

NATIVISM AND THE DECLINE IN CIVIL LIBERTIES:
REACTIONS OF WHITE AMERICA TOWARD THE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS,
1885–1945

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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of History
Indiana University

December 2009

Accepted by the Faculty of Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wife:

Stephanie O'Neal

You are the light that reminds me there is always hope for a brighter day.

Acknowledgements

My life as a graduate student has taken many unexpected turns over the past eight years. I received my undergraduate degree in English from Indiana State University. I swore when I finished my Bachelors degree that I would never take another college course again. Little did I know I would eventually grow bored with full-time employment and nothing else. My life as a student started when I was four years old, but in 2001, I found myself in unfamiliar territory. Because of this, and the fact that the Indiana University would pay for a great deal of my education, I decided to go back to school. I have to thank the Indiana University School of Medicine's Admissions Office for employing me for the last eight years and working around my school schedule so that I could complete my Master of Arts degree. I decided that the English Program at Indiana University—Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) was not a good fit for me, so Robert M. Stump, J.D., the former Director of Admissions, was a great help in guiding me to other graduate possibilities. I would also like to thank Karen A. Smartt, the current Director of Admissions, for mentoring over the years and for listening to my complaints and frustrations as I persevered through my graduate studies. I am also grateful to my direct supervisor, Christina Johnson, for having allowed me to take time for my studies and for having worked with me on my work schedule so I could accommodate my classroom needs.

Following the advice of Robert M. Stump, Jr., I spoke with History Professor Robert G. Barrows, Ph.D. who offered a wealth of information and advice—all of which helped me gain acceptance into the History Program. I would also like to thank

Professors Melissa R. Bingmann, Ph.D. and Richard Gantz, Ph.D. for teaching the wonderful classes I took before my acceptance into the History Program and for writing letters of recommendation on my behalf.

When I started the History Program at IUPUI, I planned to do a gender study of American sitcoms for my Master's thesis. Although that initial intention remained through the majority of my studies, I also took interest in the topic of nativism and Japanese immigration to the United States. My first class as a graduate student, taught by Professor Kevin Cramer, Ph.D., centered on genocidal activities throughout the world. Before Professor Cramer's class I thought of history as the regurgitation of facts. He taught me to not blindly accept scholarly and social opinions but to analyze academic and social constructs to gain a better understanding of historical change.

At the time, Professor Cramer had no idea that the paper I constructed for his class was my first step into the realm of Japanese American history and also formed the basis for my thesis. I walked away from Professor Cramer's class with a paper on nationalism and its influence on the legislative decision-making process that directly led to the internment of anyone with Japanese ancestry. This paper, and the research attached, provided me a starting point for a paper I devised for my Seminar class on immigration with Professor Marianne S. Wokeck, Ph.D. Professor Wokeck encouraged students to find a way to relate the course's basic theme to our various thesis projects. Since I was unsure of how to connect this to a gender study of television sitcoms, I decided to expand upon the work that I began in Professor Cramer's class by concentrating on the creation of discriminatory policy aimed at the Japanese immigrating to the U.S. at the beginning of the twentieth century. Professor Wokeck provided

guidance in and passionately offered each member of the class ways to improve our work. This class helped me compile the largest part of research for my thesis.

A colloquium with Professor Annie Coleman, Ph.D. helped expand and organize the secondary literature that I had gathered in my previous classes. While a class with Professor Jason S. Lantzer, Ph.D. provided me with the vehicle to expand my research into the conflict between those Japanese Americans who supported the draft resistance and those who did not. I thank both professors for their help as I worked on the early parts of what would become my thesis.

By the time I completed the last of my coursework, I started to question whether or not I should alter my thesis focus. After discussing my options with Professor Wokeck, I decided to change my focus from the gender study to that of the Japanese immigrants. She recommended that I contact Professor Michael Snodgrass, Ph.D. requesting that he take on the role of my thesis advisor. Thankfully Professor Snodgrass agreed, and for the past year and half, he has worked diligently to help finalize my master's thesis. Professor Snodgrass's advice has helped me form a cohesive bond between four different papers. I sincerely thank him for his prompt replies to the various drafts that I have submitted. The thoroughness of his criticism improved my thesis tremendously.

Additionally, I show my thanks to my mother and father for funding my undergraduate work and instilling in me a respect for higher education. I would not be on the precipice of graduating with a Masters of Arts degree if it were not for their encouragement when I was younger.

