

JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT CAMPS IN ARIZONA

Minoru Yanagihashi, Ph.D.

Suppose a population census of Arizona was taken in January 1943; the breakdown would have been as follows: Phoenix would be the largest city with 65,400, followed by Tucson with 36,800, Poston with 18,000, and Gila River with 13,400.¹ Poston and Gila River? What are they? Are these cities? The U.S. government euphemistically called them “relocation centers” and its inhabitants as “evacuees.” Critics, scholars, and Japanese Americans, in general, preferred the term “concentration camps.” “Concentration camps” may sound harsh, but these camps were surrounded by barbed wire, had guard towers, and were guarded by armed soldiers. To be sure, they were not the concentration camps of World War II, such as the Nazi death camps, for the inmates were not tortured or brutalized and the administration of the camp was humane. The term “prisons” is occasionally used, but the camps were not designed as penal colonies, for the inmates had committed no crimes. Another term used is “incarceration camps,” which sounds formal and legalistic, and emphasizes confinement rather than conditions or duration. Although, I have no qualm about using “concentration camps” and have used it in my previous writings, in this paper, I have largely used the term “internment camps,” which denotes confinement to a specific area with certain limitations, and occurring during wartime conditions. What these camps are called is important, for semantics does matter because it reflects the overall view taken and how the subject is approached. A better public relations and a softer image were sought by the government when it used “relocation centers;” it wanted to show how “evacuees” were moved for their own protection. The “relocation centers” were places to prepare for assimilation into the larger society so the “evacuees” would have better opportunities. On the other hand, the critics portrayed the “concentration camps” as places where inmates underwent stress and anguish, and where the fabric of family life was destroyed. The nuances of word used needs to be understood and appreciated. Words, therefore, do matter.²

In the aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941, anti-Japanese feelings erupted on the West Coast. There had been a long history of discrimination against the Japanese, especially in California. With hatred of the Japanese boiling to the surface, all kinds of rumors circulated of an eminent Japanese attack in the coastal areas, and there was considerable anxiety. Fear of Japanese engaging in sabotage and espionage and possibly supporting the invaders should they land caused West Coast whites to demand immediate removal of all Japanese Americans. The media added to the spread of rumors, thereby heightening fear and causing war hysteria. Local and state leaders, and even the entire California congressional delegation, ignoring the constitutional rights of Japanese American citizens, joined in the cry for immediate removal and detention of all people of Japanese ancestry.

There were those who cautioned against taking drastic actions against the Japanese Americans. The Justice Department under Francis Biddle opposed the move, and investigative reports by the Office of Naval Intelligence (Ringle Report), the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and a special agent of the State Department (Munson Report), all found the vast majority of Nikkei (person of Japanese ancestry) to be loyal and did not and would not engage in any subversive activity. Nevertheless, those advocating forceful removal of the Japanese won out. Most of the policymakers urging mass removal were from the War Department and the State Department, buttressed by the recommendations of a few military commanders. "Military necessity" was given as the decisive factor in the removal of the Nikkei, but it was later found that this was not the defining reason. The Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) concluded the eviction and detention of the Nikkei was based on "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership."³ To this list of reasons, could be added greed on the part of West Coast whites, wanting to eliminate economic competition and having a desire to acquire their properties and lands.

Immediately after the declaration of war against Japan, the FBI using previously compiled list, rounded up Issei (first generation immigrants) and a few Nisei (second generation children) who were prominent in their communities or had strong ties with Japan. They were sent to Department of Justice detention camps located in the Rocky Mountain and Central states, and were later returned to their families, but by then, the families had been moved to internment camps.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, and the military command under Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt carried out this order for the forced removal from the West Coast of all Nikkei. A total of about 112,000 Nikkei were removed; roughly two-thirds were Nisei, who were born in the U.S. and therefore citizens; the remaining one-third were Issei, who were considered aliens and hence ineligible for citizenship.⁴ The Army was responsible for moving the Japanese Americans from their homes to the Army operated temporary assembly centers. But once the Japanese Americans were moved to the permanent internment camps, it became the responsibility of the War Relocation Authority (WRA), created by Executive Order 9102 on March 18, 1942. Milton Eisenhower, older brother of Dwight Eisenhower, was the first director.

REMOVAL TO ARIZONA

The federal government declared all the area from the western halves of Washington, Oregon, and California and extending to the southern half of Arizona to be Military Area 1. All Nikkei were to be excluded from this area. Shortly after Executive Order 9066 was issued, several Japanese families moved voluntarily from Military Area 1 to the interior of California. Unfortunately, a few months later, the

rest of California was designated as Military Area 2, creating another exclusion zone. Those families had to move again, but this time into an internment camp in Arizona.

The uprooting from their homes was the first in a series of traumatic experiences faced by the Japanese Americans. Families were given about one week and in some cases as little as forty-eight hours to move out. All affairs had to be settled in this short timeframe, disposing of homes, businesses, farms, cars, fishing boats, appliances, furniture, just about all their possessions. A few had friends to keep or store their belongings, but for most, they either lost or sold their possessions at a fraction of their value. They were allowed to bring only what they could carry, usually two suitcases.

The government's plan for moving this mass of people was to send them first to assembly centers.⁵ Assembly centers were meant to be temporary quarters until the permanent internment camps could be completed. Two of the assembly centers were in Arizona – Parker Dam, renamed Poston and before long upgraded into an internment camp, and Mayer, about 75 miles northwest of Phoenix and a former Civilian Conservation Corps camp. Mayer held only 245 detainees, all from southern Arizona, and was the smallest assembly center. After only a month, it was closed and all detainees were transferred to Poston.

After the shock of being uprooted from their homes, the assembly centers was the second traumatic experience for the Japanese Americans. The chosen sites were racetracks and fairgrounds because they had ample acreage, especially large parking lots, essential utilities, and other infrastructures. Nevertheless, some construction was necessary, and in one month's time, military type barracks had been added by the Army Corps of Engineers. The assembly centers were fenced in by barbed wire and had sentry towers with armed guards. The description of one assembly center should suffice.

On March 27, 1942, the famous Santa Anita Racetrack was opened as the first assembly center. It lasted for seven months and was the largest, housing 18,719. A large number of barracks were hastily built on the vast parking lot, but it was found to be insufficient. Consequently, the horse stables had to be used to accommodate about 8,500 detainees. Families were housed in partitioned stalls, and although attempts were made to clean them out, the animal smell persisted.⁶ Even with six mess halls, the lines were always long and standing in line became necessary for just about everything, from taking a shower, to using the communal lavatories. Detainees were eager to get out of the chaotic assembly center to go to their assigned internment camp. But the assembly center did get them accustomed to crowded communal living with absolutely no privacy. It prepared them for the next step.

