

ENDURING COMMUNITIES

Utah Curriculum Units*

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



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enduringcommunities



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Enduring Communities



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

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

[University of Colorado, Boulder](#)

[University of New Mexico](#)

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

[Davis School District, Utah](#)



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UTAH

Table of Contents

4	Project Overview of <i>Enduring Communities: The Japanese American Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah</i>
Curricular Units*	
5	Introduction to the Curricular Units
6	Topaz (Grade 4, 5, 6)
Resources and References	
34	Terminology and the Japanese American Experience
35	United States Confinement Sites for Japanese Americans During World War II
36	Japanese Americans in the Interior West: A Regional Perspective on the Enduring Nikkei Historical Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Utah (and Beyond)
60	State Overview Essay and Timeline
66	Selected Bibliography
Appendix	
78	Project Teams
79	Acknowledgments
80	Project Supporters

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

Project Overview

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

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

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

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

Introduction to the Curricular Units

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

Allyson Nakamoto
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Davis School District
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Davis School District

Name of Unit

Topaz

Suggested Grade Level(s)

4, 5, 6

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies

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Hisako Hibi
In March, 1943
Gift of Ibuki Hibi Lee
Japanese American National Museum (96.601.14)



Unit Map

Authors

Jade Crown, Orchard Elementary School,
Davis School District
Sandy Early, Columbia Elementary School,
Davis School District

Name of Unit

Topaz

Suggested Grade Level(s)

4, 5, 6

Suggested Subject Area(s)

Social Studies

Number of Class Periods Required

8 class periods (45 minutes per period)

Enduring Understanding

- Diversity in the United States helps democracy to function.

Essential Questions

- Who is the “We” in “We, the People”?
- How does racism affect the American experience?
- Is it more important to have safety or liberty?
- What is the Topaz “Relocation Camp”?

Teacher Overview

This unit takes students on a journey following the experiences of Japanese Americans during World War II. The journey begins with Pearl Harbor, continues with Japanese Americans being bused to Tanforan and then removed to Topaz, Utah, and concluding with them starting their lives over again. This unit underscores the understanding that Constitutional rights are for all Americans. Prior to this unit, fifth- and sixth-grade students should have

already studied the three branches of the government and the Bill of Rights.

Key Words

- Constitutional rights
- Japanese Americans
- World War II
- Executive Order 9066
- Topaz
- Racism
- Mass incarceration

Ties to Utah Core Curriculum

Fourth Grade Social Studies: Utah Studies

- Standard I, Objective 2: Analyze how physical geography affects human life in Utah.
- Standard II, Objective 1: Describe the historical and current impact of various cultural groups on Utah.
- Standard II, Objective 2: Describe ways that Utah has changed over time.
- Standard III, Objective 1: Describe the responsibilities and rights of individuals in a representative government as well as in the school and community.

Fifth Grade Social Studies Core: United States Studies

- Standard V, Objective 1: Describe the role of the United States during World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II.
- Standard V, Objective 2: Assess the impact of social and political movements in recent United States history.
- Standard V, Objective 3: Evaluate the role of the United States as a world power.

Sixth Grade Social Studies Core: World Studies

- Standard IV, Objective 1: Analyze how major world events of the twentieth century affect the world today.
- Standard IV, Objective 2: Determine human rights and responsibilities in the world.



Group Size

- Whole class

Life Skills

- Collaboration
- Complex thinking
- Responsible citizenship
- Effective communication (written and oral)

Career Connections

- Artistic
- Social/Humanitarian
- Scientific

Topaz

Time

8 class periods (45 minutes per period)

Objectives

- Students will understand the varying reactions that Japanese Americans had after the attack on Pearl Harbor.
- Students will understand the impact of Executive Order 9066 and Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43 on the Japanese American community.
- Students will be able to locate Topaz on a map of Utah.
- Students will learn about daily life in Topaz “Relocation Camp.”

Enduring Understanding

Diversity in the United States helps democracy to function.

Essential Questions

- Who is the “We” in “We, the People”?
- How does racism affect the American experience?
- Is it more important to have safety or liberty?
- What is the Topaz “Relocation Camp”?

Materials

- Daily journal for each student
- Craft supplies
 - Butcher paper
 - Art paper and poster board
 - Pens, crayons
 - Strings and hole punch for identification tags
- Books (bibliographic information is included in the “References” section, with many resources available from the Davis School District)
 - Teacher copy of *The Bracelet* by Yoshiko Uchida
 - Teacher copy of *Journey to Topaz: A Story of the Japanese American Evacuation* by Yoshiko Uchida
 - Teacher copy of *The Children of Topaz: The Story of a Japanese-American Internment Camp* by Michael O.

- Tunnell and George W. Chilcoat (optional)
- Teacher copy of *Baseball Saved Us* by Ken Mochizuki
- *Topaz* DVD. This DVD should be available from the Davis School District, and it can also be ordered at <http://www.kued.org/?area=productions&action=details&id=34> (accessed August 18, 2009).
- Handouts
 - *Handout 2-1: T-List*
 - *Handout 2-2: Reactions by Japanese Americans to the Attack on Pearl Harbor*
 - *Handout 2-3: Chronology of Events Relating to the Japanese Americans During World War II (optional)*
 - *Handout 3-1: ___ Elementary Executive Order*
 - *Handout 4-1: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43*
 - *Handout 5-1a-f: Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II*
 - *Handout 5-2a-f: Packing Your Bags*
 - *Handout 5-3: Family Tags*
 - *Handout 7-1: Daily Life in Topaz*
- President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Executive Order 9066 (transcript) must be downloaded from the Our Documents Web site at <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=74&page=transcript> (accessed August 18, 2009)
- Map of Utah

Assessments

- Students will specifically answer the four Essential Questions throughout the unit in their journal writing. Students will complete a daily journal reflecting their thoughts, feelings, and understanding of the Japanese American experience during World War II.

Background

The teacher should become familiar with the video and media, books, and optional readings used in this unit. Especially important to review prior to teaching are *Journey to Topaz* by Yoshiko Uchida and the Web sites listed in *Handout 7-1*.

Instructional Strategies/Skills

Day 1: With Liberty and Justice for All

- As an introduction to this unit, ask students to respond to this question: *Who is the “We” in “We the People”?* First point out this question’s reference to the preamble to the U.S. Constitution. Then, as a group, have students write their thoughts pertaining to the question in their journals.
- As a class, make a poster-sized Know-Want to Know-Learned (KWL) chart on the Japanese American experience during World War II. Keep this chart posted throughout the unit, asking for input from the whole class, and add to the chart as the unit progresses.
- Read aloud to the class *The Bracelet*. Recite the Pledge of Allegiance. After the Japanese Americans were placed in Topaz, some students would end the pledge with these words: “. . . with liberty and justice for all . . . except for us.” Discuss why they would have said that.
- Ask students to bring any new understandings to their responses in their journals to this question: *Who is the “We” in “We the People”?*

Day 2: Pearl Harbor

- Show a video clip of the attack on Pearl Harbor from the *Topaz* DVD; this clip runs from 1:14 to 1:50.
- Discuss what Japanese Americans might have been thinking, feeling, and doing following the attack on Pearl Harbor.
- Ask students to imagine that the United States was attacked today by ___ graders like themselves. If the attackers were ___ graders, then suddenly the nation’s eyes might be on all ___ graders. What would their feelings, thoughts, and reactions be?
- Instruct the students to complete *Handout 2-1: T-List*. This can be done as a whole group, individually, or a combination of both. Read aloud the text from *Handout 2-2: Reactions by Japanese Americans to the Attack on Pearl Harbor*. Notes about the reactions of Japanese Americans should be listed on the right side of the T-List; notes from the class/individuals/small groups

should be listed on the left side. Ask students to compare their lists and discuss similarities and differences.

