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

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Enduring Communities is a partnership between the Japanese American National Museum, educators, community members, and five anchor institutions:
Arizona State University's Asian Pacific American Studies Program
University of Colorado, Boulder
University of New Mexico
UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures
Davis School District, Utah

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COLORADO

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Project Overview

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

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

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

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

Introduction to the Curricular Units

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

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

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

Cynthia Stout

Name of Unit

Enduring Voices

Suggested Grade Level(s)

Secondary

Suggested Subject Area(s)

History, English Language Arts; especially recommended for National History Day projects

Unit Map

Author

Cynthia Stout

Name of Unit

Enduring Voices

Suggested Grade Level(s)

Secondary

Suggested Subject Area(s)

History, English Language Arts; especially recommended for National History Day projects

Number of Class Periods Required

6 class periods

Essential Question(s)

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

Lesson 1: Introduction to Doing Oral Histories

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of oral histories as primary sources?

Lesson 2: Constructing the Amache Experience Through Documents

- How does the historical record—consisting of primary and secondary sources—illuminate history and the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache?

Lesson 3: Questioning: Open and Closed

- Why is the skill of good questioning important in doing oral history?

Lesson 4: Practice Makes Perfect

- How does the practice—the physical and intellectual aspects—of conducting an oral history help one become a more effective interviewer?

Lesson 5: Doing History: Processing the Interview

- Why is processing the interview an integral and important part of doing oral history?

Lesson 6: Putting It All Together

- (See Essential Question)

Teacher Overview

Students will learn a process for doing oral history from start to finish. In the course of their learning it is hoped that they will find excitement in its possibilities and the stories individuals have to tell. In addition to the process, students will analyze a collection of primary and secondary source documents and from this will begin learning about the World War II experiences of Japanese American citizens in Amache, Colorado. Combining the content and the skills allows students to begin *learning* history by *doing* oral history. Considering the advancing ages of those still living who were incarcerated at Amache, students involved in this project will have a unique opportunity to provide a valuable perspective to what is known about this experience and can upload their completed oral histories to the Japanese American National Museum's Discover Nikkei Web site: http://www.discovernikkei.org/nikkeialbum/ (accessed August 4, 2009).

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

Introduction to Doing Oral History

Time

1 class period

Overview

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce, explore, and examine oral history as a means to record and formalize history's oral tradition and as a way to capture the experiences of those who lived through a historical event or period. Oral tradition far predates the written histories upon which we have come to rely for our understanding of the past. Oral histories—or the writing down of the stories told by witnesses to an event or period in the past—provide an important source for historians as they analyze and interpret the past. Like any source, oral histories have strengths and weaknesses that must be considered in their use as primary resources.

Objectives

- Students will understand the strengths and weaknesses of oral history as a primary source of historical information.
- Students will be exposed to an oral history in written and/or audio form.

Essential Question

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of oral histories as primary sources?

Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2: Students know how to use the processes and resources of historical inquiry.
- History 2.2: Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.

Materials

- Cliff Kuhn and Marjorie L. McLellan, "Oral History," *OAH Magazine of History* (spring 1997): 3–5. PDF copies can be found at http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/oralhistory/kuhn-mclellan.pdf (accessed August 4, 2009) or by visiting http://www.oah.org/ (accessed August 4, 2009) and highlighting "Magazine of History" from the menu on the left-hand side of the page.
- Examples of oral histories from Denshō: The Japanese American Legacy Project can be found online at http://www.densho.org/ (accessed August 4, 2009.) Choose "Archive" from the menu at the top of the home page, then "enter the archive." The Amache-related resources are found in several places within the archive. Of particular interest to this unit are six oral history interviews. These interviews have been divided into smaller segments and transcribed. To view them, use the search function to locate the following interviewees:
  - Bob Fuchigami
  - Mary Hamano
  - Mutsu Homma
  - Joe Ishikawa
  - Irene Najima
  - Susumu Yenokida
- *Amache Reunion Interviews* from the Denver Public Library [C940.5317 A4793 VIDEO CASSETTE] and/or *The Amache Project*, also from the Denver Public Library [C940.5317 A479 VIDEO CASSETTE]

Background

An overview of the Japanese American experience in Colorado is available as part of the introductory materials accompanying this unit.

Opening

- Ask students to turn and talk with nearby students about a historical event each experienced.
  - What are the commonalities in terms of memory?
  - What are the differences in the students' accounts?
- Discuss with students the notion that they are a part of history on a daily basis. Include in the discussion the idea that history is much broader and more encompassing that just the actions and events related to "notable" people.
- Ask student volunteers to recount a story from their own family backgrounds. Upon completion of each story, consider the following questions:
  - How was the story learned?
  - How is the validity of the story viewed by family members?
- Suggest to students the idea that the perspective of the viewer or participant in a historical event colors the way in which it is understood and reported.

Activities

- Introduce students to a variety of oral history accounts. Resources for this type of material abound, including those noted in the "Materials" section above. If at all possible, provide students with not only written accounts, but recordings of interviews as well. Consider the questions raised earlier when analyzing the validity, reliability, and perspective of students' personal stories.
- Ask students to evaluate the legitimacy of oral history accounts as "history."
  - What are the strengths and weaknesses of oral accounts?
  - What is the value of oral history in understanding the past?
  - How might we "validate" an interviewee's account of a particular event or circumstance?
  - What sources might be used to "factualize" an oral history interview?

Closing

- Ask students to complete an exit card responding to the following prompts:
  - What questions would you have for the individuals whose oral histories you have encountered today?
  - What caution would you give to someone using an oral history as a primary resource?

Extension

- Students can ask family members to relate family stories.
- Students can use the aforementioned Web sites to find and read additional oral histories.

References

Association of Personal Historians, Inc. (APH, Inc.). http://www.personalhistorians.org/ (accessed July 24, 2009).

Oral History Association (OHA). http://www.oralhistory.org/ (accessed July 24, 2009).

LESSON 2

Constructing the Amache Experience

Through Documents

Time

1 class period

Overview

The oral historian never undertakes an interview without having thoroughly researched his or her subject to reach a deep understanding of the context into which the subject's life fits. This depth of knowledge serves two very important purposes. First, it enables the interviewer to prepare substantive questions designed to elicit reflective and thoughtful responses from the subject of the history. Second, it allows the interviewer to ask on-the-spot follow-up questions that both probe and challenge the interviewee to remember in greater detail. A well-researched interviewer can offer information that clarifies the responses of the interviewee.

Thus, this lesson is designed to introduce students to the historical issues of the Japanese American World War II incarceration, in general, and to Amache, specifically. Students will be asked to read and analyze a variety of historical sources in order to construct a historical context for Amache in preparation for their interviews.

Objectives

- Students will analyze primary and secondary sources dealing with Japanese American incarceration during World War II.
- Students will use documents and other resources to make inferences about life in Amache in preparation for developing questions to use in their oral history interviews.

Essential Question

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

- How does the historical record—consisting of primary and secondary sources—illuminate history and the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache?

Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2: Students know how to use the processes and resources of historical inquiry
- History 2.2: Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.
- History 5: Students understand political institutions and theories that have developed and changed over time.
- History 5.3: Students know how political power has been acquired, maintained, used, and/or lost throughout history.

Materials

- *Handout 2-1: Document Analysis Grid*
- Primary source documents (included in this lesson):
  - *Handout 2-2: Graduates of Winter 1943, Amache Senior High School*
  - *Handout 2-3: List of Births and Deaths in Amache, January 1943*
  - *Handout 2-4: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43*
  - *Handout 2-5: The Bulletin: Temporary publication of Granada Relocation Center, October 17, 1942*
- Additional primary source documents must be downloaded and printed:
  - President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 (transcript) can be downloaded from the Our Documents Web site at http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=74&page=transcript (accessed August 4, 2009)
  - "Prowers County Amache School Teachers and Personnel 1942–1945" can be downloaded from

the Colorado State Archives at http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/wwcod/amache_teachers_1942-1945.htm (accessed August 4, 2009)
- Handwritten student letters responding to the last-minute cancellation of the football game between Amache High School and Wiley High School. These letters from students at Amache High School express their disappointment in the cancellation. They can be downloaded from the Archives and Special Collections Department of Auraria Library, Auraria Higher Education Center at http://archives.auraria.edu/cdp/corr.pdf (accessed August 4, 2009)

Background

An overview of the Japanese American experience in Colorado is available as part of the introductory materials accompanying this unit.

