted in the U.S. adding Arizona territory (and other lands) from Mexico, and the granting of territorial status in 1864 further diversified Arizona. Completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1877 contributed to the opening of mines and the development of agriculture, which attracted more migrants from throughout the U.S. and increased the U.S. Army presence to protect these Euro American settlers. In 1912 Arizona became the forty-eighth state.

For American Indian communities in this territory, the ongoing arrival of foreigners caused great turmoil, violence, and dispossession. Beginning in the 1950s and continuing until the turn of the twentieth century, conflict between new migrants and indigenous communities led to the latter's relocation to reservations. Two distinct communities—the Pima in the Gila Basin and the Maricopa from the Southern Colorado River—were coalesced by executive order into the Gila River Reservation. The Mohave and Chemehuevi, who lived in western Arizona along the

Colorado River, were moved in 1865 to a U.S. government–established reservation for Colorado River Indian tribes.

As the population increased so did Arizona's diversity. Anti-Asian sentiments and the resulting violence contributed to Chinese and Japanese Americans moving from California to the Southwest. African Americans settled initially as farmers, cowboys, and freighters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; cotton production attracted more migrants from the Cotton Belt. The swelling Japanese American (Nikkei) population at the twentieth century's dawning was due mainly to agricultural expansion in the Salt River Valley, which also experienced the concurrent migration of Mexicans from southern Arizona and Mexico's Sonoran region.

Settlement patterns, class distinctions, and institutional racism sparked interactions between Nikkei and African Americans, Mexican Americans, and American Indians. In the 1920s and 1930s shared socioeconomic status and occupation shaped the multiethnic neighborhoods of South Phoenix, where African Americans, Yaqui Indians, and Mexican Americans worked close by Chinese entrepreneurs and Japanese agriculturalists. In Tucson Mexicans and Yaqui Indians settled *Barrio Libre*, where Chinese capitalists and Euro American merchants and farmers also lived.

Arizona was not a primary destination for most mainland Japanese immigrants (Issei), who moved east of California for land, jobs, and opportunities. Some moved north from Mexico to Arizona. A demand for Japanese male laborers resulted from the exclusion of Chinese immigrants in 1882, at a time when the Southwest's need for mine and railroad workers peaked and agriculture emerged as a key industry. In Phoenix many Issei were agricultural workers; in Williams they were chiefly railroad workers.

By the turn of the century, more Japanese American families had settled in the Salt River Valley, where they often leased land and planted crops. Because

crops were trucked to the downtown Phoenix market, such small-scale agriculture was termed “truck farming.” Wives and daughters worked on the farm alongside men: women supervised the workers, sorted and washed produce, and packed crates for market in addition to performing domestic duties; they also often sold produce from stands on their farms. At the beginning of the twentieth century Glendale had the largest Nikkei community. There was also a community in South Phoenix near South Mountain as well as a smaller one in Mesa.

These families stimulated the growth of the valley’s Japanese American population, which led to a demand for rice and shoyu. While only a few Japanese farmers and merchants lived in Phoenix proper, most farmers drove their produce to the Phoenix market in the early morning to sell to grocers, and most families drove into the city for shopping, so a few Phoenix and Glendale businesses imported Japanese goods from Los Angeles for sale to the local population. After a U.S. boycott of Japanese goods in the 1930s, the Tadano family opened the nation’s first shoyu factory in Glendale.

Local community members also created a fabric of cultural institutions. H. O. Yamamoto and his wife founded the Phoenix area’s first Buddhist Church, located on their farm; in 1932 Reverend Hozen Seki held the first services in an empty building on their land. Four years later, the church moved to a building at 43rd Avenue and Indian School Road. Some members of the Nisei (U.S.-born citizens) generation can recall their parents carving the church’s original pews and altar from wood. Kiichi Sagawa, a Christian convert, began to conduct Sunday School classes on his property in Tolleson, eventually purchasing land for the Japanese Free Methodist Church, founded in Phoenix in 1932.

