ENDURING COMMUNITIES

Texas Curriculum Units*

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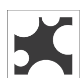

enduringcommunities

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Enduring Communities

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Enduring Communities is a partnership between the Japanese American National Museum, educators, community members, and five anchor institutions:
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University of Colorado, Boulder
University of New Mexico
UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures
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Project Overview

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

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

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

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

Introduction to the Curricular Units

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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Name of Unit

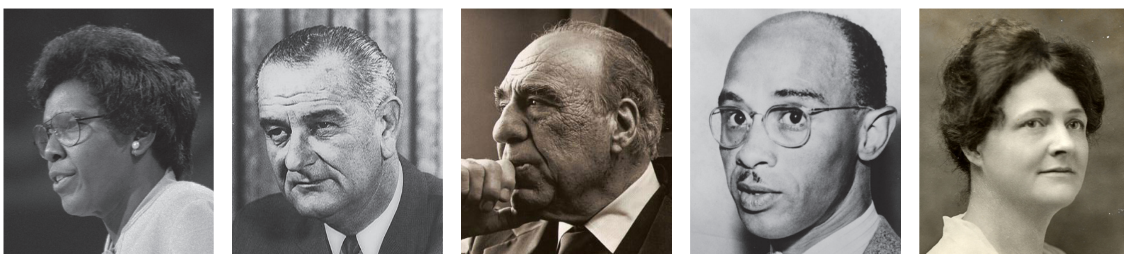
Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers

Suggested Grade Level(s)

7

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies



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Unit Map

Author

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Name of Unit

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers

Suggested Grade Level(s)

7

Subject Areas(s)

Social Studies

Number of Class Periods Required

3 short sessions (10 minutes per session) and 5 full class periods (50 minutes per period)

Essential Question

- How have courageous Texans extended democracy?

Guiding Questions

- Who are some of the Texans who have made social changes over the course of the twentieth century?
- What are some ways in which democracy has been extended to more citizens?
- What other courageous people live within the community?

Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS)

Social Studies, Grade 7

(7) History. The student understands how individuals, events, and issues shaped the history of Texas during the 20th century. The student is expected to:

(C) trace the civil rights and equal rights movements of various groups in Texas in the 20th century and identify key leaders in these movements, including James Farmer, Hector P. García, Oveta Culp Hobby, and Lyndon B. Johnson.

(21) Social studies skills. The student applies critical-thinking skills to organize and use information acquired from a variety of sources including electronic technology. The student is expected to:

(A) differentiate between, locate, and use primary and secondary sources such as computer software, databases, media and news services, biographies, interviews, and artifacts to acquire information about Texas;
(B) analyze information by sequencing, categorizing, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, comparing, contrasting, finding the main idea, summarizing, making generalizations and predictions, and drawing inferences and conclusions;
(C) organize and interpret information from outlines, reports, databases, and visuals including graphs, charts, timelines, and maps;
(D) identify points of view from the historical context surrounding an event and the frame of reference that influenced the participants;
(E) support a point of view on a social studies issue or event;
(F) identify bias in written, oral, and visual material;
(G) evaluate the validity of a source based on language, corroboration with other sources, and information about the author; and
(H) use appropriate mathematical skills to interpret social studies information such as maps and graphs.

(22) Social studies skills. The student communicates in written, oral, and visual forms. The student is expected to:

(A) use social studies terminology correctly;
(B) use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation;
(C) transfer information from one medium to another, including written to visual and statisti-

cal to written or visual, using computer software as appropriate; and
(D) create written, oral, and visual presentations of social studies information.

Teacher Overview

Many of the changes in daily life are due to changes in civil rights legislation and the evolution of attitudes about diversity which occurred throughout the twentieth century. Dynamic changes have occurred that extend democracy to women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and other ethnic and cultural groups, as well as to groups that span ethnicity and gender, such as laborers, children, prisoners, senior citizens, and immigrants. This is true on a national scale but also on a statewide scale, and many Texans were among the courageous people with a vision of democracy for all who pursued a goal they believed in, sometimes risking their lives, their safety, or their reputations.

With photographs and brief biographical information, this unit focuses on 32 exemplary citizens whose commitment and contributions, from hometown Texas history to the White House, have made society more fair and just at the end of the twentieth century than it was at the beginning. It offers role models for active citizenship.

The unit is designed to be taught concurrently with other twentieth-century Texas materials and to supplement textbook material. It requires ten-minute sessions on three separate days plus five 50-minute class periods, three of which are spent in the Technology Lab. Two optional vocabulary activities are included.

Prior to starting this unit, it is highly recommended that the teacher reserves the Technology Lab for days 4 through 6.

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.

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers

Time

3 short sessions (10 minutes per session) and 5 full class periods (50 minutes per period)

Overview

This unit is initially phased in with several days of short interactive activities during a regular unit on twentieth-Century Texas History. The object of the phasing activities is to give students multiple opportunities to hear the names of the Trailblazers and to begin to become familiar with them and their contributions: when the main activity is undertaken, students will have a better perspective on his/her Trailblazer within the general setting of Texas in the twentieth century.

Essential Question

- How have courageous Texans extended democracy?

Objectives

- Students will become familiar with 32 Texans who advanced civil rights and civil liberties in Texas by examining photographs and brief biographical information.
- Students will use an Internet search engine to seek answers to a research question about one individual or a topic related to that individual's contribution.
- Working in groups, students will determine and investigate others in their smaller or larger communities who can also be considered "Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers."
- Students will understand that extending democracy to all citizens is a responsibility of citizenship which takes courage and persistence.

Materials

- *Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers*, copied front-to-back and cut into quarters
- *Handout 1-1: Complete List of Trailblazers (for teacher use)*
- *Handout 2-1: Sentence Strips*, copied, cut, and pasted onto construction paper
- *Handout 2-2: Categories (for teacher use)*
- *Handout 2-3: Word Triads Discussion Guide (optional)*, one copy per student
- *Handout 3-1: Looping Question Cue Sheet (for teacher use)*
- *Handout 3-2: Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer Word Search (optional)*, one copy per student
- *Handout 4-1: Rubric for Research Question*, one copy per student
- *Handout 4-2: Think Sheet*, one copy per student
- *Handout 4-3: Trailblazer Keywords (optional)*, one copy per student
- Paint masking tape, six markers, and 18 sheets of scrap paper per class
- *Handout 7-1: Our Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers*, one copy per every five students
- *Handout 8-1: Exam on Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers*, one copy per student

Activities

Day 1: Mum Human Timeline (10 minutes)

- Introduce this unit to the students:
  - In a few days we will be doing some activities related to people whose actions made enormous changes in our daily lives, but for now, I want you to just meet some of these individuals briefly. I'm going to give each of you a card about one particular person. When you get your card, read about your Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer quietly; in a moment, we'll do an activity together as a group.
- Distribute one Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer card to each student. *Handout 1-1: Complete List of Trailblazers (for teacher use)* is available to provide an overview of the Trailblazers.
- Next, explain the group activity:
  - We are going to create a "human timeline." Please take a look at the dates at the top of your card. Do you see your Trailblazer's birth date? We are going

to line up in the order of the birth dates of the people on your cards. Now that sounds easy enough, right? But we are going to do it without talking—mum's the word! You may use sign language, gestures, or pointing, but you may not speak. This will be a "Mum Human Timeline."

- The "Mum Human Timeline" can take place either in the classroom or in a large open area.
  - Classroom version of activity:
    - Have all the students sitting in the same row of desks arrange themselves in order of the Trailblazers' birth dates. Allow about a minute; give help or "hushes" if needed. Students may use their fingers to show a year of birth or just show each other the date on their cards.
    - Next, assign two adjacent desk rows to blend together. Allow another minute. An odd row may simply wait or join a pair.
    - Finally, have all students blend together into one line. Indicate beginning and end of line in two opposite corners.
  - Open area version of activity:
    - Ask students to move to take their Trailblazer cards and then move to the open area.
    - Indicate a beginning (earliest birth date) and end (most recent birth date) of the line.
    - When you say, "Begin," all students should silently find their Trailblazer's place in the timeline by using fingers to signal dates or by showing each other the date on their cards. Give help or "hushes" if needed.
- When students have assembled themselves into one timeline, "check" the timeline. Beginning with the earliest birth date, have students say the name of their person and their year of birth. This is a good time to help with pronunciation of names. Require that each student speak loudly. Restate each name.
- Return to classroom/seats. Ask students:
  - *Did anyone have a card or hear a name of someone you had heard of before?*
  - *Did anyone hear about someone you'd like to know more about?*
- Explain that these cards contain just brief information about the Trailblazers' extraordinary lives but that students will be learning more about all of these Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers over the next few days. Continue with twentieth-Century Texas History instruction using a textbook or other resources.
- **Optional Extension Activity:** Have students arrange themselves in alphabetical order of the names on the cards. Once they are in order, have them say the names aloud from A to Z. This offers another chance to hear the Trailblazers' names.

Day 2: Category Stand-Up (10 minutes)

- Before the students arrive in the classroom, copy and cut *Handout 2-1: Sentence Strips* and post them on the walls around the room.
- Explain to students that they will be receiving a different Trailblazer card this time. Emphasize that all the Trailblazers have made important contributions which have extended liberty and democracy to groups and individuals formerly denied full civil rights. Topics addressed include desegregation, voting rights, women's suffrage and women's rights, fair wages and labor, freedom of speech, prison reform, religious freedom, and visionary artistry.
- Distribute Trailblazer cards and make sure that students do not get the same card they had for the previous activity. Ask students to read the information on the card silently.
- Ask students to look at the category titles taped to the wall around the room. Call on students to read the titles aloud. Ask students what they think these are categories *of*. Affirm responses that suggest ways in which democracy may be extended to more citizens, for example, ways in which people need help, ways people can help others, examples of civil rights, etc.
- Ask students to quietly stand beneath a category that describes their Trailblazer. Require students to select

just one even though several may be appropriate. *Handout 2-2: Categories (for teacher use)* is available to provide a quick reference for various categories in which the Trailblazers could be classified.
- Once everyone has selected a category, ask students standing beneath each sign to read aloud the names of their Trailblazers. Continue through all categories.
- Next, ask students to move to another title describing the Trailblazer. After they reshuffle, read aloud titles and names as before.
- See if they can find a third category that fits their Trailblazer. After they reshuffle, read aloud titles and names again.
- Have students return to their desks. While referring to the section, "Stand up for . . ." Categories in *Handout 2-2: Categories (for teacher use)*, say, "I wonder what kinds of careers our Trailblazers followed? Stand up if your Trailblazer is an elected official. In sports and entertainment? Attorney? Educator? Medical professional? What other career paths did our Trailblazers follow?" As students stand, call on them to quickly state the name and career of their Trailblazer.
- Ask students whether anyone had the card for or had heard of a Trailblazer they would like to know more about. Find out which Trailblazers they are interested in.
- Conclude by explaining that courageous people come from many walks of life and work in many different ways to achieve their goals.
- If time permits, have students complete *Handout 2-3: Word Triads Discussion Guide (optional)* and/or continue with twentieth-Century Texas History instruction using a textbook or other resources.

Day 3: Looping Questions (10 minutes)
- Distribute the Trailblazer cards. Students who receive a card they have had before may trade so that each student is reading about a third Trailblazer. All cards are needed for this activity, so if necessary ask for volunteers to take two cards. Ask students to read their cards silently.
- Ask students to look at the Looping Question at the bottom of each of the cards. Clarify that the question is not related to the Trailblazer described on the card but that someone else in the room has a card that answers the Looping Question. For questions and answers, refer to *Handout 3-1: Looping Question Cue Sheet (for teacher use)*.
- Ask for a volunteer to be the first person to read aloud the Looping Question on their card. The person who has the Trailblazer card with the answer to that question should raise his/her hand and say aloud the Trailblazer's name.
- "Loop" around the room with answers and new questions. The person to answer to the last question will be the original volunteer.
- If time allows, distribute *Handout 3-2: Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer Word Search (optional)* and/or continue with twentieth-Century Texas History instruction using a textbook or other resources.

Day 4: Using a Search Engine to Answer a Research Question (50 minutes)
- Explain that everyone will be taking a closer look at one Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer and the issue that person with which that person is most closely associated. To the extent possible, have students think about a Trailblazer that interests them.
- Go through the cards asking, "Does someone want to do Lyndon B. Johnson?" "Who wants John Henry Faulk?" Hand the cards to the students who ask for them. Though tedious, this task allows students to hear the names for a fourth time. Pass out all the cards, giving choices if possible but moving quickly. Make sure that all students receive a card.
  - If no one chooses a card, place it at the bottom of the deck.
  - If two people want the same card, ask them to pick a number between 1 and 10.
  - There may be cards that might be directed to particular students, such as Don Haskins to an athlete or

Carmen Lomas Garza to a visual artist.

- Once each student has a card, ask them to read them silently, then explain that you will be going to the Technology Lab to do some computer research. They will need to use an Internet search engine to research their questions, followed by a writing assignment based on what they learn. Their research assignment is in the "Question" section of each card; each question is different. Distribute *Handout 4-1: Rubric for Research Question* and explain that their work will be assessed with that criteria.
- Distribute *Handout 4-2: Think Sheet*. Ask them to write their names and class periods on the sheet because they will be working on it for several days and do not want to lose it. Then ask them to write their Trailblazer's name and the question from the card onto the Think Sheet.
- When they are ready, ask them to write a sentence in their own words about the connection between the Trailblazer and the question. If they have trouble, they should refer to the biography for clues. Ask them to brainstorm for at least two keywords that they can input into the search engine to find the answer to the question. Offer assistance as needed.
- Move to the Technology Lab. Depending upon the class's level of experience, it may be helpful to invite the school's technology teacher to give a brief workshop on the use of search engines or have students visit a site such as Google Web Search Help at http://www.google.com/support/websearch/bin/answer.py?hl=en&answer=134479 (accessed September 3, 2009), or Search Engine Watch's Search Engine Math at http://searchenginewatch.com/2156021 (accessed September 3, 2009).
- All of the research questions have been designed to be answered on one page and are at a level where all answers are findable. Where the Trailblazer is not well recorded on the Internet, the research question may pertain more to the broader issue or to some other aspect of social justice which the Trailblazer's story invites. (For example, Edison Uno's card asks about the Crystal City Department of Justice Camp.) If appropriate, distribute *Handout 4-3: Trailblazer Keywords (optional)*.
- Students may search and write alternately. By the end of the class period, students should have found at least some material useful to their response. Assure them that they will have another class period during which to complete their work.

Day 5: Composing Our Essays/Paragraphs (50 minutes)

- On Day 5, have students continue working in the Technology Lab. The focus for the class period should be on composing a response to the research question, although some will need to continue to search for material or compare and evaluate information found on separate Web sites. At the end of the period, unfinished work should be assigned as homework. The actual composition may be done on the computer or written on notebook paper.

Day 6: Editing Our Research Writing (50 minutes)

- When the students have completed their research and essays/paragraphs, ask them to exchange papers. Each student should read the paper of another and mark three things:
  1. Something I found very interesting.
  2. Something I would like to know more about.
  3. Something that confused me.
- Exchange papers once more so that each student responds to two compositions and receives two different responses to his/her own work.
- Return papers to the writer. Proceed to the Technology Lab and allow 30 minutes for students to rewrite their essays. Students should also edit the length of their answers, as needed.
- Collect their papers and use *Handout 4-1: Rubric for Research Question* to assess them.
- If possible, display a variety of thoughtful student responses on the wall or bulletin board.

Day 7: Civil Rights Trailblazers Among Us (50 minutes)

- Explain that the class next will work on making their own set of Trailblazer cards for Trailblazers within the community.
- Divide students into groups of five and give each group three sheets of colored construction paper and a marker. Ask each group to brainstorm for ten minutes and come up with a list of Trailblazer "candidates" in the community (school, town, state), present or past, who have acted to make life better and more just for all; students should include information about specific incidents or activities that demonstrate the person's commitment to democracy or fairness. Visit each group, listen in, and advise as needed. After ten minutes ask each group to select their three best candidates and write the names on the construction paper. Names should be written large and legible.
- Next, ask a representative from each group to tape the group's three cards to the wall. Allow a few moments for everyone to look at the candidates' names. With input from students, arrange the names into columns labeled with the school name, the town name, and "Texas." Overlap duplicates as you move and retape the names into the proper columns.
- Call out each Trailblazer candidate name and invite students to give input about that person. Offer additional information as appropriate. Based on the class's response, begin to eliminate candidates until only two names remain in each column.
- Assign a name to each of the original groups, giving them some choice when possible. Give each group a copy of *Handout 7-1: Our Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer*. Each group should decide how they will gather the information, perhaps dividing the research and using the telephone, Internet, personal interviews, library resources, etc., to complete their card.
- Allow several days or a weekend to find the required information. Proceed with other twentieth-Century Texas History instruction.

Day 8: Our Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer (50 minutes)

- Allow 20 minutes for groups to finalize their new Trailblazer card.
- Give each group three minutes to informally share information about their Trailblazer and to hang their card on a bulletin board or wall.
- Recognize Trailblazers for their contributions. Recognize each group's completion of the new Trailblazer cards. Ask students to applaud the new Trailblazers, and each other, for their work.
- Distribute *Handout 8-1: Exam on Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers*.

Extension

- Have students use Homepage or similar software to create a Web site about one of the "original" Trailblazers or a newly added Trailblazer.

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Complete List of Trailblazers (for teacher use) Handout 1-1

Name	Texas Locations Named	Active Period	Area(s) of Activity	M	F
1. Adair, Christia	Houston, Kingsville, Victoria	1920–1972	Voting rights, women's rights, desegregation		X
2. Ahn, Suzanne	Dallas	1980–2003	Women's rights, civil rights for Asian Americans		X
3. Ailey, Alvin	Navasota, Rogers	1931–1989	Civil rights for African Americans, education, creative arts	X	
4. Ames, Jessie	Austin, Georgetown, Palestine	1918–1942	Voting rights, women's rights, civil rights for African Americans		X
5. Canales, J. T.	Brownsville, Nueces County	1905–1951	Civil rights for Hispanic Americans, education	X	
6. Cohen, Henry	Galveston	1888–1949	Immigrant rights, religious freedom, prison reform	X	
7. Craft, Juanita	Dallas, Round Rock	1935–1985	Voting rights, desegregation, education		X
8. Cunningham, Minnie Fisher	Austin, Galveston, New Waverly	1913–1960	Voting rights, women's rights		X
9. Farmer Jr. James	Marshall	1942–1999	Desegregation, civil rights for African Americans	X	
10. Faulk, John Henry	Austin	1957–1990	Freedom of speech, creative arts	X	
11. Gámez, Trini	Karnes County, Panhandle (Hereford)	1975–present (2009)	Voting rights, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, fair labor practices		X
12. García, Héctor P.	Corpus Christi	1948–1996	Desegregation, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, fair labor, jury reform, economic justice/poverty issues	X	
13. González, Henry B.	San Antonio	1953–1998	Voting rights, desegregation, civil rights for African Americans, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, fair labor practices, economic justice	X	
14. Griffin, Anthony	Baytown, Galveston, Santa Fe	1978–present (2009)	Women's rights, civil rights for African Americans, fair labor practices, religious freedom, freedom of speech	X	
15. Haskins, Don	El Paso	1966–1999	Desegregation, education	X	
16. Hickman, R. C.	Dallas, Mineola	1949–1970	Desegregation, civil rights for African Americans, education, creative arts	X	
17. Hobby, Oveta Culp	Houston, Killeen	1942–1968	Women's rights, health		X
18. Hughes, Sarah T.	Dallas	1930–1975	Women's rights, jury reform, prison reform		X
19. Idar, Jovita	Laredo, San Antonio	1910–1940	Women's rights, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, immigrant rights, education		X
20. Johnson, Lyndon B.	Cotulla, Johnson City, Stonewall	1931–1969	Voting rights, desegregation, civil rights for African Americans, fair labor practices, economic justice, education	X	

Name	Texas Locations Named	Active Period	Area(s) of Activity	M	F
21. Jordan, Barbara	Austin, Houston	1967–1994	Voting rights, civil rights for African Americans, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, civil rights for other ethnic groups, fair labor, economic justice, education		X
22. Leland, Mickey	Houston, Lubbock	1972–1989	Fair labor, economic justice, health, prison reform	X	
23. Lomas Garza, Carmen	Kingsville	1972–present (2009)	Civil rights for Hispanic Americans, creative arts		X
24. McCallum, Jane Y.	Austin, LaVernia	1915–1957	Voting rights, women's rights, health, prison reform		X
25. Nixon, Lawrence A.	Cameron, El Paso, Marshall	1924–1944	Voting rights, civil rights for African Americans	X	
26. Raggio, Louise	Austin, Dallas	1953–1980	Women's rights, fair wages, economic justice		X
27. Sánchez, George I.	Austin	1931–1959	Desegregation, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, education	X	
28. Sweatt, Heman	Austin, Houston	1946–1975	Desegregation, civil rights for African Americans, fair labor practices, education	X	
29. Tanamachi, Sandra	Beaumont, Harlingen	1992–2004	Civil rights for Asian Americans		X
30. Tenayuca, Emma	San Antonio	1930–1939	Labor, Mexican American issues		X
31. Uno, Edison	Crystal City	1969–1976	Civil rights for Asian Americans, jury reform, education	X	
32. Velásquez, William C.	San Antonio	1966–1988	Voting rights, civil rights for Hispanic Americans, fair labor practices, education	X	

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #1

Back in 1918 Negroes could not vote and women could not vote either. The white women were trying to help get a bill passed in the legislature where women could vote. I said to the Negro women, "I don't know if we can use it now or not, but if there's a chance, I want to say we helped make it.

—Christia Adair

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #2

I give you the gift of knowledge that, as long as you have your life and health, you can achieve anything. You can speak up and fight for justice and fairness. You can reach your dreams. You can fulfill your potential.

—Suzanne Ahn

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #3

I am trying to show the world that we are all human beings, and that color is not important. What is important is the quality of our work.

—Alvin Ailey

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #4

We declare lynching an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, degrading and debasing to every person involved. We pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of the mob or lynchers.

—Jessie Ames

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #2

Suzanne Ahn

b. Pusan, Korea, 1952 d. Dallas, 6/22/2003
Active: 1980–2003

Biography / Dallas neurologist Suzanne Insook Ahn organized demonstrations at Dallas nightclubs that barred Asian Pacific American patrons. She served as a leader in organizations that promote the rights of Asian Americans and of women physicians, and she cofounded National Doctors for Equal Rights Amendment. When the 1991 Civil Rights Act specifically excluded Filipino and Native American cannery workers in Alaska, Dr. Ahn flew to Washington, D.C., to confront legislators. In 2002, knowing her death from inoperable lung cancer was near, she gave $100,000 to the Asian American Journalists Association to encourage those who are telling the stories about the fight for civil rights and social justice for Asian Pacific Americans.