- Explain that the class will have a chance to hear the story of an 11-year-old named Yuki whose family was impacted by the attack on Pearl Harbor. Read aloud *Journey to Topaz*, Chapters 1 and 2. Tell the class that over the course of the next few lessons, they will continue to hear more about Yuki and her family. In their journals, have students respond to one of two questions:
 - Who is the “We” in “We the People”?
 - How does racism affect the American experience?
- If time permits, read through *Handout 2-3: Chronology of the Japanese American Experience in World War II (optional)* as a whole group to allow for questions and answers. Students/small groups will create their own time line of events.

Day 3: Executive Order 9066

- Read aloud the text from *Handout 3-1: ___ Elementary Executive Order* as if it had been recently issued by the President. Discuss the students’ reactions. Explain that an Executive Order is a President’s or Governor’s declaration that has the force of law; these orders are usually based on existing statutory powers and require no action by Congress or state legislatures.
- Executive Order 9066 was issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942. Distribute the downloaded transcripts of Executive Order 9066 to the students.
- For fifth- and sixth-grade classrooms, conduct a jigsaw activity to analyze Executive Order 9066. Divide the class into six groups to read assigned sections. Have groups make posters summarizing their assigned section and present the information to the class.
- Read aloud *Journey to Topaz*, Chapters 3 and 4.
- In their journals, have students respond to this Essential Question: *How does racism affect the American experience?*

Day 4: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43

- Explain that the class will be doing an activity called “Where Do I Stand.” Students will stand in a continuum to show how they feel about different topics: one end of the line represents “I strongly agree” with the statement while the opposite end represents “I strongly disagree.” Explain that while there aren’t any right or wrong answers for where they choose to stand on the continuum, they may be asked to explain their positions.
 - Practice the activity a few times. For example, use the statement, “I like pizza.” Students who like it very much should stand on one end and those who strongly dislike pizza will stand at the other end. Those who are indifferent about pizza will stand in the middle. Select a few students to explain their positions.
 - Then use the statement, “I like America.” Ask a few students to explain their positions. Then tell them that no matter where the Japanese Americans on the West Coast may have stood on this continuum, they had to leave their homes.
- Distribute copies of *Handout 4-1: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43*. Review it with students and explain that it was issued following Executive Order 9066. It ordered all people of Japanese descent to be removed from their homes on the West Coast. Discuss the climate of fear and uncertainty in America following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Explain why many people thought that this order was necessary.
- In their journals, have students respond to this Essential Question based on what they have just learned: *Is it more important to have safety or liberty?*

Day 5: Leaving Home for Tanforan

- Review *Handout 4-1: Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43*. Remind the students that in today’s lesson they will be forced out of their homes and that they must leave their pets behind.
- Share *Handouts 5-1a–f: Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II*. These photos were taken as Japanese

Americans were being forced to leave their homes. Ask students to describe what is happening in the photos and what the people in the photos might have been thinking and feeling. If time permits, read aloud *The Children of Topaz*, beginning on Page 8, Paragraph 2, and ending on Page 9, Paragraph 3, and show an excerpt from the *Topaz* DVD (from 12:44 to 16:44). These materials provide additional information about the process Japanese Americans experienced as they were being forced to leave their homes.

- Divide into six “families” and distribute *Handout 5-2a–f: Packing Your Bags*. This handout contains profiles of their “families” and packing instructions. These family profiles were developed by the unit’s authors and are based on oral histories and research.
- Pass out the blank tags found on *Handout 5-3: Family Tags*. Students should make tags that they are to wear for the rest of the school day. They should be prepared to answer questions about their tag and their “family.”
- Read aloud *Journey to Topaz*, Chapters 5 through 9.
- In their journals, have students respond to this Essential Question based on what they have just learned: *How does racism affect the American experience?*

Day 6: What is the Topaz “Relocation Camp”?

- With a map of Utah, ask the class to locate Topaz. To give students more of a context for where it was located, ask them how far Topaz was from Delta? From Salt Lake City? From their hometown?
- Explain that the class will now collectively write a poem that answers the question “What is Topaz?”
 - Ask students to write down three words or a phrase that sums up what Topaz is to them.
 - Once everybody has finished writing, go around the room and have students call out a word or phrase. Words can only be used once in the poem, so they have to listen carefully to ensure that their word has not yet been used. To be most effective this should go rapidly, without pauses.
 - The first and last words of the poem should be read by the teacher, and they should both be “Topaz.”

- String the words or phrases together and post the class poem.
- Read aloud *Journey to Topaz*, Chapters 10 through 12.
- In their journals, have students respond to this Essential Question based on what they have just learned: *What is the Topaz “Relocation Camp”?*

Day 7: Daily Life in Topaz

- Read aloud *Baseball Saved Us*. As a class, reflect on the lives of the children living in Topaz.
- Instruct students to create collages of one aspect of daily life in Topaz; they will use the images downloaded from various Web sites listed in *Handout 7-1: Daily Life in Topaz*. They must select and arrange images and prepare to present their creations to the class the following day.
- Read aloud *Journey to Topaz*, Chapters 13 through 16.
- In their journals, have students respond to this Essential Question based on what they have just learned: *What is the Topaz “Relocation Camp”?*

Day 8: Conclusion

- Ask students to present their collages about daily life in Topaz.
- Read aloud *Journey to Topaz*, Chapter 17.
- In their journals, have students respond to any of the four Essential Questions posed in this unit:
 - Who is the “We” in “We, the People”?
 - How does racism affect the American experience?
 - Is it more important to have safety or liberty?
 - What is the Topaz “Relocation Camp”?

Extensions

- Download the podcasts of oral histories of Utahns from the Davis School District’s History Underscores Belief Web Site: http://hubtours.org/HUB_Tours/Topaz.html (accessed August 18, 2009)
- Identify a speaker who could share with students his/her memories of World War II. Explain to this person what your class is studying and invite him/her to visit

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T-List

Handout 2-1

Name _____

Compare the thoughts and feelings of Japanese Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor with your thoughts and feelings if the United States had been attacked by ____ graders today.

Me/Class	Japanese Americans

Reactions by Japanese Americans to the Attack on Pearl Harbor

Handout 2-2

14

1. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston

Streaming video of this interview is available on the “Discover Nikkei” Web site: <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/interviews/profiles/61/> (accessed August 18, 2009)

I can remember that term, “Pearl Harbor,” because I didn’t know what it was. I’m trying to put myself into that mind of a child, of what was happening. A lot of it was confusing, a lot of confusion, wondered where my dad was. It was pretty harrowing when I think of it now because our family...we were a very tight family. Family was everything, and my father was such the powerful center of it, and then for him to just suddenly be taken away was very disconcerting and, you know, terrifying, because he was a very strong and outspoken man. He could speak English very well. He spoke with a British accent because he studied in Japan where they spoke with a British accent. He was a very proud person, so, you know, you felt safe with him, and then suddenly he’s gone.

2. Barbara Kawakami

Streaming video of this interview is available on the “Discover Nikkei” Web site: <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/interviews/clips/266/> (accessed August 18, 2009)

While we were talking, we saw the Japanese plane with the *hinomaru*, the “rising sun” insignia, and the American plane. And we thought—your Auntie thought—it was a maneuver, but it got so dangerous when the [sic] shell started falling on the ground from the anti-aircraft. She thought, “Gee, the maneuvers are dangerous. You better rush home.” And so when I left her gate and went out, and 20 feet away, one of the shell fell right near me—about 20 feet away—and it opened a huge crater in that *haole*—we call it *haole*—*haole* house in the backyard. And so I jumped up. Just the impact made me jump, you know, the vibration. And so that’s when I ran down the hill, and [...] my

brother was pruning the grapevine, and I was telling him the story. Just then, two planes—one with the red insignia and one American plane—they were just shooting each other. And one of the shells hit the next-door roof. And if that neighbor was taking a nap that morning, he would have been killed. But the [sic] shell ricocheted through my mother’s laundry room; she was doing laundry, and it missed her just by a couple of inches. So she ran out because it just shook her. She ran out, and all the neighbors ran out. And then we thought it was so real. So the next-door neighbor came and told my brother that, “Oh, Kazuma, this is real. They just announced over the radio that this is real. Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.”