Transcending differences of faith, the community as a whole supported the Japanese-language schools established in Phoenix and Mesa: the Issei wanted

their children to learn how to speak Japanese and understand Japanese culture. Additionally, boys could attend martial arts classes in both Mesa and Phoenix, and after World War II girls could learn traditional dance from Janet Ikeda, who was trained in Japanese dance and had moved from Los Angeles to Mesa.

Along with other minority groups, Nikkei suffered institutional racism in many forms: state and federal legislation discriminated in the areas of immigration, citizenship, land ownership, and marriage. Immigrants of Asian descent could not become naturalized, and because the livelihood of most Arizona Nikkei revolved around agriculture, laws regulating land ownership of noncitizens significantly affected their ability to make a living. Alien land laws in the West commenced with California’s 1913 and 1920 statutes. Following suit in 1921, the Arizona legislature restricted land ownership to citizens, effectively prohibiting Issei from purchasing land. Japanese farmers subverted these restrictions by leasing land from Euro Americans or purchasing it in their citizen children’s names.

In 1865 Arizona’s territorial legislature passed its first law regulating interethnic marriage, which prohibited “Caucasians” from marrying African Americans and mulattoes. Subsequently the Arizona Supreme Court ruled that people of mixed Euro American ancestry could neither legally marry in Arizona nor—because they were not considered Euro American—challenge the statute’s constitutionality. This restriction extended to “Orientals,” thus further restricting marriage partners for Japanese.

Racially biased legislation concerning educational segregation also had a major impact on Arizona’s minority groups. In 1909 the territorial legislature endorsed the segregation of African American students, while the 1912 state constitution went further, mandating African American segregation at the elementary level and permitting it in high schools; though it was not required by statute, other ethnic

minorities were also placed in segregated schools. In 1925 *Romo v. Laird* in 1925 successfully challenged school segregation, a court victory that allowed Mexican Americans to attend the heretofore whites-only Tenth School in Tempe. Nonetheless, segregation continued statewide: for example, American Indian students were consigned to segregated boarding and reservation schools from 1925 to 1950.

The withholding of suffrage also effectively suppressed the rights of ethnic minorities. Not until 1924 did the federal government recognize American Indians as U.S. citizens, and they were not given voting rights until 1948. The Arizona legislature passed other statutes intended to restrict minorities' voting rights: a literacy test was imposed in 1912, which required all voters to read English; this requirement significantly affected Arizona's Spanish-speaking citizens. (The federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 subsequently outlawed literacy tests as a requirement for voting.)

The pervasive institutional racism present in Arizona during the first half of the twentieth century was reflected on the urban landscape. In Phoenix African Americans were concentrated in select areas due to neighborhood covenants that prohibited home sales to African American buyers, while mortgage companies exacerbated the division by advancing credit only to families settling in specified neighborhoods. This type of *de facto* segregation also extended to Mexican Americans. Early Anglo settlers relegated Mexican residents to the most marginal land, and over time these communities became *barrios* with racially segregated schools and public facilities. Swimming pools, movie theaters, and drugstores excluded or separated African Americans, Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, and any other group that city leaders and business owners deemed inferior.

The profound effects of World War II on Japanese in Arizona cannot be underestimated. The global power of Japan during the 1920s and 1930s previously had protected Japanese Americans, but that changed

with Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Not only did it precipitate war with the U.S., but it also had serious negative ramifications for the Nikkei (the majority of whom considered themselves to be "American," not "Japanese"). In February 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the removal of "designated persons" from delineated military zones in the western states. One such zone literally split the state of Arizona and its Japanese American community in two—a single street could determine which families would be "evacuated" into concentration camps and which could remain "free" outside the camps. Those removed were placed in Poston—the only "relocation center" administered by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—on the Colorado River Indian Tribe (CRIT) reservation.

Just as California, Washington, and Oregon had "assembly centers" to hold people before the construction of camps managed by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), in southern Arizona Mayer Assembly Center (a former Civilian Conservation Camp (CCC) that had been only open one month) held evacuees until their transfer to Poston. Poston had three separate communities: Poston I, II, and III. Arizona's second WRA center, Rivers, was also on Indian land: located on the Gila River reservation, it consisted of the Butte and Canal camps. In addition to being the only state where the WRA sited relocation camps on Indian land, in 1943 Arizona also hosted an isolation center for "citizen troublemakers" at a former Indian boarding school in the town of Leupp located on Navajo land. Catalina Federal Honor Camp in Southern Arizona was a federal prison that held fewer than 50 draft resisters from the Poston, Granada (Colorado), and Topaz (Utah) WRA centers, including constitutional resister Gordon Hirabayashi. Together the Rivers and Poston camps held more than 30,000 Nikkei—this number was nearly one hundred times greater than Arizona's Japanese American community in 1940,

and far outnumbered the residents of the reservations housing them.

Both WRA camps provided the state with opportunities to prepare desert areas for agricultural cultivation: Poston inmates helped complete the Parker Dam to supply irrigation for farm lands, while local farmers hired Gila River inmates to pick cotton and do other field work. Other camp denizens were put to work manufacturing camouflage nets and other war-related items. Parents in Poston and Rivers also saw many of their sons serve the U.S. in World War II in the armed forces or the Military Intelligence Service (MIS).

While those Nikkei families in Glendale and Mesa living north and east of the “dividing line” remained free from detention, they did not escape the racist hostility directed at their ethnic community. Grocery and department stores would not serve them, and Japanese Americans could only enter Phoenix with a permit or if accompanied by a Euro American. Some families were forced to survive on what they farmed, and they also had to rely upon hired workers to represent them honestly when selling their produce at the Phoenix market. Some families who were not evacuated yet were adversely affected by forced exclusion successfully claimed reparations from the U.S. government in the 1990s.

The Arizona Japanese community played a significant role in assisting Japanese Americans who relocated to the state from California. After being released from confinement, these displaced Californians lived on the farms or in the homes of Japanese Arizonans, worked for them, and received temporary assistance from them to rebuild their lives. While most Japanese American inmates returned to California within a year or two, others remained and became members of Arizona’s post–World War II Japanese American community. In the 1950s the Gila River leadership agreed not to disturb the camp sites as long as they did not need to use the land, and they have honored this verbal commitment to the present day.

The growing politicization among ethnic minorities nationwide in the postwar era was also true among Japanese Americans in Arizona. Wing F. Ong became the first Asian American to be elected to a state office in 1946. Desegregation of high schools in Arizona began in 1949–1950. In 1951, the Arizona legislature amended the law mandating the segregation of African American students, leaving it to individual districts to desegregate as desired. In 1953, the Superior Court ruled school segregation unconstitutional. This ruling was followed on May 5, 1954, by a similar judgment just twelve days before the US Supreme Court handed down its *Brown v. Board of Education* verdict.

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 (Immigration and Nationality Act) reversed the exclusion of Japanese-born individuals from U.S. citizenship; this legislation stopped racially based exclusions and established quotas based on national origin, enabling all immigrants from Asia to become citizens. Japanese Arizonans actively lobbied their state senators and representatives to support this bill. After the law passed, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) held citizenship classes in English and Japanese. Although not all Issei elected to be naturalized and not all Nikkei opted for JACL membership, the fact that Issei had a choice about whether or not to become citizens was a significant milestone for Japanese Americans. A Japanese American was also directly involved in overturning the Arizona statute that outlawed interracial marriage: in 1959 Judge Herbert F. Krucker overturned Arizona’s antimiscegenation law when he forced the Pima County clerk to recognize the marriage of Henry Oyama, a Japanese American, and Mary Ann Jordan, a Euro American, as well as the marriages of four other interracial couples.

