ENDURING COMMUNITIES

New Mexico Curriculum Units*

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

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enduringcommunities

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Enduring Communities

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

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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,

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Name of Unit

Making History: The Tools of Historical Investigation

Suggested Grade Level(s)

7 or 9

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies and Language Arts

Centerville, California. Members of farm family board evacuation bus. Evacuees of Japanese ancestry will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537584 / Local Identifier 210-G-C237

Unit Map

Author

Ella-Kari Loftfield

Name of Unit

Making History: The Tools of Historical Investigation

Suggested Grade Level(s)

7 or 9

Subject Areas(s)

Social Studies and Language Arts

Number of Class Periods Required

Depending on whether this unit is used in a 7th- or 9th-grade classroom, it may take from 9 to 18 class periods (60 minutes per period). This unit also allows the teacher to tailor the unit to meet the needs of students depending upon how much background knowledge they already have about the importance of studying history.

Essential Question

- How will I make history?

Objectives, Guiding Questions, and Assessment

Please see following page.

Rationale from Ella-Kari Loftfield, the Author of this Unit

Building a unit of study about the Japanese American experience in New Mexico during World War II presented me with several dilemmas, because the story of Japanese Americans is not content that falls neatly within our curriculum. Sixth graders study ancient civilizations and eighth graders study U.S. history up to the Civil War. While it is true that seventh graders do study New Mexico history, many districts have moved twentieth-century New Mexico history to the ninth grade; this follows a legislative mandate that ninth graders also study nine weeks of New Mexico history. The most appropriate grade level for this unit is up for negotiation.

Because of the increasing demands placed on teachers to adhere to strict timelines for teaching and following prescribed content, it was important to create a unit that was worth taking the time to teach. This unit is important because it integrates a fascinating local (but little known) historical story with important skills; these skills are essential for an understanding of and investigation into history that simply reading a textbook cannot provide. I wanted the unit to illustrate the steps students would have to take if they were, for example, going to write a historical research paper or compete in the National History Day Competition. The compelling story and the rich resources that are available regarding the World War II Japanese American experience make it an excellent topic through which to teach students the many and varied skills that it takes to study history. This unit was designed, therefore, to introduce students to those skills and to the bigger questions about how and why we should study history. Those skills are a part of any middle school teachers' social studies curriculum, and because so many of those skills are dependent upon good reading comprehension, many reading strategies are incorporated into the unit.

I personally felt one final constraint: as I searched the Internet for lessons regarding the Japanese American World War II experience, I found a number of excellent Web sites with which I could not compete (nor did I want to try). I felt that in order to honor the people imprisoned in the New Mexico camps and to drive home the fact that history happens where we stand, my unit needed to be as specific to New Mexico as I could make it. First, however, I had to build background knowledge for my students regarding removal and confinement in

order for them to understand the distinct role our camps played and the characteristics that distinguished the Department of Justice camps from the War Relocation Authority camps.

The result is a unit of discovery that teachers can approach in one of two ways depending on their emphasis. In neither case should it be introduced as a unit on the Japanese American World War II experience, as this theme reveals itself after several lessons. Teachers who want to do the complete unit will begin by assessing student understanding and attitudes about what history is and how and why we should study it; the unit should culminate with a project illustrating their new understanding of the importance of studying history. The title "Making History" and the Essential Question—*How will I make history?*—reinforce the idea that history is not over and done with. It is, in fact, a living, breathing subject that is influenced both by the quality of questions people are concerned enough to ask and by the answers they are brave enough to pursue. Teachers who feel that their students have that understanding and background will probably prefer to begin with Lesson 3 and end with Lesson 7, using the *tanka* poem assignment as the final assessment.

Essential Question: How Will I Make History?

Lesson Title	Objectives	Guiding Questions	Assessment

1. History: What It Is, What It Means	• Students will answer three key questions and analyze a text for answers to the same questions.
	  • What is history?
	  • How do we know about the past?
	  • What do historians do?
	• Students will learn the difference between a primary and a secondary source.
		• What is history?
		• How do we know about the past?
		• What do historians do?
		• How have our answers to these questions changed and grown through our reading and discussion?
			Students' understanding of the three questions posed and the difference between primary and secondary sources will be assessed informally through class discussion and note-taking.

2. Why Become a Historian?	• Students will answer the question *Why become a historian?* • Students will analyze one historian's answer to the question and compare his answer to theirs. • Students will understand that history changes depending on who investigates it, what questions they ask, and what theories they propose.	• How can who we are and what we're looking for in history change how the story is told and remembered? • How do historians change history?	Students' understanding of why it is important to study history will be assessed informally in class during the discussion and formally with the end-of-unit project.
3. What Can We Learn from a Photograph?	• Students will work in pairs to analyze photographs related to the Japanese American World War II incarceration. • Students will make predictions regarding the sequence of the photographs. • Students will determine what other resources they need in order to sequence the photographs with more certainty.	• What can a photograph tell us? • What can't it tell us? • Where do you go to find the answers to the questions you have about the photographs?	Students will be formally assessed on how well they have been able to interpret a photograph based upon the presentations that they make to the class and the completion of the analysis worksheet. Assessment of the third objective is made informally, during discussion.

Essential Question: How Will I Make History?

Lesson Title	Objectives	Guiding Questions	Assessment
4. Questions Raised and Inferences Made	• Students will categorize a list of adjectives to understand that subtle differences in words can create powerfully different impressions. • Students will read a brief "secondary" account of the role of Japanese Americans in World War II; they will distinguish fact from opinion as well as identify inflammatory language. • Students will identify the story of Japanese American incarceration as one of our nation's often "omitted" histories.	• How do we proceed when a source raises more questions than it answers? • How can sources show prejudice or favoritism?	Assessment will be done informally through the class discussion and then formally through the end-of-unit project.
5. Reading (Between the) Timelines	• Students will generate leveled questions based on a timeline of the World War II Japanese American experience. • Students will place photographs from Lesson 3 into a timeline. • Students will articulate why Americans should know about the World War II Japanese American experience.	• In what ways can timelines be useful resources? • What don't timelines tell us? • Why should Americans learn about the Japanese American experience during World War II?	This lesson will be assessed by the leveled questions that groups pose based on the timeline information.
6. Making History Personal: Responding to a Memoir	• Students will read a primary source memoir about the World War II Japanese American experience. • Students will ask appropriate questions in response to the text. • Students will evaluate strengths and weaknesses of a memoir when used as a primary source. • Students will compare and contrast the Department of Justice camps and the War Relocation Authority camps.	• What impact did World War II incarceration have on Japanese American individuals and families? • What can memoirs tell you about historical events? • What can't memoirs tell you about an historical event? • How did the Department of Justice camps differ from the War Relocation Authority camps?	The responses that students make as they are reading the memoir will be used as the assessment. Initial assessment will be done orally, so students have a chance to hear their peers' responses. As the reading of the memoir progresses, assessments can be done independently and graded. Answers to the guiding questions will be assessed informally through class discussion and formally with the end-of-unit project.

Essential Question: How Will I Make History?

Lesson Title	Objectives	Guiding Questions	Assessment
7. The Power of Primary Source Poetry	• Students will read poetry and then identify the event being described and the emotion being expressed. • Students will recite and present their poetry analysis to the class. • Students will identify major themes that express the concerns and hardships faced by the men in the Santa Fe Department of Justice camp. • Students will write and publish their own *tanka* as a character in one of the photographs from Lesson 3.	• What can literary selections reveal about historical events? • What can't literary selections reveal about historical events? • What themes dominate the poetry from the Santa Fe camp?	Students are assessed formally through the presentation of their poetry analysis and the *tanka* that they write. Assessment of the identification of themes within the *tanka* is done informally through class discussion.
8. Resource Analysis	• Students will review all the resources studied to date and evaluate them for their advantages and disadvantages. • Students will generate questions that the resources have raised but not answered.	• What advantages and disadvantages do various sources have? • What questions remain? • How do historians decide what details to include and exclude when writing historical accounts?	This lesson includes concepts and requires analysis that not every student will be able to do (or perhaps not individually). It is therefore important to complete the chart in small groups; alternately, this can be done as a whole class. Students can then write paragraphs or brief essays about the resources, with possible topics being "best," "worst," "most reliable," "most useful," "least reliable." The class should set the criteria for scoring the paragraph.
9. Making History: A Recipe	• Students will synthesize the work done in order to understand the process of writing a complete history. • Students will evaluate what aspects of historical investigation are most important. • Students will write a recipe for "Making History."	• How do historians "make history?"	Students are formally assessed on the recipe they write.

History: What It Is, What It Means

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)
Note: If this type of work has already been done with the class, you may choose to omit this lesson as recommended in the unit map.

Overview

This lesson is the teacher's opportunity to become familiar with his/her students may have about studying history; their prior experiences with history may be assessed as well. The lesson will wrap up with a general discussion on how the class's answers compared with the selected reading passage and what were the most important or newest ideas that were discovered.

Essential Question

- How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will answer three key questions and analyze a text for answers to the same questions.
  - What is history?
  - How do we know about the past?
  - What do historians do?
- Students will learn the difference between a primary and a secondary source.

Guiding Questions

- What is history?
- How do we know about the past?
- What do historians do?
- How have our answers to these questions changed and grown through our reading and discussion?

Assessment

Students' understanding of the three questions posed and the difference between primary and secondary sources will be assessed informally through class discussion and note-taking.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 2: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related topics/information.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 4: Interact in group discussions.
- Language Arts Strand II-C PS 10: Take notes of key points from two sources.

Materials

- Note-taking supplies
  - Overhead of the Web for taking notes (for class discussion)
  - Sticky notes (for small group discussions and individual work)
- *Handout 1-1: History: What It Is, What It Means* (or other similar reading available in your textbook)
- Three pieces of poster board, each with one question written at the top:
  - What is history?
  - How do we know about the past?
  - What do historians do?

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Share the following questions with the students:
  - What is history?
  - How do we know about the past?
  - What do historians do?
- Brainstorm answers to these questions, either as a class using the overhead, in small group discussions, or individually, and ask students to make an affinity diagram. (Note: Affinity diagrams get more students to participate and they also let you know how many students had similar ideas about how to answer the questions.)
  - Divide students into groups of about four and give each group a set of sticky notes. Direct them

toward the first question: *What is history?* Students may discuss the question in their groups or they may work alone. Students may have more than one answer, but each separate idea has to be written on its own sticky note. Once the groups or individuals have answered the questions, have students place their sticky notes on the poster with that question. Accept and record all answers—this activity should validate the students' perceptions and beliefs.

- Repeat the process with the other two questions. While students are working on the second question (*How do we know about the past?*), the teacher should sort the sticky notes on the first poster into categories so everyone begins to have a feeling of how the class answered this question.
- While students work on the third question (*What do historians do?*), the teacher should sort the sticky notes on the second poster. When students have finished and posted their answers to the third question, he/she can review how the answers were sorted for questions one and two and then solicit the students to help sort the third set of answers.
- Here are some responses received by the unit's author in her class:
- *What is history?*
  - History is things that have happened in the past
  - Great things that have happened in the past that we have recorded
  - Information about the past
  - History is when important people became known to people in the future
  - It is the story of somebody special
- *How do we know about the past?*
  - By looking at artifacts
  - Textbooks
  - Teachers
  - Pictures
  - Stories passed on
- *What do historians do?*
  - Record the special events of history
  - Pass on history
  - Find out about people and events from the past
  - Find fossils, artifacts, and lots more
  - The teacher will need to pay attention to the answers because they will shape the questions that will next be asked. For example, the above responses to the first question indicate that at least some students perceive history is about only "great" or "special" events and people. Regarding the second question, students have listed both primary and secondary sources even though they have not identified them with those terms. Finally, the answers to the third question are perhaps the weakest, but they should be explained in far greater detail after the students read the text.
  - Display affinity diagram posters around the room.
- Distribute *Handout 1-1: History: What It Is, What It Means* and explain that, having looked at the class's answers to these questions, they will be recording the answers that the text provides to these questions. [This excerpt is from *Reading in the Content Areas: Social Studies* from Jamestown Education, published by Glencoe/McGraw-Hill. It is short and to the point, and the book in which it appears is available for purchase online; however, you may discover a similar text in your own books.] This can be done as a class using an overhead or by using a number of other formats. Regardless of the methodology, care needs to be taken to help students digest the information within the passage, so they either should be making a copy of the notes for themselves or one should be provided for them later. Large posters of the notes should also be made and posted around the room for the duration of the unit (or possibly the year) as these responses will be referred to throughout the unit.
  - Read the first paragraph aloud to the students and then ask them to identify the answers given in the text in response to this question: *What is history?* The following responses were received by the unit's author in her class:
    - Events and people from the past

    - Everything that humans have done or thought
    - The good, the bad, and the ugly (not just the great and special)
    - Examples:
        - Elections
        - Wars
        - Inventions
- Read the second paragraph aloud and ask students to respond to this question: *How do we know about the past?* Your students will likely identify textbooks and teachers as a source for learning about history. The selection says nothing about those sources but instead contains a rather extensive list of "primary" sources divided into three categories: oral, visual, and written. This provides a perfect opportunity to ask students what they think distinguishes a textbook from a diary or a letter, and their responses may enable you to introduce the idea of *primary* (eyewitness) versus *secondary* (secondhand) sources. Although the passage does not acknowledge that we learn about the past from textbooks, ask students what advantages textbooks might provide when starting to learn about a new topic. Some responses might be that textbooks provide good general background knowledge, are easier to read, are written for kids, etc. The following responses were received by the unit's author in her class:
    - Primary:
        - Oral (stories passed on, memories)
        - Visual (artifacts, photographs, and drawings)
        - Written (diaries, journals, church records, ships logs, etc.)
    - Secondary:
        - Textbooks/timelines
        - Teachers/historians
    - *What do historians do?* may be the question that students have the least to say about initially, but it is important that they make a comprehensive list of the responsibilities of the historian because one goal of this lesson is to try to get them to see themselves as working historians. Be sure to refer to this list of activities throughout the unit and prompt students when to "ask questions," when to "gather facts" or look for "causes." The following responses were received by the unit's author in her class:
        - Historians investigate
            - Collect facts
            - Choose what facts to focus on
            - Put the pieces together like cause and effect
            - Generate theories (like a hypothesis in science)
        - Historians record the facts
        - Historians pass the story on
- Wrap up the lesson with a general discussion about how the class's answers compared with the passage and what the most important or new ideas were that were discovered by reading the text. Be sure that in this discussion the differences between primary and secondary resources are reviewed.

Extensions

- Ask students to illustrate some aspect of the day's notes/discussion.
- Ask students to answer the same three questions in paragraph form using the class notes as the basis for their writing.
- Ask students to answer this question: *What would be the best part of being a historian?*

History:
What It Is, What It Means Handout 1-1

Name _____ Period _____

Do you know what history is? Here is one answer. It is everything humans have done and thought. Here is a more specific answer. History is the story of events. It is the story of nations and persons. How people began writing is part of history. So is the Hundred Years' War. So is the first airplane flight. So is last year's election.

How do we know about the past? There are many sources. Some are oral. Some are visual or written. We can learn about the past from one person's memory. We can learn from stories handed down through generations. We can read about the past in a piece of Stone Age flint. We see it in old paintings and photos. We read about the past in old records. They may be ships' logs or church records. They may be diaries of pioneers. They may be journals of presidents. Each fact and story is interesting. Each is important. Each is part of history.

It is impossible to record everything about an event or person. Facts must be carefully chosen to tell what happened. Questions have to be asked. Answers must be found. Different accounts of a single event need to be put together.

This is the job of historians. They try to come up with an accurate story. They look carefully at what they find. Then they put the past together again. Historians search for causes of events. They also look for history's effects. Sometimes they do not know how or why something happened. Then they come up with theories. These theories are based on the facts. They may help explain certain events.

When the facts are put together, a story of events and nations comes forth. The story of humans can be told.

Selection from *Reading in the Content Areas: Social Studies* by Jamestown Education (published by Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, 2004).

Why Become a Historian?

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)
Note: If this type of work has already been done with the class, you may choose to omit this lesson as recommended in the unit map.

Overview

Following the three questions posed in Lesson 1, this lesson will address a fourth and final question: *Why become a historian?* Students will compare their answers to that question with the answer of Gordon H. Chang, a history professor at Stanford University.

Essential Question

How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will answer this question: *Why become a historian?*
- Students will analyze one historian's answer to the question and compare his answer to theirs.
- Students will understand that history changes depending on who investigates it, what questions they ask, and what theories they propose.

Guiding Questions

- How can who we are and what we're looking for in history change how the story is told and remembered?
- How do historians change history?

Assessment

Students' understanding of why it is important to study history will be assessed informally in class during the discussion and formally with the end-of-unit project.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 2: Demonstrate the ability to examine history from the perspectives of the participants.
- History Strand III-D: Explain how individuals have rights and responsibilities as members of social groups, families, schools, communities, states, tribes, and countries. *(And historians!)*
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by determining the importance of the information.
- Language Arts Strand I-B PS 2: Interpret and synthesize information by responding to information that is read.
- Language Arts Strand I-D PS 3: Accurately identify author's purpose and perspective.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 4: Interact in group discussions.

Materials

- Sticky notes
- An essay written by Gordon H. Chang and found on the American Historical Association Web site must be downloaded, printed, and distributed to students: http://www.historians.org/pubs/Free/why/CHANG.HTM (accessed September 1, 2009).
- Poster board with an outline of a head and *Why become a historian?* written across the top. (Note: If needed, outlines of heads can be found on the Internet by searching "head outline.")

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Building on previous brainstorming, ask students to respond to the question: *Why become a historian?* Discuss and record their answers on a poster following the format used in the previous lesson. Here are some responses received by the unit's author in her class:
  - To learn about ourselves and where we came from
  - To learn about interesting events
  - To learn from our mistakes and prepare for the future
  - To help us understand why something happened

- Distribute copies of the article by Gordon H. Chang downloaded from the American Historical Association Web site. Explain that students will now read a professional historian's answer to the same question and will try to "get inside his head."
- Share with students the poster with the outline of a head (this outline represents someone's mind). Read aloud the first paragraph of the Chang essay to the students. On the poster, write examples of how to turn the text into first-person narrative thoughts inside the outline of Chang's mind. The teacher might write, "I hate memorizing dates and names!" or "Yikes! I knew I was going to fail that test, and I did!"
- Continue reading aloud the essay one paragraph at a time. Stop at the end of each paragraph to brainstorm a few more "thoughts" that the writer is having. If the teacher does this ahead of time, it will be easier to direct students to the passages that are especially important.
- The penultimate paragraph asks the question *Why study history?*, which is another way of asking, *Why become a historian?* The last paragraph raises the issue of "traditional" accounts that neglect, omit, or insult participants. Be sure that students catch these phrases and add the accompanying thoughts to the representation of Chang's mind.
- Add to this poster any key points made in the Chang essay that were not covered in the previously recorded student answers. Here are some responses received by the unit's author in her class:
  - To tell stories that haven't been told before
  - To show respect for people who've been wronged (either in history or in the telling of it)
- Review the four posters that should now be hanging on the classroom wall. These posters define what history is, how we know about it, what historians do, and why it is important. Then remind students of the unit's Essential Question—*How will I make history?*—and discuss any possible answers students might think they now have to that question.

Extensions

- Ask students to make another drawing of Chang's mind with his five most important ideas in it.
- Answer the question *Why become a historian?* in narrative form.
- Just as Chang did, ask students to write about their best (or worst) history experience.
- Direct students to the American Historical Association's Web site and ask them to create a drawing of the mind of one of the eleven other historians featured: http://www.historians.org/pubs/Free/why/ (accessed September 1, 2009).

References

American Historical Association http://www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm (accessed September 1, 2009).

What Can We Learn from a Photograph?

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)

Overview

This lesson focuses on learning to "read" a photograph. Students will also learn how to generate good questions about photographs that depict content about which they may be unfamiliar. Although the students won't know it at the beginning of the lesson, all the photographs being analyzed are from the same story: the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Essential Question

How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will work in pairs to analyze photographs related to the Japanese American World War II incarceration.
- Students will make predictions regarding the sequence of the photographs.
- Students will determine what other resources they need in order to sequence the photographs with more certainty.

Guiding Questions

- What can a photograph tell us?
- What can't it tell us?
- Where do you go to find the answers to the questions you have about the photographs?

Assessment

Students will be formally assessed on how well they have been able to interpret a photograph based upon the presentations that they make to the class and the completion of the analysis worksheet. Assessment of the third objective is made informally, during discussion.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 1: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- History Strand I-D PS 3: Use the problem-solving process to identify a problem; gather information, list and consider advantages, choose and implement a solution, and evaluate the effectiveness of the solution.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are viewed by drawing inferences and generating questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-B PS 3: Develop informational products (a pictorial timeline) that cite multiple print and non-print sources by comparing, contrasting, and evaluating information from different sources about the same topic and evaluating information for extraneous details, inconsistencies, relevant facts, and organization.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 1: Choose precise and engaging language well suited to the topic and audience.

Materials

- *Handout 3-1: Line in San Francisco Street* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handout 3-2: Photo Analysis Worksheet* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handouts 3-3a–p: Photographs for Analysis*
- Completed posters from Lesson One and Lesson Two answering *What do historians do?* and *Why become a historian?*
- *Sample Student Work: Photo Analysis Worksheets* generated by the author's class

Background

Before beginning this lesson on photo analysis, the teacher may need to review the analytical terms *quantitative* versus *qualitative*. *Quantitative* observations involve numbers. For example, in *Handout 3-1: Line in San Francisco Street*, designated for class analysis:

- There are *twenty* people.
- *Two* men are looking at something happening beside and behind them.
- *Two* men are wearing jeans.

Qualitative observations involve descriptions such as "There are a lot of people in the photograph."

The teacher might also review the difference between *inferences* versus *observations*. Many students may jump straight to making inferences about what they see rather than observations. An *inference* is made by reading between the lines. A student might say, "They are standing in a line waiting for something. You can redirect this student to make *observations* by asking, "Why do you think it is a line?" The observations that make you think of a line are:

- They're all facing the same direction even though some are turned slightly.
- They have crossed their arms, which makes them look like they have been standing for some time.

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Start by reminding students that one way we know about the past is through visual primary sources such as photographs. Ask students what makes a photograph a primary source. Point out that historians may look at photographs a bit differently than the average person and that in this lesson the class is going to learn a little about how a historian might look at a photograph.
- Place a copy of *Handout 3-1: Line in San Francisco Street* on the overhead. This photograph depicts a "notice," although the words are too small to read.
- Distribute copies of *Handout 3-2: Photo Analysis Worksheet* to students. Following the worksheet, make a rough sketch of the picture on the overhead, allowing the students to give suggestions about the important details to be included. Complete the worksheet with the participation of the class and end with "Step 3: Questions."
  - Note from the unit's author: This picture was selected because although all the people in it are of Asian descent, there is a poster written in English behind them. This photo should enable the teacher to help establish that although the people in the photo are of Asian ancestry, the picture is not from a foreign country. Someone looking closely at the picture may even hypothesize that since the poster has the phrase "Japanese" on it, this group is most likely Japanese American. Those details and the sidewalk should help them place the picture in an American city. Take plenty of time doing this analysis because the better this analysis, the better prepared they will be to do their own photographic analysis.
- Organize students into groups of two, three, or four and give them copies of *Handouts 3-3a–p* to analyze. They will each need a copy of *Handout 3-2: Photo Analysis Worksheet* so that may be held accountable; however, they also should be given a chance to talk to each other regarding the content of their photographs. Ask them to prepare a short presentation of their analysis for the class. Unbeknownst to the students, all the photographs are related to the same event: Japanese American World War II incarceration.
  - Note: Sample Photo Analysis Worksheets completed by the students in author's class are included at the end of this lesson.
- Before students present their photographs, explain to students that all of the photographs distributed that day are related to the same event—but don't tell them what the event is. Their job is to try to figure out the event and put the photographs in sequence. Suggest that they begin by paying attention to what the photographs have in common.

- As each group presents their analyses, do two things:
  - Post each group's photograph on the wall and ask the class to try to sort the pictures.
  - Make a list of the questions that students have about the photographs. It will be almost impossible for them to understand the story based solely on the pictures: that's good, because they need to decide what additional information from other sources might help them.
- By the time all the groups have presented, it should be quite clear that there are more questions than answers. Hopefully, students will understand that this is a good thing! Refer them back to the chart with the question *What do historians do?* from the first day's lesson. Ask them how they acted as historians today. While they have looked carefully at the photographs, they may acknowledge that they are having a hard time putting the story together. Any questions that they asked that started with the word "why" were concerned with "causes." They probably asked questions regarding effects as well (*What happened…?*, etc.). The goal is to get students to admit that they had a hard time assembling the facts needed to put the pictures in sequence and that they ended up with more questions than answers.
- Review the *Why become a historian?* poster. Help students connect to the idea that if we don't really understand these pictures, it may be because the story in the pictures is one of those stories that has been neglected in/omitted from history books.

Extensions

- Have students complete an outline of a head (as they did for the Chang essay) as one of the characters in their photograph.
- Have students focus on some aspect of the photograph and turn it into a finished drawing.

Note about the Photographs

The photographs in this lesson were chosen because they cover the duration of the Japanese American experience from the time when notification was given for removal from the West Coast to building the camps to departure from the camps. A number of additional photographs are available on the Internet, so the teacher may decide to select other photos.

The following is a list of photographs and their official captions. The captions are useful in helping teachers guide students during the analysis. These captions can be shared with the students as they are trying to put the photos in sequential order.

Handout 3-1: Line in San Francisco Street
San Francisco, California. In response to the Army's Exclusion Order Number 20, residents of Japanese ancestry appear at Civil Control Station at 2031 Bush Street for registration. The evacuees will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536409 / Local Identifier 210-G-A517

Handout 3-3a
San Francisco, California, March 1942. A large sign reading "I am an American" placed in the window of a store, at 13th and Franklin streets, on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor. The store was closed following orders to persons of Japanese descent to evacuate from certain West Coast areas. The owner, a University of California graduate, will be housed with hundreds of evacuees in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration of the war.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs
Division Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-23602

Handout 3-3b
Hayward, California. Grandfather of Japanese ancestry waiting at local park for the arrival of evacuation bus which will take him and other evacuees to the Tanforan Assembly center. He was engaged in the Cleaning and Dyeing business in Hayward for many years.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537511 / Local Identifier 210-G-C161

Handout 3-3c
Two men entering barracks carrying luggage at Amache concentration camp, Amache, Colorado, 1943–1945.

Gift of George Tomio
Japanese American National Museum (92.76.10)

Handout 3-3d
Centerville, California. Members of farm family board evacuation bus. Evacuees of Japanese ancestry will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537584 / Local Identifier 210-G-C237

Handout 3-3e
People waiting in line at check cashing station at Tule Lake Internment camp.

Gift of Yukio Nakamura
Japanese American National Museum (93.92.1)

Handout 3-3f
Eden, Idaho. Baggage, belonging to the evacuees from the assembly center at Puyallup, Washington, is sorted and then trucked to their barrack apartments.

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 538276 / Local Identifier 210-G-D85

Handout 3-3g
Family of six receiving permit to leave Tule Lake concentration camp in an office, Newell, California, 1946.

Gift of Jack and Peggy Iwata
Japanese American National Museum (93.102.7)

Handout 3-3h
Closing of the Jerome Relocation Center, Denson, Arkansas. A sentimental custom still practiced by many when friends part is the trailing of paper streamers from the car windows. The parties hold tightly to the ends of the tape until it is broken by the movement of the train, thus in a sense prolonging the hand clasp. Here two small boys grasp the ribbons which extends to their little fiend [sic] in the coach window.

Photographer: Charles E. Mace
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 539665 / Local Identifier 210-G-H451

Handout 3-3i
Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. An evacuee resting on his cot after moving his belongins [*sic*] into this bare barracks room. An army cot and mattress are the only things furnished by the government. All personal belongings were brought by the evacuees.

Photographer: Clem Albers
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536861 / Local Identifier 210-G-B112

Handout 3-3j
San Bruno, California. This assembly center has been open for two days. Bus-load after bus-load of evacuated persons of Japanese ancestry are arriving on this day. After going through the necessary procedures, they are guided to the quarters assigned to them in the barracks. Only one mess hall was operating today. Photograph shows line-up of newly arrived evacuees outside this mess hall at noon. Note barracks in background, just built, for family units. There are three types of quarters in the center

of post office. The wide road which runs diagonally across the photograph is the former racetrack.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537677 / Local Identifier 210-G-C334

Handout 3-3k
Two United States Army soldiers with large family in front of barracks, Rohwer, Arkansas, November 21, 1944.

Gift of the Walter Muramoto Family
Japanese American National Museum (97.292.3V)

Handout 3-3l
Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colorado. Not all the center residents will return to their former homes. Many have found permanent "relocation" in the sandy soil on which the tar paper barracks were hurriedly erected. A total of nearly 15,000 evacuees were inducted into the Granada Project, Amache, Colorado, since August 27, 1942, when the first group arrived from the Merced Assembly Center to prepare the camp for those to follow. The Relocation Center, as its name implies, was a temporary residence for those of Japanese ancestry who were transferred from their homes along the west coast under a war emergency measure of 1942. Many of the evacuees during the past three years were able to resettle and find new homes in the Middle West and eastern states. From September 1, 1945, to the closing date of October 15, 3,105 persons have gone back to their former homes or have relocated elsewhere. The last to leave the center a group of 126, left on two special coaches for Sacramento and nearby towns. At the peak of its population, Amache had 7,567 residents. 412 births were recorded and 107 deaths during the three years of its existence.

Photographer: Hikaru Iwasaki
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 539933 / Local Identifier 210-G-K412

Handout 3-3m
Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California. One of the barracks at this center which is used for a high school. As yet the sudents [sic] haven't decided on a name for the school.

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536385 / Local Identifier 210-G-A484

Handout 3-3n
Gila River Relocation Center, Rivers, Arizona. Members of the boy scout troop who participated in the Harvest Festival Parade held at this center on Thanksgiving day.

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 538605 / Local Identifier 210-G-D643

Handout 3-3o
Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Construction begins at Manzanar, now a War Relocation Authority center for evacuees of Japanese ancestry.

Photographer: Clem Albers
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536869 / Local Identifier 210-G-B121

Handout 3-3p
Flag of allegiance pledge at Raphael Weill Public School, Geary and Buchanan Streets. Children in families of Japanese ancestry were evacuated with their parents and will be housed for the duration in War Relocation Authority centers where facilities will be provided for them to continue their education.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536053 / Local Identifier 210-G-A78

Line in San Francisco Street

Handout 3-1

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536409 / Local Identifier 210-G-A517

Photo Analysis Worksheet Handout 3-2

Name _____ Period _____

Step 1: Observation

A. Study the photograph for two minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items.

B. Draw a quick sketch of the picture; this will allow you to pay attention to details.

C. Now look closely at the photo one quadrant at a time and list the people, objects, and activities that you see in that quadrant. (Use numbers when you can quantify something.)

People: Objects: Activities:	People: Objects: Activities:
People: Objects: Activities:	People: Objects: Activities:

Step 2: Inference
Based on what you have observed above, list things that you might infer from this photograph. You can include ideas about where and when the photo was taken or what is happening in it.

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

Step 3: Questions
A. What questions does this photograph raise in your mind? Try to have at least three.

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

B. Where could you begin to look for answers to those questions?

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

Step 4: Summary
Based on your observations and inferences, write a caption or title for the picture.

_____

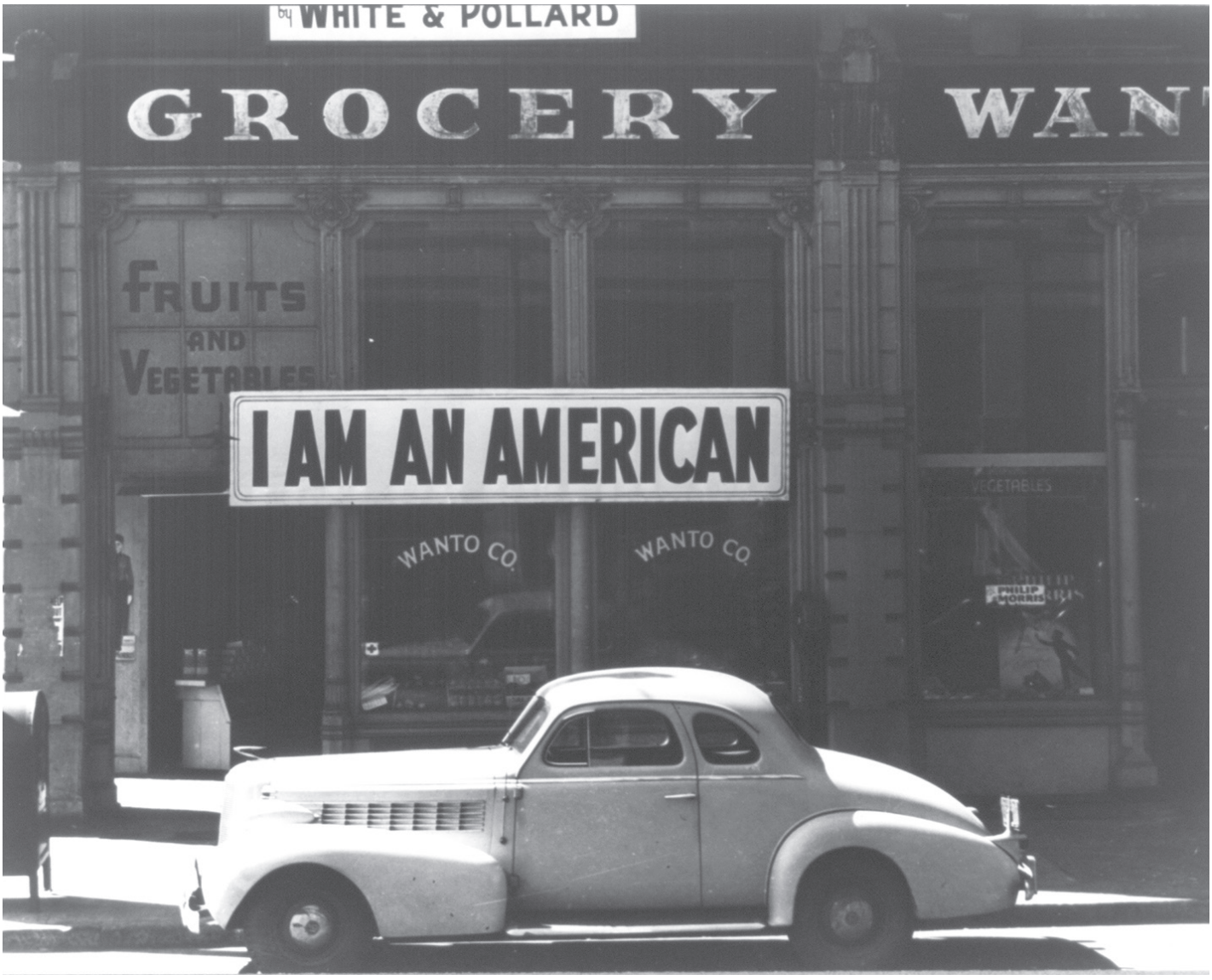
_____

_____

Adapted from Maryland Historical Society, "How to Interpret a Picture" and the National Archives and Records Administration, "Photograph Analysis Worksheet."

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3a



Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-23602

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3b

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537511 / Local Identifier 210-G-C161

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3c

Gift of George Tomio, Japanese American National Museum (92.76.10)

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3d

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537584 / Local Identifier 210-G-C237

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3e

Gift of Yukio Nakamura
Japanese American National Museum (93.92.1)

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3f

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 538276 / Local Identifier 210-G-D85

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3g

Gift of Jack and Peggy Iwata
Japanese American National Museum (93.102.7)

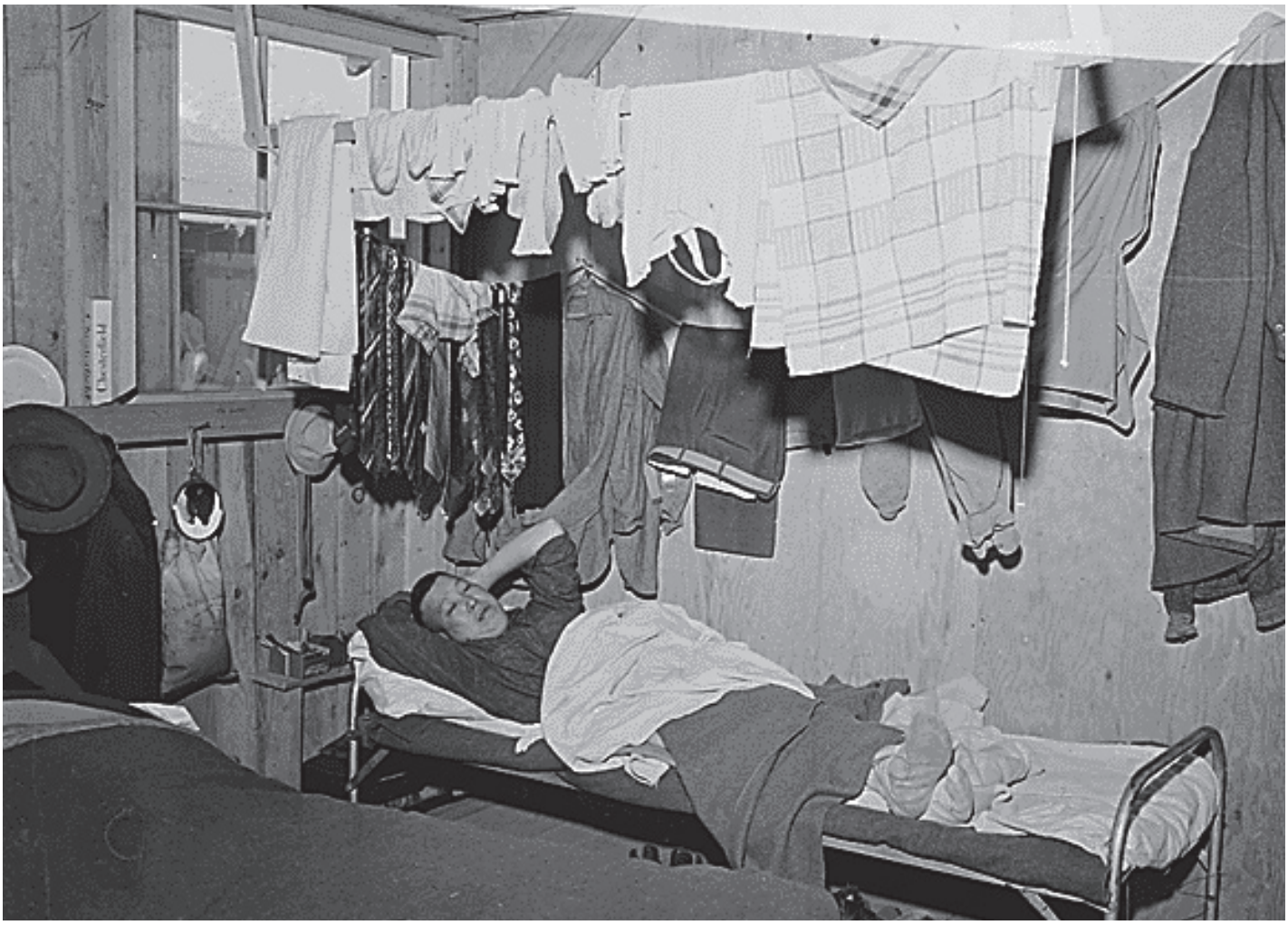
Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3h

Photographer: Charles Mace
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 539665 / Local Identifier 210-G-H451

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3i



Photographer: Clem Albers
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536861 / Local Identifier 210-G-B112

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3j

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537677 / Local Identifier 210-G-C334

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3k

Gift of the Walter Muramoto Family
Japanese American National Museum (97.292.3V)

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3l

Photographer: Hikaru Iwasaki
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 539933 / Local Identifier 210-G-K412

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3m

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536385 / Local Identifier 210-G-A484

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3n

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 538605 / Local Identifier 210-G-D643

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-30

Photographer: Clem Albers
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536869 / Local Identifier 210-G-B121

Photographs for Analysis

Handout 3-3p

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536053 / Local Identifier 210-G-A78

Sample Student Work:
Photo Analysis Worksheets

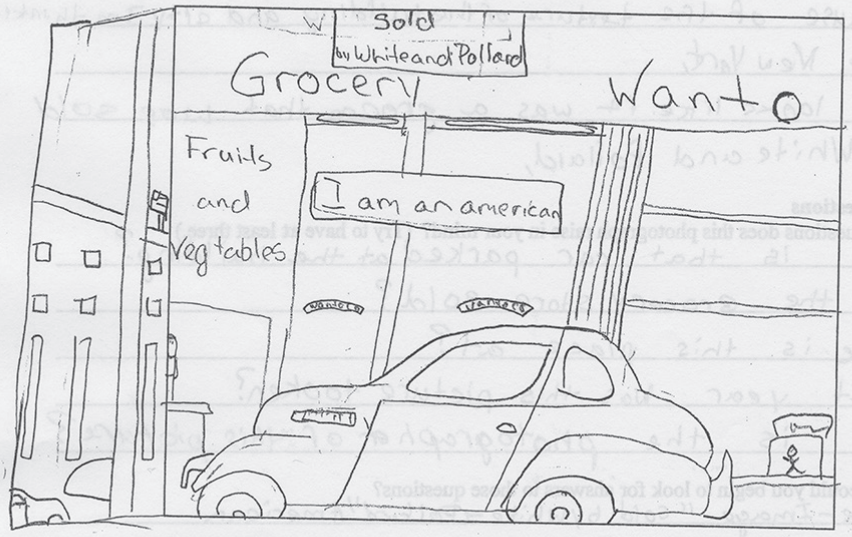
3:1,2

Photo Analysis Worksheet Joseph P ....
9-25

Step 1. Observation

A. Study the photograph for two minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items.

B. Draw a quick sketch of the picture to get you to pay attention to details.



C. Now, look closely at the photo one quadrant at a time and list the people, objects and activities that you see in that quadrant. (Use numbers when you can quantify something.)

People: No people Objects: Fand Vegar tables sign, stuco, windows, Grocery Activities: flag, top hat pole flag flying	People: No people Objects: Store, windows, stuco, Activities: None
People: None American sign Objects: Mail box front end car, car, Building, Pole Activities: parked car, traffic	People: none Objects: Back end of car, windows, s-lor, Activities: None

Adapted from the Maryland Historical Society's "How to Interpret a Picture" (www.mdhs.org/teachers/pic2.html) and the National Archives' "Photograph Analysis Worksheet".

Time of year, historical time, where, what's going on

3:1.2

Step 2. Inference

Based on what you have observed above, list things that you might infer from this photograph. (You can include ideas about where and when the photo was taken or what is happening in it.)

1. Because the old car, Im thinking it's the 1930's
2. Because of the signs, and im guessing its summer
3. Because of the texture of the building and city Im thinking
4. its New York,
5. It looks like it was a grocer that was sold by White and Pollaid,

Step 3. Questions

A. What questions does this photograph raise in your mind? (Try to have at least three.)

1. Why is that car parked at the building?
2. Was the Grocery store sold?
3. Where is this place at?
4. What year was this picture tooken?
5. Who is the photographer of this picture?

B. Where could you begin to look for answers to those questions?

1. Google-Image-"sold by White-Pollard" American
2. Google Photographers name
3. Book of decades ((1920's-1950's))
4. Timeline of sold by White and Pollard stores
5.

Step 4. Summary

Based on your observations and inferences, write a caption or title for the picture.

I am an american Groecrey Store

Adapted from the Maryland Historical Society's "How to Interpret a Picture" (www.mdhs.org/teachers/pic2.html) and the National Archives' "Photograph Analysis Worksheet".

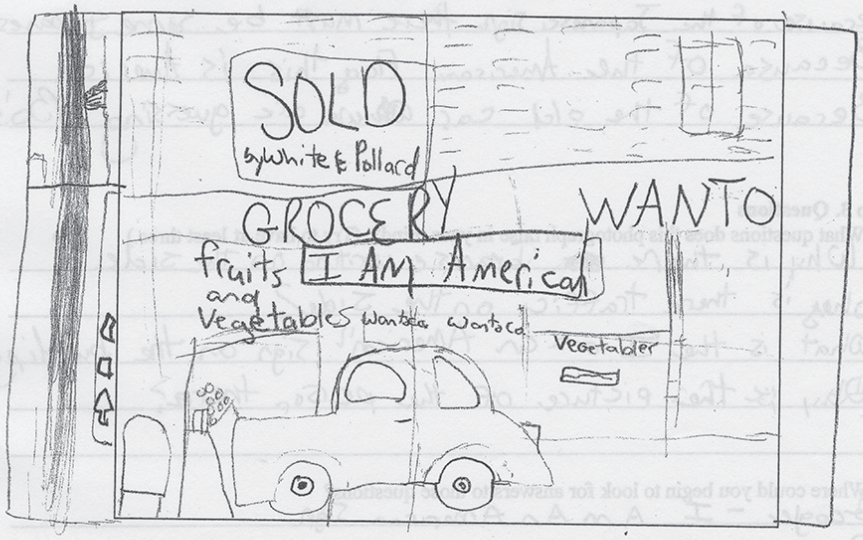
3:1,2

Photo Analysis Worksheet

Step 1. Observation

A. Study the photograph for two minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items.

B. Draw a quick sketch of the picture to get you to pay attention to details.



C. Now, look closely at the photo one quadrant at a time and list the people, objects and activities that you see in that quadrant. (Use numbers when you can quantify something.)

People: No People (Objects: Mailbox, Car, Sign Activities: Flag	People: No people Objects: Window, Store, (wanto) Sign, Activities:
People: No People Objects: Mail box, Car, Sign, (I am American) Grocery Store, Activities: No Traffic	People: No People Objects: Car, Window, Store, Activities: No,

Adapted from the Maryland Historical Society's "How to Interpret a Picture" (www.mdhs.org/teachers/pic2.html) and the National Archives' "Photograph Analysis Worksheet".

time of year, historical time, where, what's going on. 3:1.2

Step 2. Inference

Based on what you have observed above, list things that you might infer from this photograph. (You can include ideas about where and when the photo was taken or what is happening in it.)

1. Because the "I am American" sign the person who owns the store must be American
2. Because of the "Sold" sign I think the place must be sold
3. Because of the Japanese sign there must be some Japanese people
4. Because of the American Flag this is America
5. Because of the old car we are guessing 1930's

Step 3. Questions

A. What questions does this photograph raise in your mind? (Try to have at least three.)

1. Why is there Japanese writing on the side?
2. Why is there traffic on the side?
3. What is the "I am an American" sign on the building?
4. Why is there picture of the person there?
5.

B. Where could you begin to look for answers to those questions?

1. Google - I Am An American Sign
2. Google images - Sold white & Dollard
3. Books on 1930's
4.
5.

Step 4. Summary

Based on your observations and inferences, write a caption or title for the picture.

I am An American Grocery Store

Adapted from the Maryland Historical Society's "How to Interpret a Picture" (www.mdhs.org/teachers/pic2.html) and the National Archives' "Photograph Analysis Worksheet".

LESSON 4

Questions Raised and Inferences Made

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)

Overview

This lesson is intended to provide students with enough background information to understand the photographs viewed in the previous lesson. A selection from the *Time-Life* volume on World War II (see References below) acts as a secondary source to supply information about the experience of Japanese Americans during World War II. (The *Time-Life* book is more than 500 pages long but includes only 200 words in reference to the Japanese American World War II experience.)

Students will read through the passage and process the facts, paying special attention to how direct quotations affect meaning. Students will be asked to pay close attention to whether the material is fact or opinion and in doing so will acknowledge that language can carry powerful undertones that color what the reader takes away from the material.

Essential Question

How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will categorize a list of adjectives to understand that subtle differences in words can create powerfully different impressions.
- Students will read a brief "secondary" account of the role of Japanese Americans in World War II; they will distinguish fact from opinion as well as identify inflammatory language.
- Students will identify the story of Japanese American incarceration as one of our nation's often "omitted" histories.

Guiding Questions

- How do we proceed when a source raises more questions than it answers?
- How can sources show prejudice or favoritism?

Assessment

Assessment will be done informally through the class discussion and then formally through the end-of-unit project.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 1: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- History Strand II-C PS 1: Explain how differing perceptions of places, people, and resources have affected events and conditions in the past.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related information, drawing inferences, and generating questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-B PS 1: Use a variety of resources to express individual perspectives in response to personal, social, cultural, and historical issues.
- Language Arts Strand I-C PS 2: Refine critical thinking skills and develop criteria that evaluate arguments and judgments by justifying the judgment with logical, relevant reasons, clear examples, and supporting details using prior knowledge.
- Language Arts Strand I-D PS 2: Understand stories and expository texts from the perspective of the attitudes and values of the time period in which they were written.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 5: Express individual perspectives in response to personal, social, cultural, and historical issues.

Materials

- *Handout 4-1: List of Adjectives* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handout 4-2:* Time-Life *Article: "Heroes Abroad, Interned at Home"* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- Two colors of highlighters or colored pencils for each student
- *Handout 4-3: Questions Raised: Inferences Made*
- *Handouts 3-3a–p: Photographs for Analysis*
- Posters from Lesson 1 and Lesson 2

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Begin class with a discussion about language and the power of language. Refer to the posters from the first lesson. If students had the tendency to think that all history was about "important" or "good" things, ask if they still believe that. Encourage them to acknowledge that much of history is in fact ugly. Tie that acknowledgment into Gordon Chang's comment in Lesson 2 about groups being insulted by traditional accounts of history. One of the things that can make history ugly is the language used to describe it.
- Place *Handout 4-1: List of Adjectives* on the overhead. Read through it (feel free to add some) and ask the students if they perceive a difference in the words. Someone will probably come up with the idea that some words have positive connotations and others have negative or insulting connotations. Let them know that as historians we may come across sources (both primary and secondary) that are insulting. We can't close our eyes to that, but we should try to bring some justice to the issue by using more appropriate language. In addition, it will benefit us to understand that even apparently "neutral" secondary sources can, on closer inspection, insult directly or through omission.
- Discuss that the goal today is to assemble more facts that will add to the understanding of the photographs from Lesson 3. Distribute to each students two different colored highlighters or colored pencils and a copy of *Handout 4-2:* Time-Life *Article: "Heroes Abroad, Interned at Home."* Explain that it comes from a series of books about World War II published by *Time-Life* books; this volume is an almost 500-page reference book about the war. Because it covers the scope of the entire war, it cannot give too much detail about any one topic, but it might be a helpful source in this lesson. (The idea is that students may themselves be alarmed at the insufficient coverage that the World War II Japanese American experience receives in the book and come to the realization that this is one of the "long-neglected" topics that Chang referred to in his essay.)
- Return to the poster to review the question *What do historians do?* The emphasis in this lesson is to assemble some facts from a secondary source. Direct students to read *Handout 4-2:* Time-Life *Article: "Heroes Abroad, Interned at Home,"* and ask them to use the two different colored highlighters or colored pencils to distinguish the two types of information available in a secondary source: facts and opinions. Students will underline facts (numbers, dates, names, and places) with one color and opinions with the other. There are some very inflammatory statements in the text, so be sure to discuss and debrief the piece thoroughly.
- Next, ask students to identify any and all "facts" that can be found in the short article. Give students time to find them, and then use the overhead version of the article and underline the facts as students identify them. Continue until all the factual details from the article have been found.
- Have students complete *Handout 4-3: Questions Raised: Inferences Made* regarding questions raised and an author's point of view. They might work alone or in pairs; their work should first be shared in small groups. Finally, the groups should report out to the entire class. This could also be run as a class discussion.
- With the new information from the article, return to the pictures from Lesson 3 and see if students would like to reorganize them. They may or may not sequence the pictures correctly, but the correct

sequence is not nearly important as the fact that the students are looking closely at the photographs. It really emphasizes that historians are trying to put the past together.

- End class by asking the Guiding Question: *How can sources show prejudice or favoritism?*

References

Time-Life Books. *World War II*. 39 vols. Des Moines, Iowa: *Time-Life* Books, 1989.

List of Adjectives Handout 4-1

What do these words have in common?
How do they differ?
How could we categorize them?

ugly	weird	disgusting
gross	unusual	beautiful
striking	fascinating	different
complex	hard	challenging
terrible	horrible	exciting
aggressive	strong	awesome
scary	new	interesting
obnoxious	inspiring	

How could the choice of words used by a historian influence readers?

Time-Life Books Article

Handout 4-2

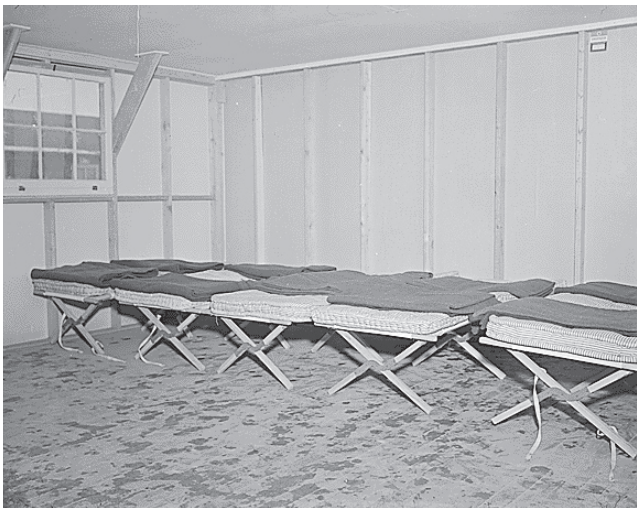
Heroes Abroad, Interned at Home

Following Pearl Harbor, a wave of prejudice and hatred engulfed the 127,000 Japanese Americans living in the U.S. Banks refused to cash their checks; insurance companies canceled their policies; milkmen and grocers refused to sell to them. "A Jap's a Jap!" declared Lieut. General John L. DeWitt, charged with the West Coast's defense. "It makes no difference whether he's an American or not."

Late in March 1942, DeWitt's men began rounding up the Japanese-Americans for evacuation; many were given as little as 48 hours to dispose of their homes, they were shipped inland to internment camps—isolated barracks cities, where they lived for at least a year as prisoners.

Albeit imprisoned by their own government, many began their days by pledging to the U.S. flag. Some 8,000 Japanese-Americans also served with great distinction in the Armed Forces, in France and particularly in Italy. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team was among the most widely decorated units in the U.S. Army—with 3,600 Purple Hearts for wounds received in action, and in recognition of their gallantry, 354 Silver Stars, 47 Distinguished Service Crosses, one Distinguished Service Medal and one Medal of Honor.

Excerpted from *Time-Life* Books, *World War II* (1989)



Minidoka Relocation Center. This picture shows other view of apartment. War Relocation Authority furnishes sleeping equipment, only other thing furnished is a light globe.

Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536576 / Local Identifier 210-G-A772

Photograph of President Truman saluting as he passes the color guard during his review of the Japanese-American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, 07/15/1946.

Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 199389

Questions Raised: Inferences Made

Handout 4-3

Name _____ Period _____

Rather than accepting this information at face value, what questions does this passage raise for you about the World War II Japanese American experience?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Think about how the author presented this information. On the chart below, identify something that you noticed about the article, and then write down what you think this might tell you about how the author thinks about this event. One example has been done for you. The idea is to identify the author's point of view or perspective through inference (or reading between the lines.)

Observation from article	**What this might tell us about the author's perspective**
I noticed that there were less than 200 words about the whole wartime experience of the Japanese Americans.	*This might show that the author doesn't think that the experience deserves much attention, as if it isn't an important part of history.*

LESSON 5

Reading (Between the) Timelines

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)

Overview

The purpose of this lesson is to continue to build background knowledge about the Japanese American experience in World War II. The selected timeline included in this lesson cannot do justice to the entire experience, and it is, in fact, adapted from a longer timeline. It contains legal and technical terms, and it is written without comment (for example, about the irony of asking people who have been allowed to become U.S. citizens to forswear their country of birth or asking young men to fight for the country that is imprisoning their families). Therefore, it is up to the teacher to help students see the injustices if it doesn't happen spontaneously.

The selected timeline entries help to explain some (but not all) of the photographs from Lesson 3 and also corroborate with the memoir that will be read in Lesson 6.

Essential Question

How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will generate leveled questions based on a timeline of the World War II Japanese American experience.
- Students will place photographs from Lesson 3 into a timeline.
- Students will articulate why Americans should know about the World War II Japanese American experience.

Guiding Questions

- In what ways can timelines be useful resources?
- What don't timelines tell us?
- Why should Americans learn about the Japanese American experience during World War II?

Assessment

This lesson will be assessed by the leveled questions that groups pose regarding the timeline information.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand III Benchmark A: Understand the structure, functions, and powers of government.
- History Strand III Benchmark D: Explain how individuals have rights and responsibilities as member of social groups, families, schools, communities, states, tribes, and countries.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related information and by drawing inferences and generating questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-B PS 1: Use a variety of resources to express individual perspectives in response to personal, social, cultural, and historical issues.
- Language Arts Strand I-C PS 2: Refine critical thinking skills and develop criteria that evaluate arguments and judgments by justifying the judgment with logical, relevant reasons, clear examples, and supporting details using prior knowledge.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 4: Interact in group discussions by giving valid reasons that support opinions.

Materials

- *Handout 5-1: Three Levels of Questions in "The Three Little Pigs"* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handout 5-2: Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience*
- *Handout 5-3: Three Levels of Questions Related to the "Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience"*
- A quote from Morgan Yamanaka entitled "No Possibility of Resistance," found on the Smithsonian National Museum of American History Web site, must be downloaded, printed, and distributed to students:

http://americanhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/transcript.html#intro (accessed September 1, 2009).

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Tell students a short version of "The Three Little Pigs" and then explain the three different levels of questions that can be asked about any text. On the overhead, display a copy of *Handout 5-1: Three Levels of Questions in "The Three Little Pigs"* and distribute hard copies to students. Ask them to demonstrate their understanding of the concept by having them pose Level One questions, then Level Two questions, and finally Level Three questions.
  - Level One questions can be answered explicitly by facts contained in the text or by information accessible in other resources. Examples:
    - How many brothers are there?
    - What did the first brother build his house out of?
  - Level Two questions are textually implicit, requiring analysis and interpretation of specific parts of the text. Examples:
    - Why is the wolf after the pigs?
    - Why did the first brother build his house out of straw?
  - Level Three questions are open-ended and go beyond the text. They are intended to provoke a discussion of an abstract idea or issue. Examples:
    - Does the third brother have an obligation to help his brothers?
    - Is the wolf bad for doing what it is his nature to do?
- Explain that this type of questioning will be useful for reading a secondary source: a timeline of the Japanese American experience.
- Give students *Handout 5-2: Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience*. Review the document, asking when and where students need clarification of vocabulary or concept. Encourage them to take notes on the page. Students will probably have many questions as you read the passages. Take clarifying questions about word meanings and such, but if students pose Level Two or Level Three questions, encourage them to jot them down as they go.
- Next, distribute *Handout 5-3: Three Levels of Questions Relating to the "Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience"*
- It is recommended that the students complete the handout independently but with permission to ask for feedback from seatmates about whether or not they are on the right track. Eventually, have students share their questions in groups, with each group sharing five questions with the class: three Level One questions, two Level Two questions, and one Level Three question. Their presentations of these questions to the class will serve as the assessment of their ability to pose higher order questions.
- As students listen to the questions posed by other groups, have them consider which Level Three questions are the most interesting. Allow the class to choose two or three that the class might then discuss informally. Here are some questions that were raised in the author's class:
  - Was it right of the government to lock up more than 100,000 Japanese Americans?
  - Should Japanese Americans have fought for the United States as so many of them did, or should they have protested against the government as others did?
- Discuss as many of the Level Three questions as time permits.
- Distribute copies of the quote from Morgan Yamanaka entitled "No Possibility of Resistance," downloaded from the Smithsonian National Museum of American History Web site. Discuss it to be sure they understand the quote, and then ask for volunteers to pose Level Three questions raised by it. The questions don't need to be discussed—the power is in the questioning itself.

Extensions

- Ask students to compose a short paragraph answering one of the Level Three questions raised in class.

- Write a constructed response to this question: *Why should Americans learn about World War II Japanese American experience?*
- Draw a picture or image illustrating/symbolizing "No Possibility of Resistance," the quote from Morgan Yamanaka.

References

"A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the Constitution." Smithsonian Institution. http://americanhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/experience/ (accessed September 1, 2009).

Japanese American National Museum. http://www.janm.org/ (accessed September 1, 2009).

Three Levels of Questions in "The Three Little Pigs"

Handout 5-1

Name _____ Period _____

There are three types of questions that readers can ask about any text.

Level One questions can be answered explicitly by facts contained in the text or by information accessible in other resources. What are some Level One questions we can ask?

- How many brothers are there?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Level Two questions are textually implicit, requiring analysis and interpretation of specific parts of the text. What are some Level Two questions we can ask?

- Why is the wolf after the pigs?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Level Three questions are much more open-ended and go beyond the text. They are intended to provoke a discussion of an abstract idea or issue. What are some Level Three questions we can ask?

- Is the wolf bad for doing what is in his nature to do?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience Handout 5-2

Name _____ Period _____

1890s to 1924 Economic hardship pushes farmers and peasants to leave Japan for the United States, where they are hired by the mining, logging, agricultural, railroad, and fish-canning industries.

May 19, 1913 California Governor Hiram Johnson signs the 1913 Alien Land Law, which will become effective on August 10. This law prohibited "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from owning land.

1922 Congress passes the Cable Act, revoking the U.S. citizenship of women who marry Asian immigrants. The U.S. Supreme Court supports laws that deny Japanese immigrants the right to become citizens.

November 1941 The Munson Report is delivered to President Roosevelt, saying that people of Japanese ancestry living in the U.S. are loyal Americans and do not pose a threat to the U.S.

December 7, 1941 Japan attacks the U.S. Naval base at Pearl Harbor. Local authorities and the FBI begin to round up the Issei leadership of the Japanese American communities in Hawai'i and on the mainland. By 6:30 a.m. the following morning, 736 Issei (first generation immigrants who were born in Japan) are in custody; within 48 hours the number would be 1,291. Caught by surprise for the most part, these men are held under no formal charges, and their family members are forbidden from seeing them. Most would spend the war years in enemy alien internment camps run by the Justice Department.

February 19, 1942 President Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066, which allows military authorities to exclude anyone from anywhere without trial or hearings. Though the subject of only limited interest at the time, this order in effect set the stage for the entire forced removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

March 18, 1942 The president signs Executive Order 9102, which establishes the War Relocation Authority (WRA). Milton Eisenhower is named as its director; it is allocated a budget of $5.5 million.

March 21, 1942 The first advance groups of Japanese American "volunteers" arrive at Manzanar (California). The WRA would soon transform Manzanar into a "relocation center."

May–October 1942 Inmates begin arriving at ten camps in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

June 1942 The movie Little Tokyo, U.S.A. is released by Twentieth Century-Fox. In it, the Japanese American community is portrayed as a "vast army of volunteer spies" and "blind worshippers of their Emperor," as described in the film's voice-over prologue.

October 20, 1942 President Roosevelt refers to the "relocation centers" as "concentration camps" at a press conference. The WRA denies that the term "concentration camps" accurately describes the camps.

February 1943 The U.S. War Department and the War Relocation Authority (WRA) decide to test the loyalty of all people of Japanese ancestry who were incarcerated in the WRA camps. They required every male citizen in the camps of military service age to fill out a questionnaire that became known as the "loyalty questionnaire." Their answers would be used to decide whether they were loyal or disloyal to the

United States. Two questions confuse and concern many people.

> Question #27 asked, "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?"
>
> Question #28 asked, "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"

February 1, 1943 The 442nd Regimental Combat Team—made up entirely of Japanese Americans—is activated.

September 13, 1943 Based upon the responses given to the loyalty questionnaire, inmates begin to be reassigned to different camps. People who were determined to be "disloyal" are sent to Tule Lake (California), while "loyal" internees at Tule Lake are sent to other camps, sometimes splitting families apart.

November 4, 1943 An uprising at Tule Lake caps a month of strife there.

January 14, 1944 The U.S. military announces that Nisei (Japanese Americans born in the United States) will begin to be drafted (assigned involuntarily) into the military. The reaction to this announcement in the camps is mixed.

March 20, 1944 Forty-three Japanese American soldiers are arrested for refusing to participate in combat training at Fort McClellan, Alabama. Eventually, 106 are arrested for their refusal, which was a way to protest the treatment of their families in United States concentration camps. Twenty-one are convicted and serve prison time before being paroled in 1946. The records of 11 are cleared by the Army Board of Corrections of Military Records in 1983 (the other 10 did not apply for clearance).

June 30, 1944 Jerome (Arkansas) becomes the first camp to close.

October 27–30, 1944 The 442nd Regimental Combat Team rescues an American battalion that had been cut off and surrounded by the enemy. Eight hundred casualties are suffered by the 442nd as they rescued 211 men.

August 6 and 9, 1945 U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, forcing Japan to surrender on August 14.

March 20, 1946 Tule Lake is the last camp to close. In the month prior to the closing, some 5,000 internees had to be moved, many of whom were elderly, impoverished, or mentally ill and who had no place to go.

July 15, 1946 The 442nd Regimental Combat Team is greeted on the White House lawn by President Truman. "You fought not only the enemy but you fought prejudice—and you have won," remarks the President.

Adapted from the Japanese American National Museum, "Chronology of World War II Incarceration," found at http://www.janm.org/nrc/internch.php (accessed August 18, 2009).

Three Levels of Questions Relating to the "Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience" Handout 5-3

Name _____ Period _____

Level One questions can be answered explicitly by facts contained in the text or by information accessible in other resources. What are some other Level One questions we can ask?

- What was the first camp to open?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Level Two questions are textually implicit, requiring analysis and interpretation of specific parts of the text. What are some other Level Two questions we can ask?

- Why does the March 21, 1942, entry have the word volunteers in quotation marks?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Level Three questions are much more open-ended and go beyond the text. They are intended to provoke a discussion of an abstract idea or issue. What are some other Level Three questions we can ask?

- How should Japanese American have responded to the loyalty questionnaire?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

LESSON 6

Making History Personal: Responding to a Memoir

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)

Overview

This lesson is based on a compelling memoir by well-known poet Violet de Cristoforo. It is in this memoir that students will discover that Japanese Americans were held in camps in New Mexico. Because the text is so descriptive, the reading responses force students to slow down and really explore the richness of the text.

Essential Question

How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will read a primary source memoir about the World War II Japanese American experience.
- Students will ask appropriate questions in response to the text.
- Students will evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of a memoir when it is used as a primarysource.
- Students will compare and contrast the Department of Justice camps with the War Relocation Authority camps.

Guiding Questions

- What impact did World War II incarceration have on Japanese American individuals and families?
- What can memoirs tell you about historical events?
- What can't memoirs tell you about an historical event?
- How did the Department of Justice camps differ from the War Relocation Authority camps?

Assessment

The responses that students give as they are reading the memoir will be used as the assessment. Initial assessment will be done orally so that students have a chance to hear their peers' responses. As the reading of the memoir progresses, assessments can be done independently and graded. Answers to the guiding questions will be assessed informally through class discussion and formally with the end-of-unit project.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 2: Demonstrate the ability to examine history from the perspectives of the participants.
- History Strand II-C PS 4: Explain a contemporary issue using geographic knowledge, tools, and perspectives.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related topics, drawing inferences, and generating questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-B PS 1: Use a variety of resources to express individual perspectives in response to personal, social, cultural, and historical issues.
- Language Arts Strand I-B PS 3: Develop informational presentations that cite multiple print and non-print sources by comparing, contrasting, and evaluating information from different sources about the same topic.
- Language Arts Strand I-D PS 1: Respond to various texts and literary selections using interpretive and evaluative reading processes.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 5: Express Individual perspective in response to historical issues.

Materials

- *Handout 6-1: Reader's Response Log Prompts* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handout 6-2: Memoir of Violet de Cristoforo* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- Highlighters for students
- Map of War Relocation Authority camps from the National Park Service downloaded and printed on an overhead transparency: http://www.nps.gov/manz/historyculture/images/WarRelocationMap.jpg (accessed September 2, 2009)

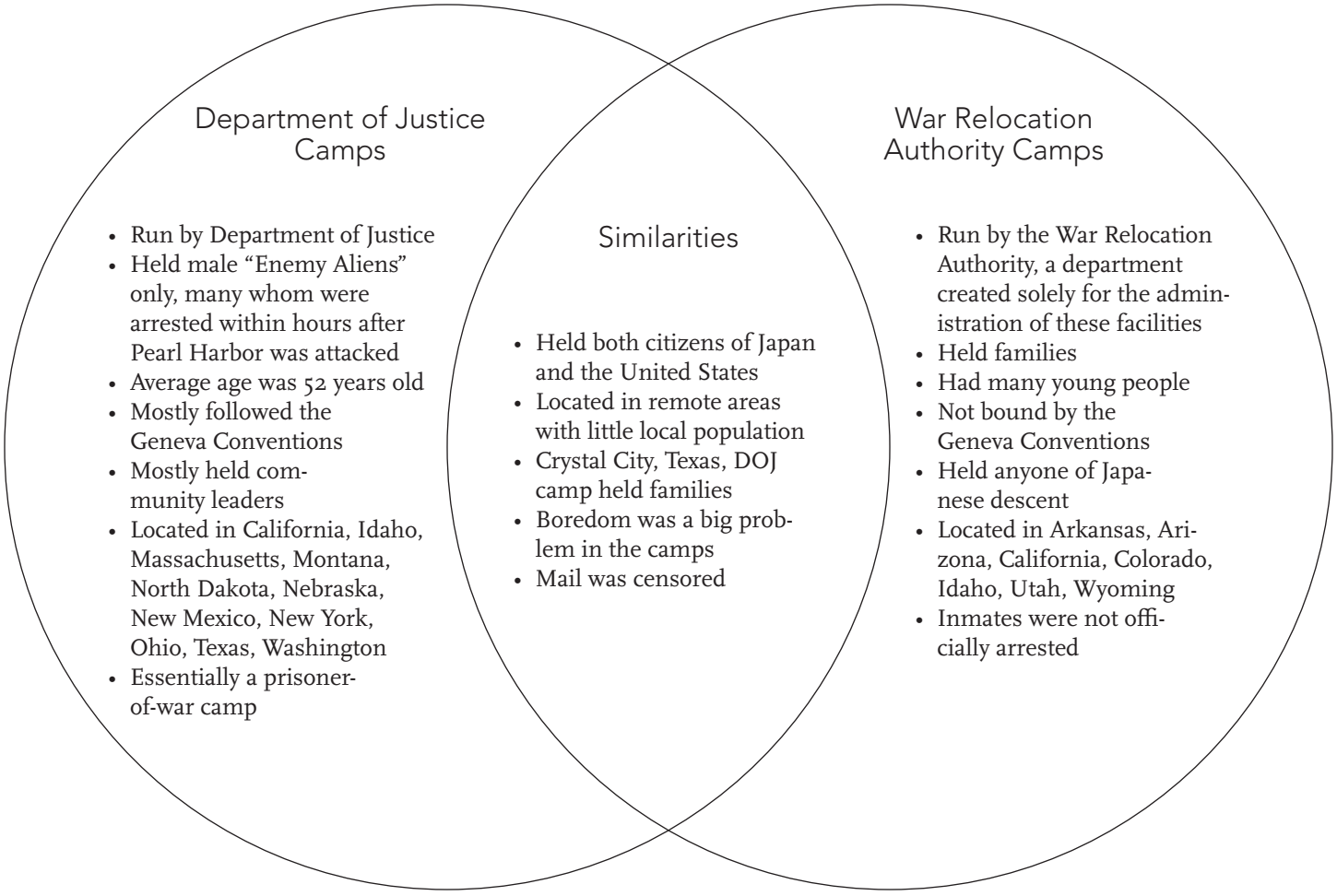
- Map from this curriculum's Appendix, "Japanese American Confinement Sites in the United States During World War II," printed on an overhead transparency

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Explain to students that they have reviewed some primary visual sources (photographs) and a secondary source (*Time-Life* article), so now it is time to look at a written primary source: a memoir.
- Refer students to the poster from Lesson 1 (*How do we know about the past?*) Ask students to anticipate how this memoir will be different from a secondary text. Any answers they provide are good—especially look for answers like these:
  - More detailed
  - More interesting
  - More like a story
  - Narrower in perspective
  - Harder to understand
- If a student has already made an insightful comment about the difference between primary and secondary sources, remind the class of that comment. Also connect the idea of a memoir to Lesson 1's first poster (*What is history?*) because it will tell us about people's thoughts, while the third poster (*What do historians do?*) illustrates that we might be able to see the effects of a historical event on a person. Remind them as well about learning in Lesson 4 about facts and opinions and encourage them to still look for those today.
- Explain to students that they will be reading the memoir with reader's response log prompts. Either display them on the board, on an overhead projector, on a poster that stays up in the classroom permanently, or distribute *Handout 6-1: Reader's Response Log Prompts*. Discuss what each of the prompts means. There are 10 of them, but you may want to start with a smaller number and work up to the rest. Three of the prompts are more difficult because students must explain their answer using ". . . *because* . . ." The final prompt is the hardest because it asks students to notice a pattern in the reading rather than a single fact. Reassure them that you will practice these for a while before they will be assessed on their answers.
- Distribute *Handout 6-2: Memoir of Violet de Cristoforo*. Introduce Violet de Cristoforo by explaining that she was a young Japanese American woman living in Fresno, California, when the United States declared war on Japan. She was married with two children and pregnant with her third. By the end of the war, she "repatriated" to Japan, where things went very poorly for her. She eventually remarried and returned to the United States, where she became a well-known poet and wrote this memoir.
- Ask students what they think the difference is between a memoir and a diary. (*A memoir is written after the fact while a diary is written while events are taking place.*) Then ask what they think the differences there might be in the same story depending on whether it is being told in a memoir or in a diary. Encourage diverse answers.
- Before reading the memoir, point out to students that there is space on the text for them to highlight or underline the parts that they are responding to and they may write the responses to the prompts beside each other on the page.
- Read aloud the first paragraph. Ask if anyone needs any vocabulary clarification before they write their responses. Explain any words that students don't know and then model writing a response that shows you are interacting with the text and responding to the prompts. For example, "I wonder what happened to everything that they owned if they could only take what they could carry?" This shows that there was an inherent understanding that a lot of things must have been left behind and that that had consequences.
- Give students two to three minutes to respond to that first paragraph on their own, then ask for volunteers to read aloud their responses. Assess the responses in terms of how well they show interaction: If students simply rephrase something in the text, ask a follow-up

question to get them to see the difference between rephrasing the text and interacting with it. Call for three or four responses and do a quick evaluation of them so that students know whether or not they are doing them correctly. When you get to the paragraph about going to Jerome, Arkansas, put on the overhead the map titled "War Relocation Authority Camps," which should be downloaded from the National Park Service Web site (see References below). Mark Fresno, California, on the map.

- Repeat the process one paragraph at a time until you think that all students are able to come up with responses independently. At this point, you should be able to read a paragraph, give students time to respond, call on four or five students to give their responses, and repeat the process.
- When de Cristoforo writes about being transferred to Tule Lake, put the map back up on the overhead so students can see where this is. Make sure they understand that almost all the inmates who did not answer "yes" and "yes" to Questions 27 and 28 on the Loyalty Questionnaire were sent to Tule Lake. (See the "Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience" in Lesson 5 for more information.)
- Allow for a response to stir an impromptu conversation or discussion when appropriate. The hope and expectation is that when students get to the passage about de Cristoforo's husband's transfer to Santa Fe, New Mexico, their comments will reflect the fact that they did not know about New Mexico's involvement. Check the map again and possibly add a question mark at Santa Fe.
- Then put up on the overhead the map, "Japanese American Confinement Sites in the United States During World War II," which shows five types of confinement sites: War Relocation Authority (WRA), assembly centers, Department of Justice (DOJ), Department of War, and penitentiaries. Continue reading the memoir and having students interact with the text through their responses to the prompts.
- As a quick assessment, ask students to circle what they think are their two best responses; collect the work and look at those. This will tell you who is getting what out of the text and can generate a simple class-work grade. Three scores may be given: a plus means they had a thoughtful response that showed connection to other content or personal experiences; a check means that they are on the right track but could have benefited by explaining their answer more thoroughly; a minus usually means that they simply paraphrased the text.
- Next, work on a Venn diagram as a class. On the Venn diagram, compare and contrast the War Relocation Authority camps and the Department of Justice camps. Students may be able to come up with some of these differences based on the reading or the maps they have viewed. Alternately, you could write a list of characteristics up on the board and have the class make suggestions about where they think that answer goes on the diagram. On the following page is a sample.


Department of Justice Camps
• Run by Department of Justice
• Held male "Enemy Aliens" only, many whom were arrested within hours after Pearl Harbor was attacked
• Average age was 52 years old
• Mostly followed the Geneva Conventions
• Mostly held community leaders
• Located in California, Idaho, Massachusetts, Montana, North Dakota, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Texas, Washington
• Essentially a prisoner-of-war camp
Similarities
• Held both citizens of Japan and the United States
• Located in remote areas with little local population
• Crystal City, Texas, DOJ camp held families
• Boredom was a big problem in the camps
• Mail was censored
War Relocation Authority Camps
• Run by the War Relocation Authority, a department created solely for the administration of these facilities
• Held families
• Had many young people
• Not bound by the Geneva Conventions
• Held anyone of Japanese descent
• Located in Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming
• Inmates were not officially arrested

- Let students know that because of the differences between the two types of camps in terms of quantity, size, and type of inmates, there are more sources available regarding the WRA camps. Ask them to think about what the most significant differences between the camps were and allow students to volunteer their answers. Ask if they think that the photos from Lesson 3 were taken at the WRA camps, the assembly centers, or the DOJ camps, and how they could tell. *(Most pictures that show a child were not taken at a DOJ camp.)* Draw attention to one key difference: the Santa Fe camp held only men who might have been very lonely and very worried about their wives and families. Let students know that in the next lesson, they will be lucky enough to read some poetry written by men in Santa Fe.

Extensions

- Have students write three levels of questions for the text, as they did in Lesson 5.
- Write follow-up questions that they would like to ask Violet de Cristoforo.
- Draw an illustration to go with the de Cristoforo memoir.
- Write a short diary entry as either of de Cristoforo's older children.

Postscript about Violet de Cristoforo

In case the teacher isn't able to access the full memoir, it might be of interest to explain how things turned out for de Cristoforo. She and her three children were repatriated to Japan sometime after her husband and father-in-law were sent back. She begged to stay in the United States but was denied the right to do so. By the time she arrived in Japan, her husband had left her for another woman, and her father-in-law's property had all been confiscated from him. The country was in terrible shape following the war, and they lived off what her father-in-law's family could spare. She tried to get help from her mother; unfortunately, her mother lived in Hiroshima, and although had survived the dropping of the atomic bomb, she was in no position to help her daughter. Violet de Cristoforo tried to get a job with the U.S. Army because she was fluent in both English and Japanese. Because she had asked for repatriation, they were not allowed to hire her, but they did arrange for her to get a job with the British troops stationed in postwar Japan. Conditions were so desperate that she felt she had no alternative but to send her older children back to the United States to live with strangers. Her belief is that her children were never able to forgive her for what they considered to be her abandonment of them. She also believed that the war destroyed three generations of her family.

References

National Park Service. http://www.nps.gov/manz/historyculture/places/warrelocationcenters (accessed September 1, 2009).

De Cristoforo, Violet. "Tule Lake." In *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps,* by John Tateishi, p. 124–140. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Reader's Response

Log Prompts Handout 6-1

I wonder why . . .

I wonder how . . .

I wonder what . . .

I think . . .

I predict . . .

I think this means . . .

I was surprised that . . . because . . .

This reminds me of . . . because . . .

I agree with . . . because . . .

I noticed that . . .

Memoir of Violet de Cristoforo

Handout 6-2

Name _____ Period _____

Tule Lake

Before the war I lived in Fresno, California. When evacuation came I was married and had two children, seven and five years old. I was also pregnant three months. The day of the order was just about two weeks after my operation for a tumor. The doctor tried to have my internment delayed for a while and so asked the provost marshal, but it was not allowed. So I closed the bookshop, closed the home and left for the camp, which was Fresno Assembly Center.

In April 1942, my husband and I and our two children left for camp, and my mother-in-law and father-in-law came about a month later. I wasn't afraid, but I kept asking in my mind, how could they? This is impossible. Even today I still think it was a nightmarish thing. I cannot reconcile myself to the fact that I had to go, that I was interned, that I was segregated, that I was taken away, even though it goes back forty years.

But we went to the Fresno Assembly Center. And you know what the summer is like in Fresno—110 degrees—and we were living under a low tar-paper roof. The floors were built right on top of the racetrack. And there was the manure, and there were cracks in the floor, so that every bit of summer heat, every minute of the day when you're in the barracks, pushed the smell up. It was unbearable, the heat and the smell, and being pregnant and very weak, I sheltered myself under the bed and put wet towels on myself as much as I could. Some days we would dig into the ground and get into the ground, but we couldn't do that very well. As the days went on, the alfalfa started growing from under the floor between the cracks. People pinched the alfalfa and started eating it, and I became violently ill because I'm very allergic to hay and to many grasses and seeds.

Then there was the food poisoning. I was the first to succumb. We usually had to wait something like an hour or an hour and a half to be served food. The line was so long, and things were so disorganized that they didn't have a system that let a sick woman or an older person or pregnant women go first. They never did that. So if you wanted to eat something, you stayed in line in that hot sun for an hour, sometimes two hours, and by the time you got your food and took it back to your barracks to eat, the food was spoiled. . . .

We stayed there until September. The day my second daughter was born was September 2, and September 18 we were herded off to Arkansas on a dilapidated train

which had nothing for babies or sick women. It was a five-day, five-night trip—the most horrible, horrible conditions. The shades were drawn for security reasons, and there was no air. Whenever a troop train came by, we had to sidetrack and let it go first. Even on those little stops, we were not allowed to get off the train. And my two-week-old baby developed double pneumonia the third day out, and there was no formula, no sanitation.

Dr. Miyamoto, who was interned at Jerome with us, took care of my baby. There were many nights we were called, and he would say, tonight is the crisis, would you come and sit. I don't know how many nights we went from the barracks to the hospital, which was from one end of the camp to the other. The ambulance would come and get us, and we would stay there many, many nights. I took my children with me, and we would stay there. I couldn't leave the children in the barracks alone, so we sat there all night long, many, many, nights in the two-and-a-half months she was there. Then they said we could bring her home, but the weather was very bad in Arkansas. It was just that every little sore would infect, and there was [sic] ticks and all kinds of things. So most of the one year that we stayed in Jerome, our youngest daughter was confined in the hospital.

At Jerome, my in-laws were in a separate barracks, because we were from different parts of Fresno, and certain parts got evacuated at different times. But because my mother-in-law was very sick, I had to go to their place to take care of her, come back and take care of my kids, and then go to the hospital. When the loyalty questionnaire came up, my father-in-law looked at it this way: he was a Japanese; he had been in the Japan-Russia war, and he had quite a bit of property back in Japan. He figured that he was considered an enemy alien, all his assets were frozen, and he had nothing to go back to in California. He was at that time quite elderly too. His wife was very sickly, and he figured that there was no use in even trying to stay in the United States. And he decided to go back to Japan. And naturally, my former husband who was the only child decided that he would go back too. They didn't have anything left in Fresno, and they all decided that if they went to Japan they have so many rentals, they have so much land they have so much money that they can live off the interest. So they chose to repatriate. I don't believe they answered the questionnaire yes or no; they just said "refuse to answer, seek repatriation." I didn't know what they were saying at the time, but I wrote the same thing. My husband had told me, "Don't answer this because this could be a very involving matter. Don't trust the government, don't trust anybody, just say you're seeking repatriation with my family." And that is the only thing that I wrote. I did not answer yes or no to the questionnaire. "Seek repatriation with the family"—that was the only thing I wrote.

That meant I was segregated to Tule Lake. . . .

But our family were [*sic*] all reunited at Tule Lake, and my brother was in Tule Lake too. The camp had already been established two years or so [sic], and a lot of original Tule Lake people were there. But with the segregation movement, those who had decided not to go back to Japan were sent to other camps. And those who were going to Japan remained there. So we were scattered to wherever there was an empty room. So my brother was way on one end, I was someplace else, my in-laws were someplace else, although we did request to have the family together as close as possible. But that wasn't done, and we stayed wherever they had assigned us.

As soon as we got there, we realized certain things were lacking. The mess hall was not quite adequate, we were not given the proportion of food that we were supposed to be given like sugar and milk and butter. We lacked lots of things. Those people who came from other Centers decided they would form a Better Living Condition Association to negotiate with the authorities. By then a lot of boys suspected that something must have been going on for them to be getting away with less food for the evacuees, less [*sic*] medical facilities and such decrepit facilities. That was organized and they started negotiating with the administration. The administration was not very cooperative, and a meeting didn't materialize. And my former husband and brother, being young and being community leaders, were naturally in that group to negotiate.

Well, one thing led to another, and before you know, they were arrested. Those who were trying to investigate the shortage of food got beaten up and thrown into the stockade, and people like my former husband who were considered leaders—anybody like Buddhist priests, or schoolteachers, or newspaper correspondents—were rounded up and sent to Justice Department camps. That was soon after we went to Tule Lake. Within three months, they were rounded up and sent to different camps.

I was separated from my husband; he went to a Santa Fe, New Mexico, camp. All our letters were censored; all our letters were cut in parts and all that. So we were not too sure what messages was getting through and not getting through, but I do know that I informed him many times of his mother's condition. He should have been allowed to come back to see her, because I thought she wouldn't live too long, but they never did allow him to come back, even for her funeral. They did not allow that. I learned that a lot of the messages didn't get to him; they were crossed out. I now have those letters with me.

In 1944 I was left with his parents and our kids. But I had no time to think of what was going to happen because my child was always so sick and I had been quite

sick. I didn't realize it until I recently got my camp records from the archives telling me that I was hospitalized many times in Tule Lake myself. My mother-in-law was quite sick, my youngest child was sick, and I'd been sick, and my other daughter was in and out of the hospital with nephritis and other things. So in fact, my son was the only one who was healthy. My husband was gone, my brother was by that time in the "bullpen," as some called the torture chamber of the Tule Lake stockade. And I had to care for my mother-in-law, who eventually died.

My son knew what was going on, and he too had many times asked me why . . . you know, why? Why? Of course, I had no explanation why this was happening to us. He said if other families decided to go out, they were able to go out. When I tried to seek permission to go out, I was denied.

I tried to remain in this country after my husband and father-in-law had gone back to Japan, but I was denied that. So naturally I had no recourse but to go back to Japan. At that time, the Justice Department, which conducted the hearing, did not give me the reason as to why my leave authorization was not granted. It was on account of that paper, the FBI report against my husband, saying that he was considered an undesirable enemy alien. So that prevented me, but I did everything possible to remain in this country.

Excerpted with permission from John Tateishi, *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

LESSON 7

The Power of Primary Source Poetry

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)

Overview

In today's lesson, students will have a chance to experience the poetry of three men who at one time or another passed through the World War II Santa Fe Department of Justice (DOJ) camp. The poetry is in the form of a *tanka* poem, a traditional Japanese poem far older than its more familiar cousin, the *haiku*. The poem has five lines that follow a pattern of five syllables, seven syllables, five syllables, seven syllables, and seven syllables. The poems in this lesson were originally written in Japanese and translated into English, so the syllable patterns don't fit exactly—the translators were more concerned with the content and emotion expressed in the poem than with the syllable count.

It was not uncommon for prisoners to be transferred frequently to and from Santa Fe, whether to be reunited with their families or to be relocated according to their responses on the loyalty questionnaire. Therefore, it cannot be said with any certainty that the poems were written in or are specific to Santa Fe.

Among the poets featured, Keiho Soga found himself in the Santa Fe camp until the end of the war in November 1945. There he founded the Santa Fe-isha *Tanka* Club. Due to copyright restrictions, this lesson is structured around only five poems, though it is strongly recommended that the teacher purchase the book *Poets Behind Barbed Wire*. (Bibliographic information is included in the Resources section of this lesson.) In addition, it might be helpful to access the Web site http://manymountains.org/ (accessed September 3, 2009), which features more poetry and exquisite calligraphy from the Santa Fe camp.

Essential Question

- How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will read poetry and then identify the event being described and the emotion being expressed.
- Students will recite and present their poetry analysis to the class.
- Students will identify major themes that express the concerns and hardships faced by the men in the Santa Fe Department of Justice camp.
- Students will write and publish their own *tanka* as a character in one of the photographs from Lesson 3.

Guiding Questions

- What can literary selections reveal about historical events?
- What can't literary selections reveal about historical events?
- What themes dominate the poetry from the Santa Fe camp?

Assessment

Students are assessed formally through the presentation of their poetry analysis and the *tanka* that they write. Assessment of the identification of themes within the *tanka* is done informally through class discussion.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 1: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- History Strand I-D PS 2: Demonstrate the ability to examine history from the perspectives of the participants.
- History Strand III-B PS 2: Describe ways in which different groups maintain their cultural heritage.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related topics and drawing inferences.

- Language Arts Strand I-D PS 1: Respond to various texts and literary selections using interpretive and evaluative reading processes by reading a variety of literary and other texts for a sustained period of time.
- Language Arts Strand II-A PS 5: Express Individual perspective in response to historical issues.
- Language Arts Strand II-C PS 2: Differentiate shades of meaning and multiple meanings of words.
- Language Arts Strand II-C PS 5: Apply the steps of a writing process within a given format from pre-writing to final draft.
- Language Arts Strand III-B PS 2: Identify recurring themes in literary works.

Materials

- *Handout 7-1:* Tanka *speaks of nature . . .* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handout 7-2:* Tanka *Poem by Muin Ozaki* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handout 7-3: Poetry Analysis*
- *Handouts 7-4a–d:* Tanka *Poetry*
- *Handout 7-5:* Tanka *Poetry Presentation Guide*
- Photographs from Lesson 3
- *Handout 7-6: How to Write a* Tanka *Poem*

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Tell the students that today they are going to be coming face to face with men who were imprisoned in the Santa Fe Department of Justice camp . . . through their poetry. Before trying to read the poetry, however, provide some information about *tanka*, the poetry form these men used. A brief description of *tanka* is found in the "Overview" section of this lesson.
-]Explain that students will be reading some of these poems in pairs and then identifying the event upon which the author is reflecting and what emotion the author is expressing. Before expecting students to do this analysis, practice the process as a whole class.
- Distribute *Handout 7-2:* Tanka *Poetry by Muin Ozaki* and put a copy on the overhead project. As they read it for the first time, mention that Ozaki was in his mid-thirties when the war began.
- Distribute *Handout 7-3: Poetry Analysis* and analyze Ozaki's poem as a class. Ask the students what event the poet is referring to (*his arrest*). Ask how they know (*the third line reads, "As I am taken prisoner"*). Next ask if they can tell what emotions the poet was feeling about that event.
  - Students often don't know how to discuss emotions, so it is helpful to use an emotion chart. There are a variety of emotion charts available: do an image search of the Web for "emotions" or "feelings." Students will probably understand that the poet is sad, but when you ask how they know that, it might be hard for them to answer. They might understand it if they can put themselves in his place: for example, he didn't get to say good-bye to his children or he comments that the night rain is "cold."
- Ask students to identify a favorite line and explain their answer. Finally, ask students to brainstorm three levels of questions for the poem, just as they did in Lesson 5. Here are some questions generated by the author's class:
  - Level One: What time of day is it? What is happening to the poet?
  - Level Two: Is he moving quietly? Did he resist arrest?
  - Level Three: Should he have awakened his children to say good-bye? Should he have resisted arrest?
- Now, distribute *Handouts 7-4a–d:* Tanka *Poetry;* every two students should have one poem to interpret. If you are using the ones included here, every fourth pair will have the same poem. If *Poets Behind Barbed Wire* is available, each pair can be given a different poem.
- A number of these poems have vocabulary that may be unfamiliar. Walk around the room providing clarification where needed. Let them know that in 15 minutes, after completing their analysis worksheet, they will have to present their poems to the class

using the steps outlined in *Handout 7-5:* Tanka *Poetry Presentation Guide*. If you are working with only four poems, you should have the pairs who are interpreting the same poems meet together. They can distribute the questions and all participate in the presentation, especially if they have different favorite lines.

- Before students present their poems, tell the class that you want them to pay close attention to each poem as it is presented, because their job is to identify the theme of each poem. Again, the larger the number of poems, the greater the repetition of themes. Have students give their presentations and then score the student responses to each question.
- After the presentations, ask students to identify the themes that they heard (*loneliness, isolation, humiliation, boredom, death, arrest, etc.*). Choose some categories and then quickly review the poems, asking the class to place each poem into one of the categories. (If you are only using the five poems on the handouts, this step is not necessary.) Ask students to explain why they think those themes might come up again and again. After allowing the conversation to dwell on these points for a while, ask: *If many poems covered the same topics or emotions, do you think it would be safe to say historically that those issues were important to the prisoners in Santa Fe? Why or why not?* In other words, review the guiding questions for the lesson:
  - What can literary selections reveal about historical events?
  - What can't literary selections reveal about historical events?
  - What themes dominate the poetry from the Santa Fe camp?
- Now it is time for students to write a *tanka* of their own as though they were part of this historical event. If students look confused, return them to the photographs in Lesson Three. Students should choose a character in one of the photographs and then write about what those characters are thinking and experiencing. Distribute *Handout 7-6: How to Write a* Tanka *Poem*. Take them through the writing process. Start with a web or an outline that has the following information:
  - Which character are you?
  - What event are you thinking of?
  - How do you feel about it?
- Do a sample *tanka*. Here is a sample the unit's author used in her class in conjunction with *Handout 3-30,* showing the construction of Manzanar:
  - I'm the man in the background walking from the camera
  - I'm thinking about what I'm building
  - I'm too old to join the Army
  - I want to do something to support the war effort
  - The family who owns the farm next to mine is Japanese American
  - They have been great neighbors for many years
  - I don't know the man I'm working with well
  - I can't talk to him about my doubts

  This was the first draft generated in the author's class:

  The government says
  Everyone must do their part
  I build barracks
  For Japanese American Inmates
  But are they really a threat?

  Once the first draft is completed, have the students check the poem for syllable count (*5, 7, 4, 10, 7*). Ask students for help adding a syllable to line 3 and reduce line 4 by 4 syllables. The author's class came up with this:

  The government says
  Everyone must do their part
  I build these barracks
  For my Japanese neighbors
  But are they really a threat?

- Once the students understand the process, have them choose the photograph they want to write about and

have them follow the writing process, just as it was modeled: pre-write, write, share and revise, and write a final copy.

Extensions

- Have students present their poems to the class.
- Have students type and publish their poems.
- Have students illustrate their poems.

Resources

http://manymountains.org/ (accessed September 1, 2009).

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

Tanka Speaks of Nature

Handout 7-1

Tanka *speaks of nature as well as human emotions and allows the reader to perceive the unsaid and the intimated.*

—Poets Behind Barbed Wire

Tanka Poem

Handout 7-2

I bid farewell
To the faces of my sleeping children
As I am taken prisoner
Into the cold night rain

—Muin Ozaki, *Poets Behind Barbed Wire*

Poetry Analysis Handout 7-3

Name _____ Period _____

1. Read the poem several times.
2. What event had the poet just experienced that made him think of writing? _____

   _____

   _____

   What clues led you to that answer? _____

   _____
3. How does the poet seem to feel about the event? _____

   _____

   What key words and phrases led you to that answer? _____

   _____
4. Write down the line that speaks most powerfully to you, then explain why you find it powerful.

   (Line) _____

   What I like about it: _____
5. Generate a Level One, Level Two, and Level Three question regarding the poem.
   - Level One _____
   - Level Two _____
   - Level Three _____
6. Practice reading the poem aloud emphasizing different words and/or lines.

Tanka Poetry

Handout 7-4a

In this desolate field
Where only weeds have grown
For millions of years,
We mournfully bury
Three comrades
Who died in vain.

—Sojin Takei, *Poets Behind Barbed Wire*

Tanka Poetry

Handout 7-4b

Like a dog
I am commanded
At a bayonet point.
My heart is inflamed
With burning anguish.

—Keiho Soga, *Poets Behind Barbed Wire*

Tanka Poetry

Handout 7-4c

"Disloyal"
With papers so stamped
I am relocated to Tule Lake.
But for myself,
A clear conscience.

—Muin Ozaki, *Poets Behind Barbed Wire*

Tanka Poetry

Handout 7-4d

My wife and children
Live in a far away land.
How lonely are the nights.
Behind these
barbed wire fences.

—Sojin Takei, *Poets Behind Barbed Wire*

Tanka Poetry
Presentation Guide

Handout 7-5

Name _____ Period _____

1. Read the poem aloud to the class.
2. Explain what event you think prompted the poet to write the poem.
3. Explain what emotions you think the poet was feeling or describe the mood he created.
4. Identify the line that speaks to you the most and explain why you find it powerful.
5. Share the most interesting question that the poem raised for you.

How to Write a *Tanka* Poem

Handout 7-6

Name _____ Period _____

Tanka is a traditional form of Japanese poetry that dates back to the fifth century. Although *haiku* is more widely known than *tanka* in the Western world, it did not evolve until the fifteenth century. The *tanka* poem is very similar to *haiku*, but *tanka* poems have more syllables and use simile, metaphor, and personification.

In Japanese, *tanka* poems are written using 31 Japanese syllables in 5 phrases. The form is fixed in the 5-7-5-7-7 syllable sequence.

Line one: 5 syllables	Beautiful mountains
Line two: 7 syllables	Rivers with cold, cold water
Line three: 5 syllables	White cold snow on rocks
Line four: 7 syllables	Trees cover the place with frost
Line five: 7 syllables	White sparkly snow everywhere.

Tanka poems are written about nature, seasons, love, sadness, and other strong emotions.

LESSON 8

Resource Analysis

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)
Note: If this type of work has already been done with the class, you may choose to omit this lesson as the unit introduction recommends.

Overview

This lesson is intended to give students a chance to think critically about the resources they have looked at and the advantages and disadvantages of each as a resource. It is intended to allow the students to summarize the ways in which each source has both advantages and disadvantages. Evaluating the "best" or most useful resource is an important aspect of the National History Day program.

Essential Question

- How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will review all the resources studied to date and evaluate them for their advantages and disadvantages.
- Students will generate questions that the resources have raised but not answered.

Guiding Questions

- What advantages and disadvantages do various sources have?
- What questions remain?
- How do historians decide what details to include and exclude when writing historical accounts?

Assessment

This lesson includes concepts and requires analysis that not every student will be able to do (or perhaps not individually). It is therefore important to complete the chart in small groups; alternately, this can be done as a whole class. Students can then write paragraphs or brief essays about the resources, with possible topics being "best," "worst," "most reliable," "most useful," "least reliable." The class should set the criteria for scoring the paragraph.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 1: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related topics and drawing inferences.

Materials

- *Handout 8-1: Analysis Chart* (handouts for students and a copy to share with the class via overhead projector)
- *Handouts 3-3a–p: Photographs for Analysis*
- *Handout 4-1:* Time-Life *Article: "Heroes Abroad, Interned at Home"*
- *Handout 5-2: Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience*
- *Handout 6-2: Memoir of Violet de Cristoforo*
- *Handouts 7-3a–d:* Tanka *Poetry*

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Start by reminding students of the four questions that have been driving the unit:
  - What is history?
  - How do we know about the past?
  - What do historians do?
  - Why become a historian?
- Today's lesson is going to deal most closely with Lesson 1's question *What do historians do?* Somewhere in the class's response, it says that historians make theories about history and decide which material should be given what degree of consideration. Ask students, *How do you think historians decide what stories to tell and what information to include when they report history?* If students aren't forthcoming, relate it to their

own lives. For example, if they have had a fight with their brother or sister and it is time to tell their parents what happened, how do they decide what details to include and what to exclude? Is the job of historians anything like that?

- Following the discussion, let students know that the purpose of this lesson is to analyze the sources that they have looked at in order to determine what those sources bring to the story they are trying to tell.
- Pass out the *Handout 8-1: Analysis Chart* and put a copy on the overhead. Beginning with *Handouts 3-3a–p: Photographs for Analysis,* fill in the chart together as a class. After gauging how well the students are doing, either continue down the chart together or have students work in groups. They should discuss each source as a group and record their answers. If they work in groups, give groups three to four minutes to discuss one source and then have the groups share out while the teacher records on the overhead the best observations the groups have made. In this way, the teacher will discover if some groups are terribly off base while still providing an opportunity for every student to be involved in the discussion.
- When the chart is completed, the students may notice that there is a final row of boxes that remain unused. If the teacher chooses to extend the lesson to include a source that they find on their own (or one that the teacher finds for them from amongst the other resources provided with this material or online), they may use the last row for that source.
- At this point, the teacher has three choices:
  - Option 1: If the discussion of resources is sufficient, Lesson 8 is done.
  - Option 2: Ask each student to complete a formal piece of writing examining one of the sources; they should justify why they think it is the best, worst, etc.
  - Option 3: Ask students to conduct independent research about the "Questions Raised" column from *Handout 8-1*. The students should summarize their findings in a paragraph. Here are some questions that were raised in the author's classroom:
    - Were there Japanese Americans living in New Mexico before the camps? If so, what happened to them following Pearl Harbor?
    - What did the people of Santa Fe think about the camp?
    - What was it like to live in the camp at Santa Fe?
    - Was there ever any resistance or fighting at the camp in Santa Fe?

Extensions

- Have students rank the sources in terms of "reliability" or "usefulness" and justify their rankings. Students should be prepared to explain and defend their rankings. Then conduct a living bar graph depicting students and their rankings. To make a living bar graph, put up posters with the names of the various source on them and then ask students to line up in front of the source they had ranked "1." The clusters can be easily seen, and it provides the opportunity to engage in conversations between students who had ranked sources dramatically differently.

Analysis Chart Handout 8-1

Name _____ Period _____

Source	Primary or Secondary? Why?	Author	Advantages	Disadvantages	Questions Raised
WRA Photographs					
Time-Life Article: "Heroes Abroad, Interned at Home"					
Selected Timeline of the Japanese American World War II Experience					
Memoir of Violet de Cristoforo					
Tanka Poetry					

Making History: A Recipe

Time

1 to 2 class periods (60 minutes per period)
Note: If this type of work has already been done with the class, you may choose to omit this lesson as the unit introduction recommends.

Overview

This is the final lesson, and it returns students full circle back to the first lesson by creatively synthesizing their work. This lesson should be seen as more of a final project than a lesson, and the teacher must carefully explain expectations to the students.

Essential Question

- How will I make history?

Objectives

- Students will synthesize the work done in order to understand the process of writing a complete history.
- Students will evaluate what aspects of historical investigation are most important.
- Students will write a recipe for "Making History."

Guiding Question

- How do historians "make history?"

Assessment

Students are formally assessed on the recipe they write.

New Mexico Content Standards

- History Strand I-D PS 1: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related topics and drawing inferences.

Materials

- *Handout 9-1: Peanut Butter Cookie Recipe*
- *Handout 9-2: Prewriting Worksheet*

Activities and Teaching Strategies

- Start by asking students if they cook. If they do, is their preference to use a recipe? Ask students to explain what a recipe is.
- Explain that since the class has been learning what historians do, it is time to see if students can express their understanding of that process.
- Introduce *Handout 9-1: Peanut Butter Cookie Recipe*, explaining how each section of the recipe relates to the whole and how that will relate to the students' recipe for "making history."
- Provide students with *Handout 9-2: Prewriting Worksheet* and let them get to work. You may choose to have them work in pairs, in teams, or individually. Use whatever writing process systems you like for prewriting, rough drafts, editing, and final drafts.

Extensions

- Have students present their recipes to the class.
- Have students type and publish their recipes.
- Have students illustrate their recipes.

Peanut Butter Cookie Recipe

Handout 9-1

Name _____ Period _____

Title (Tell us what we are making.)	**Peanut Butter Cookies**
Introduction (Give us some general information about "Making History.")	Basically, while the ingredients for all cookies are the same—flour, shortening, eggs, leavening, liquid, flavorings—the proportions vary, producing the soft or stiff doughs that make possible the many delightful kinds of cookies.
Tips (Give one or two tips we need to keep in mind that will help us do a better job when "Making History.")	The mixer will help you whip up a batch of cookies in no time. However, if you're using a spoon, use a wooden one with a comfortable, long handle so you can mix, stir, and beat effectively. To prevent overbaking, remove cookies from cookie sheets to racks as soon as they come from the oven, unless the recipe directs otherwise.
Ingredients (Tell us everything we would need to do a good historical investigation and in what proportion.)	2 ¼ cups all-purpose flour 1 cup creamy peanut butter ⅔ cup honey ½ cup sugar 2 eggs ½ teaspoon baking powder
Directions (Tell us the sequence of conducting a historical investigation and why we need to go in that order.)	Up to two weeks before serving: Preheat oven to 350° F. Into a large bowl, measure all ingredients. With mixer at medium speed, beat ingredients until well mixed, occasionally scraping bowl. With hands, shape dough into 1½-inch balls. Place balls 3 inches apart on cookie sheet. Dip a fork into flour and press deeply across top of each cookie. Repeat in opposite direction. Bake 15 minutes or until lightly browned. With pancake turner, immediately remove cookies to wire racks to cool.

Prewriting Worksheet

Handout 9-2

Name _____ Period _____

Title (Tell us what we are making.)	
Introduction (Give us some ideas about how history is similar to or different from other research and why we might want to make history.)	
Tips (Brainstorm one or two tips we need to keep in mind that will help us do a better job when "Making History." What do we need to be careful of?)	
Ingredients (Tell us everything we would need to do a good historical investigation and in what proportion.)	
Directions (Tell us how to sequence our historical investigation and why we need to go in that order.)	

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. **

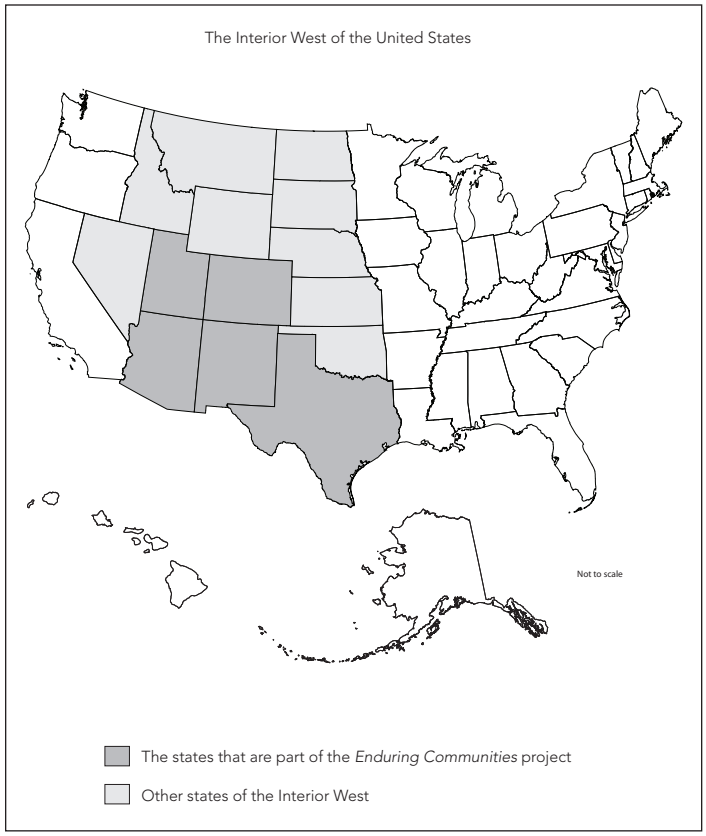
** Crystal City among DOJ sites is notable for having operated similarly to a WRA concentration camp. German and Italian enemy aliens who were treated separately and Latin American Japanese, primarily from Peru who had been involuntarily deported to the United States, also were confined at Crystal City. 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/wyo_hist/Japanese.htm (accessed July 11, 2009).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

49 See ibid., 105-15 passim.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

support, the amendment was defeated.[54]

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

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

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

> On August 16, 1934, 600 Caucasian farmers met in Glendale to decide how to rid the [Salt River] valley of their Japanese competitors. At a rally the following day, more than 150 cars paraded through town. One carried a banner that read:
>
> WE DON'T NEED ASIATICS
> JAP MOVING DAY AUGUST 25TH, WE MEAN IT

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

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

56 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

57 Ibid., pp. 9–10.

58 Ibid.

MOVE OUT BY SATURDAY NOON AUGUST 25TH
OR BE MOVED

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

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

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

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

59 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

60 Ibid., p. 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

65 Russell, "Arizona Divided," pp. 44, 46.

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

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

68 Ibid., 53-55.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

75 See Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995). For Miyasaki's articulation of his study's tripartite theoretical base, see "Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West," pp. 1-3.

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

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

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

Ishio's verbal flag-waving, as Miyasaki explains, foreshadowed "the policy the JACL and its allies would use in the months and years after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor."[79] Moreover, because the national JACL increasingly relied on those chapters constituting the organization's newly organized Intermountain District Council[80] (which just weeks before Pearl Harbor held its second annual convention in Pocatello, Idaho, with the theme of "Thank God I am an American")[81] for membership and funding support during the war, the "local" survival discourse of

76 Ibid., iii-iv.
77 Ibid., 4.
78 Ibid., pp. 68-69. The gold standard for the articulation of the JACL's discourse of citizenship was achieved the previous year by Mike Masaoka in his widely circulated "Japanese-American Creed" (for this creed, see ibid., p. 67). By way of prefacing it, Miyasaki notes that Masaoka's creed "represents his feelings as an intermountain Nisei" and characterizes it as "the first written manifestation of the policies the JACL supported during World War II." Miyasaki alludes to precursors to this brand of nationalistic boosterism in Utah, such as the *Rei Nei Magazine*; this periodical was published in the 1920s in Salt Lake City explicitly to "promote patriotism," and the existence of an informal Salt Lake City-based organization in the 1930s, the Rei Nei Kwai, that "often found ways to perform . . . patriotic fervor" (ibid., pp. 63-64).
79 Ibid., p. 69.
80 Ibid., p. 89.
81 Ibid., p. 72.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

86 Ibid., pp. 129-30.

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

87 Bill Hosokawa, *Colorado's Japanese Americans from 1886 to the Present* (2005); Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture* (1992); Mike Mackey, ed., *Guilty by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West* (2001); Andrew Russell, "Arizona Divided" (2003); Susie Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona" (1973); Kumiko Takahara, *Off the Fat of the Land: The* Denver Post's *Story of the Japanese American Internment during World War II* (2003); Eric Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County: Development and Persistence in the Valley of the Sun, 1900-1940" (1997), "From Kumamoto to Idaho: The Influence of Japanese Immigrants on the Agricultural Development of the Interior West" (2000), and "Japanese Settlement in the Intermountain West, 1882-1946" (2001); and Charles Ynfante, *The Transformation of Arizona into a Modern State*: *The Contribution of War to the Modernization Process* (2002).

88 Ellen Schoening Aiken, "The *United Mine Workers of America* Moves West: Race, Working Class Formation, and the Discourse of Cultural Diversity in the Union Pacific Coal Towns of Southern Wyoming, 1870-1930" (2002); Kara Allison Schubert Carroll, "Coming to Grips with America: The Japanese American Experience in the Southwest" (2009); Barbara Hickman, "Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming, 1891-1945" (1989); Kara Miyagishima, "Colorado's *Nikkei* Pioneers: Japanese Americans in Twentieth Century Colorado" (2007); Joel Tadao Miyasaki, "Claiming a Place in the Intermountain West: Japanese American Ethnic Identity in Utah and Idaho" (2006); Tom I. Romero, Jr., "Of Race and Rights: Legal Culture, Social Change, and the Making of a Multiracial Metropolis, Denver 1940-1975 (2004); Andrew Benjamin Russell, "American Dreams Derailed: Japanese Railroad and Mine Communities of the Interior West" (2003) and "Friends, Neighbors, Foes and Invaders: Conflicting Images and Experiences of Japanese Americans in Wartime Nevada" (1996); Eric Walz, "Japanese Immigration and Community Building in the Interior West, 1812-1945" (1998) and "Masayoshi Fujimoto: Japanese Diarist, Idaho Farmer" (1994); and R. Todd Welker, "Sweet Dreams in Sugar Land: Japanese Farmers, Mexican Farm Workers, and Northern Utah Beet Production" (2002).

89 Since books are much easier to access and use than articles, the references here pertain only to books. Listed by state, they represent but a select sampling of those rendered within an interethnic/multicultural context: (Arizona) Brad Melton and Dean Smith, *Arizona Goes to War: The Home Front and the Front Lines during World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003) ; (Colorado) Adam Schrager, *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2008); (Idaho) Robert Hayashi, *Haunted by Waters: A Journey through Race and Place in the American West* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2007); (New Mexico) Richard Chalfen, *Turning Leaves: The Photograph Collections of Two Japanese American Families* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,1991) and Everett M. Rogers and Nancy R. Bartlit, *Silent Voices of World War II: When Sons of the Land of Enchantment Met Sons of the Land of the Rising Sun* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2005); (Oklahoma) Juli Ann Nishimuta, *The Nishimutas: An Oral History of a Japanese and Spanish Family* (New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2006); (Texas) Irwin A. Tang, ed., *Asian Texans: Our Histories and Our Lives* (Austin, TX: The It Works, 2007) and Thomas K. Walls, *The Japanese Texans* (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1987); and (*Utah*) Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Stone, *Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2000) and Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1991).

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

90 The following state-by-state entries for websites pertaining to the Interior West Japanese American experience are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to provide information that is particularly relevant, interesting, reliable, useful, and, when possible, interethnic/multicultural: (Arizona) Naomi Miller, "Racial Identity in Balance," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 7, 2004, http://chronicle.com/article/Racial-Identity-in-Balance/44738/ (accessed August 15, 2009); (Colorado); "History of Longmont," *ColoradoInfo*, http://coloradoinfo.com/longmont/history (accessed August 15, 2009), Takeya Mizuno, "Keep and Use It for the Nation's War Policy: The Office of Facts and Figures and Its Use of the Japanese-Language Press from Pearl Harbor to Mass Internment," http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0309D&L=aejmc&P=7317 (accessed August 15, 2009), and Takeya Mizuno, "To Suppress or Not to Suppress, That is the Question: Pros and Cons Over the Suppression of the Japanese-Language Press from Pearl Harbor to Mass Evacuation," http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0411a&L=aejmc&P=11852 (accessed August 15, 2009); (Idaho) Laurie Mercier, "Japanese Americans in the Columbia River Basin," http://www.vancouver.wsu.edu/crbeha/ja/ja.htm (accessed August 15, 2009); (Nebraska) Twin Cities Development Association, Inc., "Cultural Diversity [in Southern Panhandle of Nebraska]," http://www.tcdne.org/cultural.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), and "Sugar Beet Production in Nebraska," Panhandle Research and Extension Center, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, http://panhandle.unl.edu/web/panhandlerec/sugarbeet_nebhistory (accessed August 15, 2009); (Nevada) "Japanese-American Experience," University of Nevada, Reno, Oral History Program, http://oralhistory.unr.edu/JapanWW.html (accessed August 15, 2009), and Joan Whitely, "Bill Tomiyasu (1882-1969)," Stephens Press, http://www.1st100.com/part1/tomiyasu.html (accessed August 15, 2009); (Oklahoma) Dianna Everett, "Asians [in Oklahoma]," Oklahoma Historical Society, *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/A/AS006.html (accessed August 15, 2009); (Wyoming) Western Wyoming Community College, *Wyoming History*, http://www.wwcc.cc.wy.us/wyo_hist/toc.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), and Cynde Georgen, "Subjects of the Mikado: The Rise and Fall of Sheridan County's Japanese Community, 1900-1930, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wyoming/ar-sheridanmikado.htm (accessed August 15, 2009); (New Mexico) "Albuquerque Ethnic Cultures Survey," http://www.abqarts.org/cultural/survey/index.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), "Japanese Americans – City of Albuquerque," http://www.cabq.gov/humanrights/public-information-and-education/diversity-booklets/asi... (accessed August 15, 2009), and Brian Minami, "Justice Camp Remembered in Santa Fe," April 20, 2002, http://manymountains.org/santa-fe-marker/020420.sfemonument.php (accessed August 15, 2009); (Texas); "The Japanese Texans," The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, http://www.texancultures.utsa.edu/publications/texasnoneandall/japanese.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), "Japanese-Texans," *Texas Almanac*, http://www.texasalmanac.com/culture/groups/japanese.html (accessed August 15, 2009), and "Texas Since World War II," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/TT/npt2.html (accessed August 15, 2009); (Utah) Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Peoples of Utah" (updated by Phil Notarianni), *Utah History to Go*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/peoplesofutah.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Raymond S. Uno, "Minority Racial and Ethnic Mix of Utah," Utah Minority Bar Association, February 2005, http://www.utahbar.org/bars/umba/judge_uno_racial_ethnic_mix.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, "Japanese Life in Utah," *Utah History to Go*, http://hisorytogo.utah.gov/people/ethic_cultgures/the_peoples_of_utah/japaneselifeinutah (accessed August 15, 2009), Nancy Taniguchi, "Japanese Immigrants in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, http://www.media.utah.edu/UHE/j/JAPANESE.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Barre Toelken, "Dancing with the Departed: Japanese Obon in the American West," http://www.worldandi.com/specialreport/1994/august/Sa11588.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), and Joel Tadao Miyasaki, "Mike Masaoka and the Mormon Process of Americanization," *The Juvenile Instructor*, March 22, 2008, http://www.juvenileinstructor.org/mike-masaoka-and-the-mormon-process-of-americanization (accessed August 15, 2009).