Opening

- Distribute *Handout 2-1: Document Analysis Grid* and preprepared primary source documents. Review the Document Analysis Grid with students, clarifying the questions at the top if necessary. Point out the space for questions they may have about the documents and encourage them to use it, as well as the back of the grid if necessary. Ask students, either working alone or in collaborative groups, to complete the grid.
- After they have completed the handout, ask students to predict possible uses for the information they encounter in the documents. Explain that they will be using this information to reconstruct life at Amache in order to better understand it and to prepare for their interviews.

Activities

- Ask students to organize the documents by type (government, personal, etc.) and discuss with others the reasons for the labels they have chosen. Make a note of the labels on the grid next to the title of the document(s).
- Ask students to identify the information from each document which seems to be most important in understanding the Amache experience. Students/teachers can organize the makeup of groups and the recording of information in whatever way makes sense or is required of them by school/district practice.
- As students read and analyze the documents, they should record the questions that occur to them as they look at the documents.
- When they are finished, lead them in a discussion:
  - Which documents work together to give students a better understanding of some aspect of Japanese incarceration?
  - What inferences can be made about the makeup of the camp in terms of staff vs. "inmates" and the roles of each group?

Closing

- Ask students to share their findings and thoughts with others in a class reflection of what they have learned about Amache. Categorize those findings on chart paper or on the board for future reference.

Extension

- Suggest students visit the following Colorado Web sites or conduct further research in order to gain additional information about Amache.

http://www.amache.org/ (accessed August 4, 2009)
This site is produced by the students from Granada High School's Amache Preservation Society.

http://archives.auraria.edu/contents.htm (accessed August 4, 2009)
The Colorado Digitization Program contains digitized collections from libraries and museums throughout the state and in some neighboring states. The Auraria Library holds student letters from Amache.

http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/wwcod/granada.htm (accessed August 4, 2009)
Records about Amache from the Colorado State Archives.

http://www.santafetrailscenicandhistoricbyway.org/amache.html (accessed August 4, 2009)
This site about the Santa Fe Trail Scenic and Historic Byway contains information related to Amache.

References

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

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

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

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

Document Analysis Grid

Handout 2-1

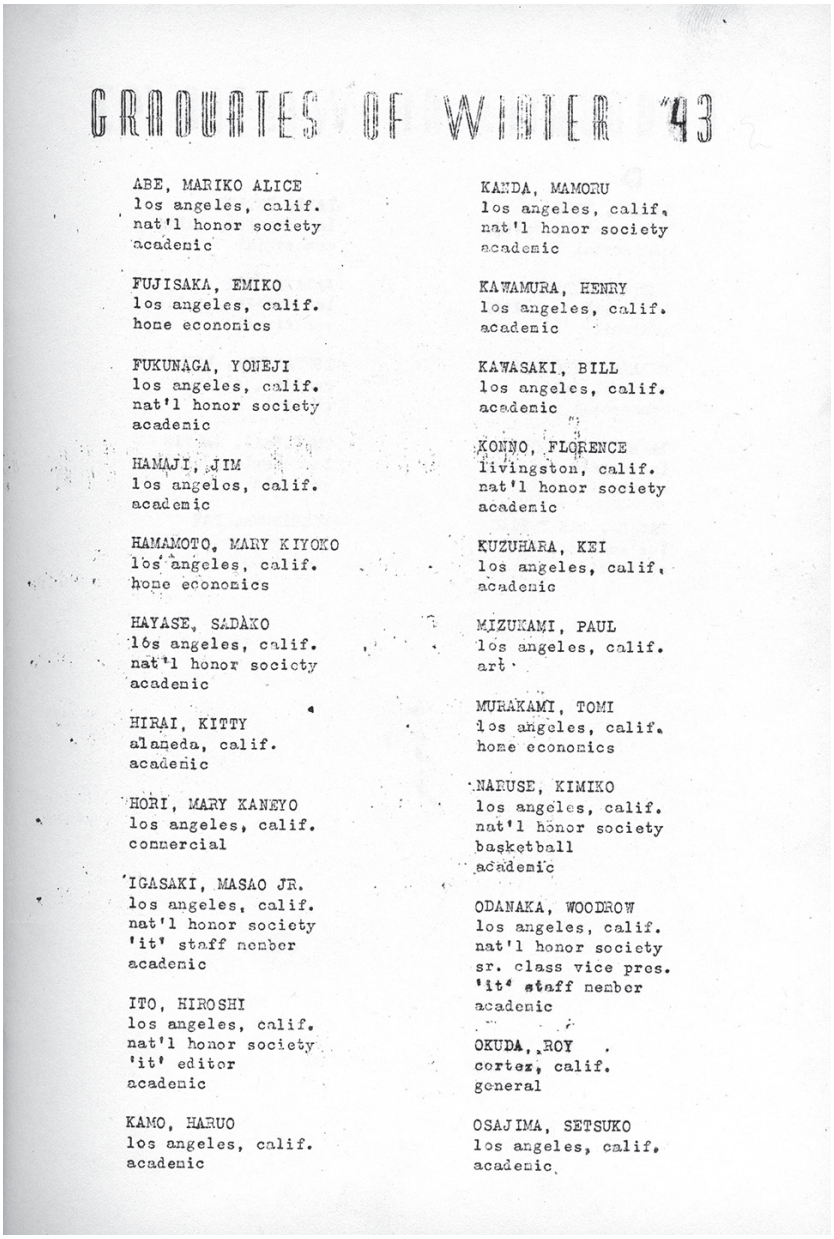
Name/Period _____

Topic: Japanese American Incarceration at Amache, Colorado

Name of document(s)	What is/are the type of document(s)?	What is/are the purpose(s) of the document(s)?	When was/were the document(s) produced?	What information can be gleaned from this/these document(s)?

Questions:

Graduates of Winter 1943 Handout 2-2



GRADUATES OF WINTER '43

ABE, MARIKO ALICE
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
academic

FUJISAKA, EMIKO
los angeles, calif.
hone economics

FUKUNAGA, YONEJI
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
academic

HAMAJI, JIM
los angeles, calif.
academic

HAMAMOTO, MARY KIYOKO
los angeles, calif.
home economics

HAYASE, SADAKO
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
academic

HIRAI, KITTY
alameda, calif.
academic

HORI, MARY KANEYO
los angeles, calif.
commercial

IGASAKI, MASAO JR.
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
'it' staff member
academic

ITO, HIROSHI
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
'it' editor
academic

KAMO, HARUO
los angeles, calif.
academic

KANDA, MAMORU
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
academic

KAWAMURA, HENRY
los angeles, calif.
academic

KAWASAKI, BILL
los angeles, calif.
academic

KONNO, FLORENCE
livingston, calif.
nat'l honor society
academic

KUZUHARA, KEI
los angeles, calif.
academic

MIZUKAMI, PAUL
los angeles, calif.
art

MURAKAMI, TOMI
los angeles, calif.
home economics

NARUSE, KIMIKO
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
basketball
academic