The struggle for civil rights for all minority groups nationwide continued well into the 1960s. In Arizona, beginning in the late 1950s, a bill prohibiting racial discrimination in public places (public accommoda-

tions) was defeated several times in the legislature; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council responded with organized sit-ins starting in 1960. After increased protests, a public accommodation bill was finally passed in 1964. In 1963 more than a thousand protesters marched on Phoenix City Hall to demand a municipal commitment to equal employment. Attempts to establish a Martin Luther King Jr. state holiday began in 1972: in 1990 Arizona voters rejected the holiday, resulting in the state being taken out of the running to host the Super Bowl. In 1992 Arizona became the forty-ninth state to establish the King holiday, and the only one to do so after voter approval. Mexican Americans likewise protested discrimination: the nonprofit group Chicanos por la Causa was founded in 1969 to advocate for equal rights; high-school students boycotted Phoenix High School the following year because of discriminatory practices and high dropout rates. Debates continue today over immigration and immigrant rights. And American Indian communities in Arizona face continued challenges to their sovereignty in terms of resource management and economic development: for example, in 2006 the Navajo and Hopi nations settled a forty-year dispute over land that had resulted from partitioning by the federal government, and the success some Indian communities have had with gaming has resulted in repeated political initiatives to decrease tribal sovereignty by increasing taxes and regulating gaming in Arizona.

Beginning in the 1960s, as Arizona's Asian American community has become increasingly diversified, the Japanese American community has also changed. Reflecting national trends, Japanese Americans were the only Asian American subpopulation in Arizona to decrease in 2005, perhaps due to intermarriage and declining Japanese immigration. The number of Japanese farms has decreased as well due to global competition, their children choosing different career paths, and the premium on land in Maricopa Valley; by 2007

most Japanese Americans had sold their farmland to developers.

Nonetheless, the Japanese American community—particularly those involved with the JACL Arizona Chapter, the two primarily Nikkei congregations in Phoenix, the Tucson Japan America Society, and other civic and business organizations—maintains a strong cultural and community presence. In 2003 the JACL and Arizona State University's Asian Pacific American Studies program initiated the Japanese Americans in Arizona Oral History Project to document the community's history. The JACL Arizona Chapter hosted the 2006 National JACL Convention at Gila River, where a memorial to the inmates was dedicated at the Gila River Arts and Crafts Center; the Chapter also maintains a small display there about forced exclusion and Nisei soldiers. A memorial will be erected by the former Kishiyama farm to honor the Japanese American flower growers formerly located along Baseline Avenue in Phoenix. These growers' fields of flowers attracted tourists and dignitaries alike from the late 1950s to the 1980s

Innovative collaborations statewide continue to sustain Arizona's collective memory of internment. The Arizona Humanities Council sponsored the 1997 "Transforming Barbed Wire" conference, which examined the shared Japanese American and American Indian experiences at Gila River during World War II. *Gila River*, Lane Nishikawa's play about internment, was first performed by local Japanese Americans at the Arts and Crafts Center in 2000. In 1999 the Colorado River Indian Tribe (CRIT) designated 40 acres for a Poston educational site, and CRIT members worked with former inmates on the Poston Restoration Project in 2001 to rebuild Poston I and open a museum; in addition, the Poston Memorial Committee built a memorial at the camp site in 2002. OneBook Arizona—a statewide reading program—selected Cynthia Kadohata's novel *Weedflower*, about a friendship at Poston, for its 2007 children's book selection

The state of Arizona has increasingly recognized contributions by individual Japanese Americans. In 2003 the Tucson Unified School District dedicated Henry “Hank” Oyama Elementary School to honor Oyama’s educational leadership and his work in Mexican American bilingual education. Due to the efforts of Chandler resident Bill Staples, Arizona Governor Janet Napolitano declared November 10, 2005, to be “Kenichi Zenimura Day” to commemorate the legendary Japanese American baseball player who, as a Gila River inmate, constructed a field and organized a camp baseball league; in 1945 he coached the Gila River Eagles to victory over Arizona’s top high school team, the Tucson Badgers, at Butte Camp. In 2006 surviving members of both teams reunited and recalled how Zenimura and the Badgers’ coach, Hank Slagle, transcended racial differences in the name of sportsmanship.

Arizona has experienced rapid population growth in the past few decades, one benefit of which is increased diversity. Recently, for example, the state has welcomed refugees from Burma and Sudan. Today the state’s challenge is how to respond to changes brought about by this increased diversity, including spiraling demands for resources and the need to ensure equal access to services and opportunities while encouraging and sustaining the democratic engagement of all of its residents.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in Arizona

(Compiled by Karen J. Leong)

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- 1865 • Arizona Territorial Legislature passes law prohibiting Euro Americans from marrying African Americans or mulattoes
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- 1870 • U.S. Census begins to count persons of Japanese descent
 - 1877 • Antimiscegenation law revised to forbid intermarriage between Euro Americans and American Indians
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- 1882 • First Chinese Exclusion law passed, forbidding entry of Chinese laborers; extended indefinitely in 1904 and repealed in 1943, this results in recruitment of Japanese labor to the United States and Hawai'i
 - 1885 • Japanese immigrant Hachiro Onuki comes to Arizona and changes name to Hutcheon Ohnick; Ohnick becomes a naturalized U.S. citizen and partner in the first electricity and gas plant in Phoenix He marries Catherine Shannon in 1888
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- 1897 • Japanese agricultural workers hired in central Arizona territory
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- 1900 • U.S. Census counts 281 Japanese in Arizona Territory
 - 1905 • 120 Japanese laborers are brought to Salt River Valley to work on sugar beet farm
 - Japan defeats Russia in Russo-Japanese War
 - 1906 • First Japanese settles permanently in Maricopa County
 - 1907 • President Theodore Roosevelt brokers so-called Gentlemen's Agreement with prime minister of Japan to halt migration of Japanese workers to the United States; Japanese migration for family reunification still permitted
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- 1909 • Japanese workers for hire advertised in Prescott newspaper
 - Increasing numbers of Japanese truck farmers thrive in central Arizona, growing cantaloupe, sugar beets, lettuce, and strawberries
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- 1910 • U.S. Census counts 371 Japanese in Arizona Territory
 - Arizona Japanese Association founded
 - Free Methodist Church and People's Mission in Mesa work with Japanese in Salt River Valley
 - 1912 • Arizona and New Mexico gain statehood
 - 1913 • Arizona passes first alien land law, following California's lead
 - 1917 • Editorial in Mesa Daily Tribune praises patriotism of Japanese in Red Cross activities supporting local troops
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- 1920 • U.S. Census counts 550 Japanese Americans in Arizona
 - 1921 • Arizona passes a stricter alien land law
 - 1929 • Mr. and Mrs. Kiichi Sagawa initiate first Japanese Protestant Christian meetings
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- 1930 • U.S. Census counts 879 Japanese Americans in Arizona
 - 1932 • Japanese Free Methodist Church dedicated
 - 1933 • Reverend Hozen Seki arrives to lead Buddhist Church at H.O. Yamamoto farm
 - 1934 • Euro American farmers, discontented with poor economy, begin an anti-alien movement intended to force all Asians out of Arizona; 10 Japanese farmers are assaulted
 - 1935 • Japanese Consul's intervention with federal government halts violence, but acreage farmed by Japanese drops from 8,000 acres to 3,000
 - 1936 • Arizona Buddhist Church building in Phoenix opens

- 1940 • U.S. Census counts 632 Japanese Americans in Arizona
- 1941 • The day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, FBI agents visit several Japanese American families in Arizona, taking away heads of households and community leaders
- 1942 • General John DeWitt sets up military zones along the West Coast; the dividing line demarcates the southern third of Arizona as restricted and also splits Maricopa County in half between restricted and free zones
 - Mayer Assembly Center opens for one month
 - Concentration camps constructed at Gila River Reservation and Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation
- 1945 • Rivers and Canal camps at Gila River closed
 - Poston I, II, and III camps in Parker closed