And finally, but certainly not least, I give my gratitude to my wife Stephanie, to whom this thesis is dedicated. She went to the law library with me and learned how to access governmental acts and other legal documents; she followed me around the country to remote areas to find the remnants of the interment; and she listened to me when I needed to vent. She was there when I wanted to quit, and prodded me forward despite my frustrations at the amount of work that still remained. When I felt as if all my pragmatism and idealism had been washed away by the stresses of full-time work and finishing an advanced degree, her presence gave me hope and a renewed sense of purpose. She keeps the dreamer inside of me alive. This thesis was made possible because of her, and for that, I am eternally thankful that God gave her to me.

Preface

The place was indeed sacred. I felt it within my bones, as I wandered through the remains of the camp. I easily made out the concrete foundations and support blocks, and determined which ones served as barracks for the internees and which ones as the toilets, washrooms, and mess halls. I could see them, as clearly as the desert sky, the flimsy structures of two-by-fours covered with tar paper nailed to joints with wood strips. Small windows let light into barren rooms barely ten by twenty feet, but they also let in the cold and heat and the ever present dust and sand. Row upon row of those barracks, spare and drab, extended in straight lines that covered where the earth met the sky.¹

Gary Y. Okihiro, 1996

Visiting the Past

Summer 2007—as we turned off the highway onto the long dirt road, I felt a rush of anticipation. My wife Stephanie and I had planned this trip for months, and with my usual sense of compulsion, I had spent hours figuring our daily navigations. The trip, which took us as far west as Yellowstone National Park, was originally conceived as a plan to see one of the ten Japanese American internment camps. I chose the Heart Mountain Relocation Center not because of its closeness to Indiana (Arkansas has two centers), but its proximity to Yellowstone and other areas of interest. Heart Mountain stands serenely in the background of the camp that bears its name (see Photo A.1). Located between Powell and Cody, Wyoming, the facility was no easy task to locate. The camp is not a major tourist attraction since many Americans are still naively unaware of the wartime confinement of the Japanese Americans and their parents. A quaint website dedicated to the creation of a memorial directs visitors to the area, but it is quite

¹ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1996), 92. Okihiro writes of his exploration of the Manzanar camp located 200 miles northeast of Los Angeles.

vague in its explanation on how to find the remnants of the center.² Careful internet research lead me to the geographical location of the facility, and after studiously comparing the numbers to a topographic map in conjunction with a road map, I charted our eventual course.

The camp was not as difficult to find as my research had led me to believe. Along the way, signs directed curious visitors to the remains of the center. After passing over an old train track (Photo A.2), which had been used to bring the Japanese internees to the relocation center, we parked in an empty gravel lot. Heart Mountain stood serenely to our west and a small memorial to our southeast.

The memorial (Photo A.3) contains a glass plaque inscribed with the names of individuals who resided in the camp sixty years ago (Photo A.4) as well as a dedication to those fifteen Japanese Americans who were, at one point, interned at the Heart Mountain Center before fighting and dying in the Second World War (Photo A.5). At its peak population level in January of 1943, the Heart Mountain Center interned nearly 11,000 individuals with Japanese ancestry.³ Near the memorial site stands the remains of the hospital (Photo A.6), administrative office (Photo A.7), and platform where the residents were gathered by the guards (Photo A.8). Open range surrounds the once vast relocation center that now survives in silent memory.

In 2006, the U.S. federal government approved legislation to protect and preserve the ten relocation centers. After working closely with the National Park Service, the Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation (a group dedicated to the preservation of the

² Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation, <http://www.heartmountain.us/> (Accessed on November 14, 2008).

³ War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 15.

former internment camp) fought to get the remnants of the relocation center designated a National Historic Landmark and won. At present, a plan exists to create an interactive learning center at Heart Mountain.

At this point, the people of Wyoming are solely protecting this area. There are no guides to show visitors around the memorial or to answer questions. A small leaflet container holds a few yellow brochures bleached by the sun, and a short path meanders behind the glass plaque. Guests can walk this short trail and read the informational signs posted along the path to learn a brief history of the Japanese people brought to Heart Mountain.

As I paced slowly upon the blacktop walking tour where many of the buildings once stood, I felt transported to the past for brief moments. Scattered around the area were artifacts from a time long past. Bricks, old can lids, and other forgotten relics lay strewