ENDURING COMMUNITIES

# Colorado Curriculum Units*

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

Gift of the Uragami family, Japanese American National Museum (91.92.54)


enduringcommunities

Japanese American National Museum
369 East First Street, Los Angeles, CA 90012
Tel 213.625.0414 | Fax 213.625.1770 | janm.org | janmstore.com
For project information, http://www.janm.org/projects/ec

# Enduring Communities

Photo by Motonobu Koizumi

## Colorado Curriculum Writing Team

Judy Hansen
Judy Kurtz
Daryl Maeda (not pictured)
Abbie Martin
Pam Newman
Cindy Stout

## Project Managers

Allyson Nakamoto
Jane Nakasako
Cheryl Toyama

*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
Davis School District, Utah

Japanese American National Museum
369 East First Street
Los Angeles, CA 90012
Tel 213.625.0414
Fax 213.625.1770
janm.org | janmstore.com

COLORADO

# Table of Contents



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

# 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 communities. 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,

**Allyson Nakamoto**
Project Director, *Enduring Communities*
Japanese American National Museum
anakamoto@janm.org

## Author

Judy Kurtz

## Name of Unit

Governor Ralph L. Carr: A Voice Against the Tyranny of the Majority

## Suggested Grade Level(s)

Secondary

## Suggested Subject Area(s)

U.S. History; Integrated U.S. History and Language Arts courses; U.S. Government, Civics, and Current Events classes; Advanced Placement U.S. History; Advanced Placement English Language and Composition

Ralph L. Carr, Governor of Colorado (1939–1943)

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Unit Map



## Author

Judy Kurtz

## Name of Unit

Governor Ralph L. Carr: A Voice Against the Tyranny of the Majority

## Suggested Grade Level(s)

Secondary

## Suggested Subject Area(s)

- U.S. History: Adding an aspect of the home front experience which is often neglected in textbooks
- Integrated U.S. History and Language Arts courses: Use of primary sources such as letters, speeches, and artwork to explore the effects of the experience on individuals
- Government, Civics, and Current Events classes/activities: An examination of the balance between human emotion and the Constitution in times of danger
- Advanced Placement U.S. History or Government: Use of primary documents to evaluate the actions of government in times of danger
- Advanced Placement English Language and Composition: Use of primary sources such as letters, speeches, and artwork to explore the effects of the experience on individuals

## Number of Class Periods Required

6 to 11 class periods (50 minutes per period)

## Overarching Understanding

- Building and preserving American democracy demands attention to the threats to individuals and minority groups created by the so-called tyranny of the majority.

## Essential Question(s)

- How do societies striving for equality come to terms with the tension between the good of the one and the good of the many?
- How is the balance between the one and the many influenced by visual language?

## Guiding Question(s)

**Lesson 1: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II**

- How can the balance between safety and liberty be maintained in times of threat to the State?

**Lesson 2: Governor Ralph L. Carr: A Voice for the Minority**

- How and why did Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr attempt to maintain a balance between the safety of the nation and the liberty of Japanese Americans in Colorado during World War II?

**Lesson 3: The Tyranny of the Majority**

- In a democracy, what is the responsibility of the individual and of elected officials toward minority opinions?

**Lesson 4: Document-Based Question**

- What role does visual language play in creating and/or supporting the power of the majority over the minority?

## Teacher Overview

Because this unit is intended to investigate certain problems that arise within American democracy, the first lesson has been written to ensure that students have background knowledge about the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. The use of a standard history text to provide the background information is recommended. The bias of the text is irrelevant: an accurate account of the experience is preferred, but if a biased or incomplete account is given, that deficiency becomes a good talking point in the context of this unit.

When our country was faced with the attack on Pearl Harbor, a kind of Constitutional crisis—most evident in retrospect—was precipitated. It seemed that the safety of the nation was dependent on the abrogation of the rights of certain "suspect races." While there were in reality three such "suspect races"—Germans, Italians, and Japanese—only one group of people was singled out: namely, Japanese Americans living on the West Coast.

In this unit students will examine the actions of several citizens presented with the choice between controlling a perceived risk and wielding power in accordance with the limits imposed by the Constitution. Some of those citizens were in positions of political power, others were powerful in the media, and others were "ordinary" citizens. (A question might be raised: Are there "ordinary" citizens in a democracy?)

This unit is intended to provide a deeper examination of the philosophies underpinning American democracy; help her/him explore the dangers inherent in the form; and encourage the development of a personal philosophy as a citizen in a democracy regarding responsibility toward minority populations whether identified by ideology, age, gender, or race. Depending on the curriculum of the implementing school, this unit might stand alone in an American History syllabus or be embedded in any humanities course.

## Note about the Colorado Model Content Standards

This unit cites the 2008 Colorado Model Content Standards. Updated standards will be available in Fall 2009 and were not available at the time of printing.

LESSON 1

# The Incarceration
## of Japanese Americans during World War II



### Time

1 to 2 class periods (50 minutes per period)

### Overview

Because this unit is intended to investigate certain problems that arise within American democracy, the first lesson has been written to ensure that students have background knowledge about the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II in order to facilitate deeper levels of analysis.

### Objectives

- Students will learn about the events leading up to the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.
- Students will become aware of political and social attitudes that prevailed in the United States at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor.
- Students will learn about the decisions that were made by the federal government in response to those political and social attitudes.
- Students will learn about the effects of those decisions on Japanese Americans living on the West Coast.
- Students will be able to describe those effects in a constructed response format.

### Essential Questions

- How do societies striving for equality come to terms with the tension between the good of the one and the good of the many?
- How is the balance between the one and the many influenced by visual language?

### Guiding Question(s)

- How can the balance between safety and liberty be maintained in times of threat to the State?

### Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2: Students know how to use the processes and resources of historical inquiry.
- History 5: Students understand political institutions and theories that have developed and changed over time.
- Reading and Writing 1: Students will read and understand a variety of materials. As students in grades 9–12 extend their knowledge, what they know and are able to do includes using a full range of strategies to comprehend essays, speeches, autobiographies, and first-person historical documents in addition to the types of literature learned in previous grade levels.
- Reading and Writing 6: Students read and recognize literature as a record of human experience by reading classic and contemporary literature of the United States about the experiences and traditions of diverse ethnic groups.

### Materials

- Standard United States History textbook

### Background

Review the American history textbook, along with the introductory essays, timelines, primary sources, and other resources included in this unit's introductory materials and Appendix. In addition, Roger Daniels's *Prisoners Without Trial*, Chapters 10–11 in Bill Hosokawa's *Colorado's Japanese Americans*, and novels and/or memoirs may provide a more personalized account that will create greater understanding of the upheaval experienced by Japanese Americans; these materials may be integrated into this lesson (which will of course increase the amount of time spent). See "Selected Bibliography" in the Appendix for suggested reading matter.

## Opening

- Provide a good overview of the difficult position of Asian immigrants in the United States in the century before World War II. One such overview can be found in *Prisoners Without Trial* by Roger Daniels.

## Activities

- These will depend on the time available to devote to this topic and the aims of the specific course. If only a basic background is needed in order to provide a context for the readings (as might be appropriate in an AP English Language and Composition course), a simple lecture might be the best choice. Students do need to hone their listening and note-taking skills. The lecture should include the following ideas:

  - The pull exerted by the U.S. on Asian (primarily Chinese and Japanese) peoples;
  - The economic and social impact of Asian immigrants in the 1800s;
  - The Chinese Exclusion Act and the Gentlemen's Agreement;
  - The nature of the Japanese American community on the West Coast;
  - Reactions to the bombing of Pearl Harbor;
  - The actions and recommendations of General John DeWitt;
  - The creation of Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt;
  - The race neutrality of the proclamation in light of its racially discriminatory implementation;
  - The details of the forced removal of Japanese Americans, first to assembly centers and then to the concentration camps.

- However, if time permits and it is appropriate to the course, students might be grouped and asked to create a PowerPoint or poster presentation of text and images related to the event; there are many very useful Web sites and books readily available (also see "Selected Bibliography" in the Appendix of this curriculum.) Logical divisions might be "Before the Evacuation," "The Roundup," "At the Assembly Centers," "In the Camps," and "The Aftermath."

## Closing

- Depending on the activities chosen and the aims of the course, this lesson might conclude with posters or PowerPoint presentations to the class, a multiple-choice and/or short-answer test, journal entries, or brief essays on the students' reactions to the treatment of Japanese Americans.

## Extension/Accommodations

- For language-challenged Special Education students and ELL students, a particularly effective method to show mastery of topics such as these has been to provide background information via skills-appropriate text and discussion, then give students images of the event. Students then provide their own captions for the pictures, oftentimes asked to imagine they are the people in the pictures and describe what is going on and their reactions to the experience.
- For an additional challenge, students could examine standard high school American History texts for accuracy in the treatment the topic has received in academia. It might be particularly revealing if a variety of texts were available from different decades following World War II.

## References

Burton, Jeffrey F., Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*. Publications in Anthropology 74. Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1999.

Daniels, Roger. *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Hosokawa, Bill. *Colorado's Japanese Americans from 1886 to the Present*. Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 2005.

Inada, Lawson Fusao, ed. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books; San Francisco: California Historical Society, 2000.

Takahara, Kumiko. *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.

## Suggested Literature for Enrichment

Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki, and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment*. New York: Bantam Books, 1974. Reprint, New York: Bantam Books, 1995.

Kadohata, Cynthia. *Weedflower*. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 2006. (Particularly suitable for lower-skilled readers.)

LESSON 2

# Governor Ralph L. Carr:
## A Voice for the Minority



### Time

2 to 3 class periods (50 minutes per period)

### Overview

This lesson asks students to focus on one individual's actions in the face of overt injustice on the part of the government and blatant racism on the part of the public. Elected officials occupy a crucial position in times of crisis: When the need for decisive action arises, it is hoped that a politician will be able to make fair decisions and that his/her constituency will agree with those decisions. However, in times of crisis the correct action is not necessarily the popular one; in that case, officials must sometimes choose between conscience and career. Ralph L. Carr, governor of Colorado from 1939 to 1943, was faced with that choice in regard to the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast to Colorado in 1942.

### Objectives

- Students will understand that while most of the nation's leaders ignored their own stated philosophies of justice and equality in causing/allowing the incarceration to happen, a small minority of citizens protested.
- Students will understand the pressures that were placed on the governors of the Western states by their constituencies in response to the federal government's plan to remove Japanese Americans from the West Coast.
- Students will understand the consequences Governor Carr's stance had on his political career.

### Essential Questions

- How do societies striving for equality come to terms with the tension between the good of the one and the good of the many?
- How is the balance between the one and the many influenced by visual language?

### Guiding Question(s)

- How and why did Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr attempt to maintain a balance between the safety of the nation and the liberty of Japanese Americans in Colorado during World War II?

### Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2.2: Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.
- History 2.3: Students apply knowledge of the past to analyze present-day issues and events from multiple historically objective perspectives.
- History 5.1: Students understand how democratic ideas and institutions in the United States have developed, changed, and/or been maintained.
- History 5.3: Students know how political power has been acquired, maintained, used, and/or lost throughout history.

### Materials

- Packets of Executive Orders issued by Governor Carr:
  - *Handout 2-1: "Good Will Week"*
  - *Handout 2-2: "Constitution Day"*
  - *Handout 2-3: "National 4-H Mobilization Week"*
  - *Handout 2-4: "Colorado Preparedness Week"*
  - *Handout 2-5: "Brotherhood Week"*
  - *Handout 2-6: "American Indian Day"*
  - *Handout 2-7: "I Am an American Day"*
  - *Handout 2-8: "Anti-Loose Talk Days"*
  - *Handout 2-9: "First Annual Bible Week"*

- Packets of correspondence:
  - *Handout 2-10: Letter from George Nakagawa to Governor Ralph Carr, dated December 9, 1941 (1)*
  - *Handout 2-11: Letter from George Nakagawa to Governor Ralph Carr, dated December 9, 1941 (2)*
  - *Handout 2-12: Letter from Governor Ralph Carr to George Nakagawa, dated December 11, 1941 (1)*
  - *Handout 2-13: Letter from Governor Ralph Carr to*

*George Nakagawa, dated December 11, 1941 (2)*
- *Handout 2-14: Letter from George S. Lilley to Governor Ralph Carr dated December 8, 1941*
- *Handout 2-15: Letter from Governor Ralph Carr to George S. Lilley, dated December 11, 1941*
- *Handout 2-16: Transcription of Governor Carr's radio address on February 29, 1942*

- An optional *Time* magazine article, "The Primaries" (September 21, 1942) can be downloaded at http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,773566,00.html (accessed July 22, 2009).

## Background

When a person gains power, we most clearly see his/her character revealed in what he or she chooses to do with that power. Governors and presidents have an interesting special privilege: they can designate specific days in honor of this, that, or the other thing—basically, anything that strikes their fancy. By simply issuing one of these Executive Orders, an otherwise ordinary day like April 13, for example, becomes "Colorado High-Top Shoe Day." (This is the same basic privilege that created Executive Order 9066, which had far more devastating effects than honoring high-top shoes!) Governors and presidents take this privilege very seriously because it gives them a chance to foster desirable community behaviors and organizations, but in fact *their* character is often revealed in what they choose to single out and honor with such public attention.

In this activity, students will have a chance to hone their "people-reading" skills by analyzing some of Governor Carr's Executive Orders, as well as his correspondence with members of the community. By doing so, they will discover the priorities as a leader that led to Carr's stance on Colorado's participation in the removal of the West Coast Japanese Americans. There is a particularly good collection of documents at the Granada Japanese Internment Camp Web site referenced below which show the diverse reactions to Carr's stand as well as reveal his own concerns about the right course of action.

## Opening

- Discuss with the class ways in which we get to know people and how we gather evidence by which to judge their characters. Focus that discussion on politicians: How do we really learn what sort of person an individual is once all the "campaign promising" is over and he/she takes office? (See the discussion above in "Background.")
- Tell the students that they are going to look at some documents produced by Ralph L. Carr, the man elected to lead Colorado during the stressful World War II years. The goal is to predict how he might react when called upon to make a decision between the dictates of his conscience and the dictates of the public who elected him.

## Activities

- Divide the class into groups of no more than five and provide each group with a packet of Carr's Executive Orders. The task is to read each order and glean from it details about Carr's values. Depending on the skills of the class, you might want to read through one order together: point out such structural features as the opening rationale of the order and the "Therefore" announcement, etc., and then analyze that order for insights into Carr. Allow each group time to analyze the documents. Their end product might be a list of descriptors of Carr's character, with observations from the orders given to support each one. The groups can share their observations. (In addition, see "Extensions" below.)
- Next, outline the dilemmas faced by the governors of the states selected for concentration camp sites. (See "References" below.)
- Ask the class to predict in writing how Carr might

have responded to federal orders and public pressure, including support for their opinions.

## Closing

- Conclude with *Handout 2-16,* a reading that recounts Carr's reaction to the establishment of the Amache Camp Site in Granada, Colorado. Discuss how accurately their predictions matched his behavior in reality. Pose this lesson's guiding question: *How and why did Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr attempt to maintain a balance between the safety of the nation and the liberty of Japanese Americans in Colorado during World War II?*

- Use the packets of Carr's correspondence in one of these ways:
  - As additional documents for use in the activity above;
  - As a culminating activity, read the letters written to Carr first and predict how he might respond to each, then read his responses for confirmation of the predictions;
  - As the basis of a timed or untimed Document-Based Question writing activity. (See Lesson 4 of this unit for more information about Document-Based Questions.)

## Extensions

- Have students collect clippings about current issues that present to elected officials the difficult choice between conscience and possible reelection. Have them formulate—individually or in groups—a response to the issue that might resolve the dilemma. In addition, students might research their senators' and representatives' actions in the face of such choices.
- Appoint students "Governor for the Day," allowing them each to issue an Executive Order to promote an attitude or behavior that, in their opinion, would improve the community. Caution them that their character will be revealed by their choice, so announcing a "Smoke All the Pot You Want Day" or "No School Month" is not appropriate. This should be a serious examination of the values and behaviors that build and maintain a healthy society—and perhaps those Executive Orders could be issued to the whole school over several weeks as a community-building activity.
- Use the opening paragraphs from "The Primaries," the *Time* article published on September 21, 1942, to discuss the nation's view of Carr in his own day. There is a particular irony in the last lines about Carr's possible "temporary eclipse" that proved to be a "permanent eclipse." Only now, more than 50 years later, has his admirable character been recognized.
- View a presentation about Governor Carr by Adam Schrager, author of *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story.* Clips are available on the Japanese American National Museum's Web site: http://www.janm.org/projects/ec/resources/curricula-media

## References

Carr, Ralph L. Selected Executive Orders. 1941–42. Colorado State Archives.

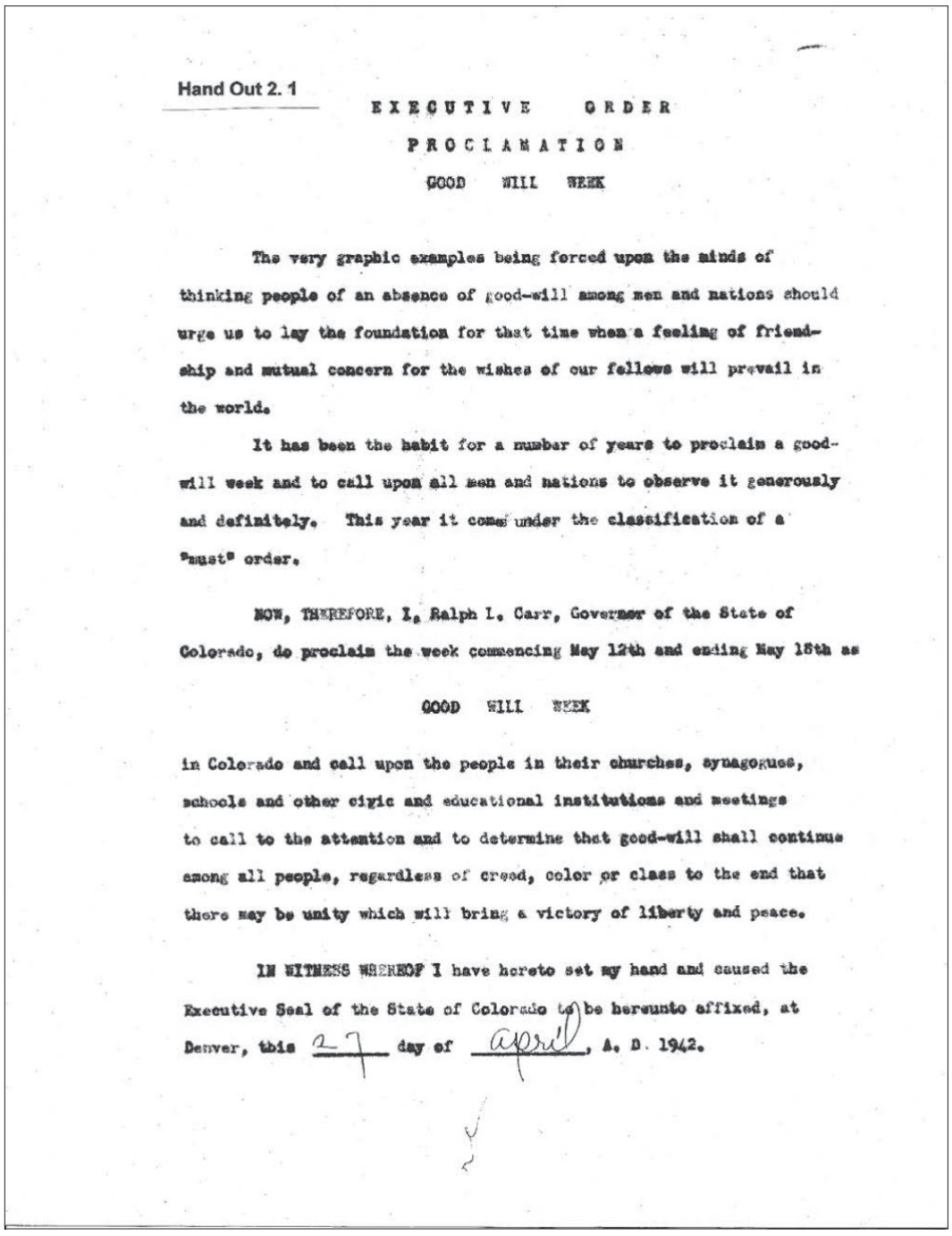
"Governor Ralph Carr. Granada Japanese Internment Camp." Colorado State Archives. http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/govs/carr.html (accessed July 24, 2009).