91 The author would like to extend his profound appreciation to Sherri Schottlaender for her remarkable work in copy-editing the present essay. The time, energy, and intelligence she invested in this undertaking far exceeded reasonable expectations. Her efforts not only greatly improved the essay, but also provided the author with an invaluable learning experience.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in the Interior West

(Compiled by Arthur A. Hansen)

1882 • U.S. Congress passes the Chinese Exclusion Act, essentially cutting off Chinese immigration and creating a demand for Japanese labor for the American West's railroad, mining, and agricultural industries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1925 • Kansas enacts an anti-Japanese land law

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

1940 • U.S. Census reports Japanese American population of Interior West to be 9,624, a numerical loss reflecting the Depression's impact

1941 • Mike Masaru Masaoka, a Mormon from Salt Lake City, Utah, becomes executive secretary of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL); Japan bombs U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i, an act that precipitates America's entry into World War II and marks the beginning of arrests of Nikkei and the imposition of restrictive measures on the Japanese American community

1942 • President Franklin Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066, setting the stage for the mass removal of people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast and detention in U.S. Army, Department of Justice, and War Relocation Authority (WRA) concentration camps sited mostly in Interior West states; Fred Isamu Wada departs Oakland, California, with 21 people, en route to Keetley, Utah, to form Keetley Farms, a "voluntary resettler" community in the Interior West; U.S. Army issues Public Proclamation No. 4, which effectively ends the period of "voluntary evacuation" responsible for a substantial migration of West Coast Japanese Americans into the "free zone" states of the Interior West; JACL moves its national headquarters from San Francisco to Salt Lake City; U.S. government authorizes two Nikkei newspapers in Denver, Colorado (the *Colorado Times* and the *Rocky Nippon/Shimpo*) and two in Salt Lake City (the *Utah Nippo* and the *Pacific Citizen*) to serve as the "Free Zone" Japanese American wartime press; emergency meeting of JACL leaders

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

1943 • Utah and Wyoming pass anti-Japanese land laws

1944 • Native Nebraskan Ben Kuroki, an Army Air Corps sergeant, achieves acclaim as Japanese America's first war hero upon completing 28 bombing missions in the European Theater, and then goes by order of the U.S. War Department on a controversial morale-raising tour of three Interior West WRA camps; two federal trials are held in Cheyenne, Wyoming, for Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee draft resisters and their leaders, and another federal trial, for treason, is held in Denver for three Nisei sisters charged with assisting in the escape of two German prisoners of war that they met when all five were working on a Trinidad, Colorado, farm; U.S. government removes restrictions preventing resettlement of Japanese Americans on the West Coast, which catalyzes a steady migration in the following years from the Interior West to California, Oregon, and Washington

1945 • World War II ends

1946 • JACL holds its first postwar biennial convention in Denver, at which former Colorado governor Ralph Carr, the keynote speaker, is feted for being the only Interior West governor to welcome West Coast Nikkei to resettle in his respective state after Pearl Harbor

1948 • JACL holds its second postwar biennial convention in Salt Lake City

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

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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 New Mexico

Andrew B. Russell

New Mexicans have been celebrating their racial and cultural diversity long before most other Americans. Comprising Native Americans, Latinos, and Euro Americans, the New Mexico mosaic, often described as a "tricultural society," is actually much more complex. This part of the Southwest is the ancestral homeland of a variety of Indian people, including the Pueblo, Navajo, Apache, and Comanche. More than four hundred years ago it became the northern frontier of Spain's vast empire and was settled by people representing Spanish, Indian, African, and mixed bloodlines. The "conquest" of the Southwest by Americans in the 1800s brought new multitudes to the territory's military forts, supply stations, railroads, mines, boomtowns, ranches, and homesteads; the majority were "European Americans" (with ancestral roots in various parts of Europe), but many African Americans, Chinese, and Mexicans also came to explore opportunities. While this great mixing of humanity certainly spawned some epic conflicts, from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 through the wars against the Navajo and Apache in the late 1800s, on the whole New Mexico has earned its reputation as a place where diversity rules and racists fair poorly.

This tolerant landscape provides a unique backdrop for studying Japanese Americans in the West. On the surface at least, Japanese Americans, or Nikkei, seemed to gain little ground in New Mexico until World War II. Few came to settle in the state, and no more than 300 Nikkei were counted by census-takers between 1900 and 1950. Despite the small number of Nikkei living there, New Mexico joined other states in passing an alien land law, and the state supported anti-Japanese immigration restrictions in the 1920s. During World War II two major Japanese internment camps were located in New Mexico. That said, the low settlement figures closely resemble those of Nevada, Arizona, Wyoming, and Texas. If prejudice had its effects, it seems that no sizable anti-Japanese movement ever existed here. As for New Mexico's reaction to the World War II "Japanese question," it was decidedly mixed, molded in part by New Mexican influences but largely by federal intervention.

Japanese immigrants, the Issei, were slow to discover New Mexico: in 1900 the U.S. Census counted only eight, but the figure had increased to 250 by 1910. Lured mainly by coal-mining jobs, hundreds of Issei passed through New Mexico in that decade. Most worked in the mines around Gallup, Madrid, and Raton. Other Japanese contract workers harvested sugar beets in some of the valleys north of Santa Fe. These crews of recent immigrants came via Japanese labor contractors based elsewhere but were supervised locally by a Japanese "boss" such as Masatomo Nakanishi (who reportedly managed 300 Japanese coal miners in the Albuquerque-Madrid region in these early days).

Throughout the second decade of the twentieth century, some Japanese men found permanent work in the mines and on the railroads of New Mexico, and a few moved into farming. A handful of Japanese women also arrived and married, becoming the cornerstones of a number of small family-based communities that dotted the New Mexico map by 1920; these pioneer couples gave birth to a Nisei generation that would soon outnumber Issei in the state.

Powerful forces worked against Japanese settlers in the West, with federal immigration laws and alien land laws in particular stifling ambitions in New Mexico. The earliest rumblings of these California-based exclusion campaigns were not felt in the territory, which was struggling toward statehood in 1912 (although New Mexico's "sister state," Arizona, passed its first land law a year later). New Mexico joined those pushing for exclusion in 1921 when the state legislature amended the Constitution to bar "alien" (meaning Japanese) individuals or partnerships from acquiring "title, leasehold, or other interest in or to real estate in New Mexico." Republican Governor Mer-

ritt C. Mechem had received a mass of anti-Japanese propaganda and instruction from the V. S. McClatchy, editor of the Sacramento Bee, and he pushed his lawmakers to act. New Mexican voters approved the amendment, but how "homegrown" the anti-Japanese sentiment involved in that action involved is not clear.

Only a few Japanese families had acquired New Mexico farmland prior to 1920— lands were tied up in old Spanish/Mexican land grants and Indian reservations, there were homesteading restrictions, and available lands were often in marginal condition, so it is not difficult to understand why this was the case. A dozen or so Japanese farmers did help to pioneer agriculture in the still underdeveloped Mesilla and Las Cruces districts. They arrived in the late teens to plant traditional crops such as wheat, corn, beans, and sugar beets, but tenacious and willing to experiment, they soon began growing various so-called truck crops, including cantaloupes, onions, cabbage, peas, and tomatoes. The Tashiro and Nakayama families built thriving operations that survived a general shutdown of farms during the Great Depression, and their business expanded well into the 1950s. Roy M. Nakayama, a Nisei member of the family, earned a doctorate in agricultural science, taught and did fieldwork for New Mexico State University, and developed the important NuMex Big Jim variety of green chile, as well as the Nakayama Scale, which measures the hotness of chiles. A few others, including the Togami, Yonemoto, Ebina, and Mizunuma families, migrated into New Mexico during the 1920s and 1930s to lease land and farm around Bluewater, Grants, and Albuquerque.

Despite the success of some Japanese in agricultural enterprises, in the prewar decades, railroad work sustained a majority of Nikkei families. The Santa Fe Railway alone employed scores of Japanese trackmen and craft workers in its repair shops. Western railroads also favored Japanese section foremen to supervise track maintenance crews of mixed ethnicity during this period. The onset of World War II threatened to erase these modest inroads made by the Japanese in New Mexico. Most vulnerable were the railroad workers and their families living on or near the nation's vital transportation/communication systems. In the immediate aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the Department of Justice sent confused signals as to whether Japanese nationals could continue working. The Santa Fe Railway and some other railroads pulled Japanese employees off their jobs within days, ultimately terminating them and "excluding" them from company homes and property.

This development caused extreme hardship for a significant number of Japanese New Mexicans. The worst effects were felt in Clovis, where about 30 Japanese Americans lived under house arrest for a month before being "evacuated" from Clovis to an abandoned and isolated Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Lincoln County. Local factors, such as physical and cultural isolation, resentment over seniority rights, and Clovis's proximity to "Little Texas" (oil fields located at the eastern and southern fringes of the state), contributed to this tragedy.

Elsewhere, however, the state's trademark tolerance seemed to prevail. The Japanese families of Gallup received especially kind treatment from local residents and officials, who reportedly banned together and signed a petition to resist any efforts to intern the local Japanese, and incredibly, Gallup High School students elected two Nisei students as senior class presidents during the war. Most eligible Nisei sons of the state served with the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT). By luck or design, the devastating line of exclusion that wrecked so many Japanese and Japanese American lives on the West Coast and in Arizona stopped abruptly at the New Mexico border. Still, between lost railroad wages, confiscated property, and a variety of newly instituted restrictions, the Nikkei of New Mexico suffered considerably.

Newspapers and other period documents testify to increased anti-Japanese wartime sentiment in the

state. A great many New Mexicans stationed in the Philippines suffered through the Bataan Death March and experienced years of abuse in Japanese prison camps, which generated misplaced fears, anger, and lingering frustration. Racial hatred also surfaced over a plan—which failed—to establish farming colonies in New Mexico that would accommodate tens of thousands of Japanese Americans being forcibly expelled from the West Coast. Federal authorities did build two large internment camps in New Mexico on the outskirts of Santa Fe and Lordsburg.

Unlike the larger mass concentration camps in other states established by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the official internment camps were creations of the Department of Justice, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and the Army. Roughly 800 Issei "enemy aliens," arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other authorities during the early part of the war, arrived at the Santa Fe camp in May of 1942. By the following summer, the INS-administered Santa Fe facility housed close to 1,900 people; the Lordsburg camp held about 600 internees by then, who were guarded by Army Military Police units. The prisoners held in Santa Fe and Lordsburg represented the economic, intellectual, and creative elite of the Japanese American community: businessmen, writers, editors, artists, teachers, former military officers, and community leaders.

The government treated the internees like prisoners of war and basically ran the camps according to the rules of the Geneva Convention. Living conditions were crude. Although relatively few problems seem to have occurred, the history of the Lordsburg camp was punctuated by the shooting deaths of two weak and aged Issei in 1942 who were alleged to be trying to escape. In addition, a brief riot disrupted camp operations in Santa Fe for a time in 1945, a situation that stemmed from the importation to the camp of more than 350 men who had been identified as "troublemakers" and removed from the Tule Lake Segregation Center in California. A handful of Kibei (American-born Nisei educated in Japan) in the Tule Lake group began to engage in pro-Japan activities and in the process intimidate some of the peaceful Issei internees, prompting a minor revolt and crackdown by authorities. These men—and others identified as troublemakers from various camps—were subsequently sent either to Lordsburg or to another segregation facility known as "the stinker camp," located at Fort Stanton in Lincoln County.

Overarching federal decisions such as those to summarily dismiss Nikkei railroaders and to place internment camps in the state magnify New Mexico's role in a larger narrative. The Bataan saga and the building here of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan created other uncomfortable links between New Mexico and Japan in the war years. Conversely, the modest increase in the so-called free Japanese American population of New Mexico during and just after the war points to another side of a complex legacy.

From the 1940s to the present, Japanese Americans have made many important contributions to the fabled multicultural landscape of New Mexico. Noteworthy individuals have made significant impacts in the areas of agriculture and education, art and architecture, military service and civic affairs, including Nakayama's development of the beloved Big Jim Chile; the Monastery of Christ in the Desert near Abiquiu, designed by famed architect and woodworker George Nakashima; and the Miyamura Veterans Park and I-40 overpass in Gallup named after Hiroshi "Hershey" Miyamura, recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor for his feats of bravery during the Korean War. The importance of Japanese Americans is also reflected in the work of postwar arrivals such as Satoye "Ruth" Hashimoto, who settled here in the early 1950s. Among other honors stemming from her work on behalf of the United Nations Association, the United Nations Children's Fund, Sister Cities Inter-

national, and Japanese American Redress, Hashimoto was invited to the White House for the signing of the Civil Liberties Act in 1988. She has since received the Living Treasure of New Mexico Award, the Woman of the Twentieth Century Award, the Japanese Emperor's Medal, and induction into the New Mexico Women's Hall of Fame.

This enduring legacy is also reflected in a wide variety of Japanese American clubs, businesses, and annual celebrations which endure in this Land of Enchantment. While it has remained rather small in membership, the Albuquerque-based New Mexico chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), which dates back to 1946, hosts the annual Aki Matsuri Celebration. Links between the Sister Cities of Albuquerque and Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture, were forged in 1966 and remain strong. Numerous Japanese restaurants can be found in the state's larger cities, as well as clubs dedicated to teaching and preserving Japanese martial arts, bonsai, flower arranging, and taiko drumming. Albuquerque is home to the Kyokai Buddhist Community association, and several Zen centers dot the state map as well. These organizations, businesses, and events are rather amazing reflections of cultural persistence, given that the 2000 U.S. census counted only 1,593 Japanese Americans living in New Mexico.

Another benchmark was achieved in 2006 when New Mexicans voted to amend the state's constitution to remove the obsolete anti-Japanese land law. As we celebrate this achievement, we should also ask why New Mexico lagged so far behind other states in taking this step (and why the same ballot question had failed just a few elections back). We should reflect as well on the uproar and anti-Japanese sentiments that surfaced in 1999 over plans to establish a modest historical marker near the site of the Santa Fe internment camp (the marker was placed in 2002).

Like so many ethnic groups, Japanese Americans have become an integral part of the diversity that is New Mexico, but the sum of their experiences reflects a mixed legacy of tolerance and intolerance, successes and setbacks, and long-term contributions and accomplishments, none of which have been fully explored. Indeed, a wide audience can profit from further study into the peculiar history of the Nikkei in New Mexico, a history still being written today.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in New Mexico

(Compiled by Andrew B. Russell)

1900 • U.S. Census counts eight Japanese in the New Mexico Territory

1907 • So-called Gentlemen's Agreement greatly reduces Japanese immigration

1910 • U.S. Census counts 250 Japanese in New Mexico Territory

1912 • New Mexico and Arizona gain statehood

1913 • California and Arizona pass tough anti-Japanese alien land laws

1915 • Number of Japanese women arriving in New Mexico begins to grow

1918 • Japanese farmers settle in Doña Ana County

1921 • New Mexico adds anti-alien land law amendment to state constitution

1922 • Ten Japanese railroad workers in Clovis work through major shop strike

1930 • U.S. Census counts 249 Japanese Americans in New Mexico

1940 • U.S. Census counts 186 Japanese Americans in New Mexico (72 Issei; 114 Nisei)

1941 • Japanese workers dismissed from Santa Fe Railway

1942 • Workers in Clovis and their families removed to Baca Ranch camp, Lincoln County
• Santa Fe and Lordsburg internment camps established; two Japanese internees later killed at Lordsburg camp
• General John DeWitt sets up military zones along the West Coast; Western evacuation zone ends at New Mexico border
• News of horrors of Bataan Death March reaches New Mexico

1945 • Small "riot" occurs at the Santa Fe internment camp
• Atomic bombs, built in New Mexico, are dropped on Japan, ending World War II

1946 • New Mexico chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is established

1950 • U.S. Census counts 251 Japanese Americans in New Mexico

1953 • New Mexican Hiroshi H. Miyamura is awarded Congressional Medal of Honor

1966 • Albuquerque (USA) and Sasebo (Japan) become Sister Cities

1988 • President Ronald Reagan signs Civil Liberties Act, in which the U.S. government officially apologized for incarcerating Japanese Americans and authorized monetary reparations

1989 • Satoye "Ruth" Hashimoto is inducted into New Mexico Women's Hall of Fame

1998 • Department of Justice extends redress to victims of railroad/mine firings

1999 • Opposition surfaces over plan to establish Santa Fe camp historic marker

2000 • U.S. Census counts 1,593 Japanese Americans in New Mexico

2002 • Santa Fe Internment Camp marker is placed at Frank S. Ortiz Park

2006 • Gallup Veterans Park is dedicated to Hiroshi "Hershey" Miyamura
• New Mexico repeals its anti-alien land law

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

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