3. George Azumano

Streaming video of this interview is available on the “Discover Nikkei” Web site: <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/interviews/clips/475/> (accessed August 18, 2009)

I was in the service of the United States Army on December 7, that was the station on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. And the...but in February, actually on February 14, 1942, I was discharged. I was transferred to the reserve court because I was Japanese. And I had a letter to that effect from the commanding officer, saying that if the Army let Japanese back in together. He would be glad to take me back in. I was very disappointed to be released. Very much so. Some of the Nisei were transferred to inland posts if you remember, but others were released. I was the one among those that were released.

Interviewer: When you released, then where did you go? Came home.

Interviewer: Came home. Yes.

Interviewer: And what was it like when you got home?

My father had just been taken by FBI that day. The very morning that I came home, he was taken by FBI. One of the...what do you call it...“enemy alien,” enemy alien status. Taken to...eventually taken to Missoula, Montana.

Interviewer: Was your mother frightened?

Oh, yes. Oh yes. She was pretty much upset. And we had the store still open, even though I wasn't doing much business. Store was open. I came home to that situation, and eventually we sold the store.

4. Wakako Nakamura Yamauchi

Streaming video of this interview is available on the “Discover Nikkei” Web site: <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/interviews/clips/318/> (accessed August 18, 2009)

I was 17; I was a senior in high school. We were making ready; this was in...Pearl Harbor happened in December. And in January all the Japanese kids stopped going to school. I do remember that, because I went to my civics class, and...this was the Monday after Pearl Harbor, and the teacher in our civics class was talking about “the Japs” bombing Pearl Harbor. And you felt like you did the bombing because, as far as they were concerned, *you* were a “Jap.”

Chronology of Events Relating to the Japanese Americans During World War II

Handout 2-3 (optional)

16

August 18, 1941 In a letter to President Roosevelt, Representative John Dingell of Michigan suggests incarcerating 10,000 Hawaiian Japanese Americans as hostages to ensure “good behavior” on the part of Japan.

November 12, 1941 Fifteen Japanese American businessmen and community leaders in Los Angeles’s Little Tokyo are picked up in an FBI raid. Records and membership lists for organizations such as the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and the Central Japanese Association are seized. The 15 would cooperate with authorities, while a spokesman for the Central Japanese Association states: “We teach the fundamental principles of America and the high ideals of American democracy. We want to live here in peace and harmony. Our people are 100 percent loyal to America.”

December 7, 1941 The attack on Pearl Harbor. Local authorities and the FBI begin to round up the Issei leadership of the Japanese American communities in Hawai‘i and on the mainland. By 6:30 a.m. the following morning, 736 Issei are in custody; within 48 hours the number would be 1,291. Caught by surprise for the most part, these men are held under no formal charges and family members are forbidden from seeing them. Most would spend the war years in “enemy alien internment camps” run by the Justice Department.

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

September 11, 1942 The first inmates arrive at the camp in Central Utah, which came to be known as Topaz.

October 20, 1942 President Roosevelt calls the “relocation centers” “concentration camps” at a press conference. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) had consistently denied that the sites were “concentration camps.”

December 10, 1942 The WRA establishes a prison for recalcitrant inmates at Moab, Utah.

January 29, 1943 A War Department press release announces the registration program for both recruitment and leave clearance of Japanese Americans.

February 1, 1943 The 442nd Regimental Combat Team is activated.

April 11, 1943 James Hatsuki Wakasa, a 63-year-old chef, is shot to death by a sentry at Topaz while allegedly trying to escape through a fence. It is later determined that Wakasa had been inside the fence and facing the sentry when shot. The sentry would stand a general court-martial on April 28 at Fort Douglas, Utah, and be found “not guilty.”

April 13, 1943 “A Jap’s a Jap. There is no way to determine their loyalty. . . . This coast is too vulnerable. No Jap should come back to this coast except on a permit from my office.” General John L. DeWitt, head of Western Defense Command speaking before the House Naval Affairs Subcommittee.

April 27, 1943 The WRA prison is moved from Moab, Utah, to Leupp, Arizona.

September 13, 1943 The realignment of Tule Lake—a camp in Northern California—begins. After the loyalty questionnaire episode, “loyal” internees begin to depart to other camps from Tule Lake. Five days later, “disloyal” internees from other camps begin to arrive at Tule Lake.

January 14, 1944 Nisei eligibility for the draft is restored. The reaction to this announcement in the camps is mixed.

January 8, 1945 In Placer County, California, the packing shed of the Doi family is burned and dynamited, and shots are fired into their home. The family had been the first to return to California from the camp at Amache and the first to return to Placer County, having arrived three days earlier. Although several men are arrested and confess to the acts, all would be acquitted. Some 30 similar incidents would greet other Japanese Americans returning to the West Coast between January and June.

May 7, 1945 The surrender of Germany ends the war in Europe.

August 6, 1945 The atomic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima. Three days later, a second bomb is dropped on Nagasaki. The war would end on August 14.

March 20, 1946 Tule Lake closes, culminating “an incredible mass evacuation in reverse.” In the month prior to the closing, some 5,000 internees were moved, many of them elderly, impoverished, or mentally ill and with no place to go. Of the 554 persons left there, 450 are moved to the camp at Crystal City, Texas; 60 are released; and the rest are “relocated.”

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

June 16, 1983 The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) issues its formal recommendations to Congress concerning redress for Japanese Americans interned during World War II, including a recommendation for a \$20,000 payment to each living individual who spent time in the concentration camps.

August 10, 1988 HR 442 is signed into law by President Ronald Reagan. It provides for individual payments of \$20,000 to each surviving internee and a \$1.25 billion education fund, among other provisions.

Elementary

Executive Order

Handout 3-1

18

Name _____

Whereas, to keep _____ Elementary safe against spies and dangerous acts, the principal of _____ Elementary has been given permission to do whatever is necessary by law as found in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533 as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220 and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (USC, Title 50, Sec. 104):

Now, therefore by the authority I have as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Principal and other school officials, such as teachers, to do whatever the Principal thinks is necessary to keep the school safe. The Principal may select anyone to help to carry out orders.

All teachers, aides, staff, and parents are to obey the orders of the Principal and whomever the Principal selects to ensure the student and school safety.

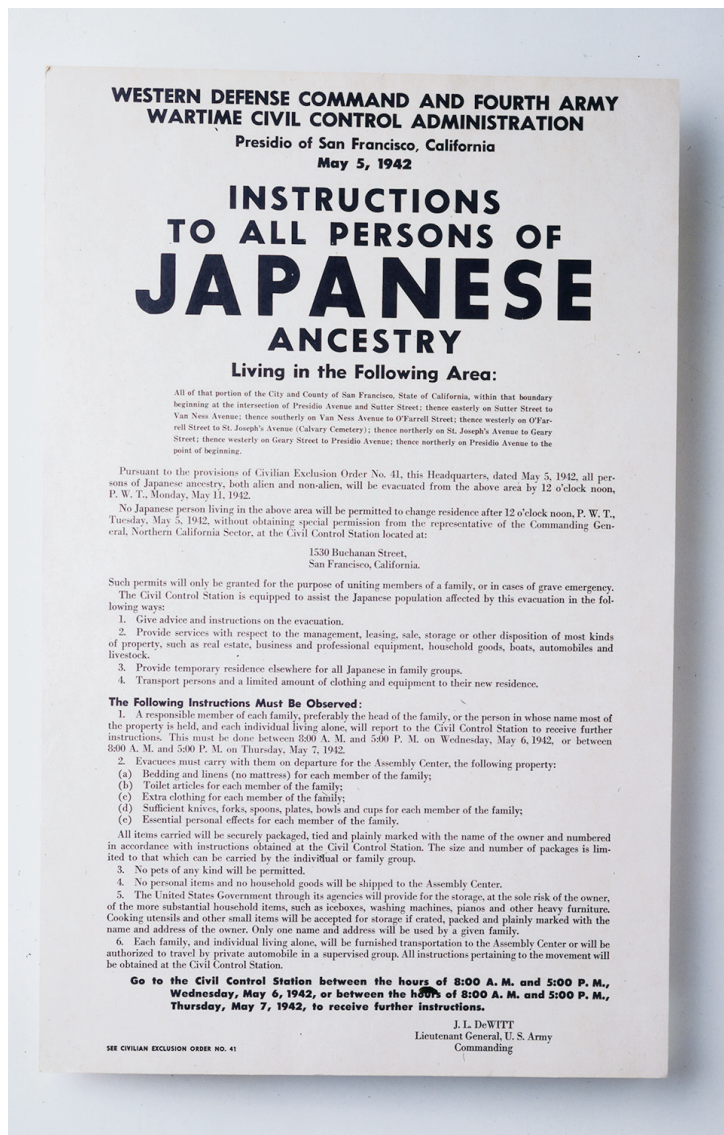
The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) will still have all powers and support it needs to carry out its investigations of any acts of terrorism under Executive Order 8972, dated December 12, 1941, and under the Proclamation of December 7 and 8, 1941.

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43

Handout 4-1

19

Name _____



All requests to publish or reproduce images in this collection must be submitted to the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. More information is available at <http://www.janm.org/nrc/>. Gift of Kiyoshi Toi, Japanese American National Museum (92.94.1)

Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II

Handout 5-1a

Name _____



Oakland, California. Following evacuation orders, this store, at 13th and Franklin Streets, was closed. The owner, a University of California graduate of Japanese descent, placed the “I AM AN AMERICAN” sign on the store front on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor. Evacuees of Japanese ancestry will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537833/Local Identifier 210-G-C519

Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II

Handout 5-1b

Name _____



Los Angeles, California. The evacuation of Japanese-Americans from West coast areas under United States Army war emergency order. Japanese try to sell their belongings.

Photographer: Russell Lee
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
FSA-OWI Collection, Reproduction number LC-USF34-072258-D DLC (b&w film neg.)

Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II

Handout 5-1c

Name _____



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

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

Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II

Handout 5-1d

23

Name _____



Hayward, California. Friends say good-bye as a family of Japanese ancestry awaits evacuation bus. Baggage of evacuees, mostly from small farms in Alameda County, was piled on sidewalk. Evacuees will be housed in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange
Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration
ARC Identifier 537514/Local Identifier 210-G-C164

Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II

Handout 5-1e

24

Name _____



Los Angeles, California. Japanese-American child who is being evacuated with his parents to Owens Valley.

Photographer: Russell Lee
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
FSA-OWI Collection, Reproduction Number LC-USF33-013297-M1 DLC (b&w film neg.)

Photographs Showing the Removal of Japanese Americans from Their Homes During World War II

Handout 5-1f

25

Name _____



Hayward, California. Grandfather of Japanese ancestry waiting at local park for the arrival of evacuation bus which will take him and other evacuees to the Tanforan Assembly Center. He was engaged in the cleaning and dyeing business in Hayward for many years.

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

Packing Your Bags—Group A Handout 5-2a

Name _____

PART 1:

Here is the information about your “family.” As a group, decide who will play which role and put your names and ages in the blanks. Then read about your family.

Family #13453
Uchida Family (pronounced *oo-chee-dah*)

Family Members:

- Father Uchida _____ Age _____
- Mother Uchida _____ Age _____
- Son Uchida _____ Age _____
- Son Uchida _____ Age _____
- Daughter Uchida _____ Age _____
- Daughter Uchida _____ Age _____

Father Uchida worked for a large Japanese firm. The family was comfortably wealthy, and they always tried to help others who were less fortunate. Since Father Uchida had a railroad pass, they enjoyed many trips away from their home in San Francisco. Once when they were in Connecticut, a lady complimented the Uchida children for speaking English so well. The children were puzzled, because they grew up speaking English.

Although Father and Mother Uchida were born in Japan, Father would proudly display the American flag on holidays. He also cherished his copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Papa and Mama taught their children to be proud that they were Americans and to be good citizens.

After Pearl Harbor, while the family was out, the FBI entered their home. Papa thought burglars had broken in, so he called the police. When the police came, they brought FBI agents with them. Mother served the men tea and cookies. The agents searched the home, and when they left they took Father and all of Father’s important papers.

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43 has just been issued, and Father hasn’t come home yet.

PART 2:

You are only allowed to take what you can carry. You don’t know where you will be sent or what kind of weather to prepare for. Everything else you have must be sold, given away, or put in storage at your own risk. Consult with your family members and decide what you will take. Use the back of this paper to draw or write a list of the items.

Packing Your Bags—Group B Handout 5-2b

Name _____

PART 1:

Here is the information about your “family.” As a group, decide who will play which role and put your names and ages in the blanks. Then read about your family.

Family #13354
Oda (pronounced *oh-dah*)

Family Members:

Father Oda _____	Age _____
Mother Oda _____	Age _____
Son Oda _____	Age _____
Son Oda _____	Age _____
Daughter Oda _____	Age _____
Daughter Oda _____	Age _____

The Odas were a quite well-to-do family who owned three buildings in California. They were respected by business associates and friends.

Mother was born in Japan. Father was born in America and was an American citizen, but he worried about what could happen next in the name of national safety.

After Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43 was issued, the family made the difficult decision to sell their property for a fraction of what it was worth. They were fortunate to have friends who were willing to store some of their most precious things, such as silverware and dishes. They stored the rest of their belongings in a government warehouse and hoped that everything would still be there when they returned.

PART 2:

You are only allowed to take what you can carry. You don’t know where you will be sent or what kind of weather to prepare for. Everything else you have must be sold, given away, or put in storage at your own risk. Consult with your family members and decide what you will take. Use the back of this paper to draw or write a list of the items.

Packing Your Bags—Group C Handout 5-2c

Name _____

PART 1:

Here is the information about your “family.” As a group, decide who will play which role and put your names and ages in the blanks. Then read about your family.

Family #13905

Tanaka Family (pronounced *tah-nah-kah*)

Family Members:

Papa Tanaka _____ Age _____

Mama Tanaka _____ Age _____

Son Tanaka _____ Age _____

Son Tanaka _____ Age _____

Daughter Tanaka _____ Age _____

Daughter Tanaka _____ Age _____

Mama had finally relented and let Papa Tanaka buy the fishing boat he had always wanted. After working hard during the week, he looked forward to weekends of fishing on his boat off the coast of California. After Pearl Harbor was attacked, the FBI came to take his boat away—they said it was for national security. Papa staunchly told the agents that even though he was born in Japan, he loved America. They took him anyway.

While the FBI agents were searching the home, Mama and the children sat in the living room. A playmate who wanted to see one of the Tanaka children rang the doorbell, but the agents wouldn’t let anyone in or out.

Papa still wasn’t home when Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43 was issued. Given only four days to pack their things and move out of their home, the Tanakas had to decide which of their valuables to leave behind. When they locked the door, they hoped that they would be back soon.