Honors / Profiles in Leadership Award given by Southern Methodist University (2002); recognition as a National Library of Medicine "Local Legend"; included in UT–Austin's Great Texas Women exhibition.

Question / Use a search engine to find the Web site of the Asian American Journalists Association. What are some concerns of the organization at this time? Write a paragraph giving details about one of their concerns. In a second paragraph, give your own opinion.

Looping Question: Which judge followed up to make sure her own court-ordered prison reforms were carried out?

Photo: National Library of Medicine

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #1

Christia V. Adair

b. Victoria, Texas, 10/22/1893 d. Houston, 12/31/1989
Active: 1920–1925 and 1943–1972

Biography / From 1918 to 1925 she organized Euro American and African American women in Kingsville, Texas, to work together for suffrage and to close a local gambling house that employed teenage boys. After her husband died, she served as executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Houston for 12 years. In 1957 she courageously testified in a lengthy trial to prevent the Houston police from taking NAACP membership records, and she endured persecution until her position was upheld by the Supreme Court two years later. In the 1960s and 1970s, she helped desegregate the Houston public library, airport, veteran's hospital, city buses, juries, county employment, and department store dressing rooms.

Honors / Christia V. Adair County Park in Houston; life recognition "Suffragette" award, Houston Chapter of the National Organization for Women (1974); Woman of the Year, Zeta Phi Beta Sorority (1952).

Question / Do an Internet search to find photographs (images) illustrating four different kinds of segregated facilities. Write a caption for each photograph.

Looping Question: Which judge followed up to make sure her own court-ordered prison reforms were carried out?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #4

Jessie Daniel Ames

b. Palestine, Texas, 11/2/1883 d. Austin, Texas, 2/21/1972
Active: 1918–1942

Biography / Jessie Ames worked with the state Equal Suffrage Association to make Texas the first southern state to pass the 19th Amendment. She was founder and first president of the Texas League of Women Voters. She became director of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1924 and in 1929 moved to Atlanta to head the National Council on Interracial Cooperation. In 1930 she founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, a group of Euro American women organized to fight racial violence and vigilante executions. She returned to her Texas home in Georgetown in 1968.

Honors / Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, sponsors the Jessie Daniel Ames Lecture Series; alcove in the A. Frank Smith Jr. Library at Southwestern University, Georgetown, honors her; included in Invisible Giants: Fifty Americans Who Shaped the Nation But Missed the History Books (2002), edited by Mark Carnes.

Question / Find and copy the lyrics to the song "Strange Fruit." Do you think art and music should address horrific topics such as lynching? Below the lyrics, write a paragraph expressing your opinion.

Looping Question: Who founded the GI Forum to help Mexican American veterans attain their benefits?

Photo: PICB 13189, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #3

Alvin Ailey

b. Rogers, Texas, 1/05/1931 d. New York, 12/01/1989
Active: 1954–1989

Biography / Alvin Ailey learned to love gospel music as a child attending the New Vine Baptist Church in Navasota, Texas, with his mother. When they moved to Los Angeles in 1943, he began studying dance. He formed his own company in 1958, and as a choreographer, he explored American and African American dance. In 1969 he founded the Alvin Ailey American Dance Center School to train dance students from all over the world. A firm believer in arts in education, he created student programs in communities traditionally underserved by the arts. Ailey's best-known choreographic creation, Revelations, was inspired by his Texas childhood.

Honors / NAACP Spingarn Medal (1977); United Nations Peace Medal (1982); modern dance's prestigious Samuel H. Scripps American Festival Dance Award (1987).

Question / Find three Internet descriptions of Ailey's dance program Revelations. Give the URLs for each, then write about the theme in your own words. Do you think dance can promote better understanding between cultures? If so, how? If not, suggest a better way and describe it.

Looping Question: Who supported the cause of workers in the San Antonio Pecan Shellers' Strike in 1938?

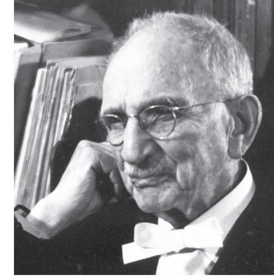
Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Carl Van Vechten Collection, reproduction number LC-USZ62-54231

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #5

All for one and one for all.

—J. T. Canales

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #6



In this town there is no such thing as Methodist mumps, Baptist domestic troubles, Presbyterian poverty, or Catholic broken legs.

—Henry Cohen

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #7

I have no natural children.
I have adopted the world.

—Juanita Craft

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #8

It has been full six weeks since I have found any man with the temerity to look us in the eye and say he opposed women's voting in the face of the outrageous condition that has been proven to prevail in our state government.

—Minnie Fisher Cunningham

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #6

Henry Cohen

b. London, 4/7/1863 d. Galveston, Texas, 6/12/1952
Active: 1888–1949

Biography / Rabbi Cohen of Galveston's Temple B'nai Israel helped Jews and other immigrants who arrived at the city's port of entry find homes in Texas and beyond. As a lieutenant during World War I, Rabbi Cohen was responsible for getting the U.S. Congress to provide Jewish naval chaplains. Serving on the Texas Prison Board during the 1920s, he successfully pushed for improved medical facilities, vocational training, and segregation of hardened criminals from first offenders. He made daily bicycle trips around Galveston to help needy citizens regardless of their religion.

Honors / University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston, gives the annual Rabbi Henry Cohen Humanitarian Award; Rabbi Henry Cohen Community House built by B'nai Israel; Texas Historical Commission marker on the Galveston County Courthouse honors him.

Question / Use the Handbook of Texas Online and one other source to (1) make a list of Rabbi Cohen's accomplishments; and (2) write a brief biography of him.

Looping Question: Who organized CORE and involved both African American and Euro American volunteers in desegregation in the 1940s?

Photo: UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures; # 074-0898; Courtesy of Harris Kempner

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #5

José Tomás (J. T.) Canales

b. Nueces County, Texas 3/7/1877 d. Brownsville, Texas, 3/30/1976
Active: 1905–1951

Biography / In 1919 State Representative J. T. Canales filed charges against the Texas Rangers with documented cases of vigilante-style oppression of Mexican Americans in the lower Rio Grande Valley; as a result, the force was reorganized. A founder of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929, he worked for the organization's growth and advancement. It was Canales who gave LULAC its motto: "All for one and one for all." In 1931 he was one of the attorneys in *Del Rio ISD* v. *Salvatierra,* the state's first case challenging segregated "Mexican" schools, a question not finally resolved in Texas until 1971.

Honors / J. T. Canales Distinguished Alumni Award given by the University of Michigan Law School; J. T. Canales Elementary School in Brownsville named for him; House of Representatives of the 79th Texas Legislature paid tribute to him for his exceptional contributions (2005).

Question / In addition to advocating civil rights for Mexican Americans, J. T. Canales also embraced such causes as prohibition and women's suffrage. In one paragraph each, define and describe those issues. Include the dates when each was resolved in Texas.

Looping Question: Which Texas teacher succeeded in getting the racist name of a road changed?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #8

Minnie Fisher Cunningham

b. New Waverly, Texas, 3/19/1882 d. New Waverly, Texas, 12/9/1964
Active: 1913–1960

Biography / In 1901 Minnie Fisher Cunningham was the first woman in Texas to receive a pharmacy degree. Due to the inequality in wages paid to men and women, she soon left pharmacy to become an activist and president of the Galveston Equal Suffrage Association and then the Texas Equal Suffrage Association in Austin. Her lobbying for women to vote in primaries passed the Texas legislature in 1918. When the Nineteenth Amendment was passed and submitted to the states for ratification, Cunningham helped it pass in the western states, including Texas in 1920. Among the organizers of the National League of Women Voters, Cunningham remained active in national, state, and party (Democrat) politics throughout her life. President Franklin D. Roosevelt nicknamed her "Minnie Fish."

Honors / Included in *Women of the West* exhibition at the Museum of the American West at the Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles; Minnie Fisher Cunningham Society established to strengthen the financial future of the League of Women Voters of Texas; included in UT–Austin's *Great Texas Women* exhibition.

Question / Find the name of three Texan men who helped the cause of woman suffrage in Texas. Look up each of them and write a sentence about each. Do you think men should be glad that women vote? Why or why not?

Looping Question: Who sued the corporation that blacklisted him—and won his case?

Photo: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Carl Van Vechten Collection, reproduction number LC-DIG-ggbain-32562

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #7

Juanita Craft

b. Round Rock, Texas, 2/9/1902 d. Dallas, 8/6/1985
Active: 1935–1985

Biography / The granddaughter of slaves, Juanita Craft was instrumental in organizing 182 branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Texas in the 1940s and early 1950s. She was the first African American woman to vote in Dallas County in 1944. Craft worked with the youth of the NAACP to desegregate lunch counters, restaurants, theaters, trade schools, public transportation, North Texas State University, and the State Fair. Her steady and nurturing guidance is credited for the very low amount of violence involved in desegregating Dallas. In 1975 at the age of 73, she was elected to the Dallas City Council and later reelected for a second term.

Honors / Linz Award, Dallas's highest civic award (1969); Eleanor Roosevelt Humanitarian Award for public service (1984); her home, now owned by the city of Dallas, has become the Juanita J. Craft Civil Rights House.

Question / Use a search engine or your library to learn about the concept of "Jim Crow." Write a paragraph explaining the meaning of the term. In a second paragraph, give at least three examples of Jim Crow laws or ordinances.

Looping Question: Who oversaw the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act?

We will not stop until the dogs stop biting us in the South and the rats stop biting us in the North.

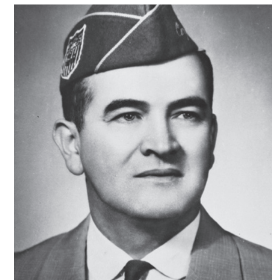
—James Farmer Jr.

To me, the most sinister aspect of that whole period was the systematic way respectable educators, ministers, artists, writers, librarians—Americans from every walk of life—were hauled in by some committee or publicly denounced by some vigilante group, and pronounced "guilty."

—John Henry Faulk

Al fin el trabajador habia tenido el valor de salir al frente y defender sus derechos. (Workers finally had the courage to step forward and defend their rights.)

—Trini Gámez



The biggest impact I had was that I never pushed or favored any demonstrations or revolt to tear down the system. I always thought the system would work with us.

—Héctor P. García

John Henry Faulk

b. Austin, Texas, 8/21/1913 d. Austin, Texas, 4/9/1990
Active: 1957–1990

Biography / A radio host and storyteller, Faulk aired a program of music, humor, and listener participation. When AWARE, Inc., alleged that Faulk had communist sympathies and these allegations prevented him from getting a job with a prominent radio system, Faulk sued the company in 1957. The suit was stalled for five years before Faulk was ultimately awarded the largest libel judgment in history to that date (all he financial judgment was used up by accumulated debts and legal fees). He wrote a book about his ordeal, *Fear on Trial* (1963), which became a TV movie (1974). Throughout the remainder of his life he spoke at universities and other venues about citizenship and the First Amendment.

Honors / John Henry Faulk Conference on the First Amendment sponsored by UT–Austin Center for American History; Paul Robeson Award from Actors' Equity Association (1983); Austin downtown branch library named for him.

Question / John Henry Faulk won the Paul Robeson Award from Actors' Equity Association. In a paragraph, write about who Paul Robeson was. Why was this award named for him? List three other recipients of the award (note: There are several "Paul Robeson" awards; include "Actors' Equity" in your search).

Looping Question: Who helped desegregate department store dressing rooms, juries, and libraries in Houston?

Photo: Faulk (John Henry) Papers, di-03020, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin

James Farmer Jr.

b. Marshall, Texas, 1/12/1920 d. Fredericksburg, Virginia, 7/9/1999
Active: 1942–1999

Biography / A disciple of Mohandas K. Gandhi, James Farmer Jr. founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and organized the first sit-ins in the nation to have both African American and Euro American volunteers in 1942. During the 1950s and 1960s CORE supported integration with nonviolent activities such as sit-ins, picketing, freedom rides, and prayer vigils. Farmer, who risked his life on numerous occasions, became disenchanted with the increasing violence of some black leaders and moved on to an academic life in the 1970s. President Richard Nixon appointed him the Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1968. Along with Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Farmer is remembered as one of the "Big Four" of the civil rights movement

Honors / Presidential Medal of Freedom (President Clinton, 1998); Texas State Legislature recognized James Farmer Jr. Day on January 12, 2005.

Question / In one paragraph, write about the Freedom Rides of the 1960s. In the second paragraph, write whether you think the goal was attained and give reasons for your opinion.

Looping Question: Whose bill to abolish the poll tax led to the 24th Amendment?

Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Carl Van Vechten Collection, reproduction number LC-DIG-ppmsc-01266

Héctor P. Gárcia

b. Tamaulipas, Mexico, 1/17/1914 d. Corpus Christi, Texas, 7/26/1996
Active: 1948–1996

Biography / *Dr. Héctor García* returned from U.S. military service in World War II determined to change the lives of Mexican American Texans living in poverty and discrimination. Through the GI Forum, which he founded in 1948, Dr. *García* worked to acquire veterans' rights for Hispanics, such as home loans, education, medical care, and insurance. A full-time physician, he continued to campaign on behalf of Mexican residents and Mexican American citizens and pushed for desegregation of restaurants, businesses, juries, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries. At the time of his death he was working to improve life in the *colonias* (impoverished neighborhoods) on the Texas/Mexico border.

Honors / Presidential Medal of Freedom (President Reagan, 1984); a city park and a post office in Corpus Christi are named for him; a bronze statue of him is located at Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi.

Question / Who was Felix Longoria? Describe the incidents in Three Rivers surrounding Longoria's funeral. Where was Longoria buried? What do you think Americans learned—or should have learned—from "the Longoria incident," as it is often called?

Looping Question: Which pharmacist/congressperson initiated legislation to allow doctors to prescribe generic drugs?

Photo: UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 068-0557

Trinidad (Trini) Gámez

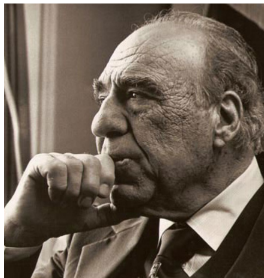
b. Karnes County, Texas, 5/1/1929 Living in Hereford, Texas, 2009
Active: 1975–present (2009)

Biography / Hereford farm worker Trini Gámez gained organizational skills as a PTA volunteer and a room mother and began putting them to use as a union organizer in 1975. Working with the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, she helped to eliminate at-large elections and get voting precinct lines drawn more fairly in Hereford. With Texas Rural Legal Aid (TRLA), she facilitated campaigns by the Texas Farm Workers Union in the area, advising workers of their rights. When agricultural worker strikes and lawsuits changed the balance of power in the 1980s, local officials threatened to eliminate funding for TRLA, but the group rallied support from throughout the state.

Honors / Denison Ray Award from the National Legal Aid and Defender Association (1994); "A Vision for the 21st Century" honoree, Hispanic Heritage Month (1999).

Question / The Texas Farm Workers Union was active in Texas in the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, but many workers now join the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). Who founded the UFW? When and where? Write one paragraph about the UFW; print or draw the UFW symbol in color.

Looping Question: Who started the idea of redress and reparations (apology and money) for Japanese Americans incarcerated during World War II?



The vote that carries the weight of moral conviction behind it, it has been my observation, is a vote that eventually triumphs.

—Henry B. González

I don't like the Klan. But if I don't stand up and defend the Klan's right to free speech, my right to free speech will be gone.

—Anthony Griffin

Some say I am a pioneer but all I was trying to do was win some games.

—Don Haskins

Each time the NAACP took a school district to court that called themselves "separate but equal," we proved through my photographs that the schools were certainly segregated, but not equal.

—R. C. Hickman

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #14

Anthony Griffin

b. Baytown, Texas, 1954 Living in Galveston, Texas, 2009
Active: 1975–present (2009)

Biography / African American attorney Anthony Griffin's first case out of law school in 1978 was filed on behalf of his mother, whose salary was lower than men doing the same job. In 1993 Griffin defended the First Amendment rights of Michael Lowe, the "Grand Dragon" of the Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Because of this, Griffin met with rebuke from many of his African American associates as well as from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 2000 he represented students from Santa Fe, Texas, in a religious liberty case involving school prayer at football games. Griffin continues to work in Galveston as a civil rights attorney.

Honors / Galveston Black Heritage Festival Citizen of the Year (1993); William Brennan Award by Thomas Jefferson Center for Freedom of Expression (1993).

Question / Learn about Christia Adair and the 1957 case in which she testified on behalf of the NAACP. Write a paragraph comparing and contrasting her case with that of Michael Lowe. If you like, use Anthony Griffin's quote as an opening or concluding statement.

Looping Question: Who questioned standardized testing of Spanish-speaking children in the 1930s?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #13

Henry B. González

b. San Antonio, Texas, 5/3/1916 d. San Antonio, Texas, 11/28/2000
Active: 1953–1998

Biography / Elected to San Antonio's city council in 1953 "Henry B." spoke out against segregation in city parks and swimming pools. As the state's first Mexican American state senator (elected in 1956), he filibustered for 22 hours to prevent the passage of legislation designed to evade the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. As a U.S. Congressperson in 1961, he introduced a bill to abolish the poll tax, which still existed in Texas and four other states; his bill led to the 24th Amendment. For 37 years Congressperson Gonzalez led efforts for affordable housing, truth in lending, a minimum wage, and equal opportunity while exposing conflict of interest and fraud.

Honors / National Alliance to End Homelessness Award for Public Sector Achievement (1991); Profile in Courage Award from the John F. Kennedy Foundation (1994).

Question / What is a poll tax? How does a poll tax affect the ability of people to vote or not to vote? Can you think of ways that a wealthy person could change the outcome of elections in a poll taxing society? Compose a paragraph about the poll tax which includes the answers to these questions.

Looping Question: What coach won a 1966 championship game with the first all-black starting team in the NCAA?

Photo: Courtesy of Henry B. González Papers (E-HBG-0003), The Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #16

R. C. Hickman

b. Mineola, Texas, 1922 d. Dallas 12/1/2007
Active: 1949–1970

Biography / As a soldier in World War II, R. C. Hickman learned how to take and develop photographs and soon earned the credentials to become an Army photographer. After the war he began a professional career in Dallas and went to the Southwest School of Photography on the GI Bill. Hickman recorded life in Dallas for 30 years. As a photographer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), he documented unequal conditions in African American and Euro American schools during Texans' long efforts to end segregation. His work placed him at locations where he was not welcome, yet he continued to face the danger in the interest of desegregation.

Honors / Commended by the Texas House of Representatives (1995); Annual R. C. Hickman Young Photographers Workshop offered in Dallas; photographs featured at the MLK station of the Dallas Area Rapid Transit system.

Question / Find the R. C. Hickman Photographic Archive Web site at the Center for American History, University of Texas–Austin. Select three photographs that reveal unequal conditions endured by African American Texans during the 1950s. Give the preferred citation for each photograph (for an example, see below) and write a caption for each.

Looping Question: Who flew to Washington, D.C., on behalf of Filipino and Native American cannery workers?

Photo: R. C. Hickman Photographic Archives, The Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #15

Don Haskins

b. Enid, Oklahoma, 3/14/1930
d. El Paso, Texas, 9/7/2008
Active: 1966–1999

Biography / Although his goal was simply to win a basketball game, Coach Don Haskins of Texas Western College (now UT–El Paso) enabled a legendary step forward for civil rights when his 1966 Miners, with an all–African American starting lineup, defeated an all–Euro American team with an openly racist coach for the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I National Championship. Called "basketball's biggest upset," the dramatic victory caused other colleges and universities to reevaluate their sports recruiting policies, which largely excluded black players. The 2006 movie *Glory Road* tells the team's story.

Honors / Inducted into the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame (1997); inducted into the Texas Sports Hall of Fame (1987); UT–El Paso Athletic Center named for him.

Question / Read about Don Haskins and the 1966 basketball game on at least three different Internet sites. Write about the game in one paragraph. In a second paragraph, tell whether you think Haskins should be called a civil rights hero? Why or why not?

Looping Question: Who started free kindergartens for Spanish-speaking children in Laredo and San Antonio?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #17

Women who stepped up were measured as citizens of the nation, not as women. . . . This was a peoples' war, and everyone was in it.

—Oveta Culp Hobby

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #18

. . . as far as I'm concerned, [Taylor v. Sterrett] is the most important case I have tried. I found that the Dallas County Jail was very much in need of change. It was in deplorable condition, and I think that under my jurisdiction it became one of the best jails in the whole United States.

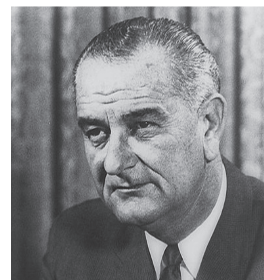
—Sarah T. Hughes

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #19

Mexican children in Texas need an education. . . . There is no other means to do it but ourselves, so that we are not devalued and humiliated by the strangers who surround us.

—Jovita Idar

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #20



The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men.

—Lyndon B. Johnson

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #18

Sarah T. Hughes

b. Baltimore, Maryland, 8/2/1896 d. Dallas, 4/23/1985
Active: 1930–1975

Biography / Attorney Sarah T. Hughes moved to Dallas with her Texas-born husband in 1922. She served in the Texas House of Representatives during the 1930s, became the first female Texas district judge in 1935 (and was reelected for the next 24 years), and in 1961 was the first female Texan appointed a U.S. district judge. She was especially interested in the rights of women to serve on juries and the reform of the juvenile justice system. In cases related to juvenile justice and prison reform, she personally followed up to be sure court-ordered improvements were made. On a three-judge panel she heard the appeal of the controversial case *Roe* v. *Wade*. She became a national figure when she administered the oath of office to Lyndon Johnson after the assassination of President Kennedy.

Honors / Sarah T. Hughes Civil Rights Award given by the Federal Bar Association; Sarah T. Hughes Diversity Scholarships awarded by SMU's Dedman School of Law; Judge Sarah T. Hughes Reading Room at the University of North Texas in Denton.

