

ENDURING COMMUNITIES

Texas Curriculum Units*

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



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enduringcommunities



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369 East First Street, Los Angeles, CA 90012

Tel 213.625.0414 | Fax 213.625.1770 | janm.org | janmstore.com

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Enduring Communities



Photo by Richard M. Murakami

Texas Curriculum Writing Team

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

Project Managers

Allyson Nakamoto
Jane Nakasako
Cheryl Toyama

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

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

[University of Colorado, Boulder](#)

[University of New Mexico](#)

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

[Davis School District, Utah](#)



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

Project Overview

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

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

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

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

Introduction to the Curricular Units

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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

Author

G. Salvador Gutierrez
San Antonio, Texas

Name of Unit

Rights and Responsibilities:
Securing the Blessings of Liberty

Suggested Grade Level(s)

5

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies, English Language Arts and Reading

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536049/Local Identifier 210-G-A72



Unit Map

Author

G. Salvador Gutierrez
San Antonio, Texas

Name of Unit

Rights and Responsibilities:
Securing the Blessings of Liberty

Suggested Grade Level(s)

5

Subject Area(s)

Social Studies, English Language Arts and Reading

Number of Class Periods Required

5 class periods (45 minutes per period), plus approximately 3 additional weeks of research time in the library and/or computer lab

Essential Question

- Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

Guiding Questions

Lesson 1: The Causes and Effects of the Bombing of Pearl Harbor

- Why did the U.S. enter World War II?
- What other casualties (loss of life, property, freedom) were caused by the bombing of Pearl Harbor?
- How were people of all cultures affected by World War II?

Lesson 2: Life in “Camp”

- What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like in a War Relocation Authority (WRA) camp during World War II?

Lesson 3: Life in “Camp” from a Child’s Perspective

- What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like for a child in a World War II War Relocation Authority (WRA) camp?
- Did children in camp go to school?
- What activities were children in camp permitted to do?

Lesson 4: Redress

- What does *redress* mean?
- Do you feel that redress was owed to Japanese Americans?
- Do you feel that more was owed to Japanese Americans in addition to redress?

Lesson 5: Class PowerPoint Presentation

- (See Essential Question)

Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS)

Social Studies

- (5) History. The student understands important issues, events, and individuals of the 20th century in the United States. The student is expected to:
 - (A) analyze various issues and events of the 20th century such as urbanization, industrialization, increased use of oil and gas, world wars, and the Great Depression.
- (16) Government. The student understands important ideas in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. The student is expected to:
 - (B) explain the purposes of the U.S. Constitution as identified in the Preamble to the Constitution.

English Language Arts and Reading

- (24) Research/Gathering Sources. Students determine, locate, and explore the full range of relevant sources addressing a research question and systematically record the information they gather. Students are expected to:
 - (A) follow the research plan to collect data from

a range of print and electronic resources (e.g., reference texts, periodicals, Web pages, online sources) and data from experts;

(B) differentiate between primary and secondary sources;

(C) record data, utilizing available technology (e.g., word processors) in order to see the relationships between ideas and convert graphic/visual data (e.g., charts, diagrams, timelines) into written notes;

(D) identify the source of notes (e.g., author, title, page number) and record bibliographic information concerning those sources according to a standard format; and

(E) differentiate between paraphrasing and plagiarism and identify the importance of citing valid and reliable sources.

(25) Research/Synthesizing Information. Students clarify research questions and evaluate and synthesize collected information. Students are expected to:

(A) refine the major research question, if necessary, guided by the answers to a secondary set of questions; and

(B) evaluate the relevance, validity, and reliability of sources for the research.

(26) Research/Organizing and Presenting Ideas. Students organize and present their ideas and information according to the purpose of the research and their audience. Students are expected to synthesize the research into a written or an oral presentation that:

(A) compiles important information from multiple sources;

(B) develops a topic sentence, summarizes findings, and uses evidence to support conclusions;

(C) presents the findings in a consistent format; and

(D) uses quotations to support ideas and an

appropriate form of documentation to acknowledge sources (e.g., bibliography, works cited).

Teacher Overview

This unit allows students to hone their research, writing, presentation, and technological skills while working in groups to tell a chapter of history that is little known and not necessarily covered in the fifth-grade Social Studies curriculum. To build students' knowledge, several lessons contain primary sources, and it is recommended that children's books be read aloud to the class.

The research generated by the small groups will ultimately be incorporated into a class PowerPoint presentation. This presentation will be assessed by the class as a whole, thus making students accountable to themselves, their small groups, and eventually the entire class.

Prior to starting this unit, it is highly recommended that the teacher does the following:

- Read the overviews and timelines about the Japanese American experience found in the Resources and References section accompanying this unit.
- Read the article "Terminology and the Japanese American Experience" found in the Resources and References section accompanying this unit.
- Reserve blocks of time in the school computer lab and/or library for research.
- Locate, preview, and bookmark Web sites needed for student research. To get students started, a few Web addresses are listed in Lesson 1.

To build content background, throughout the course of this unit specific related children's books are recommended and should be read aloud; in addition, the lessons contain a number of photographs and documents.



Note about the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS)

This unit cites the 2009 Social Studies and English Language Arts and Reading TEKS. Updates for Social Studies are expected to be available in 2010 but were not available at the time of printing.

LESSON 1

The Causes and Effects of the Bombing of Pearl Harbor

10

Time

1 class period (45 minutes per period)

Overview

To begin this unit, the class will review the portion of the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, which states that it sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.” This quote serves as an introduction to the unit’s examination of the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.

This lesson lays out the expectation that throughout the course of the unit students will be responsible for working independently, in small groups, and as a class to produce a group PowerPoint presentation about the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.

Essential Question

- Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

Objectives

- Students will understand the causes and effects of the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Guiding Question(s)

- Why did the U.S. enter World War II?
- What other casualties (loss of life, property, freedom) were caused by the bombing of Pearl Harbor?
- How were people of all cultures affected by World War II?

Materials

- State-approved Social Studies textbook with information about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.
- *Handouts 1-1a–c: Photos from around December 7, 1941*
- Audio recording of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” speech may be downloaded from the National

Archives and Records Administration Web site (optional): http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals/fdr.html (accessed September 6, 2009)

- Map of “Japanese American Confinement Sites in the U.S. During World War II,” found in the Resources and References section of this curriculum
- Reservations at the library and/or computer lab for student research
- Primary and secondary sources (magazines, textbook, and other resources)
- *Handout 1-2: Guiding Research Questions and Web Sites*
- *Handout 1-3: PowerPoint Grading Rubric*
- A copy of the children’s book *The Bracelet* by Yoshiko Uchida
- Student journals

Activities

- After studying the U.S. Constitution, remind students that an important part of the Preamble sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.” Explain that during this unit they will work in teams and as a class to conduct research and create a PowerPoint presentation about whether this promise holds during times of war
- To build background knowledge, ask students to read the chapter on World War II found in the state-adopted textbook. Then share the audio of President Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” speech (optional) and *Handouts 1-1a–c: Photos from Around December 7, 1941* and the map of “Japanese American Confinement Sites in the U.S. During World War II.”
- Guide the discussion that follows. The objective is to seek individual responses, feelings, and reactions, as well as students’ responses to the lesson’s guiding questions:
 - *Why did the U.S. enter World War II?*
 - *What other casualties (life, property, freedom) were caused by Pearl Harbor?*
 - *How were people of all cultures affected by World War II?*
- Explain that for this unit, the class will work in small

groups to research a topic and that all of the research will be merged into one PowerPoint presentation. This final class PowerPoint will be evaluated by all of the students, so it is important that they are able to work independently, in small groups, and as a whole class.