PART 2:

You are only allowed to take what you can carry. You don’t know where you will be sent or what kind of weather to prepare for. Everything else you have must be sold, given away, or put in storage at your own risk. Consult with your family members and decide what you will take. Use the back of this paper to draw or write a list of the items.

Packing Your Bags—Group D Handout 5-2d

Name _____

PART 1:

Here is the information about your “family.” As a group, decide who will play which role and put your names and ages in the blanks. Then read about your family.

Family #13905

Okabe Family (pronounced *oh-kah-beh*)

Family Members:

Papa Okabe _____ Age _____

Mama Okabe _____ Age _____

Son Okabe _____ Age _____

Son Okabe _____ Age _____

Daughter Okabe _____ Age _____

Daughter Okabe _____ Age _____

Papa and Mama were born in Japan and immigrated to the United States when they were teenagers. They worked very hard and were saving money so that they could send their children to college.

The FBI came to take Papa away the very same day that Pearl Harbor was attacked. Papa asked how long he was going to be gone, but they couldn’t—or wouldn’t—answer that question; they at least let him grab his hat before they rushed him out of the house. The family had heard wild rumors that people like Papa were being taken so that they could be exchanged for American hostages being held by the Japanese government.

Since all of those born in Japan were considered “enemy aliens,” the Okabe’s bank accounts were frozen and they couldn’t get any money out. Later the government would let them withdraw small amounts of money for living expenses.

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43 gave Mama 10 days to sell the house and pack, so she needed to get rid of everything quickly. She wanted to sell the refrigerator for fifty dollars but was only offered one dollar. Her pretty satin couch was worth two hundred dollars—she finally sold it for three dollars. Her set of porcelain dishes were priceless because Papa gave them to her on their wedding day, but she knew they could only take what they could carry.

On the day that someone offered her twenty-five cents for her beloved dishes, she chose not to sell them but instead smashed every single dish. As she broke all the dishes, her heart was breaking at having to lose everything.

PART 2:

You are only allowed to take what you can carry. You don’t know where you will be sent or what kind of weather to prepare for. Everything else you have must be sold, given away, or put in storage at your own risk. Consult with your family members and decide what you will take. Use the back of this paper to draw or write a list of the items.

Packing Your Bags—Group E

Handout 5-2e

30

Name _____

PART 1:

Here is the information about your “family.” As a group, decide who will play which role and put your names and ages in the blanks. Then read about your family.

Family #13329

Teragawa Family (pronounced *teh-rah-gah-wah*)

Family Members:

Papa Teragawa _____ Age _____

Mama Teragawa _____ Age _____

Son Teragawa _____ Age _____

Son Teragawa _____ Age _____

Daughter Teragawa _____ Age _____

Daughter Teragawa _____ Age _____

It had been a few days since the FBI came and took Papa away. The family still hadn’t heard from him, and they were worried. One of the daughters wrote a letter to the FBI begging to let her father come home. She told them her father was a peace-loving Buddhist priest who loved America and would never do anything to harm anybody. “What has my father done that is so bad?” she asked, but she received no answer.

Papa finally called and asked for some fresh clothes and his shaving kit. He assured them he was doing fine and not to worry, but how could Mama not worry? She had to take care of the family while Papa is away, and she was not sure about all that had to be done.

One night, a loud knocking awakened Mama and the children. The voices behind the door said that they were FBI agents and that they needed to come inside. When Mama let them in, they attacked her and scared the children. Mama called the police, but they didn’t do anything—they told her it was difficult in times of war and warned her not to open the door to strangers.

Children at school no longer played with the Teragawa children. The Teragawa children were teased, hit, and called names by other kids: on the way home from school one day, the children were ambushed and left bruised and bleeding. They didn’t want to go to school anymore. Their wish came true when they had to pack up their things and go to a place called Tanforan.

PART 2:

You are only allowed to take what you can carry. You don’t know where you will be sent or what kind of weather to prepare for. Everything else you have must be sold, given away, or put in storage at your own risk. Consult with your family members and decide what you will take. Use the back of this paper to draw or write a list of the items.

Packing Your Bags—Group F Handout 5-2f

Name _____

PART 1:

Here is the information about your “family.” As a group, decide who will play which role and put your names and ages in the blanks. Then read about your family.

Family #13057

Tatsuno Family (pronounced *tah-tsoo-noh*)

Family Members:

Father Tatsuno _____ Age _____

Mother Tatsuno _____ Age _____

Son Tatsuno _____ Age _____

Son Tatsuno _____ Age _____

Daughter Tatsuno _____ Age _____

Daughter Tatsuno _____ Age _____

Father owned a small sporting goods store. After the attack on Pearl Harbor all Japanese Americans were required to turn in all “contraband” (guns, binoculars, cameras, radios, etc), so Father called the police station and asked what he should do with his store’s firearms and bullets. They told him not to worry, but a few weeks later the police stormed his store and confiscated the firearms and ammunition.

Then the FBI took Father and held him for a week. When they let him go, he didn’t look the same—and he wasn’t the same. He had aged into an old man in a few days. When the family saw Civilian Exclusion Order No. 43, which said they were being removed from their home in California, the responsibility for packing and leaving fell to Mother and the oldest children.

PART 2:

You are only allowed to take what you can carry. You don’t know where you will be sent or what kind of weather to prepare for. Everything else you have must be sold, given away, or put in storage at your own risk. Consult with your family members and decide what you will take. Use the back of this paper to draw or write a list of the items.

Family Tags

Handout 5-3

Name _____

Daily Life in Topaz

Handout 7-1

33

Name _____

Browse through these Web sites to learn more about the daily life in Topaz. Select and arrange the images from these sites to create a collage about one aspect of daily life in Topaz.

Denshō: The Japanese American Legacy Project

1. <http://www.densho.org> (accessed August 18, 2009).
2. Choose “Archive” from the menu at the top of the home page.
3. Choose “Enter the archive” from the menu on the left (a password is required).
4. On the left is a list of Photo/Document Collections’ [Q: is preceding correct, possessive “Collections’/?] Incarceration Facilities. Scroll down to “Incarceration Camps,” and from within that folder select “Topaz (Central Utah).”
5. Browse through the oral history interviews and photographs.

History Underscores Belief: Topaz

1. http://www.hubtours.org/HUB_Tours/Topaz.html (accessed August 18, 2009).
2. Read the overview and listen to the podcasts.

Japanese American National Museum’s Hisako Hibi Online Collection [Q: same query about wording of this]

1. <http://www.janm.org/collections/hisako-hibi-collection/> (accessed August 18, 2009).
2. Read the artist’s biography and browse through the paintings from Tanforan and Topaz.

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

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

Topaz Museum

1. <http://topazmuseum.org/index.html> (accessed August 18, 2009).
2. Browse through the site, reading the overviews and viewing the maps and artifacts.