Question / The names of legal cases consist of the name of the plaintiff (or first of several), the abbreviation "v.," meaning "versus," then the name of the defendant. Give the full name of the first plaintiff and defendant in five of these cases and write about the subject of each: *Sweatt* v. *Painter, Taylor* v. *Sterrett, Nixon* v. *Herndon, Delgado* v. *Bastrop; Faulk* v. *AWARE; Roe* v. *Wade,* and *Texas Commission of Human Rights* v. *Lowe*.

Looping Question: Who founded the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project in 1974?

Photo: Squire Hawkins

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #17

Oveta Culp Hobby

b. Killeen, Texas, 1/19/1905 d. Houston, 8/16/1995
Active: 1942–1968

Biography / Oveta Culp served as Parliamentarian to the Texas legislature and wrote a book on parliamentary procedure. She studied law at UT and ran for the Texas Legislature. In 1931, she married former Texas governor William P. Hobby. They purchased and published the *Houston Post* until she was called to consider the role of women in the U.S. Army, a request that ultimately led to "Colonel Hobby" organizing and leading the Women's Army Corps. She later served as first Secretary of the newly established U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the first woman to hold a cabinet position.

Honors / Inducted into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame (1984); inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame (1996); library at Central Texas College in Killeen named for her.

Question / As the nation's first Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Culp helped to prevent the spread of polio in the United States. Use a search engine or your library to learn more about her efforts. Compose a paragraph entitled "Hobby and the Salk Vaccine."

Looping Question: Which African American attorney defended a Ku Klux Klansman?

Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction number LC-USZ62-122229

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #20

Lyndon B. Johnson

b. Stonewall, Texas, 8/27/1908 d. Johnson City, Texas, 1/22/1973
Active: 1931–1969

Biography / From his first year teaching school in Cotulla, Texas, Johnson had an urgent desire to help the poor. As a congressperson, senator, and senate majority leader, he directed the passage of laws affecting labor, the elderly, housing, and civil rights, as well as defense and space exploration. As President of the United States, Johnson oversaw the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and Medicare; each is an aspect of his vision of "the Great Society." He used the power of the federal purse to speed up integration (segregation was still practiced in the 1960s though illegal since 1954) and appointed Thurgood Marshall, the first African American U.S. Supreme Court Justice.

Honors / Awarded a Silver Star for gallantry in action during World War II (Navy); Presidential Medal of Freedom (President Carter, 1980); buildings named for him include NASA's Johnson Space Center, the Lyndon B. Johnson General Hospital (Houston), and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Department of Education Building (Washington, D.C.).

Question / Find out when, where, and on what occasion President Johnson announced his plans for "the Great Society." Do you think that was an appropriate setting to announce future plans? Why or why not? Compose a paragraph describing the announcement and giving reasons for your opinion.

Looping Question: Who organized the "Petticoat Lobby"?

Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction number LC-USZ62-122229

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #19

Jovita Idar

b. Laredo, Texas, 1885 d. San Antonio, Texas, 1946
Active: 1910–1920

Biography / A journalist, organizer, and spokesperson for Mexican women and children in Texas, Jovita Idar worked for newspapers that advocated equal justice, women's rights, and education for Hispanic children in Texas; her writing was frequently at odds with the views of powerful Texans and Americans. In 1911 the Idar family called for "the First Mexican Congress" in Laredo, where Mexican Texans could discuss education, social, labor, and economic matters that concerned them. Subsequently Idar founded and served as first president of the League of Mexican Women, which opened free schools for Tejano children in Laredo, and later, in San Antonio.

Honors / In UT–Austin's "Gallery of Great Texas Women"; honored as one of "Thirteen Extraordinary Women" by Texas A&M International University–Laredo's Women Advancing Women organization (2000); included in the National Women's History Project.

Question / Jovita Idar once held off several Texas Rangers who arrived to destroy her father's newspaper office. Find at least two versions of the story, and then write a newspaper article about the incident. Create a headline for your article.

Looping Question: Who founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching?

Photo: UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures; # 084-0596; Courtesy of Ike Idar

"We, the people' It's a very eloquent beginning. But when that document was completed on the seventeenth of September in 1787, I was not included in that "We, the people." I felt somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court decision, I have finally been included in "We, the people."

—Barbara Jordan

I am now an activist on behalf of humanity everywhere. . . . That is my community.

—Mickey Leland

When I was growing up, a lot of us were punished for speaking Spanish. We were punished for being who we were, and we were made to feel ashamed of our culture. . . . My art is a way of healing these wounds, like the sávila plant (aloe vera) heals burns and scrapes when applied by a loving parent or grandparent.

—Carmen Lomas Garza

Never vote for a woman just because she is a woman. . . . It is the candidate's platform which is important—not the battle of the sexes.

—Jane Y. McCallum

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #22

George Thomas (Mickey) Leland

b. Lubbock, Texas, 11/27/1944 d. Ethiopia, 8/7/1989
Active: 1972–1989

Biography / At Texas Southern University, Mickey Leland organized a door-to-door campaign telling poor people about available medical care. As a pharmacist, Dr. Leland pressured Houston to open health clinics. As a state congressperson (elected in 1972), he initiated legislation allowing doctors to prescribe generic drugs. As U.S. Congressperson (elected in 1978), he co-authored legislation to establish the House Select Committee on Hunger and was appointed its first chair. He rallied support that resulted in both public and private action related to prison reform, infant mortality, services for the homeless, and food for at-risk women, children, and infants. Before Dr. Leland's untimely death, he had begun addressing the problem of world hunger.

Honors / Among agencies and buildings named in his honor are the Mickey Leland National Urban Air Toxics Research Center at the Texas Medical Center, Houston; Mickey Leland Center on World Hunger and Peace at Texas Southern University; Mickey Leland International Terminal at Houston's George Bush Intercontinental Airport.

Question / Find out how Mickey Leland died. What was he doing at the time? Compose a three-paragraph essay telling about Mickey Leland's life, his death, and his accomplishments.

Looping Question: Who brought charges of vigilantism against the Texas Rangers?

Photo: USAID

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #21

Barbara Charline Jordan

b. Houston, 2/21/1936 d. Austin, Texas, 1/17/1996
Active: 1967–1994

Biography / In 1967 Barbara Jordan became the first African American since Reconstruction to serve in the Texas State Senate; in 1973 she became the first African American woman from the South to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. In public office, she promoted legislation for minimum wage and workers' compensation, championed the renewal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and spoke eloquently in defense of the constitution at the impeachment proceedings of President Richard Nixon. An expert in parliamentary procedure, she worked within the system to champion the poor, the disadvantaged, and people of color. In 1979 she retired from politics to teach courses on intergovernmental relations, political values, and ethics at UT–Austin's LBJ School of Public Affairs.

Honors / Awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom (President Clinton, 1994); Tom C. Clark Equal Justice Under Law Award (1991); inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame (1990); bronze statue at UT–Austin.

Question / In the quotation included here, what did Barbara Jordan mean by "I was not included . . ."? Find and name three examples of amendments, interpretations, or court decisions that allowed her to say, "I have finally been included . . ."

Looping Question: Who organized and led the Women's Army Corps during World War II?

Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction number LC-U9-32937-32A/33

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #24

Jane Yelvington McCallum

b. La Vernia, Texas, 12/30/1877 d. Austin, Texas, 8/14/1957
Active: 1915–1957

Biography / After successfully lobbying and organizing on behalf of woman's suffrage, McCallum banded together six statewide women's groups in order to transform their new voting privilege into political power, forming the Women's Joint Legislative Council, known as the "Petticoat Lobby." Operating from a committee room in the state capitol, the Petticoat Lobby was able to pass bills related to schools, alcohol abuse, prison reform, care of babies and expectant mothers, literacy, and child labor. A speaker, columnist, and author, "Jane Y." also served two terms as Texas's Secretary of State.

Honors / Jane McCallum High School (Austin) is named in her honor; included in UT–Austin's "Gallery of Great Texas Women"; Arthur and Jane Y. McCallum House (Austin) is on the National Register of Historic Places.

Question / What is a political lobby and what does a lobbyist do? Find the names of six groups that utilize lobbyists.

Looping Question: Who organized farm workers in the Texas Panhandle in the 1970s?

Photo: AR.E.004-E(009), Austin History Center, Austin Public Library

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #23

Carmen Lomas Garza

b. Kingsville, Texas, 9/12/1948 Living in San Francisco, 2009
Active: 1972–present (2009)

Biography / Carmen Lomas Garza knew that she wanted to be an artist from the age of 13. Drawing strength from the Chicano movement of the late 1960s, she dedicated herself to honoring the special and everyday experiences she remembered from her own childhood. Many of those experiences were not honored at the time because she and others were made to feel ashamed for speaking Spanish and participating in cultural traditions. Lomas Garza uses her art to instill pride in Mexican American history and culture, and for those outside the culture, her works in gouache, oil, cut paper, and metal offer generous access for cultural understanding.

Honors / Lomas Garza's books have received the American Library Association's Pura Belpré Award for Illustration (2000); the Texas Library's Association's Texas Bluebonnet Award (1997–98); listed among the "Best Books of the Year" by both the Library of Congress (1990) and *School Library Journal* (1990).

Question / Find Carmen Lomas Garza's official Web site. View her paintings, and select (a) one that reveals something unique about Mexican American culture; (b) one that depicts an experience common to Texans of other cultural traditions, and; (c) one that surprised you in some way. Write a paragraph about each.

Looping Question: Who photographed segregated schools to show that African American and Euro American schools were not equal?

The judges were friends of mine. They inquired after my health, and when I presented my poll tax receipt, one of them said, "Dr. Nixon, you know we can't let you vote." I said, "I know you can't, but I've got to try."

—Dr. Lawrence Nixon

Every person has the ability to do something the world needs. . . . Success means you have found your niche and used your best efforts to try to solve the problems.

—Louise Raggio

The fruits of "racial" discrimination are boomerangs. . . . The vicious practices . . . do harm to the "Mexican," yes. However, infinitely more harm is done to the group which perpetrates or tolerates the practices.

—George I. Sánchez

The door has been opened.
It's up to you to walk through.

—Heman Sweatt

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #26

Louise Ballerstedt Raggio

b. Austin, Texas, 6/15/1919 Living in Dallas, 2009
Active: 1953–1980

Biography / Louise Raggio chaired the Family Law section of the Texas State Bar in the 1960s. She oversaw the removal of 44 legal restrictions that prevented women from having equal opportunities. Initially she opposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), knowing that passage would cause disaster if a unified family code were not in place, so she worked quickly to guide to completion the 1967 Texas Marital Property Act; this law allowed Texas women to buy and sell property, secure bank loans, and start businesses without their husband's permission. Over the next 12 years her committee created for Texas the first complete family code in the world.

Honors / American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Thomas Jefferson Award (1994); Louise Ballerstedt Raggio Lecture Series in Women's Studies at Southern Methodist University; inducted into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame (2001).

Question / What does the Equal Rights Amendment say? When was it created? During what years was it discussed most vigorously? Do you think the ERA should become an amendment to the U.S. Constitution? Why or why not?

Looping Question: What African American choreographer's greatest work is based on the gospel music of his Texas childhood?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #25

Lawrence Nixon

b. Marshall, Texas, 2/07/1884 d. El Paso, 3/06/1966
Active: 1924–1944

Biography / After a lynching in Cameron, Texas, where he was practicing medicine, Dr. Nixon moved to El Paso where his family might be safer. He organized a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and voted in the primary and general elections regularly. In 1923 Texas passed a law preventing African Americans from voting in party primaries; the next time Nixon went to vote, he was told that only "Whites" could vote. Subsequently, he filed two separate suits, each of which went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court and were won; however, both times the Democratic Party foiled the ruling. Dr. Nixon's cause was finally won in 1944 in the case of *Smith* v. *Allwright*.

Honors / An El Paso elementary school and a street are named for him; county commissioners placed a bronze bust of Dr. Nixon in the El Paso courthouse (2005); Texas Historical Commission placed a marker in Dr. Nixon's El Paso neighborhood (2006).

Question / Research "white primaries," then answer this question: Dr. Nixon could still vote in the general election; why was voting in the Democratic primary so important in Texas in Dr. Nixon's era? Write a paragraph explaining your answer.

Looping Question: Who led Dallas youths in desegregating lunch counters and theaters in the city?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #28

Heman Marion Sweatt

b. Houston, 12/11/1912 d. Atlanta, 10/3/1982
Active: 1946–1975

Biography / As secretary of Houston's branch of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Sweatt challenged the Postal Service's practice of excluding African Americans from supervisory positions. In 1946, with the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), he sought admission to the University of Texas School of Law but was rejected on the basis of race. His case, *Sweatt* v. *Painter*, stalled and failed in Texas courts but ultimately prevailed in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1950, opening the door to college admission for African Americans. Though he did not finish law school, he completed a degree in Social Work and worked for the NAACP and the Urban League.

Honors / *Dallas Express* "Texan of the Year" (1946); *Houston Informer*'s "Texan of the Year" (1946); annual Heman Sweatt Symposium on Civil Rights held at UT–Austin; UT–Little campus renamed Heman Sweatt Campus.

Question / Read about Heman Sweatt. UT tried to offer him alternatives to entering its all–Euro American law school, but he rejected them. Write about Sweatt, his plans and hopes, and the alternatives UT offered him. Do you think he should have accepted any of the alternatives? Why or why not?

Looping Question: Who helped Galveston immigrants find homes and jobs in the first decades of the twentieth century?

Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction number LC-USZ62-120702

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #27

George Isidoro Sánchez

b. Albuquerque, New Mexico, 10/04/1906
d. Austin, Texas, 4/05/1972
Active: 1931–1959

Biography / Dr. George I. Sánchez taught school and studied in Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas. He worked and conducted research in Mexico and Venezuela. His master's thesis at UT was among the first to question the standardized testing of Spanish-speaking children. When he began teaching at UT in 1940, he continued his efforts to overthrow standardized tests and segregation based on non-proficiency in English and other forms of discrimination. His investigation and expert witness testimony on two court cases—*Delgado* v. *Bastrop ISD* (1948) and *Hernandez* v. *Driscoll CISD* (1957)—finally ended segregation based on national origin or Spanish surname.

Honors / Schools and charter schools in Austin, Houston, and San Antonio named for him; George I. Sánchez Centennial Professorship in Liberal Arts at UT–Austin's College of Education.

Question / Find definitions for the terms "de jure" and "de facto." Read about one of the two court cases above. Was the segregation in this case "de jure" or "de facto"? Explain.

Looping Question: Whose efforts led to Texas women being able to buy property and start businesses?

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #29

While watching American figure skater Kristi Yamaguchi accept her Gold Medal during the 1992 Winter Olympics, as our National Anthem played, there was a station break. The commercial for (a restaurant) came on with the words "Jap Road" emblazoned across the TV screen and a voice loudly announcing its location, "Wa-ay down 'Jap Road.'"

—Sandra Tanamachi

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #30

There were many times when I thought I might be lynched, but I never thought I would be a heroine.

—Emma Tenayuca

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #31

We may have eliminated the statutory provisions for detention camps, but we must always remember it takes eternal vigilance to improve democracy. We must struggle to eliminate the camps of fear, hate, racism and repression.

—Edison Uno

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #32

Su voto es su voz.
(Your vote is your voice.)

—Willie Velásquez

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #30

Emma Tenayuca

b. San Antonio, Texas, 12/21/1916
d. San Antonio, Texas, 7/23/1999
Active: 1932–1939

Biography / Emma Tenayuca began speaking and striking for better wages and working conditions in 1932 when she was still in high school. Popularly associated with the cigar workers and pecan shellers' strikes, she was a leader in the Workers Alliance, which supported the cause of both working and unemployed laborers in many trades, especially Hispanic American workers who were often illegally threatened with deportation. Her affiliation with the Communist Party began to hurt her favored causes, so she stepped out of leadership to work in the background. Blacklisted and unable to find work, she left San Antonio in 1939 and did not return until the late 1960s. By the 1990s, she was considered a heroine.

Honors / Included on National Women's History Month poster (1990); included in UT–Austin's *Great Texas Women* exhibition; Texas Civil Rights Projects gives the annual Emma Tenayuca Community Action Award.

Question / The decade of the 1930s is known as the Great Depression. What was depressed? How was life in America affected? Why do you think many labor movements began or were strengthened during the 1930s?

Looping Question: Whose efforts and lawsuit opened the door to college admission for African Americans in 1950?

Photo: San Antonio Light Collection; UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures; #L-1662-C; Courtesy of the Hearst Corporation

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #29

Sandra Tanamachi

b. Harlingen, Texas, 1945 Living in Lake Jackson, Texas, 2009
Active: 1992–2004

Biography / When she moved to Beaumont, teacher Sandra Tanamachi was alarmed to come across "Jap Road." Even though four of her Japanese American uncles had served honorably in the U.S. military during World War II—one of them was killed in action—she was all too familiar with that racial slur. In 1992 she approached Jefferson County commissioners about changing the road's name, but they didn't see the need. Gathering help and support from others, including a letter-writing campaign, she asked again in 2004; this time, the commissioners agreed. Within months, the other three counties in Texas which had "Jap Roads" renamed them.

Honors / Bronze Good Citizenship Medal from the Cradle of Texas chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, (2005); Edison Uno Civil Rights Award from the Japanese American Citizens League (2006); Japanese Foreign Minister's Commendation (2006).

Question / A controversy exists about the use of Native American names or mascots for sports teams such as the Washington Redskins or Chief Wahoo of the Cleveland Indians. Find the names or mascots of ten such sports teams. Do you think the teams should change their name or mascot? Why or why not?

Looping Question: Who filed two separate lawsuits in an attempt to do away with all-White primaries?

Photo: Nobuyuki Okada, Japanese American National Museum

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #32

William C. "Willie" Velásquez

b. Orlando, Florida, 5/9/1944 d. San Antonio, Texas, 6/15/1988
Active: 1966–1988

Biography / In 1967 Willie Velasquez helped found the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and served as statewide coordinator for La Raza Unida. As boycott coordinator for the United Farm Workers in 1968, he organized strikes in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. In 1969 he helped found the Mexican American Unity Council and served as its first director. Envisioning a time when Latinos would play a role in the democratic process, he founded the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project in 1974, conducting registration drives in 200 cities and Indian reservations and, through the subsequent Southwest Voter Research Institute, polling and educating voters on the issues.

Honors / Awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom (President Clinton, 1995); Southwest Voter Registration Institute renamed the William C. Velásquez Institute (1997); William C. Velásquez Elementary School dedicated in Fort Bend County (2006).

Question / A 2007 U.S. Senate bill is named for Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, Coretta Scott King, Barbara Jordan, César Chávez, and Willie Velásquez. What was the purpose of this bill? Write a sentence about each nominee explaining why he or she should be included in the bill's title.

Looping Question: Which artist's work depicts memories of her childhood in Kingsville?

Photo: San Antonio Light Collection; UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures; #L-7055-C; Courtesy of the Hearst Corporation

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers #31

Edison Uno

b. Los Angeles, 10/19/1929 d. San Francisco, 1976
Active: 1969–1976

Biography / From 1942 to 1946, Edison Uno's family was incarcerated at the Department of Justice run-camp in Crystal City, Texas, an experience that greatly influenced his life. As Assistant Dean of Students at the University of California, San Francisco, from 1969 to 1972, he led rallies to start the first Ethnic Studies department in the U.S. at San Francisco State University. He worked to reform the makeup of grand juries to include minority jurors and was the first Japanese American to serve on a San Francisco grand jury. In 1970 Uno introduced to the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) a resolution requesting redress and monetary reparations for Japanese Americans incarcerated during World War II. When President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, he was putting Uno's idea into law.

Honors / American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Alexander Meiklejohn Award; San Francisco Bar Association's Liberty Bell Award; annual Edison Uno Memorial Civil Rights Award given by the JACL.

Question / Learn about the camp at Crystal City. Write a one-page essay about the Crystal City Department of Justice Camp. How do you think being incarcerated there as a teenager would affect your life?

Looping Question: Who helped pass the Nineteenth Amendment (women's suffrage) in the Western states?

Photo: Nancy Araki, Japanese American National Museum

Sentence Strips Handout 2-1

Instructions for teacher: Copy, cut, and paste these 15 strips onto construction paper.

Voting Rights

Women's Rights

Desegregation

Education and Health

Jury Reform

Immigrant Rights

Religious Freedom

Freedom of Speech

Civil Rights for African Americans

Civil Rights for Asian Americans

Civil Rights for Hispanic Americans

Fair Labor Practices, Fair Wages/Benefits

Economic Justice/Poverty Issues

Prison Reform

Creative Arts, Visionary

Categories (for teacher use) Handout 2-2

Sentence Strip Categories (suggested):

Voting Rights
Christia Adair, Jessie Daniel Ames, Juanita Craft, Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Trini Gámez, Henry B. González, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, Jane Y. McCallum, Lawrence A. Nixon, Willie Velásquez

Women's Rights
Christia Adair, Suzanne Ahn, Jessie Daniel Ames, Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Anthony Griffin, Oveta Culp Hobby, Sarah T. Hughes, Jovita Idar, Jane Y. McCallum, Louise Raggio

Desegregation
Christia Adair, Juanita Craft, James Farmer Jr., Héctor P. *García*, Henry B. González, Don Haskins, R. C. Hickman, Lyndon B. Johnson, George I. Sánchez, Heman Sweatt

Civil Rights for African Americans
Christia Adair, Jessie Daniel Ames, Alvin Ailey, Juanita Craft, James Farmer Jr., Henry B. González, Anthony Griffin, Don Haskins, R. C. Hickman, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, Lawrence A. Nixon, Heman Sweatt

Civil Rights for Hispanic Americans
J. T. Canales, Trini Gámez, Héctor P. García, Henry B. González, Jovita Idar, Barbara Jordan, Carmen Lomas Garza, George I. Sánchez, Emma Tenayuca, Willie Velásquez

Civil Rights for Asian Americans, Native Americans, or Other Ethnic Groups
Suzanne Ahn, Barbara Jordan, Sandra Tanamachi, Edison Uno

Fair Labor Practices, Fair Wages/Benefits
Trini Gámez, Henry B. González, Héctor P. García, Anthony Griffin, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, Mickey Leland, Louise Raggio, Heman Sweatt, Emma Tenayuca, Willie Velásquez

Immigrant Rights
Henry Cohen, Jovita Idar, Emma Tenayuca

Jury Reform
Héctor P. García, Sarah T. Hughes, Edison Uno

Religious Freedom
Henry Cohen, Anthony Griffin

Freedom of Speech
John Henry Faulk, Anthony Griffin

Economic Justice/Poverty Issues
Héctor P. García, Henry B. González, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, Mickey Leland, Louise Raggio

Education and Health
Alvin Ailey, J. T. Canales, Juanita Craft, Don Haskins, R. C. Hickman, Oveta Culp Hobby, Jovita Idar, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, Mickey Leland, Jane Y. McCallum, George I. Sánchez, Heman Sweatt, Edison Uno, Willie Velásquez

Prison Reform
Henry Cohen, Sarah T. Hughes, Mickey Leland, Jane Y. McCallum

Creative Arts, Visionary
Alvin Ailey, John Henry Faulk, R. C. Hickman, Carmen Lomas Garza

"Stand up for . . ." Categories:

Elected Officials
J. T. Canales, Juanita Craft, Henry B. González, Sarah T. Hughes, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, Mickey Leland

Artist, Writer, Photographer
Alvin Ailey, R. C. Hickman, Oveta Culp Hobby, Jovita Idar, Carmen Lomas Garza, Jane Y. McCallum

Sports and Entertainment
John Henry Faulk, Don Haskins

Attorneys
J. T. Canales, Henry B. González, Anthony Griffin, Sarah T. Hughes, Barbara Jordan, Louise Raggio

Educators
James Farmer Jr., Don Haskins, Jovita Idar, Lyndon B. Johnson, Barbara Jordan, George I. Sánchez, Sandra Tanamachi, Emma Tenayuca, Edison Uno

Medical Professionals
Suzanne Ahn, Héctor P. García, Mickey Leland, Lawrence A. Nixon

Word Triads
Discussion Guide (optional) Handout 2-3

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers

As a class, discuss each triad of words. Appoint three "Lexicon Specialists" who are each responsible for looking up one of the words in the triad and reading the definitions before, during, or at the end of each discussion, as needed.