The next step was the removal of the Japanese Americans to internment camps. There were ten internment camps, or what the government called relocation centers, and two, Poston Relocation Center and Gila River Relocation Center, were in

Arizona.⁷ Both were on Indian Reservation land, in desolate desert locations, far removed from major cities.⁸ Detainees at Santa Anita were assigned to Poston and those at Salinas Assembly Center (Central California) were likewise sent to Poston. Those from the Stockton, Fresno, Tulare, and Turlock Assembly Centers were sent to Gila River.⁹ In addition, 3,000 internees went directly from the San Joaquin Valley and Imperial Valley to Gila River and never entered any assembly center.¹⁰ Mainly from farming communities, they were needed for last minute farming operations. Also a small contingent from Southern Arizona, including Henry "Hank" Oyama from Tucson, with his mother and sister, went directly to Poston. "I don't know why I was sent to Poston. I can't speak Japanese and don't know anything about Japan. I was brought up in the barrio," said Henry, then a 15-year old teenager.¹¹ Being of Japanese ancestry was enough to be interned. Overall, the vast majority of internees came from California. There were, however, a contingent of 2,000 inmates that transferred from Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas when it was closed in June 1944. Furthermore, 155 Japanese Americans from Hawaii were sent directly from Sand Island Internment Camp in Honolulu to Gila River.

On May 8, 1942, the Poston Relocation Center was the second internment camp to be opened, following Manzanar Relocation Center in California. Poston got an early start because it was originally an assembly center but was converted to an internment camp. It became the largest internment camp with a peak population of 18,000. Gila River opened two months later on July 20, 1942, and its peak population was 13,400. Since these two camps were huge, they were both subdivided. Poston consisted of three units separated by three miles intervals and were known officially as Poston I, II, and III. Gila River had two separate units located three and a half miles apart, Canal Camp on the eastern side and Butte Camp on the western side. Canal Camp was so-named because there was an irrigation canal running alongside, and Butte Camp had a mountain butte on one end.

The two internment camps sprung up quickly in the space of about six months, and the rapidity of the construction was astonishing. Del Webb was the contractor for Poston and for a portion of the barracks at Gila River. The company was pulled from a project in California to work on Poston. The initial pace was hectic. Poston I was completed in less than three weeks employing 5,000 workers, and even though the facilities were not ready, internees were arriving and before long, the barracks were filled with 7,000 internees! At Gila River, construction began on May 1, 1942 and the same thing happened. Internees were moving in before the construction was completed, and by the end of the month, over 8,000 had moved in. All the major construction at Gila River was not completed until December 1, 1942. Of all the internment camps, Gila River probably looked the best. It had distinctive red roofs, and double roof construction to act as added insulation against the high desert temperature. It was no surprise Eleanor Roosevelt was taken to Gila River when she asked to visit an internment camp. The WRA was conscious about the image of the internment camps and wanted to favorably impress the first lady.

The layout and architecture of the buildings at Poston and Gila River were similar. The same military model was selected for all the internment camps. The buildings, called barracks, were symmetrically laid out in grid fashion. Each barrack was 20 x 100 feet and accommodated four to six families. The barracks were arranged in two columns with each column having seven barracks. At the end of one column was the mess hall, and at the end of the other column was the recreation hall; both the mess and recreation halls were larger size buildings. In the middle between the columns of barracks were lavatories for men and for women, a laundry, and an ironing room, which was used instead for storage purposes. Together, the residential barracks and supporting buildings constituted a "block," the basic unit of the community around which self-government was based. "Block managers" were elected from each block, and each block sent a representative to the community council. A block housed about 250 to 300 internees. Each camp ordinarily consisted of eighteen residential blocks, but Poston I, and Butte Camp of Gila River, were larger and had thirty-six blocks. In addition, there was a non-residential area kept separate from the barracks, which held administrative offices, schools, warehouses, factories, and the hospital.¹² Barbed wire encircled the camps with guard towers manned by armed soldiers. The WRA staff and the military police lived outside the camp. Gila River, however, was unusual having only a single guard tower, and its fence lacked barbed wire. The natural terrain was said to be enough for deterrence. With its distinguishing red roof and relative lack of security, Gila River offered a softer image and was the place to take official visitors.

COMMUNITY LIFE

The Japanese Americans were in for another traumatic experience. Transportation to the internment camp was by train to the closest railhead, in the case of Poston, it was the town of Parker. The internees were then shuttled a distance of seventeen miles by bus. For the internees of Gila River, the railhead was Casa Grande, and then it was a half hour drive by bus to the camp.¹³ Embarking from the bus, internees were confronted by a barren and bleak scene, devoid of grass, shrubberies, or trees, and accompanied by triple-digit temperature. The starkness was overwhelming. Seeing the drab barracks was disappointing. Several of the barracks were not completed and were lacking doors or windows. Barracks were constructed with green pine lumber, covered with tarpaper with no interior wallboards.

Besides the heat, the biggest complaints were the dust and the lack of privacy. The wind kicked up the dust, and due to the lack of vegetation, dust storms frequently occurred. The heat shrunk the timber so there were cracks in the wall, allowing dust to easily enter and covering everything with a fine coat of dust. At first, newspapers were used to plug the gaps but later the lids of tin cans were used. The lack of privacy was a big thing. Parents used sheets to partition off the allotted

family space, but within the family, there was a lack of personal space. Of course, the sheets were no barriers to sounds from adjoining rooms. More serious was the lack of privacy in the lavatories. There were no partitions between the toilets, and the shower room was one big area with a series of showerheads. Women were especially embarrassed and went to the lavatories late at night. To the list of complaints could be added the chronic water shortages. However, the sewage system was modern and efficient, and ironically, neighboring communities complained about the camps having a better sewage system than their outhouses and septic tanks, and accused the camp administration of “coddling” the Japanese Americans.¹⁴

The barracks were almost completely bare, nothing except army cots with two blankets each and light bulbs hanging from the ceiling. Mattresses had to be stuffed with straw before they could be used, and there were absolutely no furniture. By the fall of 1942, heating stoves were still not installed, so barracks were cold. Such lateness in delivery, and there were several other instances, added to the discontent. Consequently, the internees decided not to wait for the camp administration to take action. Getting hold of scrap lumber, they built furniture, tables, and shelves, thereby making their barracks liveable.¹⁵ Even areas outside the barracks were made attractive by planting gardens, building fish ponds, and by planting trees and other vegetation to provide shade and reducing the dust. Camp life was improved by major projects undertaken by the internees, such as outdoor stage, auditorium, science laboratory, home economics building, plant nurseries, and athletic fields.

The stress of crowding and the lack of privacy affected families. The problem was most pronounced in the mess hall. Traditionally, Japanese families ate together, but in the communal mess hall, families found it difficult to sit together. Young people wanted to eat with their peer group, and even fathers began to eat with other men. As a result, families stopped eating together and a traditional bond was broken.

People under confinement and isolation can suffer psychological consequences, leading to boredom, lethargy, and a sense of futility. What do you do with your free time was a critical question. The WRA answer was for internees to find employment. Although, the pay was meager, many internees did seek and find employment, thus providing some purpose in their lives. The initial job opportunities came from the outside farm communities, which desperately needed help in harvesting the cotton crop. The WRA decided to allow for seasonal employment, i.e., internees were allowed to live and work outside and return after the harvesting season was over. The pay was not comparable to what the Caucasian workers were paid doing the same work. At the beginning, the WRA monthly salary scale was \$8.00 for unskilled labor, \$12.00 for skilled labor, and \$16.00 for professionals. Later these were raised to \$12, \$16, and \$19 respectively.¹⁶

In contrast to seasonal employment, most of the employment opportunities offered to internees were of a more permanent nature, and were of two types – jobs

outside the camp with indefinite or permanent resettlement or jobs within the camp. The WRA promoted the broad program of sending Japanese Americans out from the internment camps into the hinterland with the purpose of reducing the camps' population and assimilating qualified and loyal Japanese Americans into American society. The program was officially known as "leave permit" and went into effect on July 20, 1942. Initially, only Nisei were accepted; they were vetted and had to pass a loyalty examination. They could then seek employment outside the camp but had to find an employer outside the excluded areas willing to be the sponsor. After October 1942, all Japanese Americans could apply. Once an employer was found, they received a \$25.00 allowance and a train ticket to their destination, plus a meal per diem of \$3.00 a day. The leave permits were also issued to students who were accepted into a college or vocational program. Students had better results than those receiving employment leave permit. They faced less racial prejudice and had a more advantageous career start than those seeking outside employment, who usually ended up with low level positions, doing domestic, factory, or office jobs. It seemed the leave permit was an excellent opportunity for qualified individuals to escape the confines of the camp and to start on an adventuresome career. Yet at the beginning, there were few takers. Less than 15 percent applied and were granted leave permits. Two factors discouraged many potential applicants. First, many did not want to be separated from their families, and second, there was apprehension about moving to a new and possibly hostile environment. Over a period of time, however, more young people applied for leave permit. It had consequences for the camps, for when several thousand young people left, it drained the camps of the talent, skill, and energy of the young men and women and caused disruptions within the communities.¹⁷

For those not wanting to leave the camp permanently, the alternative was to find employment within the camp. Basically, this meant working for the WRA as helpers in the mess hall, doing maintenance and janitorial work, working in the warehouse, or doing staff support work in offices. Majority of these positions were on the lower monthly pay scale of \$8.00, which was later boosted to \$12.00. But the largest number of hires was surprisingly in farming, in the production of vegetables, melons, and other crops. At its peak, the Gila River Relocation Center employed nearly 1,000 men and women, and many had farming experience. Gila River was blessed with soil already worked on by the Native Americans, but the key to successful farming was irrigation. The Japanese Americans vastly improved the existing irrigation system. So much food was produced that it not only met the needs of the Gila River and Poston camps, but there was enough produce to ship to all the internment camps. Twenty percent of all the food consumed by the ten internment camps was grown at Gila River! This was an impressive operation. Moreover, there was an extensive livestock program with cattle, pigs, and herds of dairy cows, as well as a thriving poultry farm.¹⁸

Although, private enterprises were not allowed, business projects aiding the war effort and communal factories were permitted. To help the war effort and to provide employment, the WRA assisted in organizing camouflage net factories in

Gila River and Poston. The factories were run by a private-owned outside company, but all its employees were from the camps. The factories did not last long and ceased operations in May 1943 when their contracts with the WRA ended. In addition, there was a model warship factory at Poston. It produced small scale wooden model warships which were used by the U.S. Navy for identification purposes.¹⁹ An example of a communal factory was a food preparation factory in Poston I, producing *tofu* (bean curd). *Tofu* is an important Japanese staple food.

Professional jobs paid the best, but at \$19.00 per month, the professionals were grossly underpaid. There was a constant shortage of professional workers and long working hours became routine. The recruiting of teachers was a challenge. Caucasian teachers were recruited from California and surrounding communities and from those who had taught at Indian reservation schools. There were not enough qualified Japanese American teachers, therefore, seventy-five internees with at least two years of college were employed as teaching assistants. Teachers from the outside were, of course, paid more. At first, the school population was large but the enrollment pressure lessened with time. Poston had 5,200 students at the beginning, but by the third year, enrollment was down to about 3,600 due to the leave permit settlement program. Other challenges confronted the school system. There was a shortage of school buildings, so internees themselves built school buildings with adobe, which, by the way, was supplied by an adobe-making factory established in the camp. The adobe factory was wholly managed by the internees.²⁰ Furthermore, the furnishing of the school rooms were taken care of by the internees; they built chairs, desks, tables, and blackboards. Textbooks were lacking, but donations came from outside sources. Conditions got better with time, but the lack of basic textbooks and supplies persisted. There was little need to teach American values, for the children were already Americanized. Lucille Franchi, a first grade teacher at Poston relates, "she hung up a small American flag in her room. Then from the back of the room, one of the children began to sing 'God Bless America.' She sighed. 'I stood there with tears streaming from my eyes.'"²¹

Other occupational areas employing professionals were the hospitals and the newspapers. Each camp had a 200-bed hospital built by the WRA. They were staffed with Japanese American physicians who had lost their practices in California by the forceful removal. A small staff had to serve a large population; as a result, they were forced to work long hours. Caucasian women nurses were recruited and were supplemented with Nisei women nurses from the camps. Supervisory control was retained by the WRA with the chief supervisor being a Caucasian doctor.²² Each camp had a daily newspaper, and they were staffed by a small group of workers with previous experience working for prewar Japanese language newspapers. *Gila News-Courier* and the *Poston Chronicle* were the two newspapers, and both came out in mimeograph form. Camp administration did not impose censorship and allowed for leeway, nevertheless, the administration maintained control by its supervisory role and by the hiring of employees.²³

The employment policy of the WRA did offer benefits to those internees who wanted to try something new outside the camp, and who wanted to escape the regimentation of camp life. However, the administration promoted employment for its own purposes. Employment helped the Americanization process, made the camps more self-sufficient, and even helped the war effort. The pay scale was purposely kept low so there would be no complaint about coddling the Japanese Americans, and it could be argued, to even exploit the cheap labor. Although, the WRA gave the internees wide latitude in regards to employment, the administration kept control by their supervisory role, as seen in the hospitals and the press, and by its administrative control of farming operations. The Japanese Americans never felt they had complete control over their lives; they felt demeaned.

Employment did take up time and thereby lessen boredom, but internees needed entertainment as a way to relieve stress and worry and to enjoy doing activities with one another. Two activities played a particularly prominent role and had a lasting impact even after the camps were closed; they were baseball and big band music. Kenichi Zenimura, renowned baseball player and manager, and the most influential figure in Nisei baseball, was forcefully sent with his wife and two sons to the Fresno Assembly Center. In the short time he was there, he built a baseball field and organized a league.²⁴ The Zenimura family was originally supposed to be transferred from the assembly center to the Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas, but because Kenichi's wife suffered from tuberculosis, the WRA decided the dry climate of Arizona would be better suited for her health. When Zenimura arrived at Gila River, he was depressed and listless, but before long, he had a vision of building a baseball field. Then began an endeavor that was to have a profound impact on internment camp life. At first, it was only Kenichi and his sons building the baseball field but shortly was joined by many friends. The field at Gila River was completed in March 1943 and was named "Zenimura Field." It had a small grandstand and two dugouts. It was Kenichi's "field of dreams – if you build it they will come."²⁵ And they did come – on opening game day nearly 3,000 fans came! Zenimura helped to construct two more baseball fields, and the one in Butte seated 6,000 spectators and became the "home" field of Zenimura's coached teams. Eventually, every camp had at least one baseball field. A thirty-two teams league was organized at Gila River. Equipment was purchased with funds collected by charging a small admission. Zenimura's team, the Butte High School Eagles and his Butte All-Stars, played games against top high school, college, and semipro teams from surrounding communities. Exchange games were played with internment teams from Granada, Colorado and Heart Mountain, Wyoming. The game with outside teams promoted better understanding between Japanese Americans in the camps and with Americans outside. Even more important, baseball games were a morale builder for players, spectators, and everyone concerned. "Baseball was the only thing that kept us going. If we didn't play baseball, (camp life) would've been unbearable. Even when we didn't play, we were out there watching," Kenzo Zenimura said.²⁶ Contributions of Kenichi Zenimura in ameliorating camp life was truly significant. He deserves to be called the Father of Japanese American baseball.

As baseball lifted the spirit of the internees, dance bands soothe wounded feelings, and took the youngsters' mind away from the drabness of camp existence. Dance bands proliferated in the internment camps. Each of Poston's three sites had their own dance bands, and Gila River's two sites had their respective band. Bands did the best with whatever instruments and equipment available. The "Music Makers," the dance band of Poston I, to take one example, was a remarkable eleven-piece ensemble. Its theme song was Glenn Miller's "Moonlight Serenade." The band was organized and led by Hideo Kawano, a seventeen-year old precocious musician. He was talented in jazz and swing music and played the trumpet.²⁷ Another member was George Yoshida, saxophonist, who became a well-known musicologist of Japanese American role in jazz, dance and popular music. Music Makers' branch band at Butte camp had James Araki playing clarinet and saxophone. Araki was drafted into Military Intelligence Service and later had to leave camp. While serving with the American Occupation of Japan as an interpreter, he spent off duty hours playing in Japanese dance bands, and became a major influence in the development of jazz in Japan.²⁸ The dance bands provided weekend entertainment and was a respite for the young Nisei. The familiar "May I have this dance?" was frequently heard. The degree of Americanization that had taken place with the Nisei was surprising. From the sweet music of Glenn Miller and Tommy Dorsey, to the jazz swing tunes, from the fox trot to the jitterbug, this was as American as apple pie! George Yoshida said, "It was a matter of survival and subconscious affirmation of self - a way to express through music: 'I am an American!'"²⁹

Religious activities played an important part in the lives of many internees. Each camp had Christian and Catholic churches and Buddhist temples, although the Buddhist temples were slow in developing because camp authorities were hesitant, for they interfered with the Americanization process. Protestant denominations united for combined worship services and for Sunday Schools, and they were held in the recreation buildings until church buildings could be built. Poston I, with its three Protestant churches witnessed a rapid expansion of bible studies, prayer meetings, and special events. Before long, their ministry spread over into Poston II and III. Former pastors from California had the assistance of several seminary students. In most cases, pastors had worked on a volunteer basis, although there were a few who received financial support from outside sources.³⁰ Camps were frequently visited by such Christian leaders as Dr. Ralph L. Mayberry of American Baptists and Rev. Herbert Nicholson, a Quaker missionary. E. Stanley Jones, famous Christian missionary, was also a visitor.

Women found more leisure time. By being relieved from preparing dinners and most housework, women had the time to participate in social and artistic activities. Classes held in the recreational hall revealed the diversity of interest, with classes in flower arrangement, sewing, and tea ceremony. For men, their free time was spent on woodworking, gardening, and hobbies. Men participated in the traditional Japanese sport of *sumo* (wrestling) and *judo*. Families took in movies and plays held at the internees-built outdoor stage. Youngsters had several group activities to choose from, ranging from community-wide Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts to activities

sponsored by the schools. Most popular game for men was *go* (checker-like board-game) and the American card game poker. Another card game played by all was *hanafuda* (flower cards). Children played their own games, some as simple as “marbles,” or group games like “rooster” and “sink the battleship,” or just making up games as they went along.³¹ Edwin Fujinaka, a teenager when he and his family were interned in Poston, recalled those days as “a fun time, hanging around with friends, and exploring the camp.”³²

All these activities and programs mitigated the loneliness, anxiety, and feeling of futility. They helped to pass the time. Nevertheless, the activities and entertainment did not always heal psychological wounds. There were occasional suicides. Although, the administration tried to promote activities and programs, for the most part, it was the internees who took the initiative and volunteered their talents, skills, and energy to lift the spirits of the internees.

WRA POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Poston had a different origin and development from Gila River. In March 1942, an agreement was made between WRA headed by Milton Eisenhower and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headed by John Collier. Collier agreed to let the WRA build an internment camp on the Colorado River Indian Reservation, which was under the jurisdiction of the BIA. Collier wanted to develop a model community complete with farm cooperatives, using Japanese American farmers to help develop the local farm economy and to develop other cooperatives and build for the long run. He brought in director Wade Head and a staff of social scientists to conduct studies, and to employ social science techniques to resolve problems, and even artists were invited to enrich camp life. To advance his program, Collier gave several talks and made many promises. Dillon Myer, who succeeded Eisenhower as director of WRA, had a different philosophy. Myer was bureaucratic and did not believe in a humanitarian approach and was not interested in community planning and creating a model community. He believed it would lead to administrative problems and a dependence on government aid. He shunned social science approaches, although he did adopt the use of “community analysts.” Myer believed the internment camps to be temporary and as quickly as possible to Americanize and resettle the Japanese Americans into communities in the Midwest and the East Coast. All camps were to be run uniformly and with little experimentation. He finally ended the agreement with Collier and the BIA, and the WRA took over formal control of Poston in mid-1943. As a result, the promises made by Collier were dropped, and this caused confusion and created an atmosphere of distrust between the administration and internees.³³

As the initial shock of settling in wore off, the stress of communal living became evident. First, there was increasing tension between the administration and the

internees. The administrative staff favored the Nisei, who were American citizens, spoke English, and were the initial volunteers helping the administration when the internees were arriving. The administration wanted the Nisei in the block and council leadership positions. This was a major mistake. When the WRA announced the new policy barring Issei from leadership positions in the barracks and in the council, the Issei vehemently expressed their anger at being left out. Back in California, the Issei were the pillars of their communities and held key positions. Now they were stripped of their traditional roles. The Issei did not feel confident in the ability of the Nisei, whose average age was twenty-five, to lead. Moreover, the Issei were suspicious of the Nisei, and accused them of collaborating with the administration at the expense of the internees. Second, there was a generational problem. The Issei felt the Nisei were getting too Americanized and losing their cultural heritage. The Nisei were not respecting their elders, resulting in a widening gap between the Issei and Nisei. Lastly, there was the problem of the Nisei and the Kibei (second generation Nisei educated in Japan). The Kibei tended to be pro-Japan. They used the term *inu* (dog) to describe Nisei informers, who had sided with the administration. Tempers soon flared up, and fighting broke out between the pro-Japan Kibei and the pro-administration Nisei. Gangs formed by Kibei targeted members of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), known to promote Americanization and to be supporters of the WRA.

Ultimately, tension came to a head on the night of November 14, 1942 in Poston I. Kay Nishimura, a thirty-year old Kibei, was badly beaten by a hooded mob. Fifty suspects associated with the judo club were initially taken into custody but later released. The following night another beating took place. FBI agents arrested two judo leaders, but this action only provoked anger. Three days later, WRA director Myer made a surprise visit. He announced Poston would be a temporary camp, and this only caused confusion, since BIA director Collier had previously promised to make Poston a model community. The following morning, November 18, about a thousand internees from Poston I demanded the release of the two judo club leaders. A general strike was called, and it spread to Poston II and III. Crowds gathered around bonfires at nights, listening and talking about the strike. Fortunately, the community analysts Edward Spicer and Alexander Leighton were able to persuade the Acting Director not to summon the armed troops. Although Spicer and Leighton helped to avoid armed conflict, they were unable to calm the strikers. Finally, through negotiations, an agreement was reached, where the Issei were given a voice in camp affairs, and one suspect was released and the other was not to be taken away but given a trial by a camp court. Meanwhile, the administration was given the promise that attacks on suspected informers would end. The strike lasted for a week.³⁴ The Poston strike revealed the stress of communal life, and the hardship and neglect felt by the internees, and the internal conflict between Issei, Nisei, and Kibei. Adding to the grievances were the broken promises of the WRA, e.g., wages not paid on time and delays in the delivery of clothing and supplies.

A more troubling event was soon to arise. The WRA allowed an army recruiting station to open at Poston I. Young Nisei welcomed this as some wished to demonstrate their loyalty by volunteering. But what followed was a huge blunder. In February 1943, the army used a loyalty questionnaire for screening purposes to determine the loyalty of Nisei wishing to enlist. The WRA officials thought a questionnaire would be helpful in clearing applicants for its leave permit. They took their questionnaire and boldly applied it, requiring everyone over the age of seventeen, including women and Issei, to answer the questionnaire. Unfortunately, the questionnaire was poorly worded and hastily administered. Two questions, in particular, caused anxiety and confusion. Question 27 asked, "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" Nisei men feared that by answering "yes" they would be trapped into joining the army. Women did not know how to answer this question. The question was later revised to handle the gender problem. Of greater concern was Question 28. Internees were asked whether they were prepared to swear allegiance to the United States "...and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?" Since the Issei could not become U.S. citizens, by renouncing their allegiance to Japan, they would become stateless. It was later changed to ask if they would "abide by the laws of the United States," and not interfere with the war effort. But the damage was done. Many Nisei felt insulted at being asked to swear allegiance to a government that was denying their constitutional rights.

The loyalty questions caused disruptions and divisions among friends and within families; throughout the camps, confusion and frustration prevailed. Majority of internees' answers were "yes" to the loyalty questions, however, those that answered "no" to questions 27 and 28 were labeled as "no-no boys." Thirteen percent at Gila River answered "no" to both questions. The government transferred these "no-no boys" to Tule Lake Segregation Center in California, which was established for those "disloyal" and their families.³⁵ Some Nisei who were pro-America decided to follow their parents who had answered "no" in order to be together as a family. They felt compelled to give up their U.S. citizenship! These were moments of anguish. All Nikkei who expressed their loyalty to Japan were sent to Tule Lake and eventually some of those who asked to be repatriated to Japan were returned to Japan during the war aboard the Swedish ship S.S. Gripsholm; others were repatriated after the war. The deep division within the internment communities was dramatically evident one morning when a bus with young men departed from Poston for an induction center and at the same time another bus headed to Tule Lake with those "disloyal."³⁶

As noted earlier, Dillon Myer considered the internment camps to be temporary, and his primary objective was to resettle the internees as soon as possible into communities far away from the exclusion areas. Meanwhile, Americanization of the internees was to continue. Resettlement, however, was a policy with dire consequences, and opposition came from several sources. Secretary of War Henry Stimson rejected Myer's plan to phase out the camps, and in April 1943, a

congressional subcommittee investigated the WRA and recommended tighter surveillance of the internees and to segregate out those “disloyal.” This added pressure led the WRA to institute a “loyalty” registration or questionnaire, and as noted before, it resulted in great confusion and anguish.³⁷ Moreover, some in the WRA were not enthusiastic about the resettlement program. But the strongest opposition to the program came from the internees themselves, who feared and were unsure about moving into an unknown community and possibly facing hostility. Already reports and letters were coming in telling of discrimination faced by those resettling. Most Nikkei preferred to return to California, not to the hinterland. But go home to where? There was no home to return to. Those that resettled tended to be younger Japanese Americans, and they preferred the urban centers.

The resettlement process was helped by military service. It was one way male Nisei could leave the camp, so it could be considered a form of resettlement. Another reason for entering military service was to prove the Japanese Americans were loyal citizens, and thereby lead to the release of all internees from the camps and the restoration of their constitutional rights. On January 28, 1943, Secretary of War Stimson announced the creation of an all-Nisei unit, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The government believed it would present a good public image and boost morale of Japanese Americans. Army recruiters toured the Gila River and Poston camps, but few Nisei men volunteered because of the reality of camp life with its harshness and uncertainty and because they were angry about the government’s behavior.³⁸ Only eighty-four Nisei from Gila River volunteered for the 442nd.³⁹ To increase enlistment, WRA and JACL leaders lobbied for the military draft to be reopened to Nisei. In January 1944, Nisei became eligible for the draft. This time a large number of Nisei men entered the army. Most of them served with the 442nd and distinguished themselves in the European theater, winning many decorations. Furthermore, Nisei served with the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) and acted as instructors, interrogators, and interpreters. MIS personnel were deployed in the Pacific theater. A total of 1,110 from Gila River and more than 1,200 from Poston served in the U.S. armed forces.⁴⁰ Of these, twenty-three from Gila River and twenty-two from Poston made the supreme sacrifice and were killed in action or died of their wounds.

Director Myer had from the beginning advocated the closing of the camps as soon as possible. On December 23, 1944, he announced plans to close the camps in one year’s time, by December 31, 1945, but closure came earlier with the end of the Pacific War in August 1945. Poston II and III closed on June 22, 1945 and Poston I, being larger, took longer and closed on November 28, 1945, the last camp in Arizona to close. Over at Gila River, Canal Camp closed on September 28, 1945, and Butte Camp closed on November 10, 1945. The last to leave Butte were 155 Japanese Americans from Hawaii. Toward the end, the internment camps were made up mainly of Issei and those Nisei with young children. Issei were reluctant to leave and preferred to stay in the camp. They had no place to go and feared going to a

strange place and possibly facing discrimination. The government finally had to force them out. Thus ended the story of the internment camps in Arizona.

OTHER FEDERAL FACILITIES

LEUPP CITIZEN ISOLATION CENTER

The WRA had a problem with so-called “troublemakers.” These were Nisei who had led or participated in protest movements or had otherwise caused unrest in their camp. Uncooperative Issei were earlier sent to Department of Justice detention camps. Now, the decision was made to move Nisei “troublemakers” out of the internment camps and send them to an isolation center. The site chosen was Moab in southeastern Utah, but it was soon found to be unsuitable, so the inmates were transferred to Leupp, located in northeast Arizona, about 18 miles northwest of the town of Winslow. Leupp was an abandoned Indian boarding school on Navajo Indian Reservation land, but the buildings were quite suitable. It was like a prison with living conditions much harsher than in the internment camp. The isolation center had high barbed wire fence with guard towers, and was guarded by 150 military police. This was an excessive number of guards, considering the prison had only eighty prisoners!⁴¹

The initial group of inmates was those transferred from Moab, but later inmates came directly from various internment camps. Harry Y. Ueno described his experience of being transported from Moab to Leupp. On the morning of April 27, 1943, he was put into a wooden box and the box was loaded on a pickup truck. The box was 4 x 6 feet with a breathing hole on one end. The trip took thirteen hours, and Ueno felt he was in a “coffin.” He was glad when the truck arrived at Leupp, and he was able to get out of the “coffin.”⁴² Most inmates were held with no hearing and were not convicted of any crime. It is said one inmate was sent from Gila River to Leupp because he called a Caucasian nurse an “old maid.”⁴³ The abuses at Leupp came to light when a letter written by Francis S. Frederick, former director of Leupp, was disclosed. Frederick wrote, “How in hell can you Americanize the Japs when Gestapo methods are used in sending them to Leupp – no warrants, no trials, no sentences, separated from their families, etc.”⁴⁴ Leupp was giving the WRA a bad image so Myer ordered it closed. “I have said from the first that it’s illegal and I still think so. I’m not at all proud of Leupp even though it has been effective,” Myer said.⁴⁵ On December 4, 1943, Leupp was hastily closed and inmates moved to Tule Lake.

CATALINA FEDERAL HONOR CAMP

Located in the Santa Catalina Mountains, northeast of Tucson, Arizona, and on milepost 7 of the Catalina Highway, the prison facility was established in 1939 and was under the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The prison was to provide labor to build a highway to Mt. Lemmon. During World War II, it took in draft resisters and conscientious objectors. About forty-five Japanese American draft resisters were interned. For the government, an isolated prison was the solution to the problem of segregating Nisei who had opposed conscription and who were, therefore, a negative group.⁴⁶ Of the transferred Nisei inmates, thirty were from the Granada Relocation Center in Colorado, and the rest were from the internment camps in Poston, Arizona and Topaz, Utah. They were transported to Tucson wearing handcuffs and leg irons, and they ended up working along side with more than 200 other prisoners, including Hopi Indians and Jehovah's Witnesses.⁴⁷

The camp consisted of four barracks, a mess hall, a laundry, a powerhouse, a garage, a warehouse, a workshop, and a classroom. The administrative staff was housed in a separate area and included an administration building and cottages for prison personnel. In all, there were about fifty buildings. The camp included chicken and turkey farms, a vegetable garden, and a baseball field. The Catalina camp did not look like a prison. It had no fence or guard tower and unlike Poston and Gila River Relocation Centers, security was not enforced.⁴⁸ Based on comments made by Nisei inmates, the living conditions were much better than those of the internment camps. Essentially, the Honor Camp operated like a work camp.

The camp's most famous inmate was Gordon Hirabayashi. At the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, Hirabayashi was a student at the University of Washington. He had become a Quaker while at the university and was a pacifist. Hirabayashi was arrested and convicted for violating the curfew and exclusion orders. He spent the time in jail as his case worked its way through the judicial system, reaching the U.S. Supreme Court in May 1943. The Supreme Court upheld his conviction the following month, hence he was required to serve out the remaining three months of the sentence. He preferred to serve it in Tucson rather than the confining jail in Spokane, Washington. But the government had no funds to pay his transportation to Tucson, and as a result, Hirabayashi had to hitchhike, and it took him two weeks. Furthermore, when he got to Tucson, prison officials could not find his papers and, therefore, could not admit him. He pleaded with them, but he finally decided, at their suggestion, to wait it out by going to a movie. When he returned, they had found his papers, and he was admitted!⁴⁹ His case was reopened when documents were found by Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga and Professor Peter Irons, showing the government had deliberately withheld and suppressed relevant information and had misled the court. The legal team of young Sansei (third generation) lawyers, on the suggestion of Prof. Irons, resorted to the rarely used writ of *coram nobis* (writ of error). The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1987 overturned the conviction, and the government decided not to appeal. Hirabayashi became an iconic figure

symbolizing the fight to protect the rights and personal liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

The prison camp was demolished in the 1970s, and today only traces can be seen of a few scattered stonewalls, foundations, and masonry work done by the prisoners. Presently, a kiosk explains the history of the camp, the Japanese Americans internment, and about Hirabayashi. The former federal prison camp was dedicated in November 1999 as the "Gordon Hirabayashi Recreation Site," and is part of the U.S. Forest Service, National Park Service. Hirabayashi and a few of his Japanese American inmates returned for the dedication and shared their reminiscences and memories of their work and camp experiences.

EPILOGUE

Approximately 31,400 Japanese Americans were interned in Arizona's two camps during World War II or roughly one-fourth (26%) of all Japanese Americans interned in the United States. Generally, what happened in Arizona was similar to what took place in the other eight internment camps. As mentioned, the forced removal of the Japanese Americans resulted in a series of traumatic experiences - uprooting from their homes, the move to the assembly centers, the transfer to internment camps, and finally the resettlement and closure of the camps. Without doubt the most consequential phase of the whole episode was the internment camp. The psychological impact, as well as the effect on familial and generational ties, has been discussed. The internees by their own effort made camp life a bit tolerable, and their resiliency was surprising. But all this is past history; what about its remembrance and legacy?

A group from Tucson, members of the Southern Arizona Japanese Cultural Coalition (SAJCC) and friends, visited the site of the former Gila River Relocation Center on January 24, 2015. Ross Iwamoto, founder of SAJCC, organized the tour, and since it is on tribal land, tribal permission was necessary with escort. Poston, by the way, is open to the public and no permission is needed. What remembrance can there be? What can be seen? Gila River and Poston Relocation Centers have disappeared. Although, no buildings remain today, by taking a tour of the sites, it is possible to gain a feel of the surroundings and to imagine what it was like. Certainly, I had that feeling. There are still signs of the demolished camps. You have to know what to look for, and the site has to be walked. Concrete foundation slabs of the administration buildings, warehouses, high school, and the lavatories can be seen. Footing blocks of the residential barracks and other buildings are clearly visible. There are traces of the landscaping, such as small ponds, and of the irrigation ditches, manholes, and cisterns. At Poston I, there is a large monument and kiosk. Both Poston and Gila River have interpretive signs and plaques explaining briefly the history of the camp. A servicemen's honor roll monument, honoring those from Gila River who served in World War II, which was erected by the internees, still

stands at Butte Camp. At both internment camps, there are memorial markers honoring the veterans.

After the closure of the Poston and Gila River internment camps, the physical traces of the camps rapidly disappeared and for over two decades little attention was paid to the experiences of the internees. Why was this? Japanese Americans did not want to talk about the camps, for the bitter memories were too painful to recall. They held a fatalistic attitude and followed the adage of *shikata ga nai* (it can't be helped), a traditional Japanese behavioral norm. It was best to just move on. Therefore, there was little reminiscing and sharing of information. Conditions changed in the mid-1960s. Sansei began to study the wartime uprooting, and the political climate, impacted by the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, was conducive to such study. Books on the camps began to appear, e.g., historian Roger Daniel's *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* published in 1971. As ethnic studies and Asian American studies programs appeared in colleges and universities, Japanese Americans became cognizant of their heritage. Not only did publications on the internment camps proliferate, internees began to share their stories and memories, and as a result, oral history projects, collection of personal reminiscences, collection of camp poetry, and exhibitions of internees' art works all expanded. Today, there is an impressive collection of oral, printed, and visual records of the wartime internment stories.⁵⁰

The wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans has been described as a "black chapter" in American history. On the Poston Memorial Monument is inscribed the following: "...May it serve as a constant reminder of our past so that Americans in the future will never again be denied their constitutional rights; may the remembrance of that experience serve to advance the evolution of the human spirit." A refrain frequently quoted after a tragic event had occurred is - "never again" - and it is quoted in the above-mentioned monument. (underline added) The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concluded that war hysteria, racial prejudice, and a failure of political leadership led to the denial of civil rights and liberties of Japanese Americans. Today, conditions have changed, but similar forces are still at work - instead of war there is terrorism, instead of hatred for the Japanese Americans there is hatred for Muslims. The failure of political leadership is clearly evident when political leaders give in to their inner fears and prejudices and take actions against minorities in the name of security. During times of adversity, they are willing to compromise the rights and freedoms of others. The warning given is "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."⁵¹ Vigilance is necessary to protect our constitutional rights and our freedoms. Milton Eisenhower wrote, "How could such a tragedy have occurred in a democratic society that prides itself on individual rights and freedoms?..."⁵² Unfortunately, it did happen, and the lesson should not be forgotten nor ignored. It is appropriate to evoke again the familiar refrain - never again!

NOTES

1. Dillon S. Myer. *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 315. Figures are rounded.
2. Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. vii–viii; Bill Staples, Jr. *Kenichi Zenimura: Japanese American Baseball Pioneer* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2011), pp. 9-10.
3. Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982), p. 18.
4. The term “Nikkei” refers to all persons of Japanese descent. For Nikkei living in the U.S., the term “Japanese Americans” refers to the second and succeeding generations, who were born in the U.S. The term “Japanese” refers to the Issei, those born in Japan. However, common usage today allows the term “Japanese Americans” to include the Issei. The title of this paper uses “Japanese Americans” in that context and includes Issei.
5. The sixteen assembly centers were: Puyallup, WA; Portland, OR; Maryville, CA; Sacramento, CA; Tanforan, CA; Stockton, CA; Turlock, CA; Merced, CA; Pinedale, CA; Salinas, CA; Fresno, CA; Tulare, CA; Santa Anita, CA; Pomona, CA; Mayer, AZ; and Poston, AZ.
6. Jeffery F. Burton, et al. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1999), pp. 35-36.
7. The other relocation centers were: Manzanar and Tule Lake, California; Granada, Colorado; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Minidoka, Idaho; Topaz, Utah; Jerome and Rohwer, Arkansas.
8. Poston is 12 miles south of Parker, near the Colorado River. Gila River is 50 miles south of Phoenix. The tribal councils of Colorado River Indian Reservation (Poston) and the Gila River Indian Reservation opposed the use of their land, but the Army, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the WRA overruled the tribal councils. See: Karen J. Leong and Myla Vicenti Carpio, “Carceral Subjugations: Gila River Indian Community and Incarceration of Japanese Americans on Its Lands,” *Amerasia Journal*, 42, no.1 (2016): 111-12.
9. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 36.
10. *Ibid.*, 61.