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. **

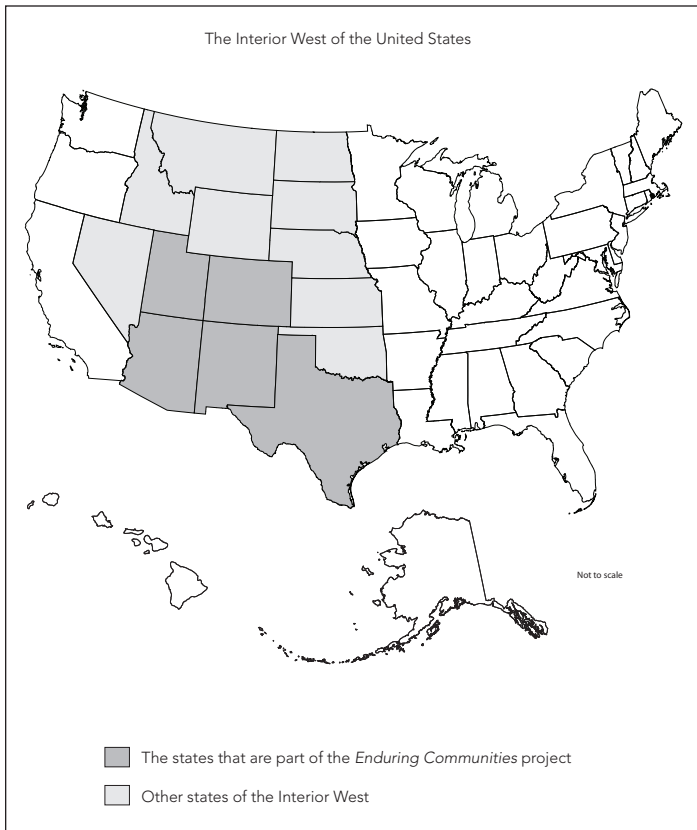
** Crystal City among DOJ sites is notable for having operated similarly to a WRA concentration camp. German and Italian enemy aliens who were treated separately and Latin American Japanese, primarily from Peru who had been involuntarily deported to the United States, also were confined at Crystal City.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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32 The only published volume spotlighting Nikkei history in Montana is Carol Van Valkenburg’s *An Alien Place: The Fort Missoula, Montana, Detention Camp 1941-44* (Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publication Company, 1995). For two other books covering Nikkei internment at Fort Missoula, see: Yoshiaki Fukuda, *My Six Years of Internment: An Issei’s Struggle for Justice* (San Francisco: 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.wvcc.sy.edu/wyoz_hist/Japanese.htm (accessed July 11, 2009).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

support, the amendment was defeated.⁵⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

56 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

57 Ibid., pp. 9–10.

58 Ibid.



MOVE OUT BY SATURDAY NOON AUGUST 25TH
OR BE MOVED

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

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

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

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

59 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

60 Ibid., p. 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

68 *Ibid.*, 53-55.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

76 Ibid., iii-iv.

77 Ibid., 4.

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

79 Ibid., p. 69.

80 Ibid., p. 89.

81 Ibid., p. 72.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ⁹⁰ The following state-by-state entries for websites pertaining to the Interior West Japanese American experience are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to provide information that is particularly relevant, interesting, reliable, useful, and, when possible, interethnic/multicultural: ([Arizona](#)) Naomi Miller, “Racial Identity in Balance,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 7, 2004, <http://chronicle.com/article/Racial-Identity-in-Balance/44738/> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Colorado](#)) “History of Longmont,” *ColoradoInfo*, <http://coloradoinfo.com/longmont/history> (accessed August 15, 2009), Takeya Mizuno, “Keep and Use It for the Nation’s War Policy: The Office of Facts and Figures and Its Use of the Japanese-Language Press from Pearl Harbor to Mass Internment,” <http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=indo309D&L=aejmc&P=7317> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Takeya Mizuno, “To Suppress or Not to Suppress, That is the Question: Pros and Cons Over the Suppression of the Japanese-Language Press from Pearl Harbor to Mass Evacuation,” <http://list.msu.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=indo411a&L=aejmc&P=11852> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Idaho](#)) Laurie Mercier, “Japanese Americans in the Columbia River Basin,” <http://www.vancouver.wsu.edu/crbeha/ja/ja.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Nebraska](#)) Twin Cities Development Association, Inc., “Cultural Diversity [in Southern Panhandle of Nebraska],” <http://www.tcdne.org/cultural.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), and “Sugar Beet Production in Nebraska,” Panhandle Research and Extension Center, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, http://panhandle.unl.edu/web/panhandlerec/sugarbeet_nebhistory (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Nevada](#)) “Japanese-American Experience,” University of Nevada, Reno, Oral History Program, <http://oralhistory.unr.edu/JapanWW.html> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Joan Whitely, “Bill Tomiyasu (1882-1969),” Stephens Press, <http://www.ist100.com/parti/tomiyasu.html> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Oklahoma](#)) Dianna Everett, “Asians [in Oklahoma],” Oklahoma Historical Society, *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/A/AS006.html> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Wyoming](#)) Western Wyoming Community College, *Wyoming History*, http://www.wvcc.cc.wy.us/wyo_hist/toc.htm (accessed August 15, 2009), and Cynde Georgen, “Subjects of the Mikado: The Rise and Fall of Sheridan County’s Japanese Community, 1900-1930,” <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wyoming/ar-sheridanmikado.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([New Mexico](#)) “Albuquerque Ethnic Cultures Survey,” <http://www.abqarts.org/cultural/survey/index.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), “Japanese Americans – City of Albuquerque,” <http://www.cabq.gov/humanrights/public-information-and-education/diversity-booklets/asi...> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Brian Minami, “Justice Camp Remembered in Santa Fe,” April 20, 2002, <http://manymountains.org/santa-fe-marker/020420.sfmonument.php> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Texas](#)) “The Japanese Texans,” The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, <http://www.texascultures.utsa.edu/publications/texasnoneandall/japanese.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), “Japanese-Texans,” *Texas Almanac*, <http://www.texasalmanac.com/culture/groups/japanese.html> (accessed August 15, 2009), and “Texas Since World War II,” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/TT/npt2.html> (accessed August 15, 2009); ([Utah](#)) Helen Zeese Papanikolas, “Peoples of Utah” (updated by Phil Notarianni), *Utah History to Go*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/peoplesofutah.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Raymond S. Uno, “Minority Racial and Ethnic Mix of Utah,” Utah Minority Bar Association, February 2005, http://www.utahbar.org/bars/umba/judge_uno_racial_ethnic_mix.html (accessed August 15, 2009), Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, “Japanese Life in Utah,” *Utah History to Go*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_peoples_of_utah/japaneselifeinutah (accessed August 15, 2009), Nancy Taniguchi, “Japanese Immigrants in Utah,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, <http://www.media.utah.edu/UHE/j/JAPANESE.html> (accessed August 15, 2009), Barre Toelken, “Dancing with the Departed: Japanese Obon in the American West,” <http://www.worldandi.com/specialreport/1994/august/Sau588.htm> (accessed August 15, 2009), and Joel Tadao Miyasaki, “Mike Masaoka and the Mormon Process of Americanization,” *The Juvenile Instructor*, March 22, 2008, <http://www.juvenileinstructor.org/mike-masaoka-and-the-mormon-process-of-americanization> (accessed August 15, 2009).
- ⁹¹ The author would like to extend his profound appreciation to Sherri Schottlaender for her remarkable work in copy-editing the present essay. The time, energy, and intelligence she invested in this undertaking far exceeded reasonable expectations. Her efforts not only greatly improved the essay, but also provided the author with an invaluable learning experience.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in the Interior West

(Compiled by Arthur A. Hansen)

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

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

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

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

- 1962 • Idaho voters approve a constitutional amendment extending basic American rights to naturalized Asian Americans, ending their exclusion from voting, holding civil office, and serving as jurors, and also terminating Idaho's status as the only U.S. state holding such restrictions
- 1967 • Salt Lake City razes its *nihonmachi* (Japan Town) and replaces it with the Salt Palace Convention Center

- 1973 • Sakura Square, a one-block complex of shops, housing, and a remodeled Buddhist church, opens in downtown Denver, near the heart of the Nikkei community's historic *nihonmachi*
- 1978 • At the JACL biennial convention in Salt Lake City, the organization adopts a resolution calling for redress in the form of individual payments of no less than \$25,000 to compensate Japanese Americans for their World War II mass exclusion and detention by the U.S. government

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

- 2006 • New Mexico repeals its anti-Asian alien land law
- 2008 • Bryan Clay, a Texan of mixed African American and Japanese American heritage,

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

Japanese Americans in Utah

Nancy J. Taniguchi

From earliest human habitation, the area now called Utah has exhibited ethnic diversity. The prehistoric-era Fremont and Anasazi people built villages and cultivated crops. Goshuite, Paiute, Navajo (Dine'), Shoshone, and Ute cultures replaced them—the last of whom gave its name to the state. The arrival of subsequent groups of people squeezed Native Americans to marginal lands where they remain today.