Lamm, Richard D., and Duane A. Smith. *Pioneers and Politicians: Ten Colorado Governors in Profile*. Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984.

Schrager, Adam. *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story*. Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2008.

# "Good Will Week" Handout 2-1





Hand Out 2. 1

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROCLAMATION

GOOD WILL WEEK

The very graphic examples being forced upon the minds of thinking people of an absence of good-will among men and nations should urge us to lay the foundation for that time when a feeling of friendship and mutual concern for the wishes of our fellows will prevail in the world.

It has been the habit for a number of years to proclaim a good-will week and to call upon all men and nations to observe it generously and definitely. This year it comes under the classification of a "must" order.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governor of the State of Colorado, do proclaim the week commencing May 12th and ending May 18th as

GOOD WILL WEEK

in Colorado and call upon the people in their churches, synagogues, schools and other civic and educational institutions and meetings to call to the attention and to determine that good-will shall continue among all people, regardless of creed, color or class to the end that there may be unity which will bring a victory of liberty and peace.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this 27 day of April, A. D. 1942.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "Constitution Day" Handout 2-2



Hand Out 2.2

PROCLAMATION

CONSTITUTION DAY.

A century and a half ago a body of men delegated by their respective colonies met in Philadelphia and after months of tireless effort, bitter argument and stormy discussion, the Constitution of the United States was drafted, later to be ratified by the several states and declared adopted by the Congress of the United States.

The wisdom of those men who worked under the leadership of George Washington, striking directly away from ancient standards and rules of government to provide a basic and fixed structure upon which was to be built the greatest republic on earth, has ever been the source of inspiration and admiration among men the world over.

The Constitution, in its clarity and simplicity, has been broad enough to allow adjustments and progress. It has been a living, growing thing, yet rigid in its protection of life, liberty and freedom of action for the people. While the masses throughout the world, with few exceptions, groan under the burden of dictatorship, the people of the United States breathe the air of freedom. It offers the solution to the problems of a warring world. It suggests the course which the stricken people may follow in the way back to civilization and peace.

Believing that we should impress upon the people of the world the security which has been given through this written Constitution, I Ralph L. Carr, Governor of Colorado, proclaim and designate Wednesday, September 17, 1941, as

CONSTITUTION DAY

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado, to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this 16th day of September, A. D. 1941.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "National 4-H Mobilization Week" Handout 2-3



Hand Out 2.3

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROCLAMATION

Thousands of farm boys and girls and young men and young women of Colorado are needed to help with all kinds of war-time work right on their own farms, in their own homes, and in their own communities. We are asking that they volunteer for such service with the 4-H Clubs of the nation this summer, and thereby become members of a vast army of young people who are training for leadership while they are helping to win the war.

With the welfare of our country in the balance, we must fight on every front - at home and abroad. 4-H Clubs are fighting on the farm and home fronts where dangers are less but jobs just as important.

We must win this war and also win the peace. Farm boys and girls of today have a chance to do their part by serving with honor on the home front.

THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governor of the State of Colorado, urge all rural boys and girls and young men and young women between the ages of 10 and 21 to volunteer to serve their country by joining a 4-H club and assisting their nation in various ways in winning this war.

I am glad to affix my signature proclaiming the week of April 5th through April 11th as

NATIONAL 4-H MOBILIZATION WEEK

in the State of Colorado. I hereby urge every farm young person to see his county extension agent or home demonstration agent in volunteering to enroll in 4-H Club work.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado, to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this Sixteenth day of March, A. D. 1942.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "Colorado Preparedness Week" Handout 2-4



Hand Out 2.4

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROCLAMATION

Free men and women are fighting against the armed aggression of dictators. Our young men are being enrolled and trained by democratic processes into a great and powerful army. Some are being taught the trade of arms, while others are being schooled in the skills of defense production. And brothers and sister, and their elders, are just as surely enrolled in our Nation's defense. This war now raging has at stake the freedom on which our America was founded. Not men alone, but more and more materials are the stuff of modern war, America's productive industry and Democracy's service of supply. Our task is to build for defense, not only more guns, more ships, more tanks, more airplanes, but warmer blankets, stronger shoes, more nourishing food. Tougher thread is as useful as tougher steel. And the demand for all in this time or urgency is Speed, Speed and more Speed.

Since adequate national preparedness is absolutely essential to American victory, and since a civilian as well as a military preparedness is so imperative at this time, and the need therefor is of vital interest to all,

THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governorcof the State of Colorado, do hereby set aside the period between February 15 and February 28 as Colorado Preparedness Week, for the purpose of informing and reminding the people of Colorado of the importance and necessity for an adequate national preparedness.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this thirty first day of January, A. D. 1942.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "Brotherhood Week" Handout 2-5



Hand Out 2.5

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROCLAMATION.

NATIONAL BROTHER HOOD WEEK

At no time in its history has this Country been given clearer reasons for brotherhood among men than in 1942. The one nation in the world which is made up of people from all other nations and which by reason of that very fact, has become the people of the greatest of nations, must unite and stand united if our form of Government is to continue.

This is the time for us to recognize the value of true brotherhood, not only in marching side by side to meet a common enemy, but in those more basic and intimate relationships in our daily contacts with other people. It is fitting that the week of Washington's birthday has been selected as Brotherhood Week for 1942.

THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governor of Colorado, do set aside the week from February 15th to February 22nd, 1942, as

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

and urge the people of Colorado in their churches, their schoolrooms, their service organizations and in their private activities to recognize the true meaning of this Week and to observe it in every fitting manner.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this 21 day of January, A. D. 1942.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "American Indian Day" Handout 2-6



EXECUTIVE ORDER

Hand Out 2.6

PROCLAMATION

AMERICAN INDIAN DAY

The American Indian - the First American - is proving himself to be entitled to be listed in this emergency among the Best Americans. It is well to cherish and to remember the civilization which the Indian helped to develop, the contribution which he has made to American life and the position which he has now assumed in society, as a part of our American melting pot.

It seems fitting that all states in which Indians are found in large numbers should set aside a day for the observance of their customs and for the recognition of their qualities and contributions.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governor of the State of Colorado, do set aside Saturday, the Twenty-sixth day of September, 1942 as

AMERICAN INDIAN DAY

in Colorado and ask the people to honor the American Indian in our schools, our public gatherings and our homes, by programs, by fitting music and by expressions of goodwill and friendship toward our Red Brothers.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado, to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this ____ day of September, A. D. 1942.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "I Am an American Day" Handout 2-7



**Hand Out 2.7**

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROCLAMATION

"I AM AN AMERICAN" DAY.

People who become citizens of the United States of America at this time have reason, as never before, to be grateful. Only those who qualify in every way are accepted in these times, and only those who are truly Americans at heart should be received.

Therefore, when a man is naturalized, he becomes a person who is outstanding among his fellows; he has acquired a great possession, and this country has added another fine citizen.

To recognize these persons and to call the attention of all Americans to this fact, the third Sunday in May has been designated as Citizen Day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governor of the State of Colorado, do hereby designate Sunday May 17, 1942, as "I AM AN AMERICAN" DAY in the State of Colorado, and urge that this day be observed as a public occasion in recognition of our citizens who have attained their majority of who have been naturalized in the past year, and I call upon all state and local officals and all patriotic, civil and educational organizations to join in exercises calculated to impress upon all of our citizens, both native-born and naturalized, the special significance of citizenship in this nation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado to be hereunto affixed, at Denver, this _____ day of May, A. D. 1942.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "Anti-Loose Talk Days" Handout 2-8



Hand Out 2.8

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROCLAMATION

ANTI-LOOSE TALK DAYS

Our nation is involved in the greatest war of all time, and upon its outcome will depend its future course for generations to come; and

The constant cooperation of every individual is required in order that the conclusion of this war shall result in complete victory for this nation and its allies; and

A part of the cooperation demanded of every individual is that he, at no time knowingly or unwittingly, provide information which may be of value or which may comfort our vicious enemies; and

Loose talk is one of the most dangerous sources of important information to our enemies; and

The Colorado State Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Colorado Defense Council, are sponsoring a campaign to awaken the citizens of Colorado to the danger of loose talk, now, therefore,

I, Ralph L. Carr, as Governor of the State of Colorado, in conjunction with the campaign of the Colorado State Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Colorado Defense Council, do hereby

DECLARE AND PROCLAIM the period from November 1, 1942 to November 15, 1942, as

ANTI-LOOSE TALK DAYS

and urge the support of every citizen of Colorado so that no American wareffort shall fail, nor American boy die because of a thoughtless word carelessly spoken.

GIVEN this 29th day of October, 1942, at Denver, Colorado, under my hand and the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# "First Annual Bible Week" Handout 2-9



Hand Out 2.9

EXECUTIVE ORDER
PROCLAMATION
FIRST ANNUAL BIBLE WEEK.

At no time in the history of civilization have the people needed the lessons to be found in that history of human growth and spiritual inspiration which we call the Bible as much as today. Between the covers of that Book are to be found the answers to all problems of every individual and of the world itself. When men and nations devote their attention more definitely to its guide-posts and suggestions, they will cease to plan each other's death and the destruction of humankind.

THEREFORE, I, Ralph L. Carr, Governor of the State of Colorado, do designate the week of December 8 to 14, 1941, as the

FIRST ANNUAL BIBLE WEEK

in Colorado and recommend to the people in their places of worship, in their homes and in their gathering places that they resort to the Bible for inspiration, for enlightenment and for the solution of their problems.

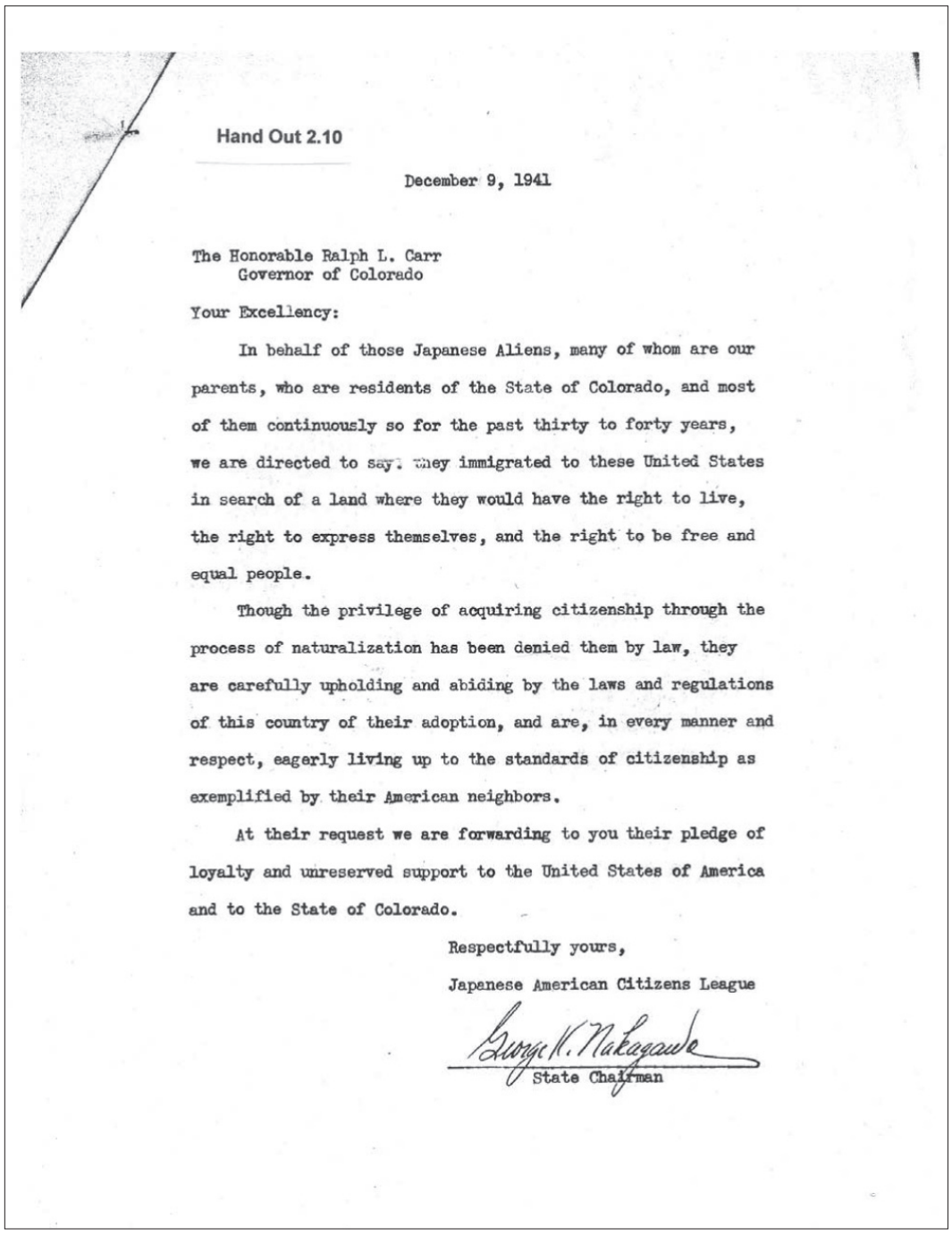
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand and caused the Executive Seal of the State of Colorado to be hereunto attached, at Denver, this First day of December, A. D. 1941.

Governor of Colorado

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Letter from George Nakagawa to Governor Ralph Carr, dated December 9, 1941 (1) Handout 2-10





Hand Out 2.10

December 9, 1941

The Honorable Ralph L. Carr
Governor of Colorado

Your Excellency:

In behalf of those Japanese Aliens, many of whom are our parents, who are residents of the State of Colorado, and most of them continuously so for the past thirty to forty years, we are directed to say: they immigrated to these United States in search of a land where they would have the right to live, the right to express themselves, and the right to be free and equal people.

Though the privilege of acquiring citizenship through the process of naturalization has been denied them by law, they are carefully upholding and abiding by the laws and regulations of this country of their adoption, and are, in every manner and respect, eagerly living up to the standards of citizenship as exemplified by their American neighbors.

At their request we are forwarding to you their pledge of loyalty and unreserved support to the United States of America and to the State of Colorado.

Respectfully yours,

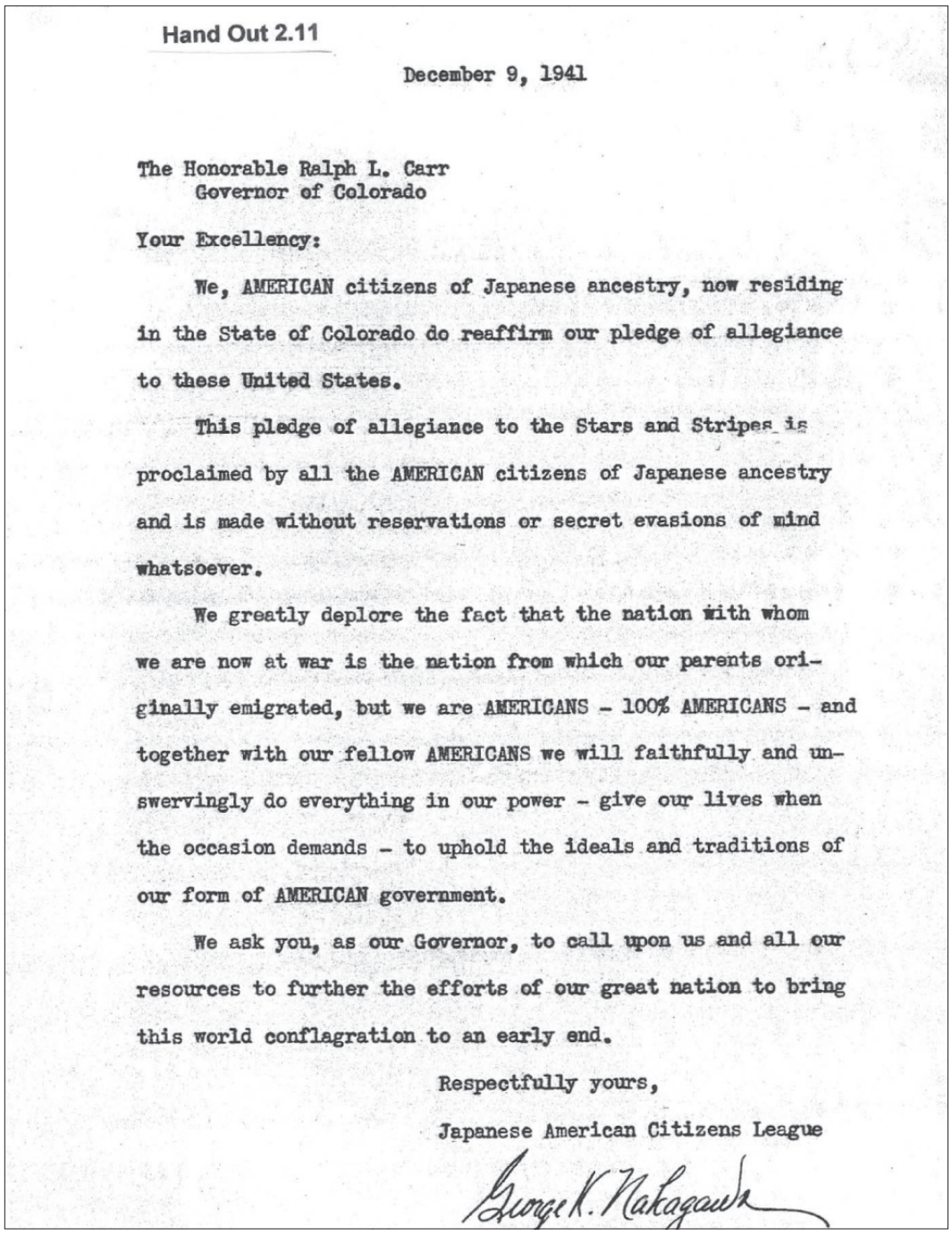
Japanese American Citizens League

George K. Nakagawa
State Chairman

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Letter from George Nakagawa to Governor Ralph Carr, dated December 9, 1941 (2) Handout 2-11





Hand Out 2.11

December 9, 1941

The Honorable Ralph L. Carr
Governor of Colorado

Your Excellency:

We, AMERICAN citizens of Japanese ancestry, now residing in the State of Colorado do reaffirm our pledge of allegiance to these United States.