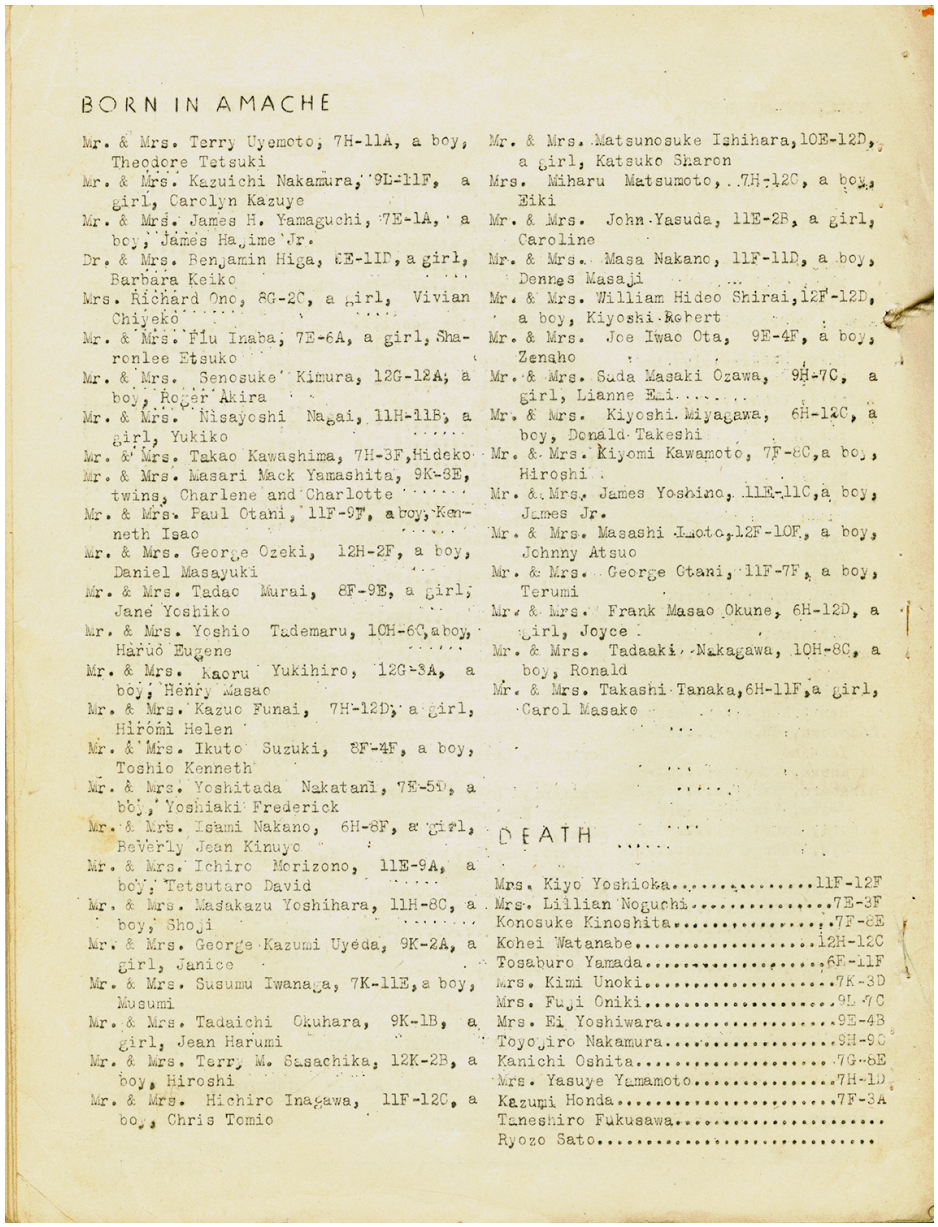
ODANAKA, WOODROW
los angeles, calif.
nat'l honor society
sr. class vice pres.
'it' staff member
academic

OKUDA, ROY
cortez, calif.
general

OSAJIMA, SETSUKO
los angeles, calif.
academic

Graduates of Winter 1943, Amache Senior High School

Births and Deaths in Amache Handout 2-3



BORN IN AMACHE

Mr. & Mrs. Terry Uyemoto, 7H-11A, a boy, Theodore Tetsuki
Mr. & Mrs. Kazuichi Nakamura, 9E-11F, a girl, Carolyn Kazuye
Mr. & Mrs. James H. Yamaguchi, 7E-1A, a boy, James Hajime Jr.
Dr. & Mrs. Benjamin Higa, 8E-11D, a girl, Barbara Keiko
Mrs. Richard Ono, 8G-2C, a girl, Vivian Chiyeko
Mr. & Mrs. Fiu Inaba, 7E-6A, a girl, Sharonlee Etsuko
Mr. & Mrs. Senosuke Kimura, 12G-12A, a boy, Roger Akira
Mr. & Mrs. Nisayoshi Nagai, 11H-11B, a girl, Yukiko
Mr. & Mrs. Takao Kawashima, 7H-3F, Hideko
Mr. & Mrs. Masari Mack Yamashita, 9K-3E, twins, Charlene and Charlotte
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Otani, 11F-9F, a boy, Kenneth Isao
Mr. & Mrs. George Ozeki, 12H-2F, a boy, Daniel Masayuki
Mr. & Mrs. Tadao Murai, 8F-9E, a girl, Jane Yoshiko
Mr. & Mrs. Yoshio Tademaru, 10H-6C, a boy, Haruo Eugene
Mr. & Mrs. Kaoru Yukihiro, 12G-8A, a boy, Henry Masao
Mr. & Mrs. Kazuo Funai, 7H-12D, a girl, Hiromi Helen
Mr. & Mrs. Ikuto Suzuki, 8F-4F, a boy, Toshio Kenneth
Mr. & Mrs. Yoshitada Nakatani, 7E-5D, a boy, Yoshiaki Frederick
Mr. & Mrs. Isami Nakano, 6H-6F, a girl, Beverly Jean Kinuyo
Mr. & Mrs. Ichiro Morizono, 11E-9A, a boy, Tetsutaro David
Mr. & Mrs. Masakazu Yoshihara, 11H-8C, a boy, Shoji
Mr. & Mrs. George Kazumi Uyeda, 9K-2A, a girl, Janice
Mr. & Mrs. Susumu Iwanaga, 7K-11E, a boy, Musumi
Mr. & Mrs. Tadaichi Okuhara, 9K-1B, a girl, Jean Harumi
Mr. & Mrs. Terry M. Sasachika, 12K-2B, a boy, Hiroshi
Mr. & Mrs. Hichiro Inagawa, 11F-12C, a boy, Chris Tomio
Mr. & Mrs. Matsunosuke Ishihara, 10E-12D, a girl, Katsuko Sharon
Mrs. Miharu Matsumoto, 7H-12C, a boy, Eiki
Mr. & Mrs. John Yasuda, 11E-2B, a girl, Caroline
Mr. & Mrs. Masa Nakano, 11F-11D, a boy, Dennes Masaji
Mr. & Mrs. William Hideo Shirai, 12F-12D, a boy, Kiyoshi Robert
Mr. & Mrs. Joe Iwao Ota, 9E-4F, a boy, Zensho
Mr. & Mrs. Suda Masaki Ozawa, 9H-7C, a girl, Lianne Emi
Mr. & Mrs. Kiyoshi Miyagawa, 6H-12C, a boy, Donald Takeshi
Mr. & Mrs. Kiyomi Kawamoto, 7F-8C, a boy, Hiroshi
Mr. & Mrs. James Yoshino, 11E-11C, a boy, James Jr.
Mr. & Mrs. Masashi Imoto, 12F-10F, a boy, Johnny Atsuo
Mr. & Mrs. George Otani, 11F-7F, a boy, Terumi
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Masao Okune, 6H-12D, a girl, Joyce
Mr. & Mrs. Tadaaki Nakagawa, 10H-8C, a boy, Ronald
Mr. & Mrs. Takashi Tanaka, 6H-11F, a girl, Carol Masako

DEATH

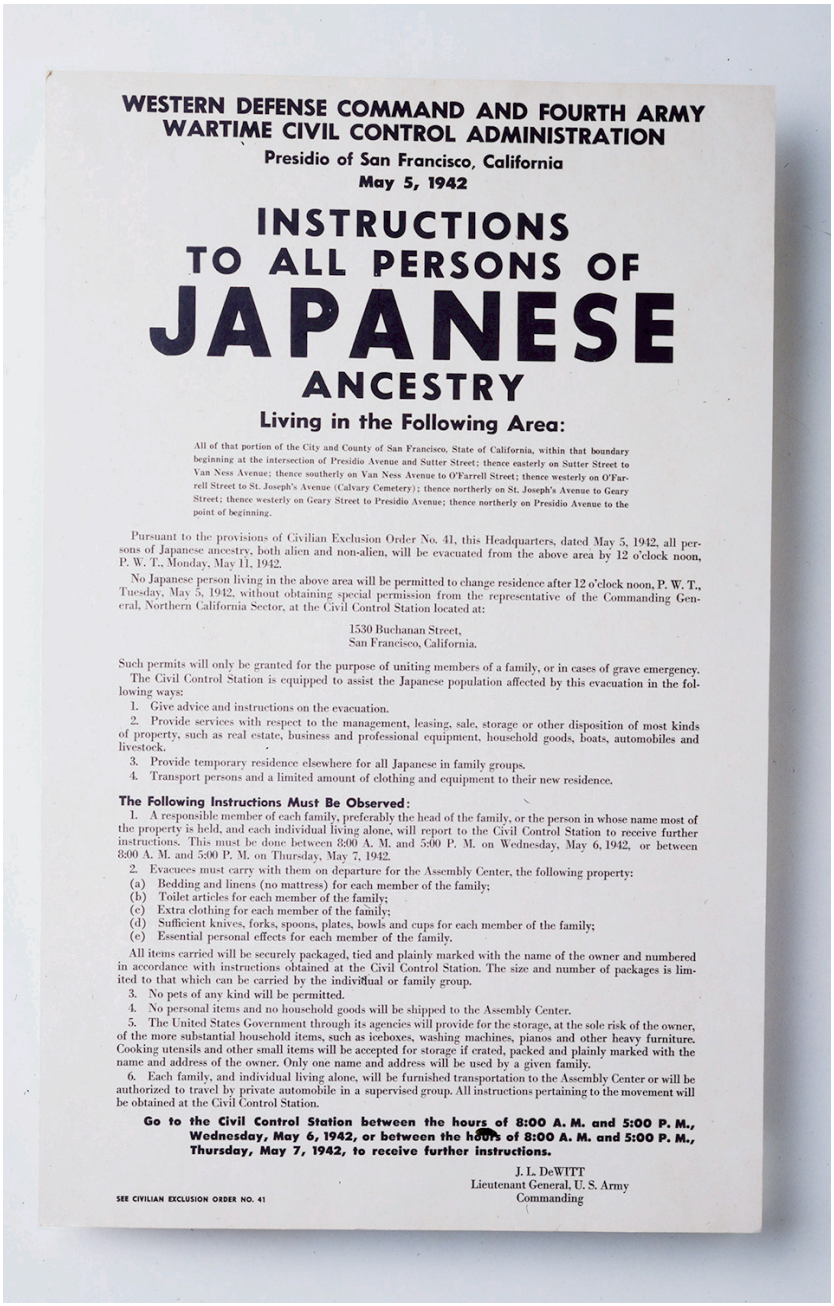
Mrs. Kiyo Yoshioka.....11F-12F
Mrs. Lillian Noguchi.....7E-3F
Konosuke Kinoshita.....7F-8E
Kohei Watanabe.....12H-12C
Tosaburo Yamada.....6E-11F
Mrs. Kimi Unoki.....7K-3D
Mrs. Fuji Oniki.....9L-7C
Mrs. Ei Yoshiwara.....9E-4B
Toyojiro Nakamura.....9H-9C
Kanichi Oshita.....7G-8E
Mrs. Yasuye Yamamoto.....7H-1D
Kazumi Honda.....7F-3A
Taneshiro Fukusawa.....
Ryozo Sato.....

List of Births and Deaths in Amache, January 1943

Amache Directory, January 1943
Gift of Moriso and Asako Nishihara, Japanese American National Museum (91.91.22)

Civilian Exclusion Order

No. 43 Handout 2-4



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.

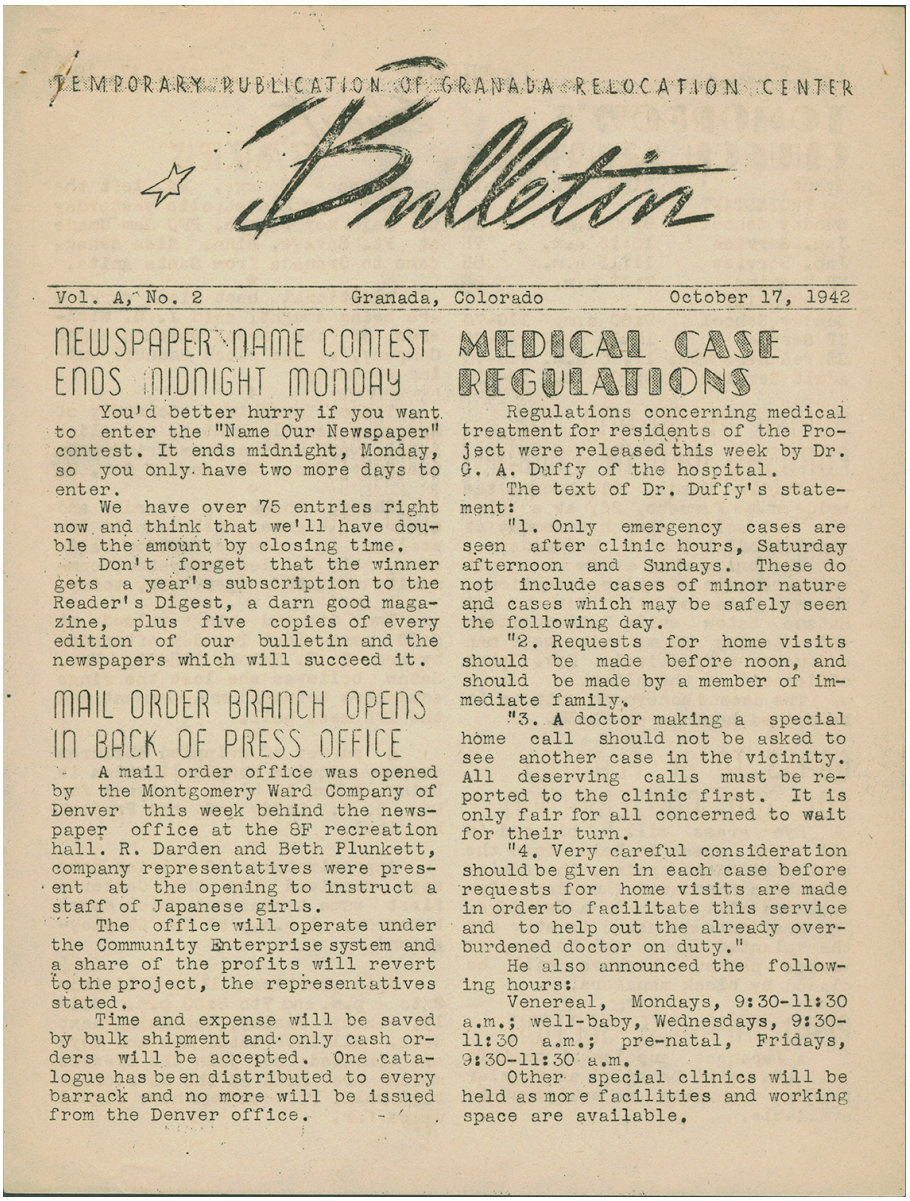
   All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.
3. No pets of 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

The Bulletin Handout 2-5



TEMPORARY PUBLICATION OF GRANADA RELOCATION CENTER

Bulletin

Vol. A, No. 2 Granada, Colorado October 17, 1942

NEWSPAPER NAME CONTEST ENDS MIDNIGHT MONDAY

You'd better hurry if you want to enter the "Name Our Newspaper" contest. It ends midnight, Monday, so you only have two more days to enter.

We have over 75 entries right now and think that we'll have double the amount by closing time.

Don't forget that the winner gets a year's subscription to the Reader's Digest, a darn good magazine, plus five copies of every edition of our bulletin and the newspapers which will succeed it.