- 1950 • U.S. Census counts 780 Japanese Americans in Arizona
- 1952 • Congress passes McCarran-Walter Act, which revises U.S. immigration law and gives Japanese-born immigrants the right to naturalized citizenship
- 1956 • More than 40 Arizona Issei become naturalized citizens
- 1957 • Original Buddhist Church building destroyed in arson fire
- 1959 • Hank Oyama and his bride Mary Ann Jordan, along with four other couples, successfully challenge Arizona’s anti-miscegenation law

- 1960 • U.S. Census counts 1,501 Japanese Americans in Arizona
- 1961 • New Buddhist Church building dedicated

- 1970 • U.S. Census counts 2,394 Japanese Americans in Arizona
- 1976 • City of Phoenix becomes a Sister City with Himeji in Japan

- 1980 • U.S. Census counts 4,074 Japanese Americans in Arizona
- 1984 • City of Phoenix (along with the Japan-America Society of Phoenix, the Japanese American Citizens League Arizona chapter, Himeji Sister Cities Committee, Arizona Buddhist Church, and Phoenix Japanese Free Methodist Church) organizes Matsuri: A Festival of Japan
- 1986 • Phoenix and Himeji, Japan, begin collaborating on plans for a Japanese Friendship Garden in Margaret T. Hance Park in Phoenix
- 1988 • President Ronald Reagan signs Civil Liberties Act

- 1990 • U.S. Census counts 6,302 Japanese Americans in Arizona
- 1996 • Japanese Tea House and Tea House Garden in Phoenix open
- 1997 • “Transforming Barbed Wire,” an Arizona Humanities Council–funded project, explores the incarceration of Japanese Americans on American Indian lands in Arizona; project includes commissioned artwork, a scholarly publication, educational activities, and tours of both Poston and Gila River sites
- 1999 • Colorado River Indian Tribes designates 40 acres for Poston educational site
 - Japanese Friendship Garden in Phoenix dedicated by Himeji and Phoenix officials
 - Premiere of Lane Nishikawa’s play Gila River at Gila River Arts and Crafts Center

- 2000 • U.S. Census counts 7,712 Japanese Americans in Arizona

- 2002 • Poston Memorial Committee dedicates memorial at former concentration camp site
- 2003 • Japanese Americans in Arizona Oral History Project begins with grant from Arizona Humanities Council
 - Dedication of Henry “Hank” Oyama Elementary School in Tucson Unified School District
 - World War II Military Intelligence Service Veteran Masaji Inoshita of Glendale inducted into Arizona Veterans Hall of Fame
- 2005 • American Community Survey counts 7,214 Japanese Americans in Arizona
 - Mesa Arts Center opens, featuring the 1,588-seat Tom and Janet Ikeda Theater
 - Arizona governor Janet Napolitano declares November 10 “Kenichi Zenimura Day” for the Japanese American baseball player who organized the camp’s baseball league
- 2006 • JACL Arizona hosts JACL National Convention at Gila River
 - Arizona Historical Foundation creates “A Celebration of the Human Spirit: Japanese-American Relocation Camps in Arizona,” a temporary exhibit at Arizona State University Hayden Library
- JACL Arizona dedicates a memorial to the Gila River concentration camps at Gila River Arts and Crafts Center
- Pima County Sports Hall of Fame, Nisei Baseball Research Project, and Tucson High School recognize the Gila River Butte Eagles and the Tucson High Badgers, as well as the cooperation of their coaches—Kenichi Zenimura and Hank Slagle—at “Hall of Fame Night”; in 1945 the Gila River League champion Eagles defeated three-time state champion Badgers at Gila River concentration camp by one run in ten innings of play
- 2007 • Cynthia Kadohata’s novel *Weedflower*, about a friendship between a Mojave Indian and a Japanese American at Poston during World War II, is the juvenile category selection for OneBook Arizona

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