- Assign students to one of four research groups, and as a group agree upon which group will research one of these four topics:
 1. The Causes and Effects of the Bombing of Pearl Harbor
 2. Daily Life in a War Relocation Authority Camp
 3. Life in “Camp” from a Child’s Perspective
 4. Japanese American Redress
- Distribute copies of *Handout 1-2: Guiding Research Questions and Web Sites* to each group. Also give students copies of *Handout 1-3: PowerPoint Grading Rubric*, which they will use at the end of the unit to evaluate their class PowerPoint.
- Ask students to get into their research groups and create a T-chart that lists all of the causes of World War II. All groups should then share their ideas. Use the same procedure to list the effects of the war (loss of life, property, freedom) and have students share ideas. If not raised within students’ T-charts, discuss how people of all cultures were affected by the war.
- At the library or computer lab, ask groups to begin the research related to their topics, using *Handout 1-2* to provide guiding research questions and sug-

gested Web sites. Tell them to refer to *Handout 1-3* to determine how to receive the most points for content, originality, sequencing of information, primary and secondary resources, and spelling and grammar.

- Explain to students that they must use future computer lab time and free time to continue their research, download photos and data, and save research onto a CD-ROM for future use.
- At any time during Lesson 1 or the weeks preceding the lesson, a read-aloud will help enrich students’ understanding of the Japanese American World War II experience. The first recommended read-aloud is *The Bracelet* by Yoshiko Uchida.
- After reading, ask students to write a reflection in their journals. The following questions can guide their writing:
 - *How does this make you feel*
 - *Was the Constitution violated?*
 - *How would you react if this happened to you?*
- Other recommended children’s books are found in the Selected Bibliography found in the Appendix.

References

- Rubistar. <http://rubistar.4teachers.org/index.php> (accessed September 6, 2009).
- Uchida, Yoshiko. *The Bracelet*. New York: Putnam Berkeley Group, Inc., 1993.

Life Before Pearl Harbor

Handout 1-1a

12



Mountain View, California. Scene at a Santa Clara County berry farm leased by its owner, of Japanese ancestry, to a Caucasian family prior to evacuation. Evacuees of Japanese descent will be housed at War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536446/Local Identifier 210-G-A555



San Francisco, California. View of business district on Post Street in neighborhood occupied by residents of Japanese ancestry, before evacuation. Evacuees will be housed in War Relocation Authority Centers for duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536044/Local Identifier 210-G-A67



San Francisco, California. Lunch hour at the Raphael Weill Public School, Geary and Buchanan Streets. Children of Japanese ancestry were evacuated with their parents to spend the duration in War Relocation Authority centers where educational facilities will be established.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536049/Local Identifier 210-G-A72

The Bombing of Pearl Harbor

Handout 1-1b

13



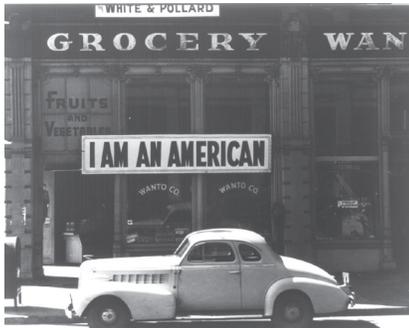
Photograph of the exact moment the USS Shaw exploded during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, 12/07/1941.

Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 306543

Japanese Americans Removed from the West Coast

Handout 1-1C

14



San Francisco, Calif., 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
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-23602



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



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

Guiding Research Questions and Research Web Sites

Handout 1-2

15

1. The Causes and Effects of the Bombing of Pearl Harbor
 - Why did the U.S. enter World War II?
 - What other casualties (loss of life, property, freedom) were caused by the bombing of Pearl Harbor?
 - How were people of all cultures affected by World War II?
2. Daily Life in a War Relocation Authority Camp
 - What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like in a War Relocation Authority camp during World War II?
3. Life in “Camp” from a Child’s Perspective
 - What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like for a child in a World War II War Relocation Authority camp?
 - Did children in camp go to school?
 - What activities were children in camp permitted to do?
4. Japanese American Redress
 - What does redress mean?
 - Do you feel that redress was owed to the Japanese Americans?
 - Do you feel that more was owed to the Japanese Americans in addition to redress?

Useful Web Sites for Beginning Research

Online Archive of California’s Collection from the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

1. <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/institutions/UC+Berkeley::Bancroft+Library> (accessed September 6, 2009).
2. Browse the collection for the “War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement.”
3. Enter the name of a War Relocation Authority camp in the search box.

To narrow the search, select “Online Items.”

Japanese American National Museum Online Collections

1. <http://www.janm.org/collections/> (accessed September 6, 2009)
2. Browse the collections of letters, artwork, journals, and photographs.

National Archives and Records Administration’s Archives Research Catalog

1. <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/> (accessed September 6, 2009).
2. Enter the name of a War Relocation Authority camp in the search box.
3. To narrow the search, select “Refine Search” and/or “Digital Copies.”

PowerPoint Grading Rubric

Handout 1-3

Name _____

Essential Question

Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

	4 points	3 points	2 points	1 point
Content—Focus	All of the Guiding Research Questions and the Essential Question are clearly answered.	Most of the Guiding Research Questions and the Essential Question are clearly answered.	1 to 2 Guiding Research Questions and the Essential Question are not clearly answered.	More than two of the Guiding Research Questions and the Essential Question are not clearly answered.
Content—Accuracy	All content throughout the presentation is accurate. There are no factual errors.	Most of the content is accurate but there is one piece of information that might be inaccurate.	The content is generally accurate, but one piece of information is clearly flawed or inaccurate.	Content is typically confusing or contains more than one factual error.
Originality	Presentation shows considerable originality and inventiveness. The content and ideas are presented in a unique and interesting way.	Presentation shows some originality and inventiveness. The content and ideas are presented in an interesting way.	Presentation shows an attempt at originality and inventiveness on 1 to 2 slides.	Presentation is a rehash of other people’s ideas and/or graphics and shows very little attempt at original thought.
Sequencing of Information	Information is organized in a clear, logical way. It is easy to anticipate the type of material that might be on the next slide.	Most information is organized in a clear, logical way. One slide or item of information seems out of place.	Some information is logically sequenced. An occasional slide or item of information seems out of place.	There is no clear plan for the organization of information.
Primary and Secondary Resources	Information and images are primarily drawn from primary resources. The sources are given credit somewhere in the presentation.	A combination of primary and secondary resources is used. Sources are documented in the presentation for all images.	Mostly secondary resources are used. Sources are documented in the presentation for all “borrowed” images.	Mostly secondary resources are used. Sources are not documented for all images.
Spelling and Grammar	Presentation has no misspellings or grammatical errors.	Presentation has 1 to 2 misspellings, but no grammatical errors.	Presentation has 1 to 2 grammatical errors but no misspellings.	Presentation has more than 2 grammatical and/or spelling errors.

Total Points _____

Adapted from Rubistar Web site: <http://rubistar.4teachers.org/index.php> (accessed September 6, 2009).

Life in “Camp”

Time

1 class period (45 minutes per period)

Overview

As students are introduced to and are discovering more resources related to the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans, they will likely have more and more questions about the topic. This lesson helps them focus on one aspect of the experience: daily life in camp.

Essential Question

- Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

Objectives

- Students will learn about daily life at the War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps that held Japanese Americans during World War II.
- Students will reflect on the conditions in the camps and will discuss how they would feel if they were sent to a similar camp.

Guiding Question(s)

- What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like in a War Relocation Authority camp during World War II?

Materials

- A copy of the DVD *Life Interrupted: Reunion and Remembrance in Arkansas* or Internet access to view the “Little Rock School Tour” clip from the Japanese American National Museum’s YouTube channel: <http://www.youtube.com/user/janmdotorg> (accessed September 6, 2009)
- A copy of the children’s book *So Far from the Sea* by Eve Bunting
- *Handouts 2-1a–b: Daily Life in “Camp”*

- Student journals
- Reservations at the library and/or computer lab for student research
- Primary and secondary sources (magazines, textbook, and other resources)

Activities

- To build background knowledge, show students the video clip “Little Rock School Tour” from the *Life Interrupted: Reunion and Remembrance in Arkansas* DVD. This short video clip can also be viewed on the Japanese American National Museum’s YouTube channel: <http://www.youtube.com/user/janmdotorg> (accessed September 6, 2009).
 - Then read aloud *So Far From the Sea*.
 - Share *Handouts 2-1a–b: Daily Life in “Camp.”*
 - Using a teacher-led Literature Circle format, discuss what students have just seen and heard. Seek out what they observed about the details of daily life in camp (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) as well as their individual responses, feelings, and reactions.
 - Ask students to write personal reflections in their journals. All groups should then share their reflections. These questions may guide their writing and discussions:
 - *How does this make you feel?*
 - *Was the Constitution violated?*
 - *How would you react if this happened to you?*
 - At the library or computer lab, ask groups to continue their research, keeping in mind that because their work will become part of the class Power-Point, they should be working independently while also being open to collaborating with other groups to share data and resources.
 - Remind students that they must use future computer lab time and free time to further their research, download photos and data, and save research on a CD for future use.

References

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

Life Interrupted: Reunion and Remembrance in Arkansas. Los Angeles: Frank H. Watase Media Arts Center, Japanese American National Museum, 2005. Film.

Daily Life in "Camp"

Part 1

Handout 2-1a

19



Poston, Arizona. Living quarters of evacuees of Japanese ancestry at this War Relocation Authority center as seen from the top of water tower facing south west.

Photographer: Fred Clark
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536152/Local Identifier 210-G-A190



Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. An evacuee resting on his cot after moving his belongings 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



Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Mealtime at the Manzanar Relocation Center. Every effort is put forth to keep family groups intact in the dining halls as well as in their living quarters in the barracks.

Photographer: Clem Albers
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536013/Local Identifier 210-G-A17

Daily Life in "Camp"

Part 2

Handout 2-1b

20



Poston, Arizona. Sewing school. Evacuee students are taught here not only to design but make clothing as well.

Photographer: Francis Stewart
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 536651/Local Identifier 210-G-A848



Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Evacuees [sic] family of Japanese ancestry relax [sic] in front of their barrack room at the end of day. The father is a worker on the farm project at this War Relocation [sic] Authority center. Note the chair which was made of scrap lumber, and the wooden shoes known as Getas made by evacuees.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537990/Local Identifier 210-G-C693



Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Evacuees of Japanese ancestry are growing flourishing truck crops for their own use in their "hobby gardens." These crops are grown in plots 10 x 50 feet between blocks of barrack at this War Relocation Authority center.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537987/Local Identifier 210-G-C690

Life in “Camp” from a Child’s Perspective

Time

1 class period (45 minutes per period)

Overview

Students are likely becoming more familiar with the topic, so this lesson allows them a chance to consider what the experience was like for young people like themselves.

Essential Question

- Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

Objectives

- Students will understand what daily life was like for children in the World War II War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps.

Guiding Question(s)

- What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like for a child in a World War II War Relocation Authority camp?
- Did children in camp go to school?
- What activities were children in camp permitted to do?

Materials

- *Handouts 3-1a–d: Children in “Camp”*
- Reservations at the library and/or computer lab for student research
- Primary and secondary sources (magazines, textbook, and other resources)
- A copy of the children’s book *Baseball Saved Us* by Ken Mochizuki
- Student journals

Activities

- Share *Handouts 3-1a–d: Children in “Camp”* and seek their feelings and reactions while guiding a discussion around the lesson’s guiding questions:
 - What was daily life (including food, clothing, tools and technology, shelter, and transportation) like for a child in a World War II War Relocation Authority camp?
 - Did children in camp go to school?
 - What activities were children in camp permitted to do?
- At the library or computer lab, ask groups to continue their research. Remind students that they must use future computer lab time and free time to continue to work together (both in groups and as a class) on their research.
- The group researching the children’s perspective might be encouraged to make video or audio recordings of students reading the letters (included in *Handout 3-1*) that young people in camp wrote to Miss Clara Breed, the children’s librarian at San Diego Public Library from 1929 to 1945. When Miss Breed’s young Japanese American patrons were forced into concentration camps with their families in 1942, Breed became their reliable correspondent, sending them books, assisting with requests for supplies, and through her actions, serving as a reminder of the possibility for decency and justice in a troubled world. Additional letters to Miss Breed can be downloaded from the Japanese American National Museum’s Clara Breed Online Collection: <http://www.janm.org/collections/clara-breed-collection/> (accessed September 6, 2009).
 - NOTE: Because school district policies require parental consent to record students, be sure to understand and follow the required procedures.
- At any time during Lesson 3, read aloud to the class *Baseball Saved Us* by Ken Mochizuki.
- After reading, ask students to write a reflection in their journals. These questions can guide their writing:
 - *How does this make you feel?*



- *Was the Constitution violated?*
- *How would you react if this had happened to you?*
- Other recommended children's books are found in the Selected Bibliography in the Appendix.

References

- "Clara Breed Collection." Japanese American National Museum. <http://www.janm.org/collections/clara-breed-collection/> (accessed September 6, 2009).
- Mochizuki, Ken. *Baseball Saved Us*. New York: Lee and Low Books, 1995.

Children in "Camp"

Part 1

Handout 3-1a

23

Dear Miss Breed,
How are you getting along?
Now that school is started I suppose
you are busy at the library.
We are now in Poston Camp.
We arrived here the 27th of August.
The San Diego people are all together
gathered. We are all happy. This place
is just like a desert, in fact it
is. It is dusty here + have quite
a few whirlwinds. Today we think
we will have a dust storm. There
isn't any school started yet but
it will start in October. I go to
Bible school every day. We make
all sorts of handicraft.
Last week my father, brother +
sister went fishing to Colorado
River. It is 3 miles away. They
started 5: AM and came back 7: PM.

and comes back 7: PM.
Before I came here I wrote you
a letter but I didn't send it.
I received your book the day
after I came back from the hospital.
I was very happy to receive it.
At that time I had pneumonia.
I took the book "House for
Elizabeth" and it kept me from
being lonesome. My mother
sends her best regards to your
mother.
Truly yours,
Elizabeth
Kikuchi
93.75.31 CO

Dear Miss Breed,

How are you getting along? Now that school is started I suppose you are busy at the library.

We are now in Poston Camp 3. We arrived here the 27th of August. The San Diego people are all together. We are all happy. This place is just like a desert, in fact it is. It is dusty here + have quite a few whirlwinds. Today we think we will have a dust storm. There isn't any school started yet but it will start in October. I go to bible school every day. We make all sorts of handicraft.

Last week my father, brother + sister went fishing to Colorado River it is 3 miles away. They started 5: AM and came back 7: PM.

Before I came here I wrote you a letter but I didn't send it. I received your book the day after I came back from the hospital. I was very happy to receive it. At that time I had pneumonia. I took the book "House for Elizabeth" and it kept me from being lonesome. My mother sends her best regards to your mother.

Truly yours,
Elizabeth Kikuchi

Letter to Clara Breed from Elizabeth Kikuchi, Poston, Arizona, September 19, 1942

Gift of Elizabeth Y. Yamada
Japanese American National Museum (93.75.31CO)
All requests to publish or reproduce images in this collection must be submitted to the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. More information is available at <http://www.janm.org/nrc/>.

Children in "Camp"

Part 2

Handout 3-1b

24

Santa Anita Assembly Center
Information Office
Barrack 44, Unit 1, Avenue 7
Santa Anita, California
April 23, 1942

Dear Miss Breed:

I hope you will forgive me for not saying goodbye, and for not writing to you sooner!

How is San Diego?

I find "camping life" very nice. We are all giving a bottom which has an one, a two, or a three on it so that we may have our meals at certain hours. I, having an one, eat breakfast from 6:30 to 7:00, lunch at 11:30 to 12:00, and dinner at 4:30 to 5:00. The food is simple, but delicious and wholesome. I did not have to cook or wash the dishes as there are many cooks and waiters in the cafeteria. I love cooking, but thanks heavens I do not have to do the dishes! Since I have a two and a half months brother, I wash daily, and sweep out my barrack. About three times a week I iron the family's clothes. There is really not much I may do in the afternoon, but get my exercise playing dodge ball, catch or softball. Once in a while, I type manuscripts for my friends or write letters. I retire every night between 9:30 to 10:00 P.M. All lights should be out by 10:00 in each barrack.

Letter to Clara Breed from Margaret and Florence Ishino, Arcadia, California, Poston, April 23, 1942.

Gift of Elizabeth Y. Yamada

Japanese American National Museum (93.75.31HY)

All requests to publish or reproduce images in this collection must be submitted to the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. More information is available at <http://www.janm.org/nrc/>.

Santa Anita Assembly Center
Information Office
Barrack 44, Unit 1, Avenue 4
Santa Anita, California
April 23, 1942

Dear Miss Breed:

I hope you will forgive me for not saying goodbye, and for not writing you sooner.

How is San Diego?

I find "camping life" very nice. We are all giving a bottom which has an one, a two, or a three on it so that we may have our meals at certain hours. I having an one, eat breakfast from 6:30 to 7:00, lunch at 11:30 to 12:00, and dinner at 4:30 to 5:00. The food is simple, but delicious and wholesome. I did not have to cook or wash the dishes as there are many cooks and waiters in the cafeteria. I love cooking, but thanks heavens I do not have to do the dishes! Since I have a two and a half months brother, I wash daily, and sweep out my barrack. About three times a week I iron the family's clothes. There is really not much I may do in the afternoon, but get my exercise playing dodge ball, catch or softball. Once in a while, I type manuscripts for my friends, or write letters. I retire every night between 9:30 to 10:00 P.M. All lights should be out by 10:00 in each barrack.

I went over Louise Ogawa's barrack and saw the two very interesting books you sent her. I certainly love books and miss going to the library every week; so I decided to write you a letter.

Florence is going to school daily from 2:00 to 4:00 and enjoys it very much. She tells me she misses going to the library and asked if I would write to you. She required her highest grades in reading, and she truly enjoys it.

Went over Miss Crave's
barrack and saw the two very in-
teresting books you sent her. I
certainly love books and miss
going to the library every week;
so I decided to write you a
letter.

Florence is going to school
daily from 2:00 to 4:00 and enjoys
it very much. She tells me she
misses going to the library and
asked if I would write to you
if she required the highest grades in
reading, and truly enjoys it.

I especially enjoy Dodd, Mead
Career Books and would very much
like to have any of the following
books:

1. Shirley Clayton: Secretary by Blance L. Gibbs and Georgia Adams
2. Judy Grant: Editor by Dixie Wilson
3. Marian-Martha by Lucile F. Fargo
4. Press Box by Robert F. Kelley.

If you happen to have
any discarded books, Florence
and I would certainly appreciate
them.

Please give my regards to
Miss McNary and I would
certainly enjoy hearing from you
both.

Please keep up the good
work in teaching children to
read books for that is the
pathway to happiness!

I am enclosing dolls that
Florence made in school and some
stamps.

Sincerely yours,
FLORENCE and Margaret Ishino

I especially enjoy Dodd, Mead Career Books and would very much like to have any of the following books:

Shirley Clayton: Secretary by Blance L. Gibbs and Georgia Adams

Judy Grant: Editor by Dixie Wilson

Marian-Martha by Lucile F. Fargo

Press Box by Robert F. Kelley.

If you happen to have any discarded books, Florence and I would certainly appreciate them.

Please give my regards to Miss McNary and I would certainly enjoy hearing from you both.

Please keep up the good work in teaching children to read books for that is the pathway to happiness! I am enclosing dolls that Florence made in school and some stamps.

Sincerely yours,
FLORENCE and Margaret Ishino

Children in "Camp"

Part 3

Handout 3-1c

26



Gift of Kimie Nagai, Japanese American National Museum (92.125.12)
All requests to publish or reproduce images in this collection must be submitted to the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. More information is available at <http://www.janm.org/nrc/>.



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



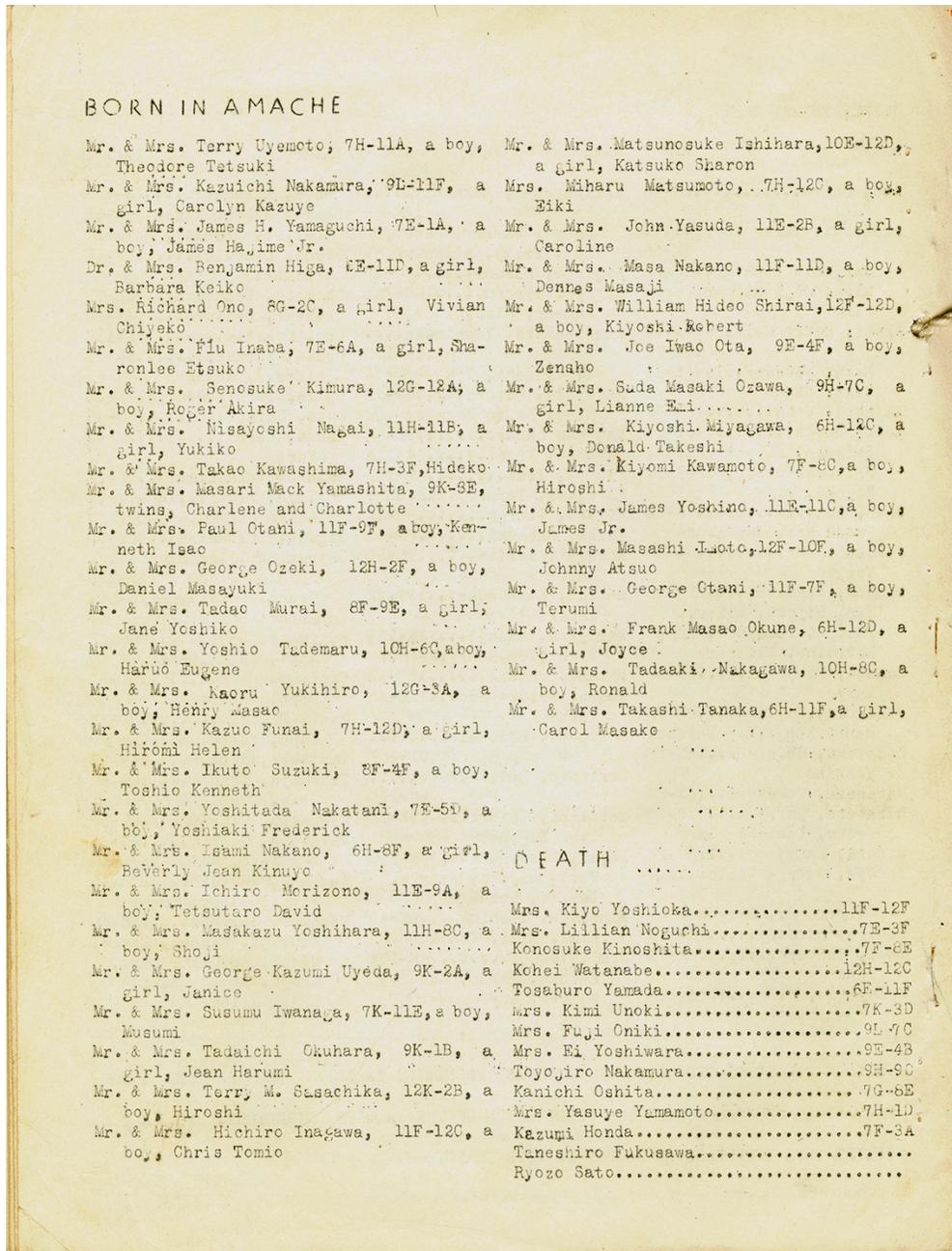
Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. An elementary school with voluntary evacuee attendance has been established with volunteer evacuee teachers, most of whom are college graduates. No school equipment is as yet obtainable and available tables and benches are used. However, classes are often held in the shade of the barrack building at this War Relocation Authority center.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537966/Local Identifier 210-G-C669

Children in "Camp"

Part 4

Handout 3-1d



Gift of Moriso and Asako Nishihara, Japanese American National Museum (91.91.22)
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Redress

Time

1 class period (45 minutes per period)

Overview

The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 granted monetary redress and an apology to the living Japanese Americans who were incarcerated during World War II. This is a very critical aspect to understanding the Japanese American experience because the process allowed Japanese Americans the unique opportunity to unite, find a collective voice, and begin to heal. One of the goals of the redress movement was to ensure that injustices that occurred during World War II never be allowed to happen again.

NOTE: Careful planning should be used with ESL/ bilingual students to clarify the prefix *re-* in the word “redress.”

Essential Question

- Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

Objectives

- Students will understand the definition and concept of the term “redress” as related to the Japanese American experience.

Guiding Question(s)

- What does *redress* mean?
- Do you feel that redress was owed to Japanese Americans?
- Do you feel that more was owed to Japanese Americans in addition to redress?

Materials

- *Handouts 4-1a–b: Japanese American Redress*

- Reservations at the library and/or computer lab for student research
- Primary and secondary sources (magazines, textbook, and other resources)

Activities

- Share *Handouts 4-1a–b: Japanese American Redress* and seek students’ feelings and reactions while guiding a discussion around the lesson’s guiding questions:
 - *What does redress mean?*
 - *Do you feel that redress was owed to Japanese Americans?*
 - *Do you feel that more was owed to Japanese Americans in addition to redress?*
- At the library or computer lab, ask groups to continue their research. Remind students that they must use future computer lab time and free time to continue to work together (both in groups and as a class) on their research.
- The group researching redress might be encouraged to develop a timeline of the redress movement. Check the computer lab to see if software, such as Timeliner, is available.
- Also note that the Japanese American National Museum has video footage from its July 2008 National Conference, “Whose America? Who’s American? Diversity, Civil Liberties, and Social Justice,” including a keynote address by former U.S. Secretary of Transportation Federico Peña, who discussed the redress movement. This footage can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/user/janmdotorg> (accessed September 6, 2009).

Remarks on Signing the Bill Providing Restitution for the Wartime Internment of Japanese-American Civilians

Handout 4-1a



Gift of Norman Y. Mineta, Japanese American National Museum (96.370.16A)
All requests to publish or reproduce images in this collection must be submitted to the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. More information is available at <http://www.janm.org/nrc/>.

August 10, 1988

The Members of Congress and distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, we gather here today to right a grave wrong. More than 40 years ago, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in makeshift internment camps. This action was taken without trial, without jury. It was based solely on race, for these 120,000 were Americans of Japanese descent.

Yes, the Nation was then at war, struggling for its survival, and it's not for us today to pass judgment upon those who may have made mistakes while engaged in that great struggle. Yet we must recognize that the internment of Japanese-Americans was just that: a mistake. For throughout the war, Japanese-Americans in the tens of thousands remained utterly loyal to the United States. Indeed, scores of Japanese-Americans volunteered for our Armed Forces, many stepping forward in the internment camps themselves. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, made up entirely of Japanese-Americans, served with immense distinction to defend this nation, their nation. Yet back at home, the soldiers' families were being denied the very freedom for which so many of the soldiers themselves were laying down their lives.

Congressman Norman Mineta, with us today, was 10 years old when his family was interned. In the Congressman's words: "My own family was sent first to Santa Anita Racetrack. We showered in the horse paddocks. Some families lived in converted stables, others in hastily thrown-together barracks. We were then moved to Heart Mountain, Wyoming, where our entire family lived in one small room of a rude tar paper barrack." Like so many tens of thousands of others, the members of the Mineta family lived in those conditions not for a matter of weeks or months but for three long years.

The legislation that I am about to sign provides for a restitution payment to each of the 60,000 surviving Japanese-Americans of the 120,000 who were relocated or detained. Yet no payment can make up for those lost years. So, what is most important in this bill has less to do with property than with honor. For here we admit a wrong; here we reaffirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law.

I'd like to note that the bill I'm about to sign also provides funds for members of the Aleut community who were evacuated from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands after a Japanese attack in 1942. This action was taken for the Aleuts' own protection, but property was lost or damaged that has never been replaced.

And now in closing, I wonder whether you'd permit me one personal reminiscence, one prompted by an old newspaper report sent to me by Rose Ochi, a former internee. The clipping comes from the Pacific Citizen and is dated December 1945.

"Arriving by plane from Washington," the article begins, "General Joseph W. Stilwell pinned the Distinguished Service Cross on Mary Masuda in a simple ceremony on the porch of her small frame shack near Talbert, Orange County. She was one of the first Americans of Japanese ancestry to return from relocation centers to California's farmlands." "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell was there that day to honor Kazuo Masuda, Mary's brother. You see, while Mary and her parents were in an internment camp, Kazuo served as staff sergeant to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. In one action, Kazuo ordered his men back and advanced through heavy fire, hauling a mortar. For 12 hours, he

engaged in a single-handed barrage of Nazi positions. Several weeks later at Cassino, Kazuo staged another lone advance. This time it cost him his life.

The newspaper clipping notes that her two surviving brothers were with Mary and her parents on the little porch that morning. These two brothers, like the heroic Kazuo, had served in the United States Army. After General Stilwell made the award, the motion picture actress Louise Allbritton, a Texas girl, told how a Texas battalion had been saved by the 442nd. Other show business personalities paid tribute—Robert Young, Will Rogers Jr. And one young actor said: "Blood that has soaked into the sands of a beach is all of one color. America stands unique in the world: the only country not founded on race but on a way, an ideal. Not in spite of but because of our polyglot background, we have had all the strength in the world. That is the American way." The name of that young actor—I hope I pronounce this right—was Ronald Reagan. And, yes, the ideal of liberty and justice for all—that is still the American way.

Thank you, and God bless you. And now let me sign HR 442, so fittingly named in honor of the 442nd.

Thank you all again, and God bless you all. I think this is a fine day.

Note: The President spoke at 2:33 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. HR 442, approved August 10, was assigned Public Law No. 100-383.

Courtesy of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

Letter from President George H. W. Bush

Handout 4-1b

31



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore lost years or erase painful memories; neither can they fully convey our Nation's resolve to rectify injustice and to uphold the rights of individuals. We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.

In enacting a law calling for restitution and offering a sincere apology, your fellow Americans have, in a very real sense, renewed their traditional commitment to the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. You and your family have our best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "G. H. W. Bush".

GEORGE BUSH
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 1990

Gift of Bob and Rumi Uragami, Japanese American National Museum (93.179.2)
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Class PowerPoint Presentation

Time

1 class period (45 minutes per period)

After this, approximately three weeks of library and/or computer lab time must be dedicated to completing the project.

Overview

This lesson concludes the unit with the class PowerPoint presentation and a chance to reflect on the unit's essential question.

Essential Question

- Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?

Objectives

- Students will work in groups to synthesize their research into a class PowerPoint presentation.
- Students will present their portions of the PowerPoint presentation and will use a rubric to assess the class's work as a whole.

Guiding Question(s)

- (See essential question.)

Materials

- Reservations at the library and/or computer lab for student research
- Primary and secondary sources (magazines, textbook, and other resources)
- LCD projector, screen, and computer to run PowerPoint
- *Handout 1-3: PowerPoint Grading Rubric*
- Student journals

Activities

- Using the writing process, students will develop a script synthesizing their research and resources in a logical and original manner. The teacher will proof-read the scripts for content accuracy and grammatical errors.
- Each group will work independently but will collaborate with the other groups by sharing data, photographs, and other primary sources to develop their presentation.
- Once all scripts are prepared, each group will import their slides into the class PowerPoint presentation.
- With the teacher's assistance, final preparation for the presentations can be made to create the finished product.
- Using the LCD projector, show the completed presentation to the class. Each student will use *Handout 1-3: PowerPoint Grading Rubric* to assess the group's project.
- After viewing and assessing the class PowerPoint, as a group discuss the unit's essential question: *Does the U.S. Constitution, which sets out to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,” protect all Americans?*
- Ask students to use their journals to answer this final question: *What can we do to make sure that the blessings of liberty are always there for all Americans?*

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. **

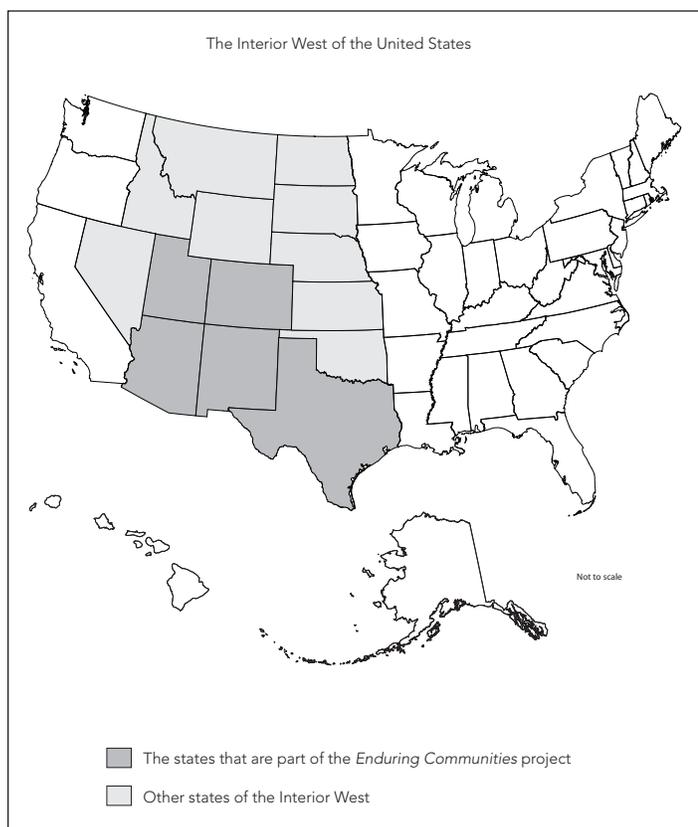
** Crystal City among DOJ sites is notable for having operated similarly to a WRA concentration camp. German and Italian enemy aliens who were treated separately and Latin American Japanese, primarily from Peru who had been involuntarily deported to the United States, also were confined at Crystal City. 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 Tsuchara. 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 Tsuchara replied, "We're out of gas, can you sell us some?" Surprisingly, the man responded in the affirmative. Relieved, and now with a full tank of gas, the pilgrims drove to Salt Lake City, via Vernal, Utah, where they bought alcohol for the car's radiator to prevent it from freezing.

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

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

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

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

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

Clearly it was time to return to California, but even as they attempted to get home the group met with further degradation. Driving through Chandler, Arizona, they were stopped by a state highway patrolman. After informing the Nikkei travelers that they were in a restricted zone, the lawman reminded them that there was a curfew in effect and asked if they possessed an authorized travel permit. When Jack 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

support, the amendment was defeated.⁵⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

56 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

57 Ibid., pp. 9–10.

58 Ibid.



MOVE OUT BY SATURDAY NOON AUGUST 25TH
OR BE MOVED

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

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

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

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

59 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

60 Ibid., p. 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

68 *Ibid.*, 53-55.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

76 Ibid., iii-iv.

77 Ibid., 4.

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

79 Ibid., p. 69.

80 Ibid., p. 89.

81 Ibid., p. 72.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Timeline for Japanese Americans in the Interior West

(Compiled by Arthur A. Hansen)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Japanese Americans in Texas

Thomas Walls

Texas is a large state with a diverse population. Although Texans of Japanese ancestry have never been large in number, they have nonetheless made big contributions throughout their unique history. The first significant impact was in the early 1900s, when Japanese initiated at least 30 large-scale attempts to grow rice on the southeast coastal plains around Houston and Beaumont. Following a 1902 fact-finding visit by Sadatsuchi Uchida, the Japanese Consul General from New York, men with money (or access to money) made their way from Japan to Texas to farm rice. Upon their arrival they were assisted by “colonization agents.” Hired by railroad companies in an effort to increase agricultural commerce and thus support the many new miles of track being laid, these agents provided newcomers with free railway passage and otherwise facilitated the purchase of land and equipment. Among these early settlers were a banker, a newspaper journalist, several businessmen, former Japanese military officers, a politician turned university president, and even a prominent Japanese socialist by the name of Sen Katayama. These men invested considerable sums to procure land and the heavy equipment—seed drills, harvesting binders, and steam-operated threshing machines—needed to farm rice on a large scale. They brought other Japanese with them as well, primarily field hands to perform the hard labor required of any agricultural operation. They also brought their own customs and manner of dress, as documented by local reports of men wearing strange conical hats, rain gear and sandals, all made of rice straw.

While the new arrivals may have shared a cultural heritage, they nonetheless chose to organize their farms in different ways. Some were close-knit colonies where the owners paid wages to their Japanese workers. One operation, owned by brothers Rihei and Toraiichi Onishi, leased 100-acre tracts of land near Mackay to sharecroppers and required two-fifths of the crop as

rent; the Onishis also ran a sort of company store that sold food and clothing to their lessees. On other farms Japanese workers were in short supply, putting local laborers in high demand. These farmworkers were a diverse group: African Americans, Anglos, Mexican Americans, Louisiana French, Austrians, and White Russians were all reported to have worked as agricultural laborers.

As would be expected, some operations were successful, while others were not. The most costly failure was a venture in Dacosta run by Major Oshimaru Takayama, a former Japanese artillery officer. The farm reportedly lasted only two years and lost investors an estimated \$100,000 when it folded, a considerable amount in 1908. The Japanese rice colonists in southeast Texas, as with all farmers in the states, were severely affected in 1918 by the dramatic drop in market prices for rice and other grains following the end of World War I. A few farms survived by switching crops, but the crisis caused many Japanese workers to suddenly lose their jobs. Some found work in nearby plant nurseries and restaurants owned by fellow Japanese Texans, while others simply moved away. By 1920 the U.S. Census counted 449 Japanese in Texas, an increase of only 109 from 10 years earlier.

In the early 1900s a number of Japanese entered Texas via El Paso, long a border crossing for Chinese immigrants—it even had its own so-called Chinatown. After Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, El Paso became a favored entry point for former Japanese soldiers who were having trouble entering the country at other locations. Many were seeking employment as construction workers for railroad companies, but an agreement between the U.S. and Japan kept such workers out: unable to immigrate legally, an untold number entered Texas illegally.

The 1910s saw continued Japanese immigration into Texas via Mexico due to unrest near the border caused by the Mexican Revolution resulting in Immigration Service suspension of regulations for both Jap-

anese and Chinese. During this period Japanese were also arriving in the border areas of Texas from other western states such as California, where they experienced considerable discrimination. The Rio Grande Valley area west of Brownsville was a particularly popular destination due to its mild climate and fertile but undeveloped farmland. One migrant to the Valley was Uichi Shimotsu, who settled near McAllen after graduating from a Colorado agricultural college; in 1916 he returned to Japan to bring Takako Tsuji back to Texas as his wife. Takako later told her children, “It was like going into darkest Africa!” Other Japanese families settled in scattered parts of the Valley, farming mostly cotton in the summer and vegetables in the winter. Although separated by miles of rough roads and farmland, Japanese families congregated on special holidays to eat, drink, and socialize. Later in the 1930s these immigrants formed the Rio Grande Valley Royals, a social club for their children. On occasion the Royals met with the Lone Star Club, a similar group made up of the offspring of rice colonists from around Houston.

In 1920 California passed strict legislation prohibiting Japanese immigrants from owning land, and in 1921 a similar alien land law was introduced in the Texas Legislature. In response, Japanese landowners in southeast Texas banded with Japanese businessmen from Dallas cotton firms to fight the bill. Their leader was Saburo Arai, a well-respected nurseryman from Houston who provided letters of support from white Texans and testified for the group before a Texas Senate committee. Although the legislation eventually passed, a compromise was struck which allowed Japanese currently living in Texas to keep their land and to purchase more in the future. Despite these concessions, the Texas land law accomplished its intent: with no prospect of owning land, few Japanese newcomers were attracted to the state. In 1924 the final blow came at the national level when Congress passed the

Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act of 1934), halting all immigration of Japanese into the United States.

The Japanese who remained in Texas lived and worked without incident until December 7, 1941: almost immediately after Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, the FBI searched the homes of Japanese throughout the state, often taking the head of the household to jail. The bank accounts of Japanese Texans were frozen, and travel was severely restricted. Out of a sense of self-preservation, some Japanese changed the names of their businesses: thus, the Japanese Restaurant, which was established by “Tom Brown” Okasaki in Houston at the turn of the century, became the U.S. Café. In San Antonio city officials voted to change the name of the Japanese Tea Garden in Brackenridge Park to the Chinese Tea Garden; in the process they evicted Alice Jingu and her five children from the garden’s tea pavilion, where they had lived and served tea to the public for 24 years.

In 1940 the U.S. Census counted only 458 Japanese in Texas. In a strange twist, World War II would cause this number to increase by tenfold due to the creation of three wartime internment camps in the state. In 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the forced removal of “any and all persons” from prescribed military zones in western states and providing the basis for mass exclusion of Japanese Americans. One camp, located at Seagoville, southeast of Dallas, was built in 1940 as a model reformatory for women; it eventually housed 50 female Japanese-language instructors who had been arrested on the West Coast following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Japanese immigrants to Latin America were later housed there after being taken from their homes (primarily in Peru) and deported to the U.S., presumably to be traded in prisoner of war exchanges for American noncombatants trapped behind enemy lines. Others from Latin America, including Germans, Italians, and Japanese, were interned in a camp near Kenedy, southeast of San Antonio. Originally constructed for

the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), this camp also held Japanese Americans, including some from Texas, before it was converted in September 1944 to house German POWs.

The third internment camp was located at Crystal City in south Texas. Before the war it had been a government housing camp for migrant agricultural workers, but in December 1942 it opened as a “family” camp, designed to reunite family members incarcerated at various camps throughout the country and to hold families deported from Latin America. Eventually it also housed some 1,000 Germans who had been arrested under circumstances similar to the Japanese following Pearl Harbor. At its height Crystal City housed 4,000 internees, more than two-thirds of whom were Japanese. With its administration offices, hospital, grocery store, schools, and row upon row of houses, the camp functioned much like any small town, except, of course, for the surrounding fence and guard towers. The high school, which was named Federal High, even had a football team— but they had no other team to play against. Local townspeople had jobs in the camp, and the internees worked peacefully alongside them as store clerks, librarians, shoe repairmen, barbers, and beauticians. By all accounts the Japanese also lived in harmony with the Germans at Crystal City. Although they occupied different areas of the camp, there was ample opportunity for the two groups to mix, from playing music in a camp orchestra to attending German- or Japanese- language classes.