MAIL ORDER BRANCH OPENS IN BACK OF PRESS OFFICE

A mail order office was opened by the Montgomery Ward Company of Denver this week behind the newspaper office at the 8F recreation hall. R. Darden and Beth Plunkett, company representatives were present at the opening to instruct a staff of Japanese girls.

The office will operate under the Community Enterprise system and a share of the profits will revert to the project, the representatives stated.

Time and expense will be saved by bulk shipment and only cash orders will be accepted. One catalogue has been distributed to every barrack and no more will be issued from the Denver office.

MEDICAL CASE REGULATIONS

Regulations concerning medical treatment for residents of the Project were released this week by Dr. G. A. Duffy of the hospital.

The text of Dr. Duffy's statement:

"1. Only emergency cases are seen after clinic hours, Saturday afternoon and Sundays. These do not include cases of minor nature and cases which may be safely seen the following day.

"2. Requests for home visits should be made before noon, and should be made by a member of immediate family.

"3. A doctor making a special home call should not be asked to see another case in the vicinity. All deserving calls must be reported to the clinic first. It is only fair for all concerned to wait for their turn.

"4. Very careful consideration should be given in each case before requests for home visits are made in order to facilitate this service and to help out the already overburdened doctor on duty."

He also announced the following hours:

Venereal, Mondays, 9:30-11:30 a.m.; well-baby, Wednesdays, 9:30-11:30 a.m.; pre-natal, Fridays, 9:30-11:30 a.m.

Other special clinics will be held as more facilities and working space are available.

The Bulletin: Temporary Publication of Granada Relocation Center, October 17, 1942

LESSON 3

Questioning: Open and Closed

Time

1 class period

Overview

Students will use the primary source documents from Lesson 2 to develop the questioning skills needed to conduct successful oral history interviews. Good questions are a prerequisite to an interview that will serve as a valuable primary source for study now and in the future. Understanding how to develop open-ended questions and the ability to use follow-up questions that clarify and elucidate are important skills for students doing oral history and beyond.

Objectives

- Students will understand the significance of words used in particular contexts.
- Students will learn the difference between open-ended and close-ended questions.
- Students will demonstrate their learning by developing questions for a potential interview of a Japanese American who lived at Amache.

Essential Question

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of the Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

- Why is the skill of good questioning important in doing oral history?

Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2: Students know how to use the processes and resources of historical inquiry.
- History 2.1: Students know how to formulate questions and hypotheses regarding what happened in the past and to obtain and analyze historical data to answer questions and test hypotheses.
- English Language Arts Standard 4: Students apply thinking skills to their reading, writing, speaking, listening, and viewing. Students will identify the purpose, perspective, and historical and cultural influences of a speaker, author, or director.

Materials

- Student copies of "Terminology and the Japanese American Experience" found in the introductory materials to this unit
- *Handout 3-1: Basic Interviewing Techniques: Questioning*
- Primary source documents used in Lesson 2
- *Handout 3-2: Sample Interview Outline*

Opening

- Ask students to read the document "Terminology and the Japanese American Experience." Discuss and clarify with students the importance of using one set of terms as opposed to another in honoring the Japanese Americans who were denied their civil rights during World War II. Ask students to think of other instances where the use of "correct" language is a critical aspect in communicating with respect and share those examples with their classmates.
- Explain to students that understanding the importance of words and their "overt" and "covert" meanings is critical to the oral history interviewing process.

Activities

- Share information about the Japanese American National Museum's Discover Nikkei Web site (http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/ [accessed August 4, 2009]) and its "Nikkei Album" at http://www.discovernikkei.org/nikkeialbum/ (accessed August 4, 2009), which collects photographs, videos, and stories of people of Japanese descent, including those individuals who were incarcerated at Amache. Explain that the Museum welcomes students to contribute oral histories to the

Nikkei Album. Thus, as they develop interview questions, there is the likelihood that they will be using them in an interview with a former Amache resident and sharing that interview with people on the Web.
- Distribute *Handout 3-1: Basic Interviewing Techniques: Questioning*. Ask students to review the information and identify the important aspects of the information they have read.
- Ask students to develop their own open-ended questions that they might ask a potential interviewee. Direct students to share their questions with a partner and then with the class to clarify the questions.
- Ask students, working in pairs, to use the primary source documents from Lesson 2 to write a series of open-ended questions that will be used with Japanese American interviewees. When pairs of students have completed their questions, ask them to work with another pair to review the questions to make sure they are clear and open-ended.
- When students have completed their editing, ask them to order the questions in a logical manner to use with their interviewees. Share those lists and use them to develop a class set of questions. Use either the white board, a computer, or chart paper to compile the list.
- As a class, decide the content and order of the questions to be used when Japanese Americans from Amache are interviewed. [NOTE: When doing individual oral histories, students would research the background and context of the interviewee and develop a unique set of questions for each interview. Because students are conducting interviews with individuals about a specific, commonly shared time in their lives, developing a master set of questions to be asked is an efficient and effective way to insure that the end goal—that of understanding the Japanese American experience in Amache—will be achieved. This does not, however, preclude students from asking follow-up questions that may lead them in a direction that veers away from the common set on the list. In fact, students should be encouraged to ask divergent follow-up questions and be given strategies for returning to the prepared list when the digression is complete.] The teacher should collate and distribute a completed list of questions to students prior to their interviews of Japanese Americans who lived in Amache.
- After the questions have been generated and ordered, as a class and to the extent possible, place the questions in chronological order to create a timeline that can be used as a guide for organizing the interview. Distribute *Handout 3-2: Sample Interview Outline* as a model of one way in which students might organize their interviews.
- Inform students that they will be conducting practice interviews at home tomorrow evening, so this evening they will need to contact a friend or relative and make arrangements for that interview. Students will also be asked to prepare questions for this interview tomorrow, so they need to be doing the research necessary to conduct a meaningful interview.

Extension

- Students can continue to review oral histories done by others and develop additional open-ended questions they might like to ask the person being interviewed. Here are two sites that may be helpful:
  - Denshō: The Japanese American Legacy Project http://www.densho.org/ (accessed August 4, 2009)
  - Japanese American National Museum's Discover Nikkei Web site http://www.discovernikkei.org/interviews/ (accessed August 4, 2009)

References

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

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

Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002.

Basic Interviewing Techniques:
Questioning Handout 3-1

Ask open-ended questions that can be developed at length by the interviewee, then follow up with subsequent questions designed to fill in areas needing amplification or clarification. Examples of open-ended vs. closed-ended questions are:

OPEN-ENDED	CLOSED-ENDED
What do you remember about your grandparents?	What was your grandfather's name?
Why did you decide to become a lawyer?	Where was your first law office?
When your children were all young, what was a typical housewife's day like?	How many children did you have?
How did the Great Depression affect the family?	How much money did you receive for the family home?
How did you feel at the time about the New Deal?	Did you like Franklin D. Roosevelt as President?

- Using a broad, open-ended question as the very first question has great value and is of critical importance in setting the tone for the entire interview. Ask an opening question that will be both enjoyable and easy for the interviewee to answer at considerable length. The interviewee should be permitted to "run" with the question *without* interruption for as long as he or she wishes. Only after the interviewee has definitely concluded his or her reminiscences concerning the initial question should follow-up questions be asked.
- Because the initial portion of the interview is so significant in setting the tone for the entire interview, resist the temptation to interrupt. This is NO easy task. In response to a beginning question that asks for recollections of his childhood, an interviewee may begin: "Well, I was born in a small town in Pennsylvania, and when I was young we moved to Florida." Such a beginning spawns a host of "who, what, where, when, and why" questions that could be asked at this point, such as, "What was the name of the town in Pennsylvania?" If interrupted and asked a specific question at this point, the interviewee may conclude that his or her role is to answer closed questions as if completing a questionnaire. Rather than asking any question, regardless of its relevance, simply write down on a notepad such reminders as:

Born small town Pa. Where?	Recollections of trip?
Parents, why in Pa?	How traveled?
What recall of town?	Why Florida? When?
Why leave?	Initial impressions?