In the 1700s the Spanish (and then Mexicans) forged the Old Spanish Trail, which bisects Utah. While they brought the gift of horses, they also enslaved native people and encouraged an inter-Indian slave trade. In the nineteenth century, other people of European (and a few African) descent from the eastern United States sought religious sanctuary in Utah. In 1847 the vanguard of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, also called Mormons) arrived and established a theocracy that would be transformed into the state's dominant force in all aspects of life. To be non-Mormon in Utah is to be a minority. Hence, the Japanese in Utah—definite latecomers—were originally both a racial and a religious exception to the rule.

Prior to Japanese arrival, other racial and ethnic groups, usually recruited as contract labor, came to Utah in the late nineteenth century. They also belonged to minority religions—Taoist or Confucian, Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish, primarily—and included Chinese, Finns, Italians, Irish, Yugoslavs, and later, Greeks and Syro-Lebanese, among others.

Initially, Utahns saw Japanese either as exotic or expendable. Although representatives of the newly westernized Meiji government received a gracious reception when they visited in 1872, they made no lasting impact. In the 1880s Japanese contract labor arrived, as well as female prostitutes and men to work on railroad gangs. They evidently didn't stay because an 1890 census of pre-statehood Utah reported only

five Japanese in Utah (Utah became a state in 1896). Numbers rose to 417 in 1900, 2,110 in 1910, and a pre-World War II high of 2,936 in 1920. (For comparison, the 2005 total of all Asians in the state was approximately 48,000, including more than 10,000 people of Japanese descent.)

Labor agents, themselves Japanese immigrants, recruited many of the workers who came to Utah in the early twentieth century. For example, in 1902 Edward Daigoro Hashimoto established a labor agency in Salt Lake City; his agency provided strikebreaking miners during the great Carbon County coal strike of 1903–04. Competing contractor Kyutaro Abiko opened an Ogden office in 1905 to provide Utah's sugar beet harvesters with workers. U.S.–Japanese agreements of 1907–08, which prevented laborers from leaving Japan for the U.S. mainland, forced Abiko to recruit workers from Hawai'i, including some for the Western Pacific Railroad in 1906. Another labor agent, Hayao Oda, procured workers for Utah's Bingham Canyon copper mine after 1909. Some Japanese immigrants also secured jobs as “houseboys” for Salt Lake City's society matrons, replacing servant girls. Ultimately Hashimoto became Utah's leading Japanese labor contractor: his agency supplied sugar beet harvesters, established the Clearfield Canning Company, opened a sugar beet center in Delta, imported Japanese food and supplies, provided banking services, and helped his fellow Japanese immigrants with government forms and legal problems.

A growing number of economically independent Japanese developed new businesses and cultural institutions. For example, several Japanese-run newspapers served to knit the community together, beginning in 1907 when the Japanese-language *Rocky Mountain Times* began publishing. Seven years later the Terazawa family began publishing the rival *Utah Nippo*, a newspaper still in existence today. Entrepreneurs opened fish markets, restaurants, and variety stores that provided specialized goods in the Japanese

enclaves of Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Helper. Reflecting a traditional Japanese respect for farmers, Utah's Japanese agricultural enterprises raised specialty crops, including nationally acclaimed celeries and strawberries. The preservation of Japanese cultural traditions was also very important: touring Kabuki troupes would perform traditional Japanese drama in the communities, while the first school in Salt Lake City to teach children Japanese language and culture opened in 1919; other communities soon opened their own schools.

The Japanese also built churches. In 1912 a memorial service conducted by a Buddhist priest from San Francisco prompted the formation of the Intermountain Buddhist Church. The church's first minister, the Reverend Kenryo Kuwabara, served first in Ogden and later at the Salt Lake Buddhist Church. In 1918 both churches established a Fujinkai, a women's organization originally created to help young Japanese brides adapt to American life. That same year, Japanese Christians founded the Japanese Church of Christ in Salt Lake City.

During the 1920s increased racism against them—including prohibitive legislation—helped to foster Japanese community cohesion and self-help. In 1922 the United States Congress passed the Cable Act, which deprived Nisei (American-born Japanese) women of citizenship if they married Issei (immigrant men), a law abolished in 1931, while the Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited the immigration of all Japanese. When local schools started excluding Nisei children from extracurricular activities, concerned parents formed a Young Buddhist Association (YBA) at the Salt Lake Buddhist Church in 1923. Adult Japanese also organized a variety of fraternal and benevolent societies. For example, the Carbon County Kyo Ai Kai, still in existence today, established its own segregated cemetery and provided pensions in the event of a disabling coal-mining accident. Salt Lake's Hiroshima Kenjinkai, a group whose members all came from a

particular area (Hiroshima) in Japan, provided similar services, as did organizations in Segoe, Eureka, Bingham, Elberta, and Payson.

Conditions continued to worsen for Utah's Japanese American as the twentieth century progressed. During the Great Depression as jobs for nonwhites disappeared, more than a thousand Japanese left Utah, among them LDS convert Mike Masaoka, who moved to San Francisco to accept the position of national secretary and field director of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). As the organization's main spokesperson, he brought national awareness to the Japanese American community beyond the West Coast; his chief responsibility became trying to head off a growing national hysteria as Japan attacked China in 1937. After Japanese warplanes bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the U.S. joined World War II, and Utah's Japanese Americans began immediately to face increased prejudice, including vandalism of their cemeteries, an unsuccessful confinement attempt by Utah's legislature, and an alien land law that restricted Issei to only one-year leases on land.

Three months later the federal government ignored the constitutional rights of its citizens of Japanese descent in an act later blamed on "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership": on February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which forced the exclusion of all Japanese Americans from the entire state of California, western Oregon and Washington, and southern Arizona and mandated their imprisonment in concentration camps in the interior. Voluntary exclusion from the West Coast remained open until March 30, 1942, which allowed Oakland resident Fred Isamu Wada (whose wife Masako was from Ogden) enough time to negotiate a lease of almost 4,000 acres near Keetley in Wasatch County; soon 90 relocated Japanese Americans were growing food there for the war effort. Despite anti-Japanese protests by Emery County residents,

another group of 40 families leased 1,500 acres to raise sugar beets near Green River.

While some businesses supported their Japanese American employees; others were quickly fired. Radios, cameras, and hunting rifles were confiscated from some citizens by municipal authorities. Prejudice existed despite the efforts of Senator Elbert D. Thomas, formerly a Mormon missionary in Japan and a mentor to Mike Masaoka, who worked to mitigate the effects of wartime hysteria.

Japanese Americans began to be forcibly moved to Utah from other states. When voluntary exclusion ended, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) detained approximately 8,000 evacuees from the San Francisco Bay area at Topaz, just outside Delta. Three other WRA locations utilized old Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) centers: Antelope Springs, used as a Topaz recreation center; Dalton Wells near Moab, utilized as a temporary isolation center for “troublemakers”; and Dog Valley, south of Emery, where inmates mined coal for Topaz from the nearby mine. Due to the increased numbers of Japanese in the state, the circulation of the long-lived *Utah Nippo* rose from 600 per issue to about 10,000 during the war years.