This pledge of allegiance to the Stars and Stripes is proclaimed by all the AMERICAN citizens of Japanese ancestry and is made without reservations or secret evasions of mind whatsoever.

We greatly deplore the fact that the nation with whom we are now at war is the nation from which our parents originally emigrated, but we are AMERICANS - 100% AMERICANS - and together with our fellow AMERICANS we will faithfully and unswervingly do everything in our power - give our lives when the occasion demands - to uphold the ideals and traditions of our form of AMERICAN government.

We ask you, as our Governor, to call upon us and all our resources to further the efforts of our great nation to bring this world conflagration to an early end.

Respectfully yours,

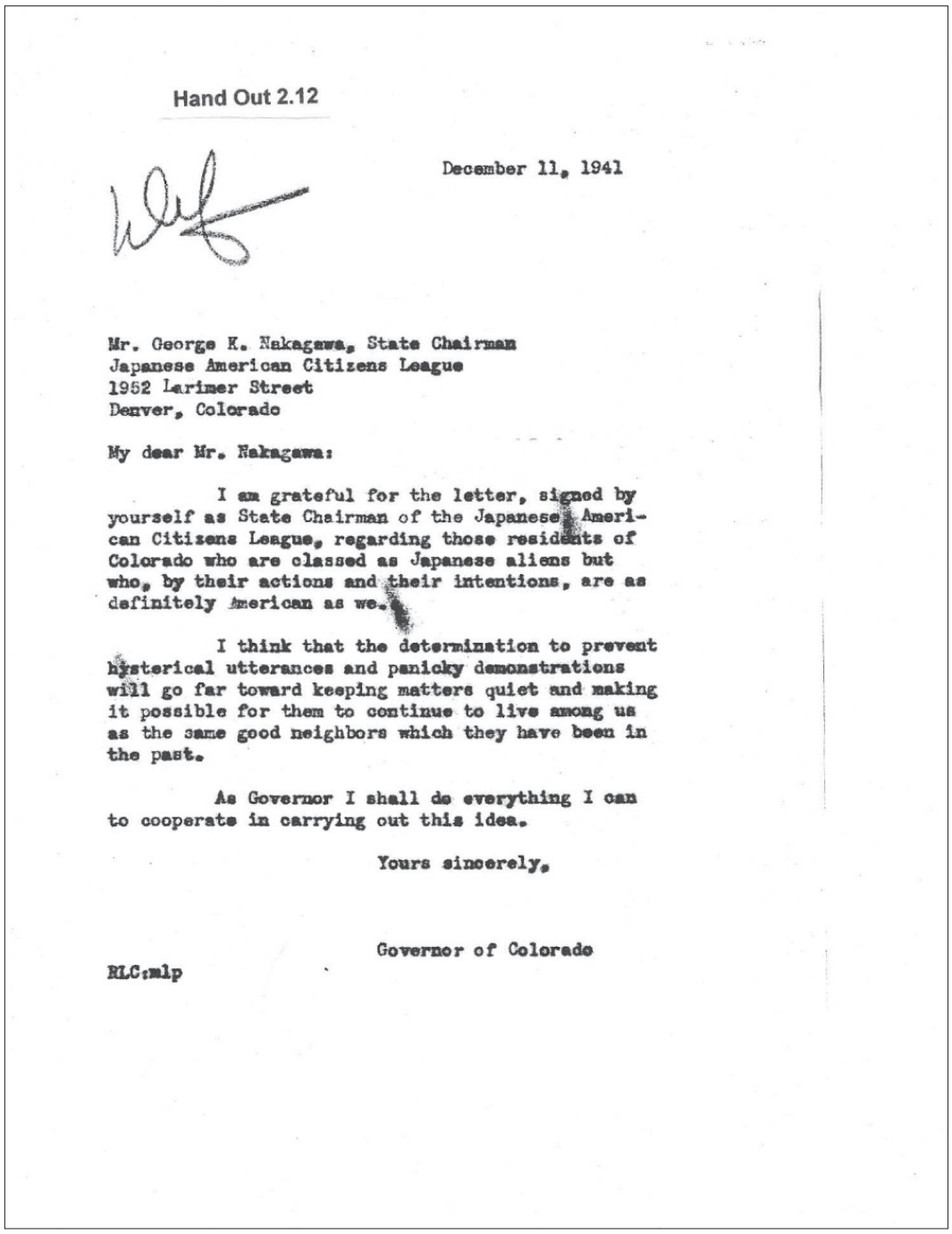
Japanese American Citizens League

George K. Nakagawa

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Letter from Governor Ralph Carr to George Nakagawa, dated December 11, 1941 (1) Handout 2-12





Hand Out 2.12

December 11, 1941

Mr. George K. Nakagawa, State Chairman
Japanese American Citizens League
1952 Larimer Street
Denver, Colorado

My dear Mr. Nakagawa:

I am grateful for the letter, signed by yourself as State Chairman of the Japanese American Citizens League, regarding those residents of Colorado who are classed as Japanese aliens but who, by their actions and their intentions, are as definitely American as we.

I think that the determination to prevent hysterical utterances and panicky demonstrations will go far toward keeping matters quiet and making it possible for them to continue to live among us as the same good neighbors which they have been in the past.

As Governor I shall do everything I can to cooperate in carrying out this idea.

Yours sincerely,

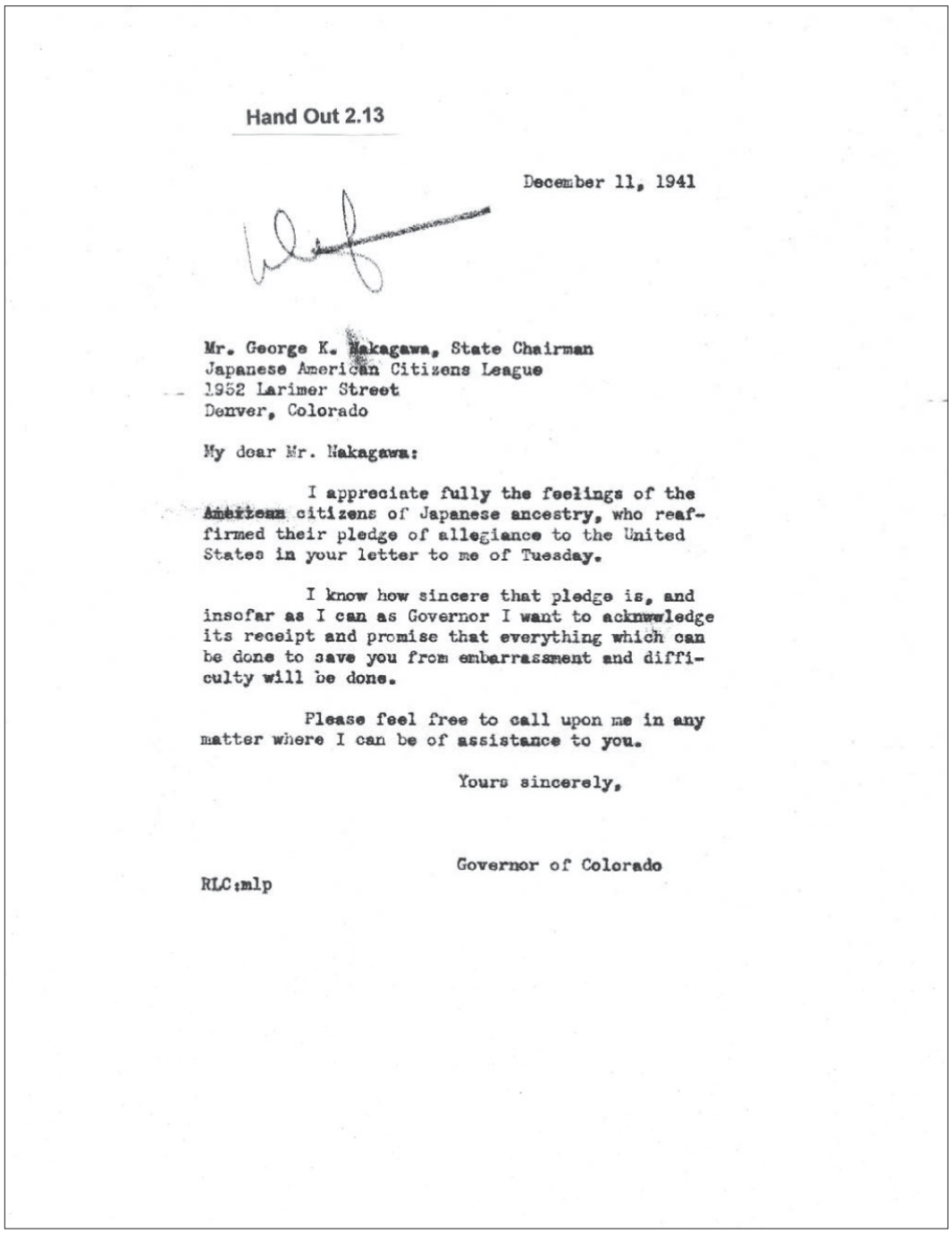
Governor of Colorado

RLC:mlp

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Letter from Governor Ralph Carr to George Nakagawa, dated December 11, 1941 (2) Handout 2-13





Hand Out 2.13

December 11, 1941

Mr. George K. Nakagawa, State Chairman
Japanese American Citizens League
1952 Larimer Street
Denver, Colorado

My dear Mr. Nakagawa:

I appreciate fully the feelings of the ~~American~~ citizens of Japanese ancestry, who reaffirmed their pledge of allegiance to the United States in your letter to me of Tuesday.

I know how sincere that pledge is, and insofar as I can as Governor I want to acknowledge its receipt and promise that everything which can be done to save you from embarrassment and difficulty will be done.

Please feel free to call upon me in any matter where I can be of assistance to you.

Yours sincerely,

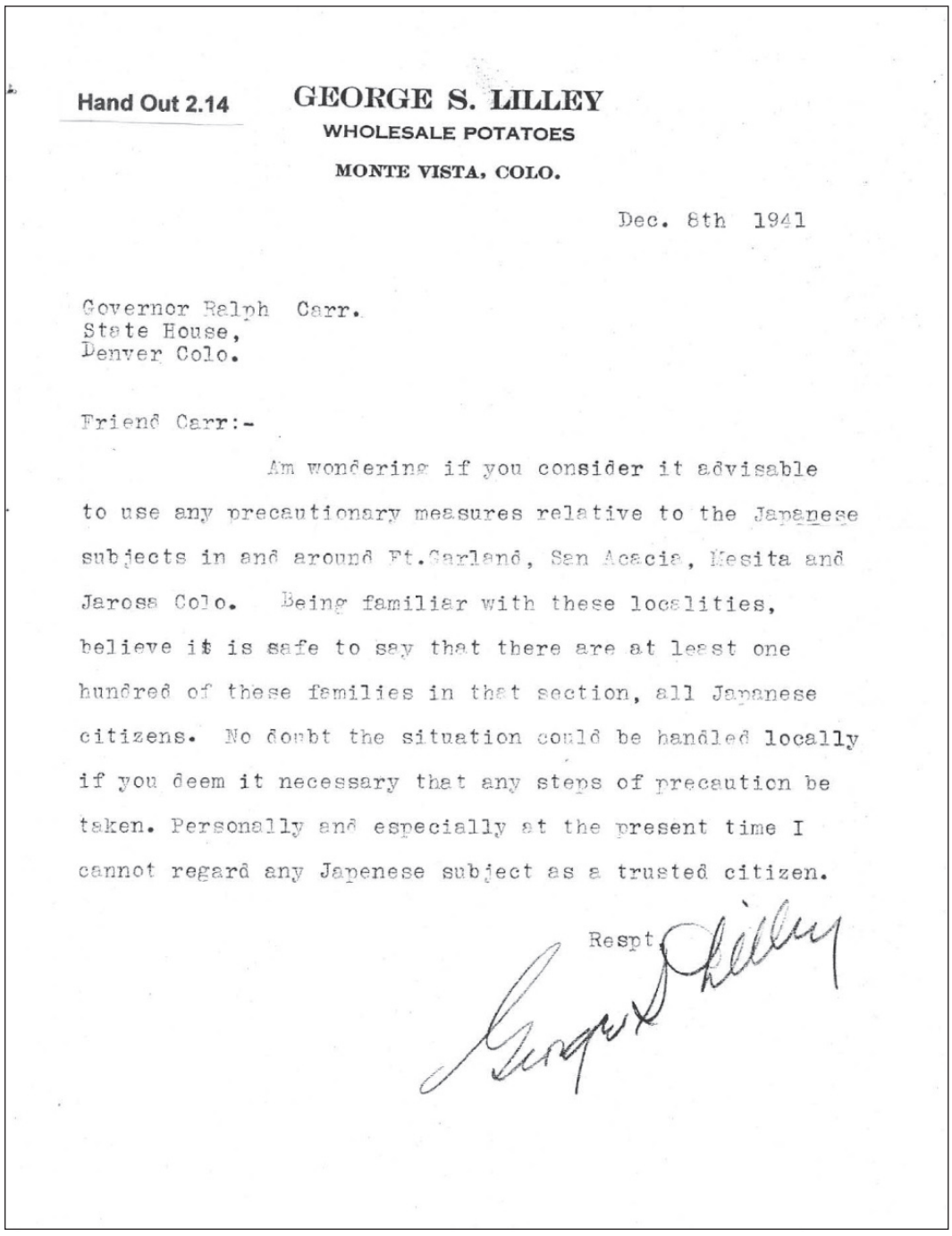
Governor of Colorado

RLC:mlp

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Letter from George S. Lilley to Governor Ralph Carr, dated December 8, 1941 Handout 2-14





Hand Out 2.14

GEORGE S. LILLEY
WHOLESALE POTATOES
MONTE VISTA, COLO.

Dec. 8th 1941

Governor Ralph Carr.
State House,
Denver Colo.

Friend Carr:-

Am wondering if you consider it advisable to use any precautionary measures relative to the Japanese subjects in and around Ft.Garland, San Acacia, Mesita and Jarosa Colo. Being familiar with these localities, believe it is safe to say that there are at least one hundred of these families in that section, all Japanese citizens. No doubt the situation could be handled locally if you deem it necessary that any steps of precaution be taken. Personally and especially at the present time I cannot regard any Japenese subject as a trusted citizen.

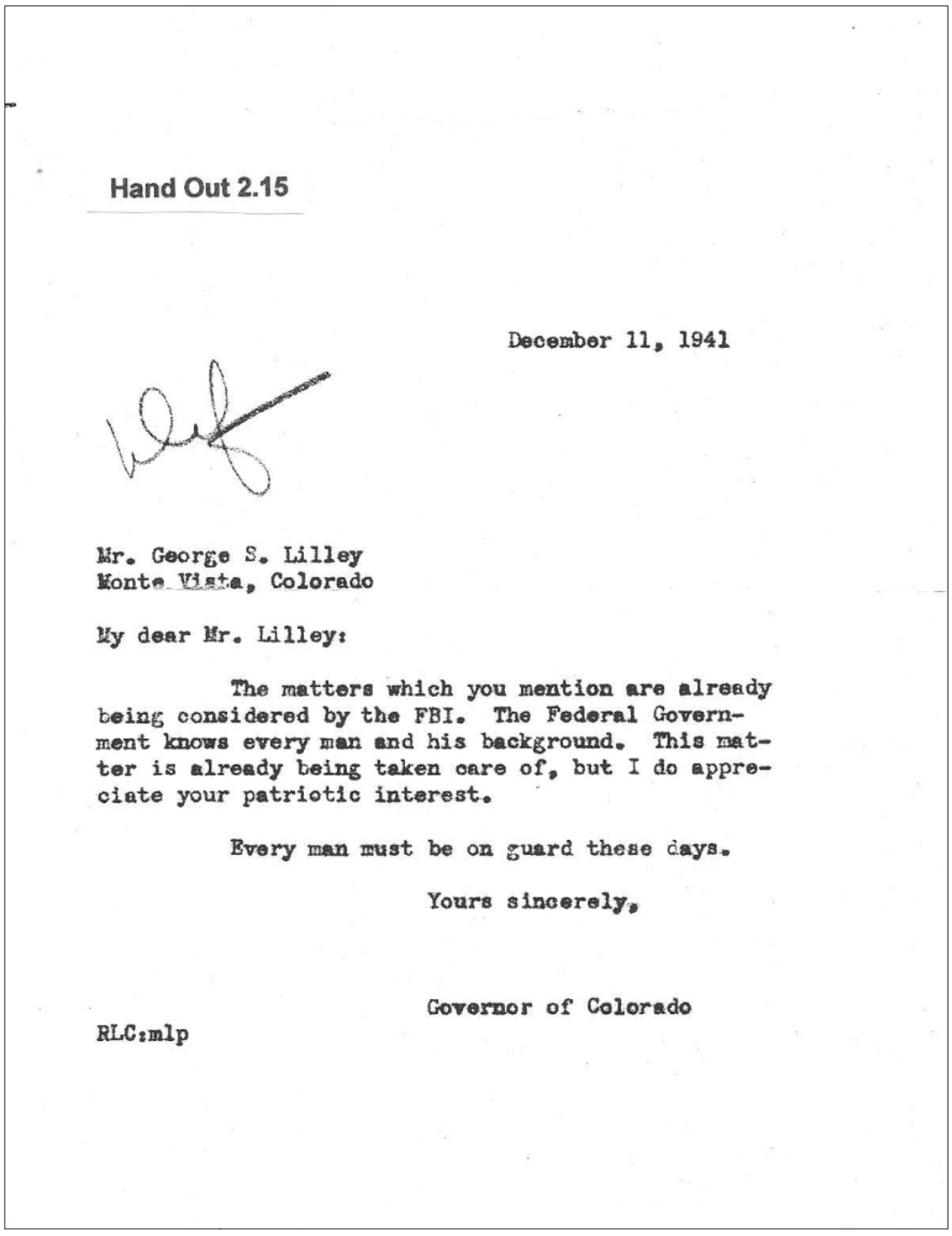
Respt

George S. Lilley

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Letter from Governor Ralph Carr to George S. Lilley, dated December 11, 1941 Handout 2-15





Hand Out 2.15

December 11, 1941

Mr. George S. Lilley
Monte Vista, Colorado

My dear Mr. Lilley:

The matters which you mention are already being considered by the FBI. The Federal Government knows every man and his background. This matter is already being taken care of, but I do appreciate your patriotic interest.