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

Sample Interview Outline Handout 3-2

Jane Ueno
February 18, 1998, 1:30 p.m. | 249 Smith Place, Denver, CO

1. **Describe self and family before going to Amache**
   - Conditions in the processing center before leaving for Amache

2. **Trip from California to Amache**
   - Length of travel
   - Mode of transportation
   - Conditions as travel took place
   - First sight of Amache
   - Assignment of living quarters
   - Conditions of the camp upon arrival
   - Your thoughts at this time

3. **Daily life at Amache**
   - Describe where you lived (for example, next to administrative building)
   - Describe the camp director, M. Peterson
     - His relationship with you and others in the camp
   - Describe the other administrators in the camp
     - What responsibilities did they have
     - Their relationships with the internees
   - Describe the MP guards who patrolled the camp
     - Their relationship with the internees
   - Describe other children in the camp and your relationship with them
   - Daily routine on weekdays
   - Daily routine on weekends
   - Work expectations of you by your family
     - Punishments: what, why, how, when, who
     - Meals: describe
     - Fun, play, recreation: describe
     - Clothing

4. **Routines for boys and girls**
   - Different routines? Describe how and why
   - Contact allowed between boys and girls
     - Specific policies for siblings
     - Affect on you and your brother, etc.

Adapted from: Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 104.

LESSON 4

Practice Makes Perfect

Time

1 class period

Overview

This lesson gives students the opportunity to practice an oral history interview in a low-stress, friendly environment. Like any skill, conducting effective and meaningful oral histories requires practice, thought, and deliberation. Skilled interviewers combine a deep knowledge about their subject and the context of his/her life with a facility in asking questions that result in an interview that is both informative and captures the essence of the interviewee. Students will experience working with the physical aspects of oral history interviewing in addition to the intellectual skills involved in questioning an interviewee.

Objectives

- Students will conduct a five-minute oral history of a friend or family member.
- Students will gain experience with the physical (arranging an interview place, operating the equipment used in taking oral histories, etc.) and intellectual processes of an oral history interview.

Essential Question

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

- How does the practice—the physical and intellectual aspects—of conducting an oral history help one become a more effective interviewer?

Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 1: Students understand the chronological organization of history and know how to organize events and people into major eras to identify and explain historical relationships.
- History 1.3: Students use chronology to examine and explain historical relationships.
- English Language Arts Standard 5: Students read to locate, select, and make use of relevant information from a variety of media, reference, and technological sources. Students will paraphrase, summarize, organize, and synthesize information. Students will use information to produce a quality project.

Materials

- Student copies of Paula J. Paul's article "Characteristics of a Good Interview," *OAH Magazine of History* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1997) at http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/oralhistory/paul.pdf (accessed August 4, 2009).
- *Handout 4-1: The Interview Before the Interview: Preparation*
- Each pair of students should have one set of interviewing "hardware"
  - Audio recorder
  - External microphone
  - Extension cord
  - Labeled 60-minute cassette tapes (recommended for spoken word: Type 1 (low noise, high output)
  - Batteries
  - Agreement forms
  - Topic outline
  - Questions
  - Pencil and paper
  - Rubber bands
  - Camera
- *Handouts 4-2: Oral History Forms* (two copies of each form per student)
  - *Handout 4-2a: Oral History Donor Form*
  - *Handout 4-2b: Biographical Information Form*
  - *Handout 4-2c: Interview Information Form*

Opening

- Distribute to students the downloaded and printed copies of "Characteristics of a Good Interview." Ask students to think about the criteria for a good interview and the part played by the interviewer in making it so.
- Conduct a brief discussion about the criteria and explain to students that in class today they will have their first opportunity to practice doing an oral history interview.
- Students will use these components to assess their abilities as oral historians.

Activities

- In preparation for the upcoming practice interview, students should pair up. Each pair will have the opportunity to be both the interviewer and the interviewee.
  - Students should develop three to five open-ended questions to ask their partners about an event (experience in school, neighborhood, etc.).
  - Give students time to review their questions making sure they are open-ended.
- Distribute *Handout 4-1: The Interview Before the Interview: Preparation* and two copies per student of *Handouts 4-2: Oral History Forms*
  - Discuss with students the importance of completing these forms and how the information they contain will help researchers in the future.
  - Ask for any questions students may have regarding the way these forms should be completed.
  - Students will use one set of the forms with their practice interview today and one set for their interview of a family member this evening.
- Demonstrate the physical aspects of an oral history interview, showing and explaining how equipment should be used and placed for optimum results.
  - Distribute sets of equipment to pairs of students and ask them to set up for their interviews. The teacher should arrange for several places where each pair can go and have the quiet conditions needed to clearly conduct and record the interview.
- Each student will interview his/her partner and vice versa.
  - After the interviews have been completed, students should listen to the interviews together as a pair and critique and reflect on each interview using the characteristics described in "Characteristics of a Good Interview."
  - If time permits, students can trade partners and interview others in the class, repeating the process from beginning the interview through the critique and reflection.

Closing

- Ask the class to return, and as a group, discuss and debrief students on the experience of doing an oral history interview.
  - Questions that might be asked include:
    - What challenges did you face and how might you overcome them?
    - What came easily? Why?
    - When you do your interview this evening, what will you change from the one you did in class today?
  - Ask students for questions they might have about the assignment tonight, which is to conduct a five-minute interview of a family member or friend.
- Explain that all students will be expected to conduct a five-minute oral history interview that evening and bring back the tape and their supporting materials to the next class meeting.

References (Highly Recommended)

Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002.

The Interview Before the Interview:

Preparation Handout 4-1

After you have organized the interview setting, you will want to ask the interviewee if he or she has any questions before the interview begins. This is a good time to review the language in the Oral History Donor form and to let the narrator know he or she will be asked to sign it as soon as the interview is over. Some interviewers also take this time to ask the narrator to fill out a biographical information form to keep a record of the person's name, address, and other particulars. If using tape, always make sure the leader, or blank beginning few inches, has moved past the recording heads because sound does not record on a leader. If more than one tape is used, identifying information for each side and each additional tape should include name of interviewer, name of narrator, name of project, and date of interview.

After an equipment sound check, the interviewer will want to begin with a recorded introduction such as:

The following interview was conducted with _____ (name of narrator) on behalf of the _____ for the _____Oral History Project. It took place on _____(date) at _____(place). The interviewer is _____ (name).

The interviewer should always put an introduction on the tape or disc before starting the interview. This should include:

- Name of narrator
- Name of interviewer
- Place of interview
- Date of interview
- Name of oral history project
- Name of repository
- Tape number (if more than one tape is used during the interview)

This is usually done in the interview setting and is a signal to the narrator that the interview is ready to begin. Several additional minutes may be left blank at the beginning of the first tape if the interviewer wishes to add summary information about the content of the interview after it has been completed.

Adapted from Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 67.

Oral History
Donor Form Handout 4-2a

I, _____ (name of narrator/interviewee), hereby give to the _____ (designated repository) as a donation this interview recorded on _____ (date). With this gift, I hereby transfer to the _____(designated repository) legal title and all literary property rights to the interview, including copyright.

I understand the interview may be made available for research and such public programming as the _____ _____ (designated repository) may determine. This may include use of the interview material in live or recorded programs for radio, television, cable, or any other forms of electronic publishing that is not for profit. The interviews may not be broadcast, cablecast, or electronically published for commercial purposes without my written consent.

Narrator's signature _____ Date _____

Address _____

City, State, ZIP Code _____

Interviewer's signature _____ Date _____

Address _____

City, State, ZIP Code _____

Biographical Information Form

Handout 4-2b

Name _____

Address (home) _____

Address (work) _____

Telephone (home) _____ Telephone (work) _____

Email _____

Birth Date and Year _____

Birthplace _____

Profession _____

Spouse or Closest Living Relative _____

Maiden Name (if applicable) _____

Biographical Information (Please include the names of parents, siblings, spouse, and children if applicable to the oral history interview.)