The influx of Japanese Americans also brought new institutions to Utah. The incarcerated Topaz population included the Reverend Kenryo Kumata, head of the Buddhist Churches of America, who directed his church from Utah despite government restrictions; released from Topaz in 1943, he worked with the Ogden Buddhist Church and founded branches at Honeyville, Deweyville, Garland, and Corinne before the church’s offices were returned to San Francisco in 1945. The JACL’s headquarters were also relocated from San Francisco to Utah during the war, as was its newspaper, the *Pacific Citizen*. In 1943 the organization’s leaders, which included Shigeki “Shake” Ushio, set up the National JACL Credit Union (which is still headquartered in Salt Lake City today). Ushio, who initially worked to assist Japanese Americans whose

assets were frozen or restricted when the war began, continued to serve as chairman of the credit union’s board for more than thirty years; the credit union also provided financial assistance to those leaving detention camps, including members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

The war’s end brought many changes to the state as Utah continued to adapt to its Japanese Americans and vice versa, including an increased Japanese American population: the 1950 census counted 1,183 ethnic Japanese in Utah. In 1947 the Utah legislature repealed the state’s Alien Land Law, which allowed Issei to buy land. That same year, Utah’s Wataru “Wat” Misaka was picked first in the first round of the initial National Basketball Association (NBA) draft by the New York Knicks, breaking the professional color barrier in basketball as Jackie Robinson had in baseball. As wider societal changes continued to occur, Mike Masaoka was spearheading an intensive lobbying effort for redress. These efforts resulted in the 1948 Evacuation Indemnity Claims Act (unfortunately, only \$38 million of an estimated \$400 million loss were paid out). During the war, Alice Kasai—the wife of detained leader Henry Y. Kasai—carried on her husband’s work in establishing a Utah JACL. When the war ended and Henry returned, the two of them helped form the Salt Lake Chapter of the JACL (Utah now has three chapters). The Kasais also became active in the World Peace Study Mission, and Alice helped to create the Japanese Peace Garden in Jordan Park in 1949. Mary and Charlie Kawakami, driven out of Spring Canyon (a Carbon County mining camp) during the war, relocated to Provo, where Mary cut hair during the week to support her disabled husband and family; on weekends she took the bus to Los Angeles to study beauty care from industry professionals, leading to her recognition in 1954 as “One of the World’s Ten Best” in Hollywood. In addition, she founded a beauty college in Provo which operated until 1999.

The national JACL has brought many Utahns recognition. In 1950 Mike Masaoka became the very first “J.A. of the Biennium,” the organization’s highest honor for Japanese Americans who have succeeded in their chosen field. The most recent Utahn so honored, National JACL Credit Union Chairman “Shake” Ushio, won the award in 1998; Henry Y. Kasai had received the award in 1964, and in 1974 Judge Raymond Uno, who had broken the color barrier in the Utah court system, was given the honor. Judge Uno became Utah’s first minority to hold a number of increasingly important legal positions, and in 1985 he was elected to Utah’s Third Judicial District court, becoming the court’s first minority judge. Judge Uno worked tirelessly to encourage all minorities to study the law, and in 2005 he was among the first 50 people honored by the Utah Minority Bar Association, a group that includes African Americans, Asians,

Hispanics, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders. A year later, Utah native and LDS Church member S. Floyd Mori became the interim director of the national JACL after long service in the Mount Olympus chapter and as national president (2000–04) and director of public policy in Washington D.C. since 2005.

Utah’s appreciation of Japanese culture in recent years has been somewhat spotty. Salt Lake City and Japan’s Matsumoto City have been sister cities since 1958, but in 1967 city officials destroyed all of Salt Lake City’s so-called Japan Town (except for the Japanese Church of Christ and the Salt Lake Buddhist Temple) to make way for the Salt Palace Convention Center. But advances and adaptations will undoubtedly continue: Utah’s minority population now exceeds 15 percent, and the state’s citizens of Japanese descent exemplify the positive potential of a challenging history.

Timeline for Japanese Americans in Utah

(Compiled by Nancy J. Taniguchi)

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- 1776 • Old Spanish Trail is established, linking Santa Fe, New Mexico and Los Angeles, California via Colorado, Utah, Arizona and Nevada
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- 1847 • First members of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS)(also known as Mormons) arrive
-
- 1872 • Japanese Meiji government officials visit Utah territory
-
- 1880s • First Japanese contract laborers arrive
-
- 1890 • Utah census counts five Japanese
 - 1896 • Utah gains statehood
-
- 1900 • Utah census counts 417 Japanese
 - 1902–06 • Several Japanese labor agents open firms in Salt Lake City
 - 1907 • *Rocky Mountain Times*, a Japanese-language newspaper, begins publishing
 - 1907 • So-called Gentlemen’s Agreement forbids emigration of Japanese laborers from Japan
 - 1908 • Root-Takahira Agreement formalizes restrictions of Gentlemen’s Agreement, allowing only diplomats, merchants, and students to leave Japan for the United States (not including Hawaii)
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- 1910 • Utah census counts 2,110 Japanese
 - 1912 • Intermountain Buddhist Church is formed
 - 1914 • Terazawa family establishes *Utah Nippo* newspaper
 - 1919 • First Japanese school in Salt Lake City is established
 - 1918 • Fujinkai (women’s organization) formed by combined Salt Lake and Ogden Buddhist churches
-
- 1920 • Utah census counts 2,936 Japanese
 - 1922 • Cable Act states that Nisei women who marry Issei men will lose their U.S. citizenship; this law was repealed in 1931
 - 1923 • Young Buddhist Association (YBA) is established for Japanese American children at Salt Lake City Buddhist Church
 - 1924 • Congress passes the Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act of 1924)
-
- 1941 • Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor
 - Utah legislature passes an alien land law, which prohibited land purchases, instead restricting Issei to yearly leases; the legislation was repealed in 1947
 - 1942 • U.S. War Relocation Authority (WRA) imprisons Japanese Americans in Utah at camps in Topaz, Dalton Wells, and Dog Valley
 - Buddhist Church of America directed from Topaz
 - Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) headquarters are moved to Utah, including their newspaper, *Pacific Citizen*
 - 1943 • JACL opens National JACL Credit Union in Salt Lake City
 - 1947 • Wataru “Wat” Misaka breaks National Basketball Association (NBA) color barrier
 - 1948 • Congress passes Evacuation Indemnity Claims Act
 - 1949 • Establishment of Japanese Peace Garden in Jordan
-
- 1950 • Utah census counts 1,183 ethnic Japanese
 - 1954 • Provo beauty salon owner Mary Kawakami is selected as “One of World’s Ten Best” in Hollywood
 - 1958 • Salt Lake City and Japan’s Matsumoto City become Sister Cities

- 1967 • Salt Lake City officials raze the area informally known as Japan Town in order to build Salt Palace Convention Center

- 1985 • Judge Raymond Uno becomes first minority to sit on Utah's Third Judicial District court

- 1988 • President Ronald Reagan signs Civil Liberties Act, in which the U.S. formally apologizes for its treatment of Japanese Americans and grants each surviving World War II inmate \$20,000
- 1989 • Congress appropriates funds for 1988 Civil Liberties Act and payments begin

- 2005 • Utah census counts approximately 48,000 Asians, including more than 10,000 of Japanese descent

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

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Acknowledgments

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

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

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

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Project Supporters

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

TOYOTA



Aratani Foundation

Additional support has also been provided by:

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

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

Discover Nikkei
Dr. Chiyo Horiuchi
International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience
Third Millennium, in honor of Ruby Takanishi
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Enduring Communities: The Japanese American Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah is a multi-year partnership project with Arizona State University's Asian Pacific American Studies Program; University of Colorado, Boulder; University of New Mexico; UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures; and Davis School District, Utah, in collaboration with educators, communities, and students to create curricula about the Japanese American World War II experience for every classroom in these five states.