Every man must be on guard these days.

Yours sincerely,

Governor of Colorado

RLC:mlp

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

# Transcription of Governor Ralph Carr's radio address on February 29, 1942 Handout 2-16



Colorado Governor Ralph Carr's speech broadcast on radio stations February 28, 1942:

People of Colorado:

In answer to the call of our country, Colorado has done everything in her power to uphold the hands of our national leaders in carrying on the battle for humanity, for liberty, and for civilization. Our people have sent their dearest possessions to the ten or a dozen battlefronts where the Stars and Stripes are leading in the fight on savagery, paganism, and the worldwide imposition of servitude upon freemen.

Today, because of a lack of information and perhaps also because of an unhappy interpretation which has been placed upon certain rumors, Colorado as a state is threatened with a charge of a disinclination to cooperate in essential war efforts. A suspicion of a lack of patriotism which is not deserved and which cannot be permitted to go unanswered has been raised.

A few weeks ago rumors came that alien residents of the Pacific Coast states of Japanese origin were to be evacuated and perhaps 3,500 would be sent to Colorado. From some unidentified source came another suggestion, probably born of unfriendly propaganda parentage, that California was attempting to dump a bothersome problem into Colorado's lap. The first inclination of every Coloradan was one of resentment. There was a feeling that we did not want enemy aliens within our borders who might acquire property rights, who might compete with Colorado labor, and whose presence would be a constant menace and threat to our peaceful conditions of life. Acting on this first impulse, many persons voiced a protest by mail, by telegraph, and, in some instances, through statements in the daily press. Colorado has been placed in a peculiar and embarrassing light. An official request has been made fro a survey of our facilities for harboring aliens of all classess—Italians, Germans, and Japanese. Last week, a presidential order was issued dircting the establishment of military zones in the United States, from which any person can be excluded. Clearly, this refers specifically to the West Coast.

In the hope that I may assist in clarifying the situation by extablishing our position toward this and other national problems and our patriotism and sincerity of purpose, this announcement is made.

Colorado must never be charged with a failure to cooperate in the gravest moment of our nation's history. Three months ago, no American dreamed that the Japanese or any other people could dominate the Pacific by force of arms. Today many strongholds, including the Gibraltar of the East at Singapore, have fallen. Our own ships, our own air forces, our own army have suffered severe losses. The blood of American soldiers stains the soil of nearly every island in the Far East.

Tonight, as General Douglas MacArthur and his glorious band of Americans and Filipinos set new recors for bravery and resourcefulness in the Bataan Peninsula in the face of terrific odds, we have finally come to guess the seriousness of the situation. The enemy controls the very conduct of life in every corner of the world since it has seized the countries where essential raw materials are produced.

There can be no question that the attacks on Pearl Harbor and the Philippines were aided by fifth columnists [saboteurs]. The potency of that evil organization has been proved in every European country which has fallen, exemplified by the desertion of France, as Winston Churchill described it, and the rape of Norway and the rest. The overthrow of any nation is assured when the approach of an attacking force is made smooth and paved by subversive activities within.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

Along the Pacific Cost there are thousands of persons who are not friendly to those things which we call American. Only Monday night of this week, the beautiful country surrounding Santa Barbara in Southern California was attacked by an enemy submarine which came to the surface and hurled shells at a great supply of gasoline. The enemy has become so confident that he knocks at the very front door of one of the great cities of the world and attacks the mainland of the United States.

Military strategists say that if Java falls, then Australia will constitute the only barrier between California and the enemy. Fifth columnists—our enemies—are within signaling distance of any plane, any battleship, any submarine which approaches our coast. Attacks similar to that one of Monday night, fraught with infinitely more serious consequences, are to be expected any minute.

And if Australia, New Zealand, Java, and Sumatra fall, we know what the next move will be. We will be put to it to protect our shoreline from Canada to Mexico against the most aggressive, the most effective, the most dangerous war machine that has ever been assembled. The defense of California is the defense of Colorado, of the United States of America, of the cause of the United Allies. It is the defense of the very future of that civilization which we value above everything else.

If those who command the armed forces of our nation say that it is necessary to remove any persons from the Pacific Coast and call upon Colorado to do her part in this war by furnishing temporary quarters for those individuals, we stand ready to carry out that order. If any enemy aliens must be transferred as a war measure, then we of Colorado are big enough and patriotic enough to do our duty. We announce to the world that 1,118,000 red-blooded citizens of this state are able to take care of 3,500 or any number of enemies, if that be the task which is allotted to us.,

When our boys are facing thousands of them along the battlefronts of the Pacific; when Americans are being cut down by the withering fire of machine guns; when our ships are sunk by treacherous planes while their diplomats sue for peace, when our very shores are shelled by submarines—Colorado will not complain because she is asked to take care of a handful of undesirables whose presence on the coast might prove the difference between a successful invasion and the saving of our country.

We do not welcome any enemy aliens from any country into this state. But by the same token, we do not rejoice that our boys are conscripted. We find no happiness in the daily casualty lists which we scan for familiar names with fear and trepidation. We do not glory in the fact that we have been drawn into the most terrible warfare that humankind has ever invented. There is no pleasure in the sacrifice of great industries and the surrender of private rights for the good of the nation. In fact, there is nothing connected with this war which renders it desirable. But as patriots, as Americans, as Coloradans, we say to the world—we say to our leaders—Colorado will do her part and more.

The people of Colorado are giving their sons, are offering their possessions, are surrendering their rights and privileges to the end that this war may be fought to victory and permanent peace. If it is our duty to receive disloyal persons, we shall welcome the performance of that task.

This statement must not be construed as an invitation, however. Only because the needs of our nation dictate it, do we even consider such an arrangement. in making the transfers, we can feel assured that governmental agencies will take every precaution to protect our people, our defense projects, and our property from the same menace which demands their removal from those sections. And in this connection, I think it is only fair for us to ask in the placement of evacuees that local conditions and the needs of our

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

communities be consulted. Soources of water supply, timber growth, and essential industrial activities should be considered. The protection of wildlife is a major concern in Colorado.

For an understanding of the reasons for the possible evacuation of such enemy aliens, let us hear a story told by an American, a Colorado girl now living in Hawaii. She witnessed the at4tack on Pearl Harbor. She saw the awful results of those unbelievable assassinations. Many planes, manned by Japanese pilots, were shot down by the American anti-aircraft guns. And the bodies of those pilots shout a warning which we cannot ignore. And when the break came, when Japan loosed its attack on Pearl Harbor, the rings and insignia of the graduating classes of high school and colleges of the islands and the Pacific Coast of the United States were found on the fingers of many of the Japanese pilots who fell under American gunfire.

All of these educated Japanese are not pilots, however. All of them are not confined to the city of Tokio [sic]. Nor do t hey constitute all of the people who dislike Americans and America. They are to be found wherever there are Japanese, Italians, and Germans—and particularly in California.

In justice and fairness, let us pause here to speak a word in behalf of loyal German, Italian, and Japanese citizens who must not suffer for the activities and animosities of others. In Colorado there are thousands of men and women and children—in the nation there are millions of them—who by reason of blood only, are regarded by some people as unfriendly.

They are as loyal to American institutions as you or I. Many of them have been here—are American citizens, with no connection with or feeling of loyalty toward the customs and philosophies of Italy, Japan, or Germany.

The world's great melting pot is peopled by the descendants of every nation in the globe. It is not fair for the rest of us to segregate the people from one or two or three nations and to brand them as unpatriotic or disloyal regardless.

The coming of these evacuees will, of necessity, give rise to social problems, to business and labor questions, and similar vexing issues. But surely we possess the brains, the resources, the solid American character which will enable us to solve those problems properly and intelligently.

People of Colorado, let us remember that we have a job to do. Answers which would be correct under ordinary circumstances do not apply when all conditions are changed. We are at war. We must realize that.

Let us approach these social and economic problems with a new attitude of mind. Let us get that job done as quickly as possible so that our boys may come home and we may return to our American way of life.

Men of Colorado, if MacArthur and a handful of men can hold off hundreds of thousands of Japanese under the conditions which they face, we can control the conduct of any little group which may be sent to Colorado.

And finally, I urge upon our people the danger of inflammatory statements and threats against these unwelcome guests. The newspapers report that some aroused citizens have threatened force against the approach of undesirables. In my presence the other morning, a young man in uniform quted a superior as favoring the firing squad as the solution of this problem.

Such reckless statements may bring reactions which we shall always regret. Let it be understood that such conduct is not approved by the code of humanity. Americans have too great a sense of fair play. Let it also be known that we do not hold all the cards and that

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

reprisals would be visited upon our own soldiers, officers, and citizens who will be taken prisoners before this is over.

Let us consider ourselves as part of a great army, engaged in the most righteous war in history. No good soldier interferes with the activities of his superiors.

People of Colorado, let us all be good soldiers. Let us accept the fortunes of war with heads up. This is a solemn affair. We must approach it in that attitude of mind.

Courtesy of the Colorado State Archives and Public Records

LESSON 3

# The Tyranny of the Majority



## Time

2 to 4 periods (50 minutes per period)

## Overview

This lesson uses the classic political science work *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville, which examines, among other concepts, "the Tyranny of the Majority." His analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the culture of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century has proven to be uncannily insightful. Two points in particular are salient to Japanese American incarceration in Colorado: the tendency of elected officials to overstep their bounds, and the fate of the person who speaks out against the majority.

## Objectives

- Students will understand Tocqueville's thesis about the source of power in a democracy and be able to produce evidence from modern society to agree or disagree with Tocqueville's thesis.
- Students will recognize the power wielded by the majority in a democracy and the basic inequity that this creates.
- Students will recognize the tension that exists between the good of the one and the good of the many in a democracy.
- Students will begin a conversation about the ways the one is separated out from the many in societies.
- Students will become more articulate in their expression of complex ideas.

## Essential Questions

- How do societies striving for equality come to terms with the tension between the good of the one and the good of the many?
- How is the balance between the one and the many influenced by visual language?

## Guiding Question(s)

- In a democracy, what is the responsibility of the individual and of elected officials toward minority opinions?

## Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2.2: Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.
- History 5.3: Students know how political power has been acquired, maintained, used, and/or lost throughout history.
- Reading and Writing 1: Students will read and understand a variety of materials. As students in grades 9–12 extend their knowledge, what they know and are able to do includes using a full range of strategies to comprehend essays, speeches, autobiographies, and first-person historical documents in addition to the types of literature learned in previous grade levels.
- Reading and Writing 4: Students apply thinking skills to their reading, writing, speaking, listening, and viewing. As students in grades 9–12 extend their knowledge, what they know and are able to do includes recognizing an author's point of view, purpose, and historical and cultural context.
- Advanced Placement English Language: Students are required to read, study, and understand complex culturally and historically significant texts from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century.

## Materials

- *Handout 3-1: Reading from Alexis de Tocqueville,* Democracy in America, *"Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States, and Its Consequences"* (Vol. 1, Chap.15)
- *Handout 3-2: Vocabulary and Reading Guide for the Tocqueville passages*
- *Handout 3-3: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43*
- *Handout 2-16: Transcription of Governor Ralph Carr's radio address from February 29, 1942* (from Lesson 2)
- *Handout 3-4: Seminar Organizer* (optional)

- *Handout 3-5: Paraphrases from Tocqueville Passages* (optional)
- An additional primary source document must be downloaded and printed from the our Documents Web site:
  - President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 (transcript) http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=74&page=transcript (accessed August 4, 2009)

## Background

Alexis de Tocqueville was an aristocratic Frenchman who came to the U.S. in 1831, traveled extensively on the East Coast, and later wrote *Democracy in America*, a two-volume study of the American people and their political institutions. This work deals with issues such as religion, the press, money, class structure, racism, the role of government, the judicial system, the effect of democracy on the character of the people, and much more. These issues are just as relevant today as they were in the nineteenth century. *Democracy in America* is currently used in many colleges in political science and history courses. Historians consider it one of the most comprehensive and insightful books ever written about the United States.

In addition, students should review how Executive Order 9066 came to be as well as the attitude and actions of Colorado Governor Ralph Carr in regard to Executive Order 9066 (see Lesson 2 of this unit).

## Opening

- Begin with a discussion of the reasons why democracy can be a successful form of government. Then introduce some of the downsides. If work has been done previously on Socrates' views of democracy or the advantages of monarchies or oligarchies, so much the better. One of the downsides that should be focused on is the helplessness of the minority opinion/interests under rule by the majority.
- Take about ten minutes of class time to have students write (in their ongoing journals, preferably) in response to a related prompt:
  - The good of the group is always more important than the private good (or needs or rights) of the individual.
  - When is it acceptable to abrogate the rights of an individual?
  - How heavily do you weigh public opinion or the opinions of your peers when you make decisions about your actions?
- In groups of no more than five, have students share their ideas, requiring them to come up with a group consensus on the answer. (All the better if they can't! How do they solve the disagreement? Does the majority rule?) Then have each group present its observations about the prompt and about their group's process of coming to consensus. Use those observations to introduce the reading from Tocqueville.

## Activities

- Assign as homework *Handout 3-1: Reading from Alexis de Tocqueville,* Democracy in America, *"Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States, and Its Consequences"* **(***Vol. 1, Chap. 15)* or read aloud in class, along with *Handout 3-2: Vocabulary and Reading Guide for the Tocqueville passages*, which is supplemented by Executive Order 9066 (downloaded and printed), *Handout 3-3: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43*, and *Handout 2-16: Transcription of Governor Carr's radio address from February 29, 1942* (from Lesson 2). Alternatively, use *Handout 3-4: Seminar Organizer* as an "entry ticket" to the seminar on the next day. Work through the reading together to clarify and find modern examples or refutations of Tocqueville's points.

## Accommodations for this Activity

Some students may find the Tocqueville passages challenging reading. For the inexperienced reader of what the College Board Advanced Placement sys-

tem calls "archaic" reading, these two brief passages may present several roadblocks to understanding. Hence, the passages offer an excellent opportunity to work through those roadblocks with an eye toward helping all students prepare for success with difficult reading tasks.

The first roadblock is pronoun/antecedent expectations. Most "archaic" writers expected their readers to keep track of pronoun antecedents throughout relatively long passages. The two passages included for student consideration are written in that style, so they are good examples that bring this issue to students' attention. In addition, because most modern student writers tend to be *very* careless with pronoun antecedents—often scrambling them so badly or even having none so that their readers cannot keep track of them even in short texts—this discussion should help student writers become more aware of the issue in their own writing.

The second roadblock concerns allusion and assumption. Tocqueville assumes his readers are familiar with certain Enlightenment-era philosophical concepts as well as conversations regarding power, monarchy, democracy, and human failings. These ideas have become so engrained in our own assumptions in the twenty-first century that they have become invisible. Therefore, some of Tocqueville's points need expanding upon so that modern readers can fully appreciate them.

- Included with this unit is *Handout 3-5: Paraphrases from Tocqueville Passages*, a side-by-side paraphrase of the text which clarifies the pronoun/antecedent pairs and hopefully makes Tocqueville's context more accessible to modern teenaged audiences. There are several ways the instructor might use this reading aid. Capable students might create their own version; less capable students and English Language Learners might use the paraphrase itself, either alongside or in place of the original Tocqueville.
- Discuss particularly the application of Tocqueville's comments on the control of elected officials by the electorate. As suggested in the Reading Guide, apply Tocqueville's observations to the reactions of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and of Governor Ralph Carr to the crisis precipitated by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

## Extensions

- Students could write an essay on the duties of individuals within a democracy.
- Students might gather clippings about current events that exemplify the tensions between the one and the many—an obvious connection here is the U.S. reaction to 9/11.
- Students might write an essay proposing a new legal solution that would better protect the rights of the minority than our current system does.
- Students could create a personal narrative recounting a time when he or she became a victim to the "tyranny of the majority."

## References

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Vol. 1. New York: Vintage Books, 1945.

# Excerpts from *Democracy in America* Handout 3-1



Name _____ Period _____

Excerpts from Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, "Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States, and Its Consequences" (Vol. 1, Chap. 15), originally published in 1835.

**A. Consider the following in relation to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and those who fashioned the plan to incarcerate Japanese Americans:**

"[In the United States] [t]he majority has absolute power both to make the laws and to watch over their execution; and as it has equal authority over those who are in power and the community at large, it considers public officers as its passive agents and readily confides to them the task of carrying out its designs. The details of their office and the privileges that they are to enjoy are rarely divined beforehand. It treats them as a master does his servants, since they are always at work in his sight and he can direct or reprimand them at any instant.

In general, the American functionaries are far more independent within the sphere that is prescribed to them than the French civil officers. Sometimes, even, they are allowed by the popular authority to exceed those bounds; and as they are protected by the opinion and backed by the power of the majority, they dare do things that even a European, accustomed as he is to arbitrary power, is astonished at. By this means habits are formed in the heart of a free country which may some day prove fatal to its liberties." (page 272)

**B. Consider the following in relation to Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr and his actions at the time of the Japanese American incarceration:**

"I know of no country in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America. . . . in a nation where democratic institutions exist, organized like those of the United States, there is but one authority, one element of strength and success, with nothing beyond it.

In America the majority raises formidable barriers around the liberty of opinion; with these barriers an author may write what he pleases, but woe to him if he goes beyond them. Not that he is in danger of an auto-da-fé, but he is exposed to continued obloquy and persecutions. His political career is closed forever, since he has offended the only authority that is able to open it. Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. Before making public his opinions he thought he had sympathizers; now it seems to him that he has none any more since he has revealed himself to everyone; then those who blame him criticize loudly and those who think as he does keep quiet and move away without courage. He yields at length, overcome by the daily effort which he has to make, and subsides into silence, as if he felt remorse for having spoken the truth.

. . . Under the absolute sway of [a monarch] the body was attacked in order to subdue the soul; but the soul escaped the blows which were directed against it and rose proudly superior. Such is not the course adopted by tyranny in democratic republics; there the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. The master no longer says: 'You shall think as I do or you shall die'; but he says: 'You are free to think differently from me and to retain your life, your property, and all that you possess; but you are henceforth a stranger among your people. You may retain your civil rights, but they will be useless to you, for you will never be chosen by your fellow citizens if you solicit their votes; and they will affect to scorn you if you ask for their esteem. You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow creatures will shun you like an impure being; and even those who believe in your innocence will abandon you, lest they should be shunned in their turn. Go in peace! I have given you your life, but it is an existence worse than death.'" (page 273)

# Vocabulary and Reading Guide

Handout 3-2



Name _____ Period _____

Excerpts from Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, "Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States, and Its Consequences" (Vol. 1, Chap. 15), originally published in 1835.

Vocabulary words: As you read the passages for the first time, look up these words as you encounter them and write down the **definition that fits the context. Remember, this is a document written in the nineteenth century; the meanings the author intended may not how we would define a word today. Also look up any other words you don't know. Learn them.**

1. divined _____
2. tyranny _____
3. arbitrary _____
4. functionaries _____
5. sphere _____
6. formidable _____
7. auto-da-fé **being sentenced to death by burning at the stake**
8. obloquy _____
9. compensation _____
10. remorse _____
11. sway _____
12. retain _____
13. affect _____

**Peruse and Ponder: Write thoughtful answers to the following questions:**

Passage from page 272:

I. Clarify each of Tocqueville's assertions about the power of the majority by paraphrasing each of these phrases from paragraph 1:
   Ex: " has absolute power to . . . make the laws" = the majority elects and removes legislators and can even overrule legislation through voter initiatives, etc.
   a. ". . . and to watch over [the laws'] execution" = _____
   _____
   b. has ". . . equal authority over those in power" = _____
   _____
   c. and equal authority over " the community at large . . ." = _____
   _____

II. According to Toqcueville in paragraph 1, how do elected officials know what their jobs are and what they are and are not permitted to do?

III. Paragraph 2:
a. "American functionaries" = _____

b. ". . . are more independent within the sphere that is prescribed to them . . ." = _____

c. Why are the "functionaries" sometimes allowed to exceed the bounds established for them?

d. What may we infer are the dangerous "habits" that Tocqueville implies?

IV. Consider the forces that created Executive Order 9066 and allowed it to be executed. Write a paragraph connecting those events to Tocqueville's observations and warning.

Passage from page 273. [Teacher instruction: Preface this paragraph with a journal writing and discussion on the level of freedom of speech present in our society, as perceived by students.] Then read the first paragraph of this passage and discuss.

Paragraph 1: Does the class opinion on this topic agree with Tocqueville's?

_____

_____

_____

Paragraph 2:
a. According to Tocqueville, how does the majority enforce conformity to its opinions? Use your own words.

_____

_____

_____

b. Keep track of Tocqueville's pronouns. Throughout paragraph 2, who is "he?"

_____

c. In the face of majority pressure, what eventually happens to a truth that is contrary to majority opinion?

_____

_____

_____

Paragraph 3:
a. Explain the contrast Tocqueville draws between the way a king controls his people and the way democracies control their people.

_____

_____

_____

b. Who is "the master" in this passage?

_____

_____

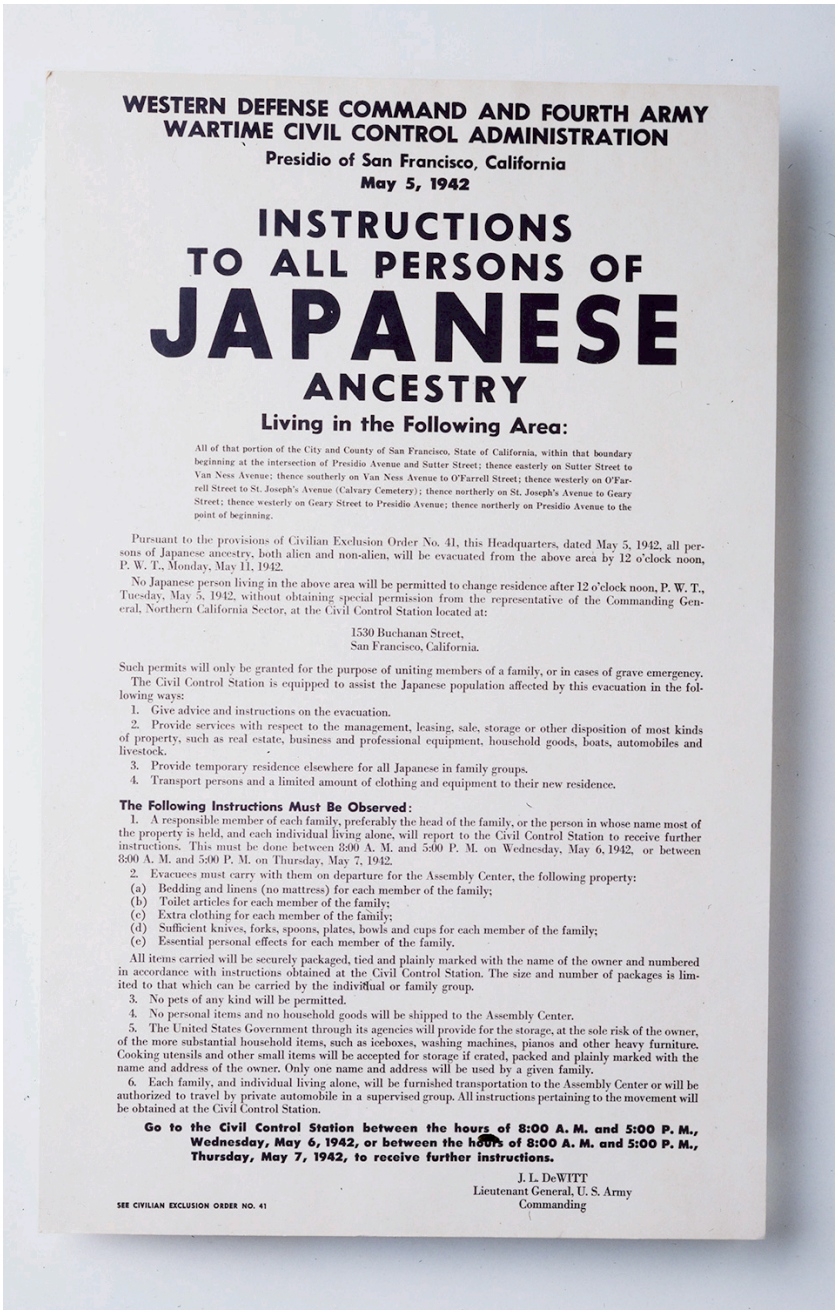
_____

Consider the actions of Colorado Governor Ralph Carr during World War II, and his subsequent political career. On the back of this page, write a paragraph connecting him to Tocqueville's observations in this passage.

# Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43

Handout 3-3





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

Gift of Kiyoshi Toi, Japanese American National Museum (92.94.1)

# Seminar Organizer

Handout 3-4 (optional)



Name _____ Period _____

Before you participate in a seminar, you must

**READ** the selection
**UNDERSTAND** the words in the selection
**COMPREHEND** the selection

This form is designed to help you do that. Complete it and bring it with you to the seminar.

Selection _____ Date _____

Author _____

Five key words in the selection and their definitions:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Five words I didn't know and their definitions:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

The main point(s):

_____

_____

_____

_____

Ideas(s) I do agree with:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Ideas(s) I don't agree with:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Connection(s) to other readings/events/ideas:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Ideas in this selection that are/are not relevant today:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Three questions to begin our discussion:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

**Notes from the seminar:**

# Paraphrases from Tocqueville Passages

Handout 3-5 (optional)



Name _____ Period _____

Paraphrases from Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, "Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States, and Its Consequences" (Vol. 1, Chap. 15), originally published in 1835.

**A. Consider the following in relation to Franklin D. Roosevelt and those who fashioned the plan to incarcerate Japanese Americans during World War II:**

| | |
|---|---|
| (From page 272) [In the United States] The majority has absolute power both to make the laws | In the United States, the group of people in the majority has complete power to make the laws [because the majority elects the people who are in Congress, and laws are passed by majority vote within the legislatures] |
| and to watch over their execution; | and to make sure the government enforces the laws [because the group of people in the majority elect or appoint the people who appoint the police and judges in the courts] |
| and as it has equal authority over those who are in power | and because the group in the majority controls the elected officials [because the majority can remove the elected officials by not reelecting them or by legally removing them from office] |
| and the community at large, | [the majority controls the whole community because by definition "the majority" is most of the people who agree on a specific issue; therefore the majority can pressure other people in the community to behave the way that the majority demands/expects] |
| it considers public officers as its passive agents | the majority believes that elected officials act on behalf of the majority |
| and readily confides to them the task of carrying out its designs. | and the majority hands over the job with confidence that elected officials will do as the majority wishes. |
| The details of their office and the privileges that they are to enjoy | The actual jobs of the elected officials and the special treatment and power that they might enjoy |

| | |
|---|---|
| are rarely divined beforehand. | are not really understood by the community before the officials start their work. |
| It treats them as a master does his servants, | The group of people who are in the majority treats the elected officials as a master does his servants [that is, with some lack of attention at times] |
| since they are always at work in his sight | because elected officials work in the public eye |
| and he can direct or reprimand them at any instant. | and the majority can give elected officials instructions or can correct them if they misbehave or don't accomplish the expected job, whenever the majority sees the need. |
| In general, the American functionaries are far more independent within the sphere that is prescribed to them than the French civil officers. | In general, American officials have more freedom to act as they wish within their jobs than officials of other countries [Tocqueville was French so he compared the U.S. to France]. |
| Sometimes, even, they are allowed by the popular authority | Sometimes, the majority ("the popular authority") even allows the officials ("they") |
| to exceed those bounds; | to act in ways that aren't really allowed by the rules of the job the officials are supposed to do; |
| and as they are protected by the opinion and backed by the power of the majority, | and because the officials ("they") are protected by the majority who agrees with the officials and who controls the community [because the majority *is* most of the community], |
| they dare do things that even a European, accustomed as he is to arbitrary power, is astonished at. | the officials ("they") act in really shocking ways, even in the eyes of Europeans who are used to being ruled by kings and nobles who can do whatever they please. |
| By this means | By allowing officials to behave in illegal ways and to extend their power in illegal ways |
| habits are formed in the heart of a free country | the people of a free nation will get in the habit of overlooking that illegal behavior, |
| which may some day prove fatal to its liberties. | a habit which may in the future cause the freedoms of the people to be cancelled or lost. |

**B. Consider the following in relation to Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr and his actions during World War II:**

(From page 273) I know of no country in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America. . . . in a nation where democratic institutions exist, organized like those of the United States, there is but one authority, one element of strength and success, with nothing beyond it.

| | |
|---|---|
| In America the majority raises formidable barriers around the liberty of opinion; | In America, the group of people who make up the majority creates very strong controls on people's opinions; |
| with these barriers an author may write what he pleases, | any writer may write whatever he likes within these controls |
| but woe to him if he goes beyond them. | but he will be really sorry if he tries to write something against these controls |
| Not that he is in danger of an auto-da-fé, | He won't be threatened with being burned at the stake [like religious heretics were in the past], |
| but he is exposed to continued obloquy and persecutions. | but his reputation will be ruined and he will be treated unfairly. |
| His political career is closed forever, | He will never be able to gain political power |
| since he has offended the only authority that is able to open it. | because he has turned the majority of people against him [by not agreeing with their ideas], and they are the people whose votes he would need to gain political power. |
| Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. | Every kind of reward that the writer might want, even the reward of fame, is not available [because it is the attention of the majority that makes a person famous]. |
| Before making public his opinions he thought he had sympathizers; | Before the writer published his opinions [that disagreed with the majority], he thought other people agreed with him; |

| | |
|---|---|
| now it seems to him that he has none any more since he has revealed himself to everyone; | now it looks as if he has no supporters since he published his unpopular opinions; |
| then those who blame him criticize loudly | now that he has published his unpopular opinions his critics speak against him loudly |
| and those who think as he does keep quiet and move away without courage. | and those who do agree with him are too afraid to speak up, and they stay away from him. |
| He yields at length, overcome by the daily effort which he has to make, | The writer finally gives up because it is so hard to disagree with the majority |
| and subsides into silence . . . | and publishes no more unacceptable ideas, |
| as if he felt remorse for having spoken the truth. . . . | as though he were sorry for speaking the truth. . . . |
| Under the absolute sway of [a monarch] the body was attacked in order to subdue the soul; | When kings ruled as they pleased, with no power to control them, a person who dissented was jailed and tortured in order to make him agree with the king; |
| but the soul escaped the blows which were directed against it and rose proudly superior. | but the man's soul/mind/opinions were not affected by the physical punishment. The man did not change his unacceptable opinions. |
| Such is not the course adopted by tyranny in democratic republics; | The absolute power that democratic governments have isn't used to punish the body of the disagreeing person; |
| there the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. | in a democracy, the disagreeing person is not jailed or tortured; instead, his mind is jailed and tortured. |
| The master no longer says: "You shall think as I do or you shall die"; | Like the master of slaves, the person in power [in this case, the democratic majority] no longer says, "Agree with me, or I'll kill you"; |
| but he says: "You are free to think differently from me and to retain your life, your property, and all that you possess; | but the democratic majority says [to the disagreeing person]: "You can think anything you like and keep your life and everything you own; |

| | |
|---|---|
| but you are henceforth a stranger among your people. | but [as long as you disagree with us, the majority] no one in the community will welcome you. |
| You may retain your civil rights, but they will be useless to you, | You are still a citizen and will have the rights of a citizen, but that won't do you any good, |
| for you will never be chosen by your fellow citizens if you solicit their votes; | because you will never rise to any power in society since the majority is against you and won't vote for you; |
| and they will affect to scorn you if you ask for their esteem. | and if all you ask for is their respect, they won't give it. They will reject you. |
| You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. | You will be free in society [not imprisoned], but you will not have the respect that other men will have. |
| Your fellow creatures will shun you like an impure being; | All men will stay away from you as though you were evil |
| and even those who believe in your innocence will abandon you, lest they should be shunned in their turn. | and even the people who might agree with you will not stand by you because they are afraid of also becoming outcasts. |
| Go in peace! I have given you your life, but it is an existence worse than death." | So, [man of the odd opinion ("you")] go on with your life [says the majority ("I") ]. You may continue to exist, but you will never be happy under the conditions you will experience." |

LESSON 4

# Document-Based Question



## Time

1 to 2 periods (50 minutes per period)

## Overview

Because our students live in a highly visual world, we must also study the rhetoric of visual media such as photographs, paintings, films, advertisements, graphics, charts, and editorial cartoons. This lesson uses classic American art by Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, and Norman Rockwell to show the extent to which the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans contradicted the most central values of American democracy.

## Objectives

- Students will use the OPTIC system (see below) to understand and evaluate visual representations of the ideas that underpin the American ideal as well as images that illustrate how those rights and privileges were suspended for Japanese Americans during the incarceration.

## Essential Questions

- How do societies striving for equality come to terms with the tension between the good of the one and the good of the many?
- How is the balance between the one and the many influenced by visual language?

## Guiding Question(s)

- What role does visual language play in creating/supporting the power of the majority over the minority?

## Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2.2: Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.
- Advanced Placement English Language: Students will comprehend the arguments made by visual representations of ideas.

## Materials

- *Handout 4-1: Excerpt from Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" Speech*
- Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* quartet of paintings must be downloaded from the National Archives and Records Administration Web site at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/four_freedoms/four_freedoms.html (accessed August 6, 2009)
- *Handout 4-2: Four Freedoms and the Japanese American Experience*
- *Handout 4-3: OPTIC Handout*
- *Handout 4-4: Excerpt from Eleanor Roosevelt's "The Great Question" (remarks delivered at the United Nations, New York, March 27, 1958)*

## Background

This lesson employs visual analysis techniques to deepen student thinking and examine contrasting visual materials created by photographers Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange and painter Norman Rockwell. (More information for teachers about these visual analysis techniques is provided at the end of this lesson.)

Dorothea Lange was one of the great documentary photographers of the twentieth century. While her photographs of migrants and workers taken during the Great Depression are recognized worldwide, few people are aware of her photographs of the World War II Japanese American experience. Commissioned by the federal government, her photographs were never published as a collection, and in fact, few of them were published at all: They too openly condemned the internment as unjustified and racist. After the war the government sent the collection to the National Archives, and there they rested, nearly undisturbed for sixty years. For a full account of Lange's internment photographs and their suppression—this book is the first collection of her work from this period—see *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of*

*Japanese American Internment*, edited by Linda Gordon and Gary Y. Okihiro (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006).

Norman Rockwell's ability to convey the values and events of an evolving American society made him one of the most widely recognized artists of his time. He explained his appeal: "Without thinking too much about it in specific terms, I was showing the America I knew and observed to others who might not have noticed." Over the course of his career, Rockwell's renditions of Americana appeared all over the world. During World War II he painted the series entitled the *Four Freedoms* as his personal contribution to the war effort; these patriotic paintings symbolized the war aims set forth by President Roosevelt in his "Four Freedoms" speech. The *Four Freedoms*, all dated 1943, were reproduced in four consecutive issues of *The Saturday Evening Post* alongside essays by contemporary American writers. These paintings—*Freedom of Speech*, *Freedom to Worship*, *Freedom from Want*, and *Freedom from Fear* were so successful that the works toured in an exhibition that raised more than $139 million for the war effort through the sales of war bonds, according to the Rockwell family's account on its official Web site.

## Opening

- Before beginning this lesson, students should be introduced to the artists' work. In addition, students should read and discuss *Handout 4-1: Excerpt from Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" Speech*, which originated the idea of the "Four Freedoms."
- A discussion of the role visual texts have played in all conflicts within and among societies could begin this lesson. All wars have been supported by propaganda that relies heavily on the evocative power of imagery. In all likelihood, students have studied propaganda cartoons and posters in connection with both world wars.

## Activities

- Distribute copies of the Rockwell paintings downloaded from the Web as well as *Handout 4-2: Four Freedoms and the Japanese American Experience*, which depicts related photographs taken by Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange. Have the students respond to the prompt that follows. Depending on the level/aims of the class, the work may be done as a timed writing in imitation of an AP question, or as homework with revision, etc. If it is a "training exercise" intended to develop skill at reading visual text, use the method described in *Handout 4-3: OPTIC Handout*. The analysis may be done on each picture separately (perhaps in a jigsaw fashion in the interest of time) for beginners; for classes more experienced in the analysis of visual texts, use the OPTIC system with each set of four works or pair the appropriate painting with its counterpoint photograph.
  - *Freedom of Speech* corresponds to the photo of Roy Takeno reading a newspaper in front of the news office
  - *Freedom of Worship* corresponds to the photo of a reverend's hands locking the door to a Buddhist temple
  - *Freedom from Want* corresponds to the photo taken in a mess hall
  - *Freedom from Fear* corresponds to the photo of a family waiting for buses

**Prompt**

Using the accompanying photographs and paintings, formulate a reaction to the discrepancy between President Roosevelt's professed beliefs about the rights of all people and the effects of his Executive Order 9066 on a specific group of people. Be sure to consider these pieces from the standpoint of our Essential Question: *How does visual language influence and reveal our thoughts and attitudes?*

## Closing

- *Handout 4-4: Excerpt from Eleanor Roosevelt's "The* Great Question" speech, taken from her remarks on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, will make an excellent closure prompt for this lesson, as well as for the entire unit. It might be used as the opening question for a final seminar or as a final writing. The goal is to see that students can demonstrate competence in dealing with the original Overarching Understanding—that building and preserving American democracy demands attention to threats to individuals and minority groups created by the tyranny of the majority.

## Teacher Materials

Three Techniques for Deepening Student Thinking

**I. Overview–Parts–Title–Interrelationships–Conclusion (OPTIC)**
The OPTIC strategy, which is highlighted in Walter Pauk's book *How to Study in College*, provides students with key concepts to think about when approaching any kind of visual text. A sample OPTIC lesson would include the following steps:

Provide students with a single visual text that presents a position or point of view on an issue; political cartoons, advertisements, paintings, even graphs and charts are useful.

Divide students into groups and lead them through the OPTIC strategy:

- **O** is for **overview**—jot a few notes on what the visual appears to be about.
- **P** is for **parts**—zero in on the parts of the visual. Note as many elements or details as possible. Push the students to see more than the obvious.
- **T** is for **title**—highlight the words of the visual's title (if one is available).
- **I** is for **interrelationships**—use the title as the theory and the parts of the visual as clues to detect and specify the interrelationships in the graphic.
- **C** is for **conclusion**—draw a conclusion about the visual as a whole. What does the visual mean? Summarize the message of the visual in one or two sentences.

Debrief the effectiveness of the strategy in analyzing visuals.

**II. Critical Thinking Development through "Five Habits of Mind"**
Adopted from the program used by Central Park East Secondary School in New York City, this system of lenses through which to view issues, writings, and visuals has proven to be highly efficacious in giving students a framework for increasing the depth of their thinking. All readings and visual texts are viewed, either in discussion or in writing, through one or more of these five lenses.

1. From whose viewpoint are we seeing or reading or hearing? From what angle or PERSPECTIVE?
2. How do we know what we know? What's the EVIDENCE, and how reliable is it?
3. How are these things, events, or people connected to each other? What is the cause and what is the effect? How do the cause and effect fit together? What other CONNECTIONS are there? Have we heard, read, or seen this elsewhere?
4. What if . . .? Could things be otherwise? What are or were the ALTERNATIVES? Supposing . . .
5. So what? Who cares? What is the IMPORTANCE? What does it all mean?

**III. Socratic Seminars**
On a biweekly basis, students participate in a Socratic seminar on readings and visuals within the unit at hand. These seminars promote close reading, flexible thinking, careful expression, and the ability to support one's stance while responding to others.

**Teacher Preparation for the "Document-Based" or "Synthesis" Question**

In most college courses that require substantial writing, students are called upon to write researched arguments in which they take a stand on a topic or an issue and then enter into conversation with what has already been written on it. By definition, a "conversation" is "talking together" about a topic that involves give and take and listening to the various parties taking part in it. Effective writers don't simply draw material from published sources and drop them onto a page. On the contrary, writers create their arguments by listening to their sources and incorporating them, either positively or negatively, into their own thinking and writing.

In all other occasions for creating arguments—that is, in real life—the same process must be undertaken if a person wants to convince others of the rightness of his or her cause.

The "document-based question" (DBQ) and the "synthesis question" as found in the Advanced Placement History test and Advanced Placement English Language and Composition test respectively, seek to reveal a student's ability to build an argument in response to the ideas of others. These questions provide students with a number of relatively brief sources on a topic or an issue—texts are no longer than one page—plus at least one source that is a graphic, a visual, a picture, or a cartoon. The prompt calls upon students to write a composition that develops a position on the issue and that synthesizes and incorporates perspectives from a specified number of the provided sources. Students may, of course, draw upon whatever they know about the issue as well.

There are certain "moves" that experienced writers have learned to make to create effective arguments. In preparing to answer the DBQ and synthesis question, students have the opportunity to learn these so-called moves of academic writing, thus preparing them to progress from high school to college and giving them tools to use in their everyday endeavors.

What are these "moves"? According to Dr. David A. Jolliffe, professor of English at the University of Arkansas and former Chief Reader of the AP English Language and Composition program, there are six: **read**, **analyze**, **generalize**, **converse**, **refine**, and **argue.** Professor Jolliffe's system is explained in his essay "Preparing for the Synthesis Question: Six Moves Toward Success" on the College Board Web site at http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/members/courses/teachers_corner/51307.html (accessed August 6, 2009).

**A Skill for College and Life**

In short, on the DBQ and synthesis question the successful writer is going to be able to show readers how he or she has thought through the topic at hand by considering the sources critically and creating a composition that draws conversations with the sources into his or her own thinking. This is a skill that we all need to cultivate so that we can express our ideas forcefully and sway others to a desired course of action.

# Four Freedoms
# Speech

Handout 4-1



*In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants— everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.*

—Franklin D. Roosevelt
State of the Union Address
January 6, 1941

# Four Freedoms
## and the Japanese American Experience

Handout 4-2




Roy Takeno reading paper in front of office.

Photographer: Ansel Adams
Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
Reproduction Number LC-DIG-ppprs-00004

Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Mealtime in one of the mess halls at this War Relocation Authority center for evacuees of Japanese ancestry.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 538170 / Local Identifier 210-G-C888

Florin, California. Hands of Reverend Naito (Buddhist priest) are here as he locks the door of his church. The beads are carried by Buddhist priests at all times.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537853 / Local Identifier 210-G-C542

Byron, California. As families of Japanese ancestry evacuated from farms in Contra Costa County, they gathered at Wartime Civil Control Administration station and awaited buses for assembly center at Turlock Fairgrounds, 65 miles away. Evacuees will be transferred later from assembly centers to War Relocation Authority centers where they will spend the duration. Boy in background is a spectator.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537455 / Local Identifier 210-G-C100

# OPTIC
## An Approach to Visual Arguments Handout 4-3



Name _____ Period _____

Because many aspects of cultures can be and are presented visually, visual materials are one means for us to understand the ideas of a culture. Paying attention to details is a habit that is a necessary part of effective analysis of all ideas and their representations. As you look at this visual, please use the OPTIC strategy outlined below to help you become conscious of details, and thereby construct deeper meaning from the art.

**O** = Write a brief **overview** of the visual. Basically, what do you see?
**P** = Key in on all of the **parts** by noting as many details as you can. Notice color, figures, textures, scenery, comparative sizes, etc.
**T** = Use the **title** of the work (or caption) to clarify the subject/tone of the visual.
**I** = Specify the **interrelationships** in the visual. How are the various parts related both to one another and the work as a whole?
**C** = Draw a **conclusion** about the visual as a whole. What is the argument that the creator of the visual presents?

**O =** _____

_____

**P =** (the back of the paper can also be used) _____

_____

_____

**T =** _____

_____

_____

**I =** _____

_____

_____

**C =** _____

_____

_____

# The Great Question



*Where, after all do human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: the neighborhood he lives in; the school he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.*

—Excerpt from Eleanor Roosevelt's "The Great Question"
(remarks delivered at the United Nations, New York, March 27, 1958)

# 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.

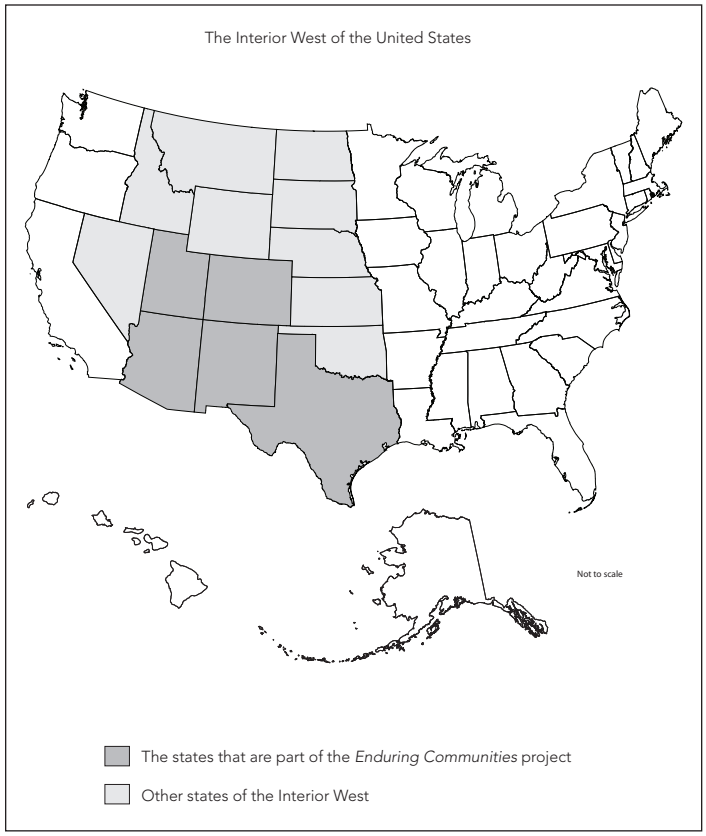
DEPARTMENT OF WAR sites–
Primarily U.S. Army centers where predominantly non-citizens of Japanese descent were detained and/or confined en route to long-term internment or incarceration sites.

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 Tsuhara. 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 Tsuhara 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 ultimate 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 Tsuhara 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

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-

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-rock[15] 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 Wyoming[29]— 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: Yoshiaka 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.wwcc.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, Masakasu 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 outright 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-Japanee 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, Malayans, 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 homefront 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 Angele, 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 Council[80] (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 Shimpo* [*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 Shimpo*'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 Shimpo*'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

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=ind0309D&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=ind0411a&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.1st100.com/part1/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/AS006.html (accessed August 15, 2009); (Wyoming) Western Wyoming Community College, *Wyoming History*, http://www.wwcc.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.sfemonument.php (accessed August 15, 2009); (Texas); "The Japanese Texans," The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, http://www.texancultures.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/umba/judge_uno_racial_ethnic_mix.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, "Japanese Life in Utah," *Utah History to Go*, http://hisorytogo.utah.gov/people/ethic_cultgures/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/Sa11588.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)



**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

---

**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

---

**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

---

**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

**1930** • Population of Japanese immigrant community in Interior West is estimated at 12,862

---

**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 Colorado



**Daryl J. Maeda**

Japanese Americans have a long and complex history in Colorado, and their story features struggles and perseverance, discrimination and tolerance. Exploring this history from the 1880s to the present enables us to learn about race and racism, civil liberties, and the responsibilities of individuals in a diverse and democratic society. Colorado is notable among U.S. states to the degree that 1) it boasted thriving Japanese American communities before World War II; 2) during the war it was the site of an concentration camp; 3) it served as a major resettlement center for exiles from the West Coast; 4) it housed a major military Japanese-language school; and 5) it was home to an independent and principled ethnic press during the war.

The earliest Japanese to arrive in Colorado probably did so between 1886 and 1888 and were mainly visitors and students. They were followed shortly, however, by the first large wave of Japanese immigrants moving eastward from the Pacific Coast. The largest number of Japanese came to Colorado between 1903 and 1908 and worked as common laborers, railroad workers, miners, farmhands, factory workers, and domestics. The influx boosted the Japanese population of the state from 48 in 1900 to 2,300 in 1910.

Many Issei (first-generation Japanese immigrants) initially worked in Colorado on the railroad and in the coal mines. These early settlers entered an environment already structured by anti-Asian sentiments, evidenced when a mob ransacked and burned the Chinese section of Denver in 1880. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act barred the immigration of Chinese laborers to the U.S., and as the Chinese population of Colorado subsequently waned, the Japanese population grew. Like the Chinese before them, the Japanese who came to Colorado were scorned as the "yellow peril," subjected to violence, and excluded from union membership. The Rocky Mountain News and the Denver Post ran anti-Japanese stories and editorials beginning in 1901, and by 1908 the Colorado State Federation of Labor had formed a Japanese and Korean Exclusion League.

As Colorado's agricultural industry blossomed in the early 1900s, farming and farm labor became a mainstay of the ethnic economy of Japanese Americans. Beginning around 1902, Japanese Americans found work in agriculture, with many eventually becoming independent farmers in the Arkansas Valley—where they pioneered the famous Rocky Ford melons—as well as in the San Luis Valley and in western Colorado near Grand Junction and Delta; farming communities also sprang up around Denver in Brighton, Fort Lupton, and Greeley. By 1909 an estimated 3,000 Japanese Americans worked the fields of Colorado. Many of them were laborers on sugar beet farms to the north and east of Denver, making up one-sixth of the sugar beet workforce.

By 1940 Colorado's Japanese American community population had grown to 2,734. Most lived in rural farming communities, but more than 800 Nikkei called the greater Denver area home. In Denver proper, a so-called Little Tokyo, nestled between 18th and 23rd Streets on Larimer, contained restaurants, Asian merchandise stores, small businesses, a laundry, barber shops, and several hotels. It was situated in an impoverished section of town surrounded by pawnshops, secondhand clothing stores, flophouses, missions, saloons, and cheap hotels—and Japanese Americans tended to live among Mexican Americans, African Americans, and assorted immigrant groups.

On the eve of World War II, more than two-thirds of the people of Japanese descent in Colorado were Nisei—second-generation Japanese Americans, who were native-born citizens of the United States—while the remaining one-third were Issei. This ratio mirrored the Issei/Nisei composition of the rest of the nation. The outbreak of World War II fundamentally altered Japanese Colorado by greatly increasing the so-called free Japanese population and by adding thousands of

people imprisoned in Amache, a concentration camp. For a brief period after President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 in 1942, Japanese Americans could "voluntarily" relocate from the West Coast, and a number headed for Colorado. In the face of widespread anti-Japanese sentiment, Governor Ralph L. Carr welcomed Japanese Americans, stating, "They are as loyal to American institutions as you and I." Later, when the War Relocation Authority (WRA) attempted to enlist the assistance of governors of western states in relocating and resettling Japanese Americans, Carr stood alone in his willingness to cooperate. Because of his principles, he was excoriated as a "Jap lover" by his political rival, Edwin "Big Ed" Johnson, who instead proposed that the National Guard be called out to close the state borders to Japanese—indeed, Johnson had used the Guard to interdict Mexicans when he was governor. Carr was closely defeated by Johnson in the 1942 race for the U.S. Senate, arguably because of his tolerant and democratic stance, but Japanese Americans never forgot his welcome—he was memorialized most notably with a bronze bust in Denver's Sakura Square in 1976.

One observer noted, "During the early war period, Denver was a 'Mecca' for evacuees not desiring to go further eastward, as well as a stop-over for those who eventually continued their journey." Denver's Japanese American population exploded, from 323 in 1940 to a high of approximately 5,000 in late 1945. Indeed, for a time Denver was considered the "unofficial Japanese capital of the United States," a title usurped by Chicago during the later war years. The number of Japanese American businesses increased from 46 in 1940 to 258 in 1946. They continued to be concentrated in the Larimer district, hemmed in by pressure to restrict Japanese Americans from other sections of the city. Most of these businesses catered to a mixed clientele of Mexicans, Japanese, Euro Americans, and a few African Americans. The growth of the rural population of Japanese Americans mirrored that of Denver's, increasing from about 2,300 before the war to between 6,000 and 7,000.

The removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast which fueled the growth of the free population of Colorado also led to the imprisonment of more than 7,500 people at the Granada Relocation Center, nicknamed Camp Amache for its postal designation, "Amache." Located in the arid plains of southeastern part of Colorado, near the tiny town of Granada and about eighteen miles east of the larger town of Lamar, Amache was the smallest of the 10 concentration camps in the U.S. The residents, most of whom hailed from southern California and the San Joaquin Valley in central California, were unprepared for the brutal weather that greeted them. Hot, dry summers that swept dust storms across the parched camp were followed by bone-chilling winters during which wind and snow blew through the cracks in barracks walls. One of the most eminent prisoners at Amache was Yamato Ichihashi, an Issei history professor at Stanford University, who had published a landmark study of Japanese Americans in 1932. Initially imprisoned in California at Santa Anita and Tule Lake before being sent to Amache, Ichihashi wrote extensive notes and correspondence on his confinement experience, an experience that unfortunately left him but a shadow of his prewar self. Pat Suzuki, a Nisei who later went on to win fame as a singer and Broadway star, was another notable Amachean.

Prisoners operated an extensive agricultural enterprise at Amache which included more than 500 acres of vegetable crops and more than 2,000 acres of field crops, along with cattle, hogs, and poultry. Other prisoners worked in a silk-screening unit that produced recruiting posters for the Army and Navy. The Granada Pioneer, a semiweekly newspaper published by the inmates which was subject to censorship by the camp administration, provided an important source of information about life in camp. Japanese Americans who visited the towns of Granada and Lamar on

weekend shopping passes reported reactions ranging from warm welcomes to "No Japs Allowed" signs posted in storefronts. The military service controversy that wracked other camps was more muted at Amache, though the camp produced both volunteers and inductees— along with draft resisters—in significant proportions. Some 953 Amacheans served in the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS), and in the Women's Army Corps (WAC); 31 of them were killed during the war. While Amache produced a higher percentage of military participants than any other camp, 34 of the Nisei drafted out of Amache refused to comply, also a high percentage.

Colorado had historically supported several Japanese-language newspapers. During the war two of them, the Colorado Times and the Rocky Nippon (later renamed the Rocky Shimpo), were issued bilingually in Japanese and English and enjoyed their highest circulations ever. James "Jimmie" Omura, a journalist who relocated from San Francisco to Denver after Japanese Americans were evicted from California, became the English-language editor of the triweekly Rocky Shimpo, which during the war years called itself the "largest circulated Nisei vernacular in the continental U.S.A." In the pages of that publication, Omura carried on what one historian has called "arguably the most courageous and significant Nikkei journalist writing ever produced." The issue being examined and discussed was whether Japanese Americans should participate in military service while their civil rights were being violated. The JACL and its supporters, who advocated that Japanese Americans volunteer for military service, lobbied to have the draft imposed on men in the camps. Omura, however, believed that Japanese Americans should not be required to risk their lives for the nation until their constitutional rights were restored. When a group of draft resisters of conscience called the Fair Play Committee organized at the Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming, Omura published editorials endorsing their position. For his troubles he was tried for conspiracy to violate the Selective Service Act but was acquitted.

Beyond simply being evicted and imprisoned, Japanese Americans made vital contributions to the war effort in Colorado. Japanese Americans released on seasonal passes performed much-needed labor on farms across the state, proving particularly invaluable on sugar beet farms, where backbreaking manual labor was required. More than 150 Issei, Nisei, and Kibei (Japanese Americans born in the U.S. but educated in Japan), many of them recruited from concentration camps, served as instructors at the Navy Japanese Language School, which operated from June 1942 to 1946 on the campus of the University of Colorado at Boulder. Their pupils went on to play key roles in the Pacific theater of operations as interpreters, interrogators, and propagandists during the war and subsequent occupation; many, including Donald Keene and Edward Seidensticker (a native Coloradan), later went on to become influential scholars of Japanese language, literature, and history.

The Japanese American population of Colorado peaked in 1945 at about 11,700, but this number fell precipitously as restrictions were lifted on the West Coast: in the next year approximately 5,500 returned home, and by 1950 only 5,412 Japanese Americans remained in the state. Despite the out-migration, however, Colorado continues to host vibrant Japanese communities, both urban and rural. According to the 2000 census, there were 11,571 Japanese Americans in Colorado, but this number counted only monoracial people, while the community is increasingly multiracial. Including multiracial (hapa) Japanese Americans, the population probably tops 18,000.

Japanese Americans are clustered overwhelmingly along the Front Range, from Fort Collins to Colorado Springs, primarily in the greater Denver metro area; strong communities and organizations also persist in smaller places such as Fort Lupton and Brighton,

the home of Sakata Farms, one of the largest farms in the Southwest. One thing that has changed dramatically since 1965 is that Japanese Americans, once the predominant Asian ethnic group in Colorado, now trail South Asians, Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese, although they still outnumber Filipinos. Students can study Asian American history and culture in ethnic studies programs and departments at University of Colorado campuses in Boulder, Denver, and Colorado Springs and at Colorado State University.

Colorado has been home to several nationally prominent Japanese Americans. Min Yasui was an attorney who first gained fame for defying curfew orders in 1942, and in the postwar years he became a respected civic leader in Denver for his efforts to promote interracial harmony. During the 1980s he sought to overturn his wartime conviction and was a national leader in the movement for redress and reparations. A city and county of Denver building is named after him, and the Minoru Yasui Community Volunteer Award is given out annually in his honor. Bill Hosokawa, the dean of Japanese American journalists, worked at the Denver Post from 1946 to 1984 as a war correspondent, columnist, and finally editor of the editorial page; he also wrote a nationally read column in the Pacific Citizen and has published a dozen books over the last half century, including his notable 2005 volume, Colorado's Japanese Americans: From 1886 to the Present.

Although Japanese Coloradans are geographically, economically, and socially integrated into mainstream society, they maintain strong ethnic ties through organizations, institutions, and events and celebrations. Sakura Square in Denver continues to be a significant gathering place for Japanese Americans today. Community institutions, such as the Tri-State/Denver Buddhist Temple and the Pacific Mercantile grocery store, are located in the Square, which also hosts the Cherry Blossom Festival each year. The Japanese American community in Colorado continues to thrive as it moves forward in the twenty-first century.

# Timeline for Japanese Americans in Colorado

(Compiled by Daryl J. Maeda)



**1886** • Tadaatsu Matsudaira is first Japanese to arrive in Colorado

**1903** • Large-scale Japanese immigration to Colorado begins

**1907** • Japanese Association of Colorado established
• Worship services held among Japanese Americans in Denver; this later leads to establishment of Simpson United Methodist Church, a principal institution of the community today

**1908** • Japanese Association of Brighton, Fort Lupton, and Platteville formed

**1916** • Tri-State Buddhist Temples formed. Today, the Tri-State/Denver Buddhist Temple in Sakura Square is a central organization among Japanese Americans

**1938** • Mile-Hi chapter of Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is established in Denver

**1942** • Some Japanese Americans (perhaps a thousand) "voluntarily" migrate from the West Coast to Colorado before "voluntary evacuation" was banned.
• Colorado's Japanese American population begins to swell and continues to grow throughout the war through resettlement
• Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr, bucking prevailing anti-Japanese sentiment, welcomes Japanese Americans to his state, stating, "They are loyal Americans."
• The 10,500-acre Granada Relocation Center, nicknamed "Camp Amache," opens in the Arkansas River Valley of eastern Colorado; more than 7,500 people were incarcerated there. Thirty-one Japanese American soldiers from Amache die fighting in World War II, with thirty-four resisting the draft

**1944** • James Omura writes editorials in the Denver-based Rocky Shimpo urging draft resisters at Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming to stand firm in demanding that their civil liberties be restored before they submitted to the draft; he was tried for conspiracy to evade the draft but acquitted on First Amendment grounds

**1945** • Camp Amache closes

**1946** • Bill Hosokawa joins the Denver Post. He went on to serve as editor of its Opinion Page

**1961** • Influential Nisei journalist Larry Tajiri dies. Tajiri was the editor of the JACL's newspaper, Pacific Citizen, during the war, then served as art and literary critic for the Denver Post from 1952 until his death. He is commemorated in Denver by the Larry Tajiri Memorial Award for Outstanding Accomplishment in the Performing Arts

**1973** • Tamai Tower and Sakura Square in Denver are dedicated

**1976** • Bust of Governor Carr is placed in Sakura Square to commemorate his support for Japanese Americans during WWII
• Denver Taiko is established, the fourth taiko group to be formed in North America and the first outside of California
• City of Denver establishes the Minoru Yasui Community Volunteer Award to honor this community leader, political activist, and civil rights advocate who worked closely with African Americans, Latinos, and Euro Americans as Executive Director of the Commission on Community Relations

**1977** • Naoichi "Harry" Hokasano, a turn-of-the-century labor contractor, is honored with a portrait in a stained-glass window at the State Capitol in Denver

1983 • Min Yasui challenges his wartime conviction for violating curfew orders in Portland. His is one of three landmark "coram nobis" cases alleging government misconduct in the original trials. Although Yasui died before his case could be decided, the other two litigants, Gordon Hirabayashi and Fred Korematsu, had their convictions set aside

2007 • Bill Hosokawa honored with Civil Rights Award from Anti-Defamation League, Mountain States Regional Office

# Selected Bibliography



## The Japanese American Experience


"A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the Constitution." Smithsonian National Museum of American History. http://americanhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/experience (accessed September 3, 2009).

Adams, Ansel. *Born Free and Equal: The Story of Loyal Japanese Americans*. Bishop, Calif.: Spotted Dog Press, 2002.

Armor, John, and Peter Wright. *Manzanar: Photographs by Ansel Adams, Commentary by John Hersey*. New York: Times Books, 1988.

Austin, Allan W. *From Concentration Camp to Campus: Japanese American Students and World War II*. The Asian American Experience. Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Burton, Jeffery F., Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*. Publications in Anthropology 74. Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1999.

Collins, Donald E. *Native American Aliens: Disloyalty and the Renunciation of Citizenship by Japanese Americans During World War II*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Daniels, Roger. *Concentration Camps North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II*. Rev. ed. Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1989.

———. *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*. Rev. ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Daniels, Roger, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano. *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*. Rev. ed. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.

Denshō: The Japanese American Legacy Project. http://www.densho.org/ (accessed September 3, 2009).

Drinnon, Richard. *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989.

Eaton, Allen H[endershott]. *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocation Camps*. New York: Harper, 1952.

Fiset, Louis. *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple*. The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998.

Fugita, Stephen S., and Marilyn Fernandez. *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember Their World War II Incarceration*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.

Fugita, Stephen S., and David J. O'Brien. *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.

Gordon, Linda, and Gary Y. Okihiro, eds. *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006.

Gruenewald, Mary Matsuda. *Looking Like the Enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese American Internment Camps*. Troutdale, Ore.: New Sage Press, 2005.

Harth, Erica, ed. *Last Witnesses: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Hayashi, Brian Masaru. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Helphand, Kenneth I. "Stone Gardens: Japanese American Internment Camps, 1942–45." Chapter 5 in *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime*. San Antonio, Tex.: Trinity University Press, 2006.

Hibi, Hisako, and Hibuki H. Lee. *Peaceful Painter: Memoirs of an Issei Woman Artist*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2004.

Higa, Karin M. *The View From Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945*. Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, UCLA Wight Art Gallery, UCLA Asian American Studies Center in conjunction with the exhibition commemorating the 50-year anniversary of the Japanese American Internment, 1994.

Higashide, Seiichi. *Adios to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*. Rev. ed. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Hirabayashi, Lane. *Japanese American Resettlement through the Lens: Hikaru Iwasaki and the WRA's Photographic Section, 1943–1945*. Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 2009.

Hirasuna, Delphine, and Terry Heffernan. *The Art of Gaman: Arts and Crafts from the Japanese American Internment Camps, 1942–1946*. Berkeley, Calif.: Ten Speed Press, 2005.

Hirohata, Joyce, and Paul T. Hirohata, ed. *Nisei Voices: Japanese American Students of the 1930s—Then and Now*. Oakland, Calif.: Hirohata Design, 2004.

Hoobler, Dorothy, and Thomas Hoobler. *The Japanese American Family Album*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hosokawa, Bill. *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*. Rev. ed. Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 2002.

Ichihashi, Yamato, and Gordon H. Chang. *Morning Glory, Evening Shadow: Yamato Ichihashi and His Internment Writings, 1942–1945*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Inada, Lawson Fusao. *Legends from Camp*. Minneapolis: Coffee House Press, 1992.

———, ed. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books; San Francisco: California Historical Society, 2000.

Iritani, Frank, and Joanne Iritani. *Ten Visits: Accounts of Visits to All the Japanese American Relocation Centers*. Rev. ed. Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1999.

Irons, Peter. *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993.

Iwata, Masakazu. *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture*. American University Studies Series 9. New York: Peter Lang, 1992.

Japanese American Citizens League. http://www.jacl.org/ (accessed September 5, 2009).

Japanese American National Museum. http://www.janm.org/ (accessed September 5, 2009).

Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive. (http://www.jarda.org (accessed September 5, 2009).

Kashima, Tetsuden. Foreword in Jeffrey Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*. The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

———. *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment During World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Kikuchi, Charles, and John Modell, ed. *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp: The Tanforan Journals of Charles Kikuchi*. Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Kitano, Harry H. L. *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1976.

Library of Congress. http://memory.loc.gov/ (accessed September 5, 2009).

"Life Interrupted: The Japanese American Experience in WWII Arkansas." University of Arkansas at Little Rock. http://www.ualr.edu/lifeinterrupted/curriculum/index.asp (accessed September 5, 2009).

Mackey, Mike, ed. *Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming*. Powell, Wyo.: Western History Publications, 1998.

Maki, Mitchell T., Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold. *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress*. The Asian American Experience. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Malkin, Michelle. *In Defense of Internment: The Case for "Racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terrorism*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2004.

McClain, Charles J., ed. *The Mass Internment of Japanese Americans and the Quest for Legal Redress*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Minear, Richard H. *Dr. Seuss Goes to War: The World War II Editorial Cartoons of Theodor Seuss Geisel*. New York: New Press, 1999.

Mori, Toshio. *The Chauvinist and Other Stories*. Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979

———. *Unfinished Message: Selected Works of Toshio Mori*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2000.

———. *Yokohama, California*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.

Muller, Eric L. *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Murata, Alice. *Japanese Americans in Chicago*. Mt. Pleasant, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2002.

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

Myer, Dillon S[eymour]. *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971.

Nakano, Takeo Ujo, and Leatrice Nakano. *Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of his Internment in Canada*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Goodread Biographies, Formac Publishing, 1983.

Nash, Gary, and Ronald Schultz. *Retracing the Past: Readings in the History of the American People—Volume II: Since 1865*. 6th ed. New York: Longman, 2006.

National Archives and Records Administration. http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/ (accessed September 6, 2009).

"NCRR: Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress (formerly called the National Coalition for Redress/ Reparations)." http://www.ncrr-la.org/ (accessed September 3, 2009).

Neiwert, David. *Strawberry Days: How Internment Destroyed a Japanese American Community*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Niiya, Brian, ed. *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*. Rev. ed. Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2000.

Okada, John. *No-No Boy*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.

Okubo, Miné. *Citizen 13660*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983.

Online Archive of California. http://oac.cdlib.org/texts/ (accessed September 5, 2009).

Pak, Yoon K. *Wherever I Go, I Will Always Be a Loyal American: Schooling Seattle's Japanese Americans During World War II*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002.

Robinson, Gerald H. *Elusive Truth: Four Photographers at Manzanar*. Nevada City, Calif.: Carl Mautz Publishing, 2002.

Robinson, Greg. *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Roripaugh, Lee Ann. *Beyond Heart Mountain: Poems*. The National Poetry Series. New York: Penguin Books, 1999.

Sando, Tom. *Wild Daisies in the Sand: Life in a Canadian Internment Camp*. Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Press, 2002.

Seigel, Shizue. *In Good Conscience: Supporting Japanese Americans During the Internment*. San Mateo, Calif.: Asian American Curriculum Project, 2006.

*Something Strong Within*. Los Angeles: Frank H. Watase Media Arts Center, Japanese American National Museum, 1995. Film.

Sone, Monica. *Nisei Daughter*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.

Spicer, Edward Holland et al. *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969.

Takaki, Ronald. *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000.

Takashima, Shizuye. *A Child in Prison Camp*. Montreal, Quebec: Tundra Books, 1992.

Tateishi, John, comp. *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Taylor, Sandra C. *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993.

Uchida, Yoshiko. *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982.

———. *Picture Bride*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.

University of California Calisphere Website (JARDA). http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/ (accessed September 6, 2009).

Weglyn, Michi Nishiura. *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.

Yamada, Mitsuye. *Camp Notes and Other Writings: Mitsuye Yamada*. Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

Yamamoto, Hisaye. *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories*. Rev. ed. Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001.

Yoo, David K. *Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation and Culture Among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–1949*. Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2000.

## Japanese Americans in Arizona

August, Jack. "Anti-Japanese Crusade in Arizona's Salt River Valley, 1934–1935." *Arizona and the West: Quarterly Journal of History* 21 (Summer 1979): 113–36.

Bailey, Paul. *City in the Sun: The Japanese Concentration Camp at Poston, Arizona*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1971.

Baran, Robert J. *Designing Dwarfs in the Desert: Up through the First Thirty-Five Years of the Phoenix Bonsai Society. Colorado Springs, Colo.*: Pyramid Dancer Publications, 1997.

Bruner, Betsy. "Imprisoned in Leupp: In a Little-known Footnote of World War II, More than 80 Young Japanese-American Men Were Held in Isolation at a Camp in Old Leupp." *Daily Sun* (Flagstaff, Ariz.), November 12, 2007, pp. A1, A6.

*Diamonds in the Rough: Zeni and the Legacy of Japanese-American Baseball*. Fresno, Calif.: Nisei Baseball Research Project, 2000. DVD.

"Enduring Communities: Arizona." Arizona State University. http://apas.clas.asu.edu/testvideos/person/Introduction/OpenIntroduction.shtml (accessed September 6, 2009).

Estes, Donald H., and Matthew T. Estes. "Letters from Camp: Poston—The First Year." *Journal of the West* 38, no. 2 (April 1999): 22–33.

Hansen, Arthur A. "The Evacuation and Resettlement Study at the Gila River Relocation Center, 1942–1944." *Journal of the West* 38, no. 2 (April 1999): 45–55.

Kimura, Yoshiju. *Arizona Sunset*. Trans. Tesshin Kakimoto. Glendale, Ariz: Y. Kimura, 1980.

Lowe, Ronald E. "Arizona Alien Land Law: Its Meanings and Constitutional Validity." *Arizona State Law Journal* (1976): 253–76.

Matsumoto, Valerie. "Japanese American Women During World War II." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 8, no. 1 (1984): 6–14.

Melton, Brad, 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.

Nakayama, Thomas, ed. *Transforming Barbed Wire: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans in Arizona during World War II*. Phoenix: Arizona Humanities Council, 1997.

Nishimoto, Richard S. *Inside an American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona*. Ed. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

*Passing Poston: An American Story*. A film by Joe Fox and James Nubile. 2008. DVD.

Sato, Susie. "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona." *Journal of Arizona History* 14 (Winter 1973): 317–31.

Tamir, Orit, Scott C. Russell, Karolyn Jackman Jensen, and Shereen Lerner. *Return to Butte Camp: A Japanese-American World War II Relocation Center*. Phoenix: Bureau of Reclamation, Arizona Projects Office, 1993

Walz, Eric. "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.

## Japanese Americans in Colorado

Acheson, Alice Brosman. "A Japanese-American's World War II Valley Experience." *The San Luis Valley Historian* 37, no. 2 (2005): 4–13.

Amache: Japanese Internment Camp. http://www.amache.org/ (accessed September 5, 2009).

Asian American Curriculum Project. "The Japanese American Journey: The Story of a People." Appendix in *A Lesson in American History: The Japanese Experience*. N.p.: Japanese American Citizens League, 1996.

Auraria Library. http://archives.auraria.edu/contents.html (accessed September 5, 2009).

Colorado State Archives. http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/index.html (accessed September 6, 1009).

"Governor Ralph L. Carr Collection." Colorado State Archives. http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/govs/carr.html (accessed July 24, 2009).

Harvey, Robert. *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado During World War II*. Lanham, Md.: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 2004.

Hosokawa, Bill. *Colorado's Japanese Americans: From 1886 to the Present*. Boulder, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 2005.

Johnson, Melyn. "At Home in Amache: A Japanese-American Relocation Camp in Colorado." *Colorado Heritage* 1 (1989).

Lamm, Richard D., and Duane A. Smith. *Pioneers and Politicians: Ten Colorado Governors in Profile*. Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing, 1984.

Schrager, Adam. *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story*. Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2008.

Takahara, Kumiko. *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.

Wei, William. "Americans First: Colorado's Japanese-American Community During World War II—An Interview." *Colorado Heritage* (Winter 2005).

———. "'The Strangest City in Colorado' in the Amache Concentration Camp." *Colorado Heritage* (Winter 2005).

## Japanese Americans in New Mexico

Burks, Susanne. "Jury Award $870,000 in Shooting." *Albuquerque Journal*, September 4, 1993, p. D2.

Chalfen, Richard. *Turning Leaves: The Photograph Collections of Two Japanese American Families*. Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press 1991.