_____

_____

_____

Form Filled Out By _____ Date _____

Interview
Information Form Handout 4-2c

Narrator's Name _____

Address _____

Interviewer _____

Address _____

Interviewer Background Information _____

Date of Interview _____

Place of Interview _____

Length of Interview _____

Number of Cassettes _____

Oral History Donor Form Signed _____ Date _____

Unrestricted _____

Restricted _____

Transcript Reviewed by Narrator _____ Date _____

Abstract of Interview _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

LESSON 5

Doing History:
Processing the Interview

Time

1 class period

Overview

One of the major purposes of doing oral history is to record the experience of an individual and to learn about the interviewee's life, as well as to create a record that might not exist elsewhere that can be accessed by researchers and historians. Transcriptions and tape logs enable a researcher to know quickly if the information in the oral history will add to the work he/she is doing, what topics/subjects are included in the interview, and where on the tape that information may be found. Although many may find processing interviews tedious and time consuming, the importance of this practice cannot be underestimated. Once students have completed their five-minute interviews, they are ready to process them. Simply put, in this lesson students will "historicize" their interviews.

Objectives

- Students will learn how to do various types of after-interview processing and be able to articulate the purpose of each type of processing.
- Students will choose a method of processing and use it to finish their interviews.
- Students will transcribe their five-minute interview.

Essential Question

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

- Why is processing the interview an integral and important part of doing oral history?

Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- English Language Arts Standard 3: Students write and speak using conventional grammar, usage, sentence structure, punctuation, capitalization, and spelling. Students know and use correct grammar in speaking and writing. Students apply correct usage in speaking and writing.

Materials

- Sets of processing hardware
  - Headphones
  - Tape recorder, cassette tapes, etc.
  - Computer with word-processing software
  - Stopwatch or watch with a second hand
- *Handout 5-1: Sample Tape Log*
- *Handouts 5-2: Transcription Examples*
  - *Handout 5-2a: Audio Interview with John Fumi*
  - *Handout 5-2b: Video Interview with Jane Ueno*
- *Handout 5-3: Tips for Transcribing an Oral History Interview*

Opening

- Begin the lesson by debriefing the oral history interview experiences of the students.
  - What went well?
  - What challenges did you face? How were those challenges overcome?
  - How would you characterize the experience?
- Explain to students that the next step in the process is to transcribe the interview. Acknowledge that it is a difficult and somewhat tedious process, but emphasize its importance, particularly for others who may want to use the oral history students have captured in a future research project.

Activities

- Distribute *Handout 5-1: Sample Tape Log* and review it with students. Ask students to produce a tape log for their interviews.

  - Give students a stopwatch or draw their attention to a watch or clock with a second hand.
  - Students may want to work in pairs, helping each other with timing and listening.
- Distribute *Handouts 5-2: Transcription Examples* and review them with students. Draw student attention to the similarities and differences in the transcripts, for example, the use of "Q" and "A" in lieu of "JF" and "JS" in the transcript.
- Distribute *Handout 5-3: Tips for Transcribing an Oral History Interview* and review it with students.
  NOTE: Before the lesson begins, the teacher should decide how detailed he/she wants the transcript to be. Some of the tips may not be necessary for the purposes of the practice interview.
- Ask students to prepare a transcript of the interview.

Closing

- Explain to students that learning how to do oral history interviews will provide them the opportunity to participate in a project supported by historical organizations, museums, educational institutions, etc.—it gives them the chance to actually *do* history while they are *learning* history.

References

Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002.

Sample Tape Log Handout 5-1

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW WITH JANE UENO
Interviewed on March 12, 1998
Interviewed by John Smith
Interviewed for the Colorado Oral History Project

Time Count in Minutes	Description of Interview Content
Tape One, Side One	
0.0	Beginning of interview.
5.0	Description of living quarters at Amache. Location of family's quarters in relation to Administration Building.
10.0	Description of Camp Director M. Peterson. Recollection of an encounter with the camp director.
15.0	Description of other administrators in the camp (Mr. Jones, Mrs. Lang, and Mr. Hall). Listing of the various responsibilities belonging to each.
20.0	Description of the relationships between family and the camp administrators.
25.0	Description of the camp MPs. What they wore. How they acted in their jobs. How they acted off duty.
30.0	Description of the relationship of the guards toward "inmates" and administrators. Recollection of one guard, Sgt. Jackson.
Tape One, Side Two	
0.0	Camps run by War Relocation Authority (WRA). "We never knew where they were located, maybe in Washington, D.C." Memories about a visit by WRA employee.

Adapted from Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 106.

Transcription
Examples Handout 5-2a

AUDIO INTERVIEW WITH JOHN FUMI
Interviewed on October 16, 1999
Interviewed by Jane Smith
Interviewed for the Colorado Oral History Project
John Fumi–JF
Jane Smith–JS

Time Log	Tape One, Side One
0.01	JS: This is Jane Smith with the Colorado Oral History Project. I am here today on October 16, 1999, in Denver, Colorado, to talk with Mr. John Fumi about his Amache experiences. I will start by asking you where you lived and what you were doing before you were sent to Amache. JF: I was born in Los Angeles, California. I completed grammar school and was in my first year of high school when Pearl Harbor was bombed. JS: Where were you when the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred [December 7, 1941]?
0.03	JF: My family and I had just come out of church and were visiting with other church members when someone came running up to us in an excited manner. He shouted, "Pearl Harbor just got bombed!" Those were his words. We just kind of looked at him. "Pearl Harbor got bombed? Nobody can do that. That is an American naval base—isn't it? Nobody can get away with that." It really took a full day before the American people were really aware of what had happened. As a matter of fact, [President Franklin D.] Roosevelt spoke at eleven o'clock the next morning. We had a convocation at Northeast High School. The entire student body went to the auditorium. They had several radios all over the auditorium, and as Roosevelt spoke, everybody applauded.
0.05	There was no school that day. We walked up and down the halls. We were making big patriotic signs on the blackboards—shaking hands with the British. Everybody was drawing on the blackboards. "We'll show them!" There was a great deal of nationalism that just came overnight.

Adapted from Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 105.

Transcription
Examples Handout 5-2b

VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH JANE UENO
Interviewed by John Smith
Interviewed on February 18, 1998
Interviewed for the Colorado Oral History project
Jane Ueno–JU
John Smith–JS

Time Log	Tape One, Side One
01:01:10	Q: am speaking with Mrs. Jane Ueno about her childhood and memories of Amache camp. This interview, made at her home on February 18, 1998, is a follow-up to an audio interview with Mrs. Ueno. During our earlier interview, you spoke about your travel from California to Colorado on the train. What was it like as you traveled?
01:08:15	A: e had a very trying time. There was little room as we were all crowded into the car. Every seat was taken. During the day we had to keep the blinds pulled down over the windows.
01:12:20	Q: A guard stood at the end of the car with a loaded rifle. He didn't look any happier to be there than we were. It was just as hot and dark for him as it was for us. Actually, there were several guards. They took turns guarding us. When it wasn't their turn they went to another car where I'm sure it was much more comfortable.
01:16:50	A: At noon every day the guards would come through the car with food for us to eat. It was very simple fare, sandwiches and a piece of fruit. Usually the food was picked up when we made a stop and then stored for later times. Sometimes the fruit had begun to spoil because there wasn't anywhere particularly cool to store it.
Bust Retake	
01:17:12	Q: Let's talk about your first sight of Amache.
01:17:20	A: The train came up to the railroad siding and we were instructed to get off. The landscape was unlike anything I had seen [inaudible].

Adapted from Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 107.