Three words associated with group/classroom diversity:
segregation
desegregation/integration
inclusion

Three words associated with publicizing or asserting a viewpoint:
demonstrate
picket
strike

Three words associated with voting and elections:
poll tax
suffrage
primaries

Three words that describe negative attitudes toward groups other than one's own:
racism
prejudice
stereotyping

Three ways different groups or viewpoints have been unfairly targeted:
racial profiling
blacklisting
hate crime

Three words used during change-making activities of the twentieth century:
civil rights
equal opportunity
social justice

Looping Question
Cue Sheet (for teacher use) Handout 3-1

Find the first card/question read. Beginning with that card, answers and subsequent questions proceed down the list then back to the top until the entire loop of questions has been asked and answered. For this to work, all cards must be used; give some students a second card and/or a second question slip until all are in play.

CARD	ASKS THIS QUESTION: (Answer is next name on the list)
20. Johnson, Lyndon B.	Who organized the "Petticoat Lobby?" (ANSWER IMMEDIATELY BELOW: #24 Jane Y. McCallum)
24. McCallum, Jane Y.	Who organized farm workers in the Texas Panhandle in the 1970s?
11. Gámez, Trini	Who started the idea of redress and reparations (apology and money) for Japanese Americans incarcerated during World War II?
31. Uno, Edison	Who helped to pass the Nineteenth Amendment (women's suffrage) in the western states?
8. Cunningham, Minnie Fisher	Who sued the corporation that blacklisted him and won his case?
10. Faulk, John Henry	Who helped segregate department store dressing rooms, juries, and libraries in Houston?
1. Adair, Christia	Which judge followed up to be sure her own court-ordered prison reforms were carried out?
18. Hughes, Sarah T.	Who founded the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project in 1974?
32. Velásquez, Willie	Which artist's work depicts memories of her childhood in Kingsville?
23. Lomas Garza, Carmen	Who photographed segregated schools to show that African American and Euro American schools were not equal?
16. Hickman, R. C.	Who flew to Washington, D.C., on behalf of Filipino and Native American cannery workers?
2. Ahn, Suzanne	Which respected and experienced politician retired to teach political values and ethics at UT-Austin?
21. Jordan, Barbara	Who organized and led the Women's Army Corps during WWII?
17. Hobby, Oveta Culp	Which African American attorney defended a Ku Klux Klansman?
14. Griffin, Anthony	Who questioned standardized testing of Spanish-speaking children in the 1940s?
27. Sánchez, George I.	Whose efforts led to Texas women being able to buy property and start businesses?
26. Raggio, Louise	Which African American choreographer's greatest work is based on the gospel music of his Texas childhood?
3. Ailey, Alvin	Who supported the cause of workers in San Antonio Pecan Shellers' Strike of 1938?
30. Tenayuca, Emma	Whose efforts and lawsuit opened the door to college admission for African Americans in 1950?
28. Sweatt, Heman	Who helped immigrants to Galveston find homes and jobs in the first decades of the twentieth century?
6. Cohen, Henry	Who organized CORE and involved both African American and Euro American volunteers in desegregation in the 1940s?
9. Farmer Jr., James	Whose bill to abolish the poll tax led to the 24th Amendment?
13. González, Henry B.	Who won a 1966 championship game with the first all–African American starting team in the NCAA?
15. Haskins, Don	Who started free kindergartens for Spanish-speaking children in Laredo and San Antonio?
19. Idar, Jovita	Who founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching?
4. Ames, Jessie Daniel	Who founded the GI Forum to help Mexican American veterans attain their benefits?
12. García, Héctor P.	Which pharmacist/congressperson initiated bills to allow doctors to prescribe generic drugs?
22. Leland, Mickey	Who brought charges of vigilantism against the Texas Rangers?
5. Canales, J. T.	Which Texas teacher succeeded in getting the racist name of a road changed?
29. Tanamachi, Sandra	Who filed two separate lawsuits in an attempt to do away with all-White primaries?
1. Nixon, Lawrence A.	Who led Dallas youths in desegregating lunch counters and theaters in their city?
7. Craft, Juanita	Who oversaw the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act? (ANSWER: #20, Lyndon B. Johnson)

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer
Word Search (optional) Handout 3-2

One (or more) of the Texas Civil Rights Trailblazers are associated with each of the organizations named below. Can you find each group's initials or acronym (initials pronounced as a word, such as "CORE") in the puzzle?

Answers may be vertical, horizontal, or diagonal and written forwards or backwards.

B	U	L	C	A	D	I	D
G	F	D	Q	T	J	M	S
P	W	I	L	U	L	A	C
M	D	C	K	V	G	Y	P
H	A	T	O	I	S	O	P
J	L	L	Q	R	J	D	C
I	R	B	D	G	E	S	A
J	T	H	T	E	K	W	A
C	U	A	M	S	F	H	N

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
JACL	Japanese American Citizens League
LULAC	League of United Latin American Citizens
MAYO	Mexican American Youth Organization
MAUC	Mexican American Unity Council
MALDEF	Mexican American Legal Defense Fund
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ("N double-A CP")
TRLA	Texas Rural Legal Aid ("tra-la")
UFW	United Farm Workers

Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer groups known better by their full names include:

- Asian Pacific American Journalists Association
- Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
- GI Forum
- League of Women Voters
- La Raza Unida
- Southwest Voter Registration Education Project
- Southwest Voter Research Institute/William C. Velásquez Institute
- Texas Equal Suffrage Association
- Workers Alliance

Rubric for
Research Question
Handout 4-1

Name ______________________________

Class ______________________________

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Using a Search Engine	Successfully selected or discovered good search keywords, followed links, and recognized sites with relevant information.	Selected adequate search keywords and followed links to sites with relevant information.	With supervision, found adequate search keywords and followed links to sites with relevant or related information.	Needed assistance to identify keywords, follow links, and recognize sites with useful information.
Information Gathering	Information gathered clearly relates to the research question; includes several supporting details and/or examples.	Information clearly relates to the research question; provides 1 to 2 supporting details and/or examples.	Information generally relates to the research question; no details or examples are given.	Information has little or nothing to do with the research question.
First Draft and Rewrite	Turned in completed draft; made revisions thoughtfully; included additional research; checked all facts.	Turned in a mostly complete draft; made revisions; checked most facts.	Turned in a draft that includes most required information; made some revisions.	Turned in draft with required information missing; made little effort to improve paper.
Final Draft	Content is complete and accurate; opinions or conclusions are thoughtful and supported by reasons.	Content mostly complete; indicates fair understanding; opinions/conclusions are stated with some reasons given.	Content is too general or not on target; opinions or conclusions are not supported by reasons.	Content contains inaccuracies or irrelevancies; opinions and conclusions either not present or not supported.

Total Points: ___________/ 16

Think Sheet Handout 4-2

Name ______________________________

Class ______________________________

Trailblazer: ______________________________

Question: ______________________________

____

What is the connection between the Trailblazer and this question? ______________________________

____

Keywords to use with Internet search engine: ______________________________

____

Web pages I found helpful (Sponsor/title or URL):

1. ______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

Research Notes (names, dates, organizations, etc., to be used in essay). Use back of page, as needed.

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

Trailblazer Keywords (optional) Handout 4-3

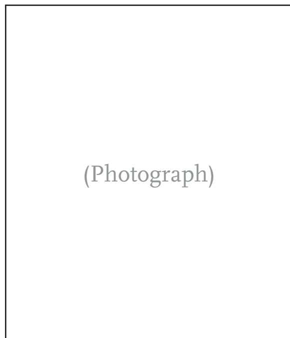
These keywords might be helpful in your research.

CARD	Keywords
1. Adair, Christia	Segregated South + photographs (or click on "images" to see thumbnail photos, then go to sites)
2. Ahn, Suzanne	AAJA
3. Ailey, Alvin	"Alvin Ailey"
4. Ames, Jessie	"Strange Fruit"
5. Canales, J. T.	Prohibition + Texas, "Women's suffrage" + Texas
6. Cohen, Henry	"Handbook of Texas" + Rabbi Henry Cohen
7. Craft, Juanita	"Jim Crow"
8. Cunningham, Minnie Fisher	Texas + "Women's suffrage" or "Women's suffrage" (Note: in Handbook of Texas Online article, look for names with hotlinks to look up their own entries.)
9. Farmer Jr., James	"Freedom Rides," CORE
10. Faulk, John Henry	"Paul Robeson" and "Paul Robeson Award" + Actors' Equity
11. Gámez, Trini	"United Farm Workers"
12. García, Héctor P.	"Felix Longoria Incident"
13. González, Henry B.	"Poll Tax"
14. Griffin, Anthony	"Christia Adair" + 1957
15. Haskins, Don	"Don Haskins" + 1966
16. Hickman, R. C.	"Center for American History" + "R. C. Hickman"
17. Hobby, Oveta Culp	"Oveta Culp Hobby" + "Salk Vaccine"
18. Hughes, Sarah T.	(name of each legal case; student needs to find two sets of names in 5 of the 7 cases)
19. Idar, Jovita	"Jovita Idar" + "Texas Rangers"
20. Johnson, Lyndon B.	"The Great Society"
21. Jordan, Barbara	"Civil Rights" + amendments
22. Leland, Mickey	"Mickey Leland"
23. Lomas Garza, Carmen	"Carmen Lomas Garza" (Artwork)
24. McCallum, Jane Y.	"Lobbyist"
25. Nixon, Lawrence A.	"White Primary"
26. Raggio, Louise	"Equal Rights Amendment"
27. Sánchez, George I.	"de jure" "de facto"; case names
28. Sweatt, Heman	"Heman Sweatt"
29. Tanamachi, Sandra	Indian + "sports teams"
30. Tenayuca, Emma	"Great Depression"
31. Uno, Edison	"World War II" + "Crystal City"
32. Velásquez, Willie	(enter each name separately)

Other hints:
To find specific references within long documents, select "cached" on the search page, or from the site, select "edit" from the toolbar, then select "Find on this page."