Fukuda, Yoshiaki. *My Six Years of Internment: An Issei's Struggle for Justice*. San Francisco: Konko Church of San Francisco, 1990.

Neiderman, Sharon. "The Years of 'Los Japos': Santa Fe's Wartime Internment Camp." *Santa Fe Reporter*, July 10–16, 1991, p. 17.

Rodriguez, Robert. "Anniversary Stirs Emotions in N.M. Japanese-Americans." *Albuquerque Journal*, December 7, 1991, p. A3.

Rogers, Everett M., 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.

Soga, Keiho Yasutaro. *Life behind Barbed Wire:The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai'i Issei*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Soga, Keiho, Taisanboku Mori, Sojin Takei, and Muin Ozaki. *Poets Behind Barbed Wire:* Tanka *Poems*. Trans. Jiro Nakano and Kay Nakano. Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984.

## Japanese Americans in Texas

Connell, Thomas. *America's Japanese Hostages: The World War II Plan for a Japanese-Free Latin America*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002.

Elleman, Bruce. *Japanese-American Civilian Prisoner Exchanges and Detention Camps, 1941–45*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Fujita, Frank. *Foo, a Japanese-American Prisoner of the Rising Sun: The Secret Prison Diary of Frank "Foo" Fujita*. War and the Southwest Series, No. 1. Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 1993.

Riley, Karen L. *Schools Behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.

Thonhoff, Robert H. *Camp Kenedy, Texas: World War I Training Camp, Depression-era CCC Camp, World War II Alien Detention Camp, German POW Camp*. Austin, Tex.: Eakin Press, 2003.

Univerity of Texas at San Antonio's Institute of Texan Cultures Archives and Special Collections. http://www.lib.utsa.edu/Archives/Manuscripts/?utm_source=menu&utm_medium=web (accessed September 5, 2009).

Walls, Thomas K. *The Japanese Texans*. San Antonio, Tex.: University of Texas, Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1987.

## Japanese Americans in Utah

Arrington, L. *The Price of Prejudice*. Logan, Utah: Faculty Association, Utah State University, 1962.

Beckwith, Jane. "Topaz Relocation Center." Utah History to Go. http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/ (accessed September 8, 2009).

BYU Special Collections. http://net.byu.edu/fslab/researchoutlines/us/idaho.pdf (accessed September 8, 2009).

Davis School District History Underscores Belief Project. http://www.hubtours.org/hub_tours/home.html (accessed September 8, 2009).

"Eleanor Sekerak Photo Collection." J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah. http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=/Topaz (accessed September 8, 2009).

Hill, Kimi Kodani, ed. *Topaz Moon: Chiura Obata's Art of the Internment*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2000.

Nichols, Jeffrey D. "The Japanese Agricultural Colony at Keetley, Wasatch County" (1995). Utah History to Go. http://www.historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/japaneseagriculturalcolonyatkeetley.html (accessed September 8, 2009).

Taylor, Sandra C. "Japanese Americans and Keetley Farms: Utah's Relocation Colony." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1986).

*Topaz*. Produced and directed by Ken Verdoia. Salt Lake City: KUED, 1987. DVD.

Topaz Museum. http://www.topazmuseum.org/ (accessed September 8, 2009).

"Topaz Relocation Site." Millard County. http://www.millardcounty.com/ (accessed September 8, 2009).

Uchida, Yoshiko. "Topaz: An Account of Japanese Americans Interned in Utah During WWII." Utah History to Go. http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/from_war_to_war/topazjapaneseamericaninternedinutahduringww2.html (accessed September 8, 2009).

———. "Topaz: City of Dust." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1980).

Utah State University Digital Library. "Topaz Japanese-American Center Digital Collection." Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 2005. CD-ROM.

White, Marilyn Curtis. "Keetley, Utah: The Birth and Death of a Small Town." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1994).

## Children and Young Adult Books/Magazines

Bunting, Eve. *So Far from the Sea*. New York: Clarion Books, 1998.

Chorlian, Meg, ed. "Japanese Americans." *Cobblestone: The History Magazine for Young People* 17, no. 4 (April 1996).

Cooper, Michael L. *Fighting for Honor: Japanese Americans and World War II*. New York: Clarion Books, 2000.

———. *Remembering Manzanar: Life in a Japanese Relocation Camp*. New York: Clarion Books, 2002.

Day, Nancy. "Wartime Mistakes, Peacetime Apologies." *Cobblestone: The History Magazine for Young People* 17, no. 4 (April 1996): 17–19.

Feldman, Jay. *Suitcase Sefton and the American Dream*. Chicago: Triumph Books, 2006.

Garrigue, Sheila. *The Eternal Spring of Mr. Ito*. New York: Aladdin Books, 1994.

Gillete, W. Michael, and Beth Havercamp. "Inspiring Justice: An Interview with Gordon Hirabayashi." *Cobblestone: The History Magazine for Young People* 17, no. 4 (April 1996): 33–37.

Gingold, Craig. "Evacuation and Internment During World War II." *Cobblestone: The History Magazine for Young People* 17, no. 4 (April 1996): 10–16.

Hamanaka, Sheila. *The Journey: Japanese Americans, Racism, and Renewal*. New York: Orchard Books, 1990.

Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki, and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment*. New York: Bantam Books, 1983.

Kadohata, Cynthia. *Weedflower*. New York: Atheneum Books, 2006.

Kerns, Ann. *Japanese in America*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2005.

Levine, Ellen. *A Fence Away from Freedom: Japanese Americans and World War II*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1995.

Means, Florence Crannell. *The Moved-Outers*. New York: Walker and Company, 1993.

Mochizuki, Ken. *Baseball Saved Us*. New York: Lee and Low Books, 1995.

———. *Heroes*. New York: Lee and Low Books, 1997.

Oppenheim, Joanne. *Dear Miss Breed: True Stories of the Japanese American Incarceration During World War II and a Librarian Who Made a Difference*. New York: Scholastic Nonfiction, 2006.

Otsuka, Julie. *When the Emperor Was Divine*. New York: Random House, 2002.

Parkhurst, Liz, with Pam Strickland. *Under One Flag: A Year at Rohwer*. Little Rock, Ark.: August House, 2005.

Sakurai, Gail. *Japanese American Internment Camps*. Cornerstones of Freedom. New York: Children's Press (Scholastic), 2002.

Salisbury, Graham. *Under the Blood-Red Sun*. New York: Bantam Doubleday, 1994.

Say, Allen. *Grandfather's Journey*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1993.

Stanley, Jerry. *I Am an American: A True Story of Japanese Internment*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1994.

Tunnell, Michael O., and George W. Chilcoat. *The Children of Topaz: The Story of a Japanese-American Internment Camp Based on a Classroom Diary*. New York: Holiday House, 1996.

Uchida, Yoshiko. *The Bracelet*. New York: Putnam Berkeley Group, 1993.

———. *The Invisible Thread: An Autobiography*. New York: Beech Tree, 1995.

———. *Journey Home*. New York: Aladdin Books; Macmillan, 1992.

———. *Journey to Topaz: A Story of the Japanese American Evacuation*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, University of California Press, 2004.

Welch, Catherine A. *Children of the Relocation Camps*. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, Lerner Publishing Group, 2000.

Westridge Young Writers Workshop. *Kids Explore America's Japanese American Heritage*. Santa Fe: John Muir Publications, 1994.

Yancey, Diane. *Life in a Japanese American Internment Camp*. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Lucent Books, 1998.

## Teaching History and Democracy

*9066 to 9/11*. Los Angeles: Frank H. Watase Media Arts Center, Japanese American National Museum, 2004. Film.

Adams, Maurianne, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, eds. *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*. Rev. ed. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Carnes, Jim. "Home Was a Horse Stall." *Teaching Tolerance* 4, no.1 (Spring 1995): 50–57.

Darling-Hammond, Linda, Jennifer French, and Silvia Paloma García-Lopez. *Learning to Teach for Social Justice*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2002.

Foner, Eric. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.

———. *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2002.

Graff, Gerald. *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalize American Education*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.

Hansen, Arthur A. "The 1944 Nisei Draft at Heart Mountain, Wyoming: Its Relationship to the Historical Representation of the World War II Japanese American Evacuation." *OAH* [Organization of American Historians] *Magazine of History* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 48–60.

Knight, Margy Burns. *Talking Walls*. Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House Publishers, 1992.

Ladson-Billings, Gloria. *Critical Race Theory Perspectives on Social Studies: The Profession, Policies, and Curriculum*. Greenwich, Conn.: Information Age Publishing, 2003.

Mackey, James A., and William E. Huntzicker. "Racism and Relocation: Telling the Japanese-American Experience." *Social Education* 55, no. 7 (November/December 1991): 415–18.

Nash, Gary B., Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn. *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.

Olsen, K. "We Were Still the Enemy." *Teaching Tolerance* 30 (Fall 2006): 36–41.

Parker, Walter C., ed. *Education for Democracy: Contexts, Curricula, Assessments*. Research in Social Education, vol. 2. Greenwich, Conn.: Information Age Publishing, 2002.

———. *Teaching Democracy: Diversity and Unity in Public Life*. Multicultural Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 2003.

Pickering, Susan M., and Lori B. Walker. "Japanese American Internment: A Historical Narrative." *Social Studies and the Young Learner* (November/December 1995): 1–6.

Wallace, Mike. *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.

Williams, John A. *Classroom in Conflict: Teaching Controversial Subjects in a Diverse Society*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1994.

## Oral and Community History

Allen, Thomas B. *Remember Pearl Harbor: American and Japanese Survivors Tell Their Stories*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2001.

Association of Personal Historians, Inc. (APH, Inc.). http://www.personalhistorians.org (accessed September 6, 2009).

Brooks, Michael. "'Long, Long Ago': Recipe for a Middle School Oral History Program." *OAH Magazine of History* (Spring 1997).

Conley, Sunny. *New Mexico Farms and Ranches: Folks and Fixin's*. Las Cruces, N.M.: Barbed Wire Publishing, 2001.

Ewald, Wendy, and Alexandra Lightfoot. *I Wanna Take Me a Picture: Teaching Photography and Writing to Children*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.

Garza, Carmen Lomas. *Family Pictures/Cuadras de familia*. San Francisco: Children's Book Press, 2005.

Hartley, William G. *Preparing a Personal History*. Salt Lake City: Primer Publications, 1976.

Hollenbeck, Kathleen M. *Neighborhoods and Communities: Activities, Map and Model Projects, Literature Links*. New York: Scholastic Professional Books, 1997.

Metcalf, Fay D., and Matthew T. Downey. *Using Local History in the Classroom*. Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

National Endowment for the Humanities. *My History is America's History: Fifteen Things You Can Do to Save America's Stories*. Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1999.

Oral History Association (OHA). http://www.oralhistory.org/. (accessed September 6, 2009).

Page, Susanne. *A Celebration of Being: Photographs of the Hopi and Navajo*. Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Publishing, 1989.

Polking, Kirk. *Writing Family Histories and Memoirs*. Cincinnati: Betterway Books, 1995.

Provenzo Jr., Eugene F., Asterie B. Provenzo, Zorn Provenzo Jr., and Peter A. Provenzo. *Pursuing the Past: Oral History, Photographs, Family History, Cemeteries*. Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley, 1984.

Sitton, Thad, George L. Mehaffy, and O. L. Davis Jr. *Oral History: A Guide for Teachers (and Others)*. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1983.

Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. American Association for State and Local History Book Series. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002.

Wigginton, Eliot, and His Students, eds. *Foxfire: 25 Years—A Celebration of Our First Quarter Century*. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Wyman Jr., Richard M. "Japanese American Internment: Citizens of the Seventh Grade." In *America's History through Young Voices: Using Primary Sources in the K–12 Social Studies Classroom*. Boston: Pearson Education, 2005.

Zarnowski, Myra. *Learning About Biography: A Reading-and-Writing Approach for Children*. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English; Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1990.

Adapted from Dr. Lynette K. Oshima, University of New Mexico, 2/4/09.

# Project Teams



### Arizona Curriculum Writing Team
Billy Allen
Lynn Galvin
Jeannine Kuropatkin
Karen Leong
Toni Loroña-Allen
Jessica Medlin
Christina Smith

### Colorado Curriculum Writing Team
Judy Hansen
Judy Kurtz
Daryl Maeda
Abbie Martin
Pam Newman
Cindy Stout

### New Mexico Curriculum Writing Team
Diane Ball
Cindy Basye
Ella-Kari Loftfield
Gina Medina-Gay
Lynette K. Oshima
Rebecca Sánchez
Trish Steiner

### Texas Curriculum Writing Team
G. Salvador Gutierrez
Mark Hansen
Jessica Jolliffe
Mary Grace Ketner
David Monteith, Jr.
Linda O'Dell
Lynne Smogur

### Utah Curriculum Writing Team
RaDon Andersen
Jennifer Baker
David Brimhall
Jade Crown
Sandra Early
Shanna Futral
Linda Oda
Dave Seiter

### Los Angeles–based National Institute for Educators Advisors (2006–2007)
Sandra Okura DaLie
Cris Gutierrez
Janet Hironaka
Lloyd Kajikawa
Richard Katsuda
Leigh Ann Orr

### Evaluators
Caroline Marshall, WolfBrown
Melvin L. Musick, Organizational Concepts

### Graphic Designer
Azusa Oda

### Copy Editor
Sherri Schottlaender

### Project Team
Nancy Araki
Akira Boch
John Esaki
Jean Hamamoto
Ken Hamamura
Art Hansen
Lloyd Inui
Mae Isidro
Geoff Jost
Carole Kakita
Vicky Murakami-Tsuda
Allyson Nakamoto
Jane Nakasako
Cheryl Toyama
Janis Wong

# Acknowledgments



*Once you join others, even though at first your mission fails, you become a different person, a much stronger one. You feel that you really count, you discover your strength as an individual because you have along the way discovered others share in what you believe, you are not alone; and thus a community is formed. ... So, my credo consists of the pursuit* and the act. *One without the other is self-indulgence.*

—Studs Terkel, Forward to *This I Believe: The Personal Philosophies of Remarkable Men and Women*, 2006

The *Enduring Communities* project and this curriculum were made possible through the contributions of many people from across the nation over the span of four years. The camaraderie, insights, and lively discussions with the following educators, volunteers, community members, advisors, and staff have guided and strengthened the project:

La-Tanya Alexander
Anan Ameri
June Aoki
Bill Arakaki
Kathy Araki
Kalei Arinaga
Gil Asakawa
Denise Asher
Ahmad Assed
Todd Barcial
Doug Berkey
Gail Berkey
Melanie Borger
Shannon Butler
Sarah Carle
Bonnie Clark
Amy Cole
Donna Cole
John Córdova
Jay Cravath
John Davis
Ian DeBono
Jerene DeBono
Ernie Doizaki
Carlos Farfan
Janice Freij
Susan Fukushima
Thomas Goller
Jim Hada
Kerry Hada
Chris Hall
Robyn Hamada
Daniel Hamada
Jo Ann Hamamura
Sybil J. Hampton
Clement Hanami
Jim Hirabayashi
Lane Hirabayashi
Irene Y. Hirano
Arnold Hiura
Eloise Hiura
Scott Hong
John Hopper
Tom Hori
Bill Hosokawa*
Todd Hotchkiss
Tom Ikeda
Randy Imoto
Masaji Inoshita
Gabe Ishida
Bonny Johnston
Cynthia Kadohata
Roy Kakuda
Gene Kanamori
Mary Karatsu
Susan Kellogg
Akemi Kikumura Yano
Dan Killoren
Sojin Kim
Aiko Kimura
Calvin Kobayashi
Steve Koga
Chris Komai
Kaleigh Komatsu
Sylvia Komatsu
Carol Komatsuka
Cindy Kondo
Tay Kondo
Tracy Kumono
Maria Kwong
Leo Laprarie
Valerie Lawrence
Kristina Leamy
Dennis Lem
Dan Lukash
Anh Ly
Mitchell Maki
Kristin Dutcher Mann
Myrna Mariona
Marie Masumoto
Bruce Matsui
Brian Matsumoto
Anna McFarland
Mariagnes Aya Medrud
Tom Migaki
Kara Miyagishima
Annette Miyamoto
Brent Mizutani
Shirley Mock
Mary Modina
Luis Montañez
Darryl Mori
Bob Moriguchi
Fujiko Murakami
Julia Murakami
Richard Murakami
Cayleen Nakamura
Michele Namba
Ted Namba
Kathy Namura
Gina Nieto
Melissa Nishimura
Yoko Nishimura
Florence Ochi
Gary Okihiro
Bobby Okinaka
Derek Okubo
Leigh Ann Orr
Miyoko Oshima
Mary Oshiro
Rene Oya
Charmaine Palmer
Cris Paschild
Lushun Quon
Barbra Ramos
Rene Relacion
Lorin Richards
Michelle Rundbaken
Andrew Russell
JJ Rutherford
Koji Sakai
Peter Sakai
Christy Sakamoto
Jumana Salamey
Lisa Sasaki
Adam Schrager
Mike Shibata
Kimiko Side
Christina Smith
Lynne Smogur
Fran Sterling
Linda Taba
Ruby Takanishi
Paul Takemoto
Carolyn Takeshita
Floyd Tanaka*
Rose Tanaka
Marilyn Inoshita Tang
Michael Tang
Tracey Tang
Nancy Taniguchi
E. Vicki Taniwaki
Marge Taniwaki
Laurie Tateishi
Christina Tatsugawa
James Terada
Rene' Tomita
Minoru Tonai
Susan Truong
Russ Tsuda
Tracy Tsutsumoto
Tom Walls
Alley Watada
Yoshimi Watada
Diane Wilson
Elaine Yamagata
Lynn Yamasaki
Elyse Yamauchi
Ted Yonemoto
George Yoshida
Erin Yoshimura
Christine Yoshinaga-Itano

* deceased

# Project Supporters



**Major support for this project has been generously provided, in part, by:**

TOYOTA

INSTITUTE of Museum and Library SERVICES

Aratani Foundation

**Additional support has also been provided by:**

The Hiroaki, Elaine & Lawrence Kono Foundation
The Henri and Tomoye Takahashi Charitable Foundation

Manabi & Sumi Hirasaki
Knapp Foundation
Noboru & Patricia Kondo
National Japanese American Memorial Foundation
Dr. Paul I. & Hisako Terasaki

Discover Nikkei
Dr. Chiyo Horiuchi
International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience
Third Millenium, in honor of Ruby Takanishi
Members and Donors of the Japanese American National Museum

Japanese American National Museum

*Enduring Communities: The Japanese American Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah* is a multi-year partnership project with 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, in collaboration with educators, communities, and students to create curricula about the Japanese American World War II experience for every classroom in these five states.