11. Conversation with Henry Oyama. His mother was born in Japan but grew up in Mexico. His father, of Japanese descent, died before Henry was born. Oyama was involved in the case challenging the miscegenation law of Arizona and helped break the ban on interracial marriages. He was a veteran, a teacher, an administrator, and a pioneer in bilingual education. A school in Tucson is named after him.
12. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, pp. 40-43; Edwin H. Spicer, et al. *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), pp. 65-66, 68-70. The recreation halls were used for various purposes, including a sewing school, churches, service organizations, beauty and barber shops, cooperative stores and canteens, and offices for internal police.
13. Paul Bailey. *City in the Sun: The Japanese Concentration Camp at Poston, Arizona* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1971), p. 58; Kenneth A. Tashiro. *Wase Time! A Teen's Memoir of Gila River Internment Camp* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2005), pp. 21-22.
14. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 41.
15. Spicer, *Impounded People*, p. 72.
16. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 37.
17. Robinson, *A Tragedy*, pp. 186-87.
18. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 68.
19. *Ibid.*, 44.
20. Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 49, 51-52.
21. Chizu Iiyama, "Memories of Schools at Poston, Arizona," in *Nikkei Heritage*, 10, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 15.
22. Robinson, *A Tragedy*, p. 158; Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, pp. 52-53.
23. *Ibid.*, 169-70.
24. Staples, Jr., *Kenichi Zenimura*, pp. 115-16.
25. *Ibid.*, 119-20. Quote is from the film, "Field of Dreams" (1989), starring Kevin Costner.
26. *Ibid.*, 124-25.
27. George Yoshida. *Reminiscing in Swingtime: Japanese Americans in American Popular Music: 1925-1960* (San Francisco: National Japanese American Historical Society, 1997), pp. 131-32.

28. Ibid., 112-14, 148, 207. While in Japan, Araki became interested in Japanese literature, and he later received his doctorate and taught Japanese literature at UCLA and retired after teaching at the University of Hawaii.
29. Ibid., 125.
30. Victor N. Okada, ed. *Triumphs of Faith: Stories of Japanese-American Christians During World War II* (Los Angeles: Japanese-Americans Internment Project, 1998), pp. 5-7, 9-11, 67-68, 77-80, 85-87, 145-47, 153-54, 155-56, 169-71. Christian leaders in Poston included Rev. Jitsuo Morikawa and seminary students Masumi Toyotome, Paul Nagano, and Lloyd Wake. Several Poston internees went on to become pastors after camp closure, including Sadaichi Asai, Harry Baba, Kei Kokubun, Arthur Tsuneishi, Yasushi Wada, and Carl Yoshimine. Besides the testimonies given by the above internees, this volume includes the testimonies of four other Poston internees.
31. Tashiro, *Wase Time*, pp, 62-63.
32. Conversation with Edwin Fujinaka. Fujinaka visited Poston many years later, and it affected him; he got emotional remembering the harshness of the scene and the hardships faced by the family. It is a reaction many others have felt.
33. Robinson, *A Tragedy*, pp. 154-55.
34. Bailey, *City in the Sun*, pp. 119-25, 127-29, 131-33. See: Spicer, *Impounded People*, pp. 129-35. See also Alexander H. Leighton. *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), pp. 162-244.
35. Richard Drinnon. *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 80.
36. Bailey, *City in the Sun*, pp. 150-58, 196.
37. Ibid., 149-50.
38. Robinson, *A Tragedy*, pp. 207-8; Donald H. Estes, "A Place Called Poston," in *Transforming Barbed Wire: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans in Arizona During World War II*, ed. Thomas Nakayama (Phoenix: Arizona Humanities Council, 1997), p. 6.
39. Arthur Hansen, "Gila River Relocation Center," in *Transforming Barbed Wire: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans in Arizona During World War II*, ed. Thomas Nakayama (Phoenix: Arizona Humanities Council, 1997), p. 9.
40. Estes, "A Place Called Poston," p. 6; Hansen, "Gila River," p. 7.
41. Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camp*, pp. 62-63; Sue Kunitomi Embrey, Arthur A. Hansen, Betty Kulberg Mitson. *Manzanar Martyr: An Interview with Harry Y. Ueno* (Fullerton: California State University, 1986), p. 76.
42. Embrey, *Manzanar Martyr*, pp. 74-75.

43. Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camp*, p. 102.
44. *Ibid.*, 102.
45. *Ibid.*, 117.
46. There were several reasons why Nisei men resisted the draft. One important question was why are Nisei being drafted when their loyalty is being questioned and when their constitutional rights are being denied?
47. Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, pp. 409, 411.
48. *Ibid.*, 409-11, 414. The contribution of Jeffery F. Burton, National Park Service archeologist should be recognized. He did archeological work at Manzanar and did the initial findings at the Catalina camp, and suggested naming the campground after Hirabayashi.
49. Roger W. Axford. *Too Long Been Silent: Japanese-Americans Speak Out* (Lincoln: Media Publishing and Marketing, 1986), pp. 10-11. The account is amusing and was reaffirmed in conversation with Hirabayashi when he was in Tucson for the dedication of the recreation site. See also Peter Irons. *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese-American Internment Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 250.
50. See, for example, Axford, *Too Long Been Silent*. Besides the interview with Hirabayashi, there are interviews with four Poston and two Gila River internees. See stories by two Poston internees, including paintings, in Brian Komei Dempster, ed. *Making Home From War: Stories of Japanese American Exile and Resettlement* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2011), pp. 1-15, 93-97.
51. Quotation often attributed to Thomas Jefferson and sometimes to John Philpot Curran, but its authorship is problematic.
52. Eisenhower quotation in Leonard J. Arrington. *The Price of Prejudice*. 2nd ed. (Delta: Topaz Museum, 1997), p. 10.