Our Texas Civil Rights Trailblazer

Handout 7-1



(Photograph)

" ______________________________

____

______________________________ "

— ______________

Name	
b. (place and date)	d. (place and date)
Years of Activity	
Biography (Approximately 100 words)	
Honors	
Question	
Photo Credit	

Exam on Texas Civil Rights
Trailblazer

Handout 8-1

Christia Adair
Suzanne Ahn
Alvin Ailey
Jessie Daniel Ames
J. T. Canales
Henry Cohen
Juanita Craft
Minnie Fisher Cunningham
James Farmer Jr.
John Henry Faulk
Trini Gámez
Héctor P. García
Henry B. González
Anthony Griffin
Don Haskins
R. C. Hickman
Oveta Culp Hobby
Sarah T. Hughes
Jovita Idar
Lyndon B. Johnson
Barbara Jordan
Mickey Leland
Carmen Lomas Garza
Jane Y. McCallum
Lawrence A. Nixon
Louise Raggio
George I. Sánchez
Heman Sweatt
Sandra Tanamachi
Emma Tenayuca
Edison Uno
Willie Velásquez

Respond to THREE of these descriptions with a name from the list above:

Someone who helped women gain equal rights:

____

Someone who helped African Americans gain equal rights:

____

Someone who helped Mexican Americans gain equal rights:

____

Someone who extended democracy in the area of voting:

____

Someone who extended democracy in the area of education:

____

Someone who extended democracy in the area of labor:

____

Someone who (write your own category)____________________:

____

Terminology
and the Japanese American Experience

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

—Attorney General Francis Biddle, December 30, 1943

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

—*Tacoma News-Tribune*, March 31, 1942

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

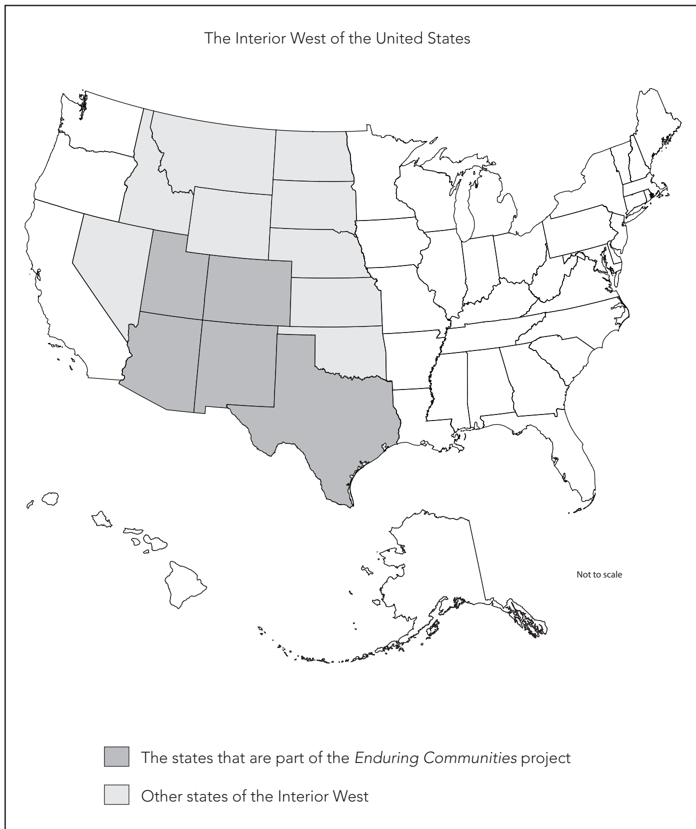
** Crystal City among DOJ sites is notable for having operated similarly to a WRA concentration camp. German and Italian enemy aliens who were treated separately and Latin American Japanese, primarily from Peru who had been involuntarily deported to the United States, also were confined at Crystal City.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

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

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

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

Japanese Americans in the Interior West



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

Arthur A. Hansen

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

Although it did not specifically mention Japanese Americans, E.O. 9066 led to the decision by Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, the Western Defense Command head, to exclude people of Japanese ancestry—both Issei (Japan-born aliens ineligible for American naturalization) and native-born Nisei, who were U.S. citizens—from California, the western halves of Washington and Oregon, and southern Arizona. Of the roughly 127,000 pre-World War II U.S. Nikkei (Japanese Americans), two-thirds were U.S. citizens and the overwhelming majority lived in the three excluded states bordering the Pacific Ocean. Approximately 94,000 Nikkei resided in California.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 See Clarence Iwao Nishizu, interview by Arthur A. Hansen, June 14, 1982, interview 5b, Japanese American Oral History Project, Oral History Program [Center for Oral and Public History], California State University, Fullerton. This interview was published as a bound volume (edited, illustrated, and indexed) in 1991 by the CSUF Oral History Program. For the resettlement narrative featured here, see pp. 142-44.

4 See, in particular, the following studies: Eric Walz, "Japanese Immigration and Community Building in the Interior West, 1812-1945" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1998) ; "From Kumamoto to Idaho: The Influence of Japanese Immigrants on the Agricultural Development of the Interior West," *Agricultural History* 74 (Spring 2000): 404-18; "Japanese Settlement in the Intermountain West, 1882-1946," in Mike Mackey, ed., *Guilty by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West* (Powell, Wyo.: Western History Publications, 2001), pp. 1-24; and Andrew Benjamin Russell, "American Dreams Derailed: Japanese Railroad and Mine Communities of the Interior West" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2003). In the second of the three citations above, Walz offers a precise definition of the Interior West: "that part of the United States east of Washington, Oregon, and California and west of the Missouri River" (p. 404). In addition to these writings by Walz and Russell, see a relevant new study by Kara Allison Schubert Carroll, "Coming to Grips with America: The Japanese American Experience in the Southwest" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2009).

5 My intention here is to avoid, as much as possible, replicating information about these five states that the *Enduring Communities* project state scholars—Karen Leong and Dan Killoren (Arizona); Daryl J. Maeda (Colorado); Andrew B. Russell (New Mexico); Thomas Walls (Texas); and Nancy J. Taniguchi (Utah)—have provided in their respective essays, included in this curriculum and written from a multicultural perspective.

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

One notable commonality between these fourteen states is their relatively large geographical size. This point is dramatized by their rankings in total area among the 50 U.S. states.[6] These states also are alike in that they have comparatively small total populations.[7] Another common denominator for the 14 Interior West states is their comparatively small Asian American population relative to the national average of 3.6 percent (according to the 2000 U.S. census).[8] In terms of the racial-ethnic population (Asian/Black/American Indian/Hispanic) of the Interior West, however, it is apparent that a noticeable disparity in this regard exists between the five principal states and the nine subsidiary states when the percentages for the two units are compared to the national average percentage of 29.3.[9]

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

6 Rankings in terms of area: Texas (2); Montana (4); New Mexico (5); Arizona (6); Nevada (7); Colorado (8); Wyoming (10); Utah (13); Idaho (14); Kansas (15); Nebraska (16); South Dakota (17); North Dakota (19); Oklahoma (20).

7 Rankings in terms of population size: Wyoming (50); North Dakota (47); South Dakota (46); Montana (44); Idaho (39); Nebraska (38); New Mexico (36); Nevada (35); Utah (34); Kansas (33); Oklahoma (27); Colorado (24); Arizona (20); Texas (2). The last three of these states (Colorado, Arizona, and Texas), observably, are exceptional in that their present-day population ranking falls within the upper half of the nation's fifty states. However, viewed historically, only Texas claimed such a ranking in the six national censuses extending from 1910 to 1960: 1910 (5); 1920 (5); 1930 (5); 1940 (6); 1950 (6); 1960 (6). As for Arizona, its population rankings differed markedly, with a population loss from the early part of the twentieth century until 1960: 1910 (45); 1920 (45); 1930 (43); 1940 (43); 1950 (37); 1960 (35). Colorado's ranking during this time period changed very little: 1910 (32); 1920 (32); 1930 (33); 1940 (33); 1950 (34); 1960 (33). When looked at another way, it can be appreciated that Colorado's population increased by a robust 30.6 percent between 1990 and 2000, while Arizona's grew by a whopping 40 percent.

8 This is certainly true of the five principal states: Arizona (1.8 percent); Colorado (2.2 percent); New Mexico (1.1 percent); Texas (2.7 percent); and Utah (1.7 percent). But this point applies (with one obvious exception) even more powerfully to the nine other states: North Dakota (0.6 percent); South Dakota (0.6 percent); Nebraska (1.3 percent); Nevada (4.5 percent); Kansas (1.7 percent); Oklahoma (1.4 percent); Wyoming (0.6 percent); Montana (0.5 percent); and Idaho (0.9 percent).

9 On the one hand, all but Nevada (32.3) of the latter states fall beneath this percentage (and most substantially so): North Dakota (6.3 percent); South Dakota (10.9 percent); Nebraska (11.7 percent); Kansas (15.3 percent); Oklahoma (20.1 percent); Wyoming (10.1 percent); Montana (9.0 percent); Idaho (10.6 percent). On the other hand, three of the five former states exceed (two quite strikingly) the national average percentage: Arizona (35.2 percent); Colorado (24.1 percent); New Mexico (54.6 percent); Texas (46.0 percent); Utah (12.8 percent).

10 Because the primary focus in this essay is on the five states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah, the statistics for these states are rendered in bold type.

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

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

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

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

Fortuitously, the Issei arrived in the U.S. as the Interior West region was experiencing what historian Eric Walz has described as "an economic boom fueled by railroad construction, coal and hard-rock[15] mining, and agricultural

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

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

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

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

14 Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 See Russell, "American Dreams Derailed," p. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

25 Hickman, "Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming," p. 30.

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

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

historical record.[28] To make her point, she not only references the existence of pre-1910 communities in Wyoming with a considerable population of Issei, but also documents those towns—such as Rock Springs in south central Wyoming[29]— that boasted *nihonmachi* (Japantowns).[30]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

33 Hickman, "Japanese Railroad Workers in Wyoming," p. 32.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

49 See ibid., 105-15 passim.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

support, the amendment was defeated.[54]

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

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

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

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

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

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

56 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

57 Ibid., pp. 9–10.

58 Ibid.

MOVE OUT BY SATURDAY NOON AUGUST 25TH
OR BE MOVED

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

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

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

The Japanese Arizona World War II experience has been assayed by two historians, both working at Arizona universities: Charles Ynfante at Northern Arizona University and Andrew Russell at Arizona State University. Their work on this topic has in common the fact that both consider it within the context of Arizona's overall 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 Angele, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

86 Ibid., pp. 129-30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Timeline for Japanese Americans in the Interior West

(Compiled by Arthur A. Hansen)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1925 • Kansas enacts an anti-Japanese land law

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

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

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

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

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

1943 • Utah and Wyoming pass anti-Japanese land laws

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

1945 • World War II ends

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Japanese Americans in 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 Toraichi 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 softening 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 exluding 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)

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

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
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
1970	• Edison Uno champions the idea of providing redress and reparations payments to all Japanese Americans interned during World War II
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
2004	• Austin-born decathalete Bryan Clay who was raised by his Japanese American mother in Hawaii wins an Olympic silver medal

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