The end of the war saw the eventual closing of the three Texas internment camps. Rather than return to their home states, some internees chose to remain in Texas, among them Isamu Taniguchi, who later created the well-known Taniguchi Japanese Garden in Austin’s Zilker Park. Japanese from concentration camps in other states also moved to the Lone Star State for its economic opportunities and its small but stable core of Japanese residents. The end of the war saw a soft-

ening of anti-Japanese sentiment in the U.S. and in Texas, partly in response to the deeds of the all-Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT). One of the most decorated units in the military, the 442nd was best known for its heroic rescue of the 1st Battalion of the 36th Infantry Division, Texas National Guard—the so-called Lost Battalion—in southern France. While other units had been unable to reach the surrounded infantrymen, the 442nd RCT fought back German defenses for five days in a cold rain before finally breaking through to save the lives of 211 Texans. During the battle the 442nd lost 200 Japanese-American soldiers, with 600 more wounded. At least one of the dead, Saburo Tanamachi, was himself a Texan, and he was one of the first two Japanese Americans to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

In the years after the war the descendants of the first Japanese immigrants to the state have taken their places among their fellow Texans, integrating themselves into a society as familiar to them as Japan was to their ancestors. To be sure, in the 1950s and 1960s they faced discrimination and prejudice, as did other ethnic groups, but they also received kindness and understanding from Texans who knew the story of the Lost Battalion. Over time these younger Japanese Texans have broken the patterns of their parents by moving away from agricultural pursuits into myriad other occupations. Changes in patterns of marriage have also occurred, with marriages between people of differing ethnicities becoming much more common.

Further evidence of Japanese Texans assimilating into the broader society can be seen in their accomplishments in various sports. One notable standout is Austin-born Bryan Clay, who is half Japanese American and half African American: Clay took the silver medal in the decathlon in the 2004 Olympics and the gold medal in the 2005 World Championships. In some way his accomplishments are tied to the legacy of another Japanese Texan, Taro Kishi, who was brought to this country as a child by his parents in

1907. He lived on the Kishi farm in Terry, Texas, until 1922, when he enrolled at Texas A&M to study agriculture. A gifted athlete, Kishi was a halfback on the A&M varsity football team and was the first player of Japanese descent to play intercollegiate sports in the Southwest Conference.

In the years after World War II Japanese newcomers to Texas increased. Many of the new arrivals were so-called war brides, the wives of American soldiers who had been stationed in Japan during the Occupation. Their ability to immigrate was made possible by the G.I. Fiancées Act (1946) and the McCarran-Walter Act (Immigration and Nationality Act, 1952). After nearly three decades of the United States excluding Asians from immigrating, the latter legislation legalized Japanese immigration once again (albeit in small numbers). Equally important, it gave longtime Japanese residents the right to pursue American citizenship, which many in Texas did. A symbolic end to past discrimination against the Japanese came in 1988 with passage of the Civil Liberties Act, which offered both an apology and reparations payments to Japanese Americans who had been incarcerated during the war. It is noteworthy that the redress and reparations movement leading up to the passage of the act had its beginnings in 1970, when a California educator and civil rights activist named Edison Uno first championed the idea. Edison Uno was a Texan for only a short time—as a teenager he was imprisoned at the internment camp at Crystal City—but all Texans can be proud of his efforts on behalf of Japanese Americans everywhere.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in Texas

(Compiled by Thomas Walls)

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- 1900 • U.S. Census reports 13 Japanese living in Texas
 - 1902 • Sadatsuchi Uchida, Japanese Consul General from New York, visits Texas to investigate the feasibility of establishing large-scale rice farming ventures on the coastal plains around Houston and Beaumont
 - 1903 • First rice farms operated by Japanese immigrants are established
 - 1904–05 • Japan defeats Russia in Russo-Japanese War; newly discharged Japanese soldiers and sailors seek employment in the U.S. working for railroad companies, with many attempting to cross into the U.S. at El Paso
 - 1908 • Major Oshimaru Takayama's rice venture in Dacosta folds and loses Japanese investors more than \$100,000
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- 1910 • Japanese population in Texas reaches 340
 - 1910s • Japanese continue to move to the Texas border region from Mexico and western states such as California
 - 1916 • Uichi Shimotsu, one of the first Japanese to settle the Lower Rio Grande Valley, returns to Japan to marry Takako Tsuji and brings his new wife to his farm near McAllen in the Valley
 - 1918 • Grain prices, including that of rice, fall dramatically with the end of World War I, severely impacting Japanese rice-farming ventures in Texas
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- 1920 • U.S. Census counts 449 Japanese in Texas
 - California passes a so-called alien land law that severely restricts Japanese ownership of land in the state
 - 1921 • Texas passes its own alien land law; opposition by Japanese Texans results in a compromise version allowing Japanese already living in Texas to keep their land
 - 1922–26 • Taro Kishi attends Texas A&M to study agriculture, becoming the first individual of Japanese descent to play intercollegiate sports in the Southwest Conference
 - 1924 • Congress passes the Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act of 1924), halting all immigration of Japanese into the United States
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- 1930 • Japanese population in Texas reaches 519
 - 1930s • Rio Grande Valley Royals social club is formed for children of Japanese settlers in south Texas; they occasionally meet with the Lone Star Club, a similar group from the Houston area
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- 1940 • U.S. Census counts only 458 Japanese Texans
 - 1941 • On December 7 Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, bringing the United States into World War II
 - 1942 • Seagoville and Kenedy internment camps open in April; Crystal City “family” camp opens in November
 - 1944 • The all-Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) rescues the Texas “Lost Battalion” in southern France

- 1945 • World War II ends
- 1946 • Congress passes the G.I. Fiancées Act, permitting foreign-born brides of American servicemen entry into the United States
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- 1952 • Congress passes the McCarran-Walter Act (Immigration and Nationality Act), allowing Japanese once again to immigrate to the U.S. (albeit in small numbers) and allowing them to become U.S. citizens for the first time
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- 1970 • Edison Uno champions the idea of providing redress and reparations payments to all Japanese Americans interned during World War II
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- 1988 • Congress passes the Civil Liberties Act, offering an apology to all Japanese Americans interned during the war and authorizing payment of reparations to those still living
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- 2004 • Austin-born decathlete Bryan Clay who was raised by his Japanese American mother in Hawaii wins an Olympic silver medal

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Project Teams

Arizona Curriculum Writing Team

Billy Allen
Lynn Galvin
Jeannine Kuropatkin
Karen Leong
Toni Loroña-Allen
Jessica Medlin
Christina Smith

Colorado Curriculum Writing Team

Judy Hansen
Judy Kurtz
Daryl Maeda
Abbie Martin
Pam Newman
Cindy Stout

New Mexico Curriculum Writing Team

Diane Ball
Cindy Basye
Ella-Kari Loftfield
Gina Medina-Gay
Lynette K. Oshima
Rebecca Sánchez
Trish Steiner

Texas Curriculum Writing Team

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

Utah Curriculum Writing Team

RaDon Andersen
Jennifer Baker
David Brimhall
Jade Crown
Sandra Early
Shanna Futral
Linda Oda
Dave Seiter

Los Angeles–based National Institute for Educators Advisors (2006–2007)

Sandra Okura DaLie
Cris Gutierrez
Janet Hironaka
Lloyd Kajikawa
Richard Katsuda
Leigh Ann Orr

Evaluators

Caroline Marshall, WolfBrown
Melvin L. Musick, Organizational Concepts

Graphic Designer

Azusa Oda

Copy Editor

Sherry Schottlaender

Project Team

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

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

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

* deceased



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