Tips for Transcribing an Oral History Interview Handout 5-3

- A transcript should begin with a heading identifying the oral history project name, the name of the narrator, the name of the interviewer, and the date and place of the interview.
  - Below this, indicate the abbreviations that will be used to identify each speaker. This may be done using the person's initials or by using "Q" and "A" for "Question" and "Answer."
  - Each new tape or disc should be identified with an internal heading (Tape One, Side One.)
- Transcripts should be paginated and double spaced, including changes from interviewer to narrator.
- Do not indent.
- Determine a stylistic approach regarding the use of paragraphs.
  - Some oral historians prefer a person's comments be presented in one long paragraph, regardless of change in subjects.
  - Others prefer that an extremely long statement be broken into shorter blocks for ease of reading.
- A transcript should be as accurate a representation of the interview as possible.
  - It should include false starts, Freudian slips, abrupt changes in subject and grammatical errors—all help to accurately represent the interview.
- Even a well-done interview can sometimes yield indecipherable words. In these cases, after working as carefully as possible to figure out the words, the transcribers should mark the spot with (___???) to indicate the need to fill in a word or phrase.
- Abbreviations should never be used except for common titles (e.g., "Mrs.," "Dr.")
  - Never use the ampersand (&)—spell out the word "and."
  - The numbers one through nine should be spelled out, while 10 and higher may be represented with numerals. The same rule applies for "first" through "ninth" and "10th" and higher.
- Use brackets to insert explanatory information.
  - Abbreviations and acronyms should be spelled out the first time the term is mentioned. For example, JANM [Japanese American National Museum].
  - Specific descriptions should be included, such as [laughs], [pounds table], [phone rings], and nonverbal spoken sounds [pffft] should be indicated.
  - The transcript should note any time the recorder was turned off and any mechanical failings with a brief statement. [noise from jet landing at nearby airport interrupted interview]
- Include the full name of a person when mentioned for the first time. If the narrator mentions only a first or last name, the transcriber should fill in the full name: [John] Doe.
  - When a community is mentioned, the name of the state should be included in brackets, such as Amache [Colorado].
- Use footnotes, both explanatory and reference, wherever necessary. Explanatory footnotes provide additional information about a statement.
  - If a narrator mentions a specific event that is important to the interview, additional information can be given in a short explanatory footnote to help put the statement into context.
  - References should be included for information about publications or other materials mentioned during the interview.
  - If a narrator mentions a publication, the full citation should be given in a footnote.
- Narrators often quote others during an interview. Enclose all quotes in quotation marks.
  - Transcribers will have to determine punctuation needs, such as where to insert commas, ellipses, and dashes.
  - Standard writing style guides govern the use of commas.
- Generally, ellipses are used to indicate an incomplete sentence (Then we went . . .), while dashes indicate a mid-sentence change in thought (Then we went—he went—we all went to the theater.)

Adapted from Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan. *The Oral History Manual*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, p. 75–77.

LESSON 6

Putting it all Together

Time

1 class period

Overview

As its title suggests, this lesson closes the unit by tying together all of the processes of oral history. It is hoped that students will be inspired to continue to hone their skills and eventually upload their oral histories via the Japanese American National Museum's "Nikkei Album" on the Museum's Discover Nikkei Web site at http://www.discovernikkei.org/nikkeialbum/ (accessed August 4, 2009).

Objectives

- Students will reflect on their oral history experience and on oral history as an important and accessible technique for preserving history.
- Students will understand that oral histories of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache are a valuable instrument for ensuring that those stories become a part of the historical record.
- Students will identify their "next steps" in the oral history project.

Essential Question

- How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?

Guiding Question(s)

- (See Essential Question)

Colorado Model Content Standards (2008)

- History 2: Students know how to use the processes and resources of historical inquiry.
- History 2.2: Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.
- History 5: Students understand political institutions and theories that have developed and changed over time.
- 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

- None

Opening

- Begin this lesson by asking students to reflect on their experience with the transcription process.
  - What surprised students about the transcription process?
  - What challenges were faced when transcribing their interviews?
  - What went well?
  - How might the process be changed to make it easier and/or more efficient?

Activities

- Explain to students that they have completed the unit on oral history and are now ready to take the "next steps," which could entail working on a project to interview Japanese Americans who were incarcerated at Amache.
- Ask students to think about the oral history process and the interviews they conducted.
  - Which parts did they enjoy most? Least? Why?
  - Which parts of the process would they like to improve on?
  - How might the teaching of the process be changed to make it more effective for students?
  - Which skills do they think would be most useful for them now and in the future?
- Ask students to think about the primary source documents they analyzed.

- How was the learning they did in constructing questions from documents different from the way they normally learn about history?
- How do the questions they developed for their interviews demonstrate their understanding of the Japanese American experience in Colorado?
- What additional information would students like to have about the Amache experience? How might they find that information?
- In looking back on the questions developed from the documents, what others might they like to ask?

Closing

- Refer students back to the Essential Question for this unit and ask for their responses: *How does preparing for, conducting, and processing oral histories contribute to the interviewer's understanding of history, specifically the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache, Colorado?*
- Draw students' attention to the current age range of those who experienced Amache and ask them to comment on the importance of a project like the one described throughout the unit, which is designed to capture individual stories before those who experienced Amache are no longer living.
- Arrange for students to become involved in the Japanese American National Museum's Discover Nikkei "Nikkei Album" at http://www.discovernikkei.org/nikkeialbum/ (accessed August 4, 2009) where they can use their skills to capture the history of those whose voices have not yet been heard.

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. **

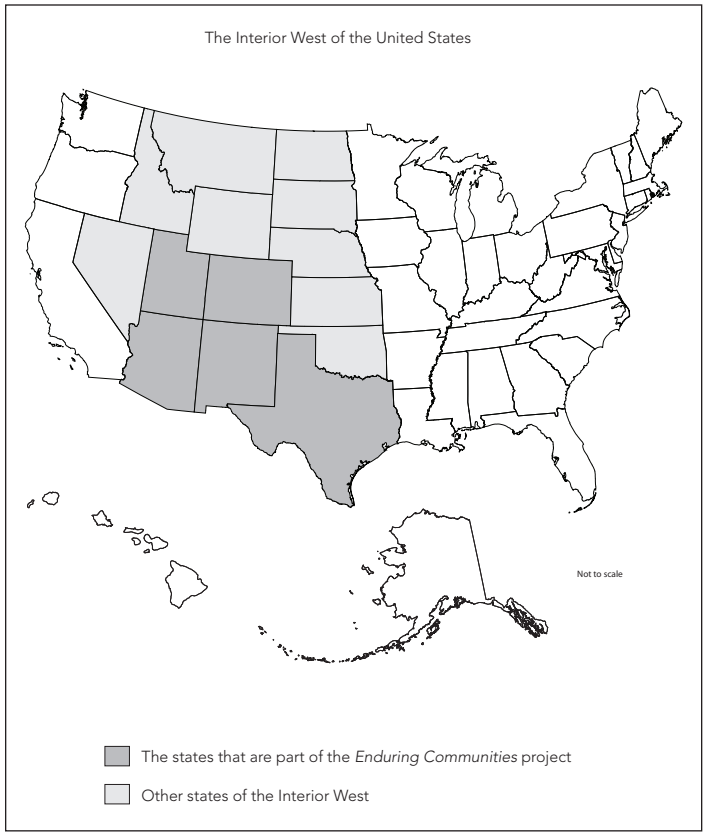
** Crystal City among DOJ sites is notable for having operated similarly to a WRA concentration camp. German and Italian enemy aliens who were treated separately and Latin American Japanese, primarily from Peru who had been involuntarily deported to the United States, also were confined at Crystal City. 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

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1900 • Issei immigrant population in the Interior West is 5,278

1907–8 • Gentlemen's Agreement between the U.S. and Japan becomes effective and greatly reduces Japanese immigration into the American West

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1910 • In the decade between 1910 and 1920, Interior West region experiences an economic boom fueled by railroad construction, coal and hard-rock mining, and agricultural development; also, sugar beet production increases dramatically in this region during this peak period of Japanese immigration to the U.S., as seen in the rise in acreage devoted to this crop in Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Nebraska from 168,425 to 506,200

1913 • California and Arizona pass anti-Japanese alien land laws, leading to migration of Issei laborers to Interior West states

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1921 • Washington, Texas, and Nevada enact anti-Japanese alien land laws, while New Mexico adds an amendment to its constitution that serves a similar function

1922 • The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Takao Ozawa v. United States* that Japanese aliens are definitely prohibited from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens on the basis of race, and this ruling remains in effect until 1952

1923 • Oregon, Montana, and Idaho pass anti-Japanese alien land laws

1925 • Kansas enacts an anti-Japanese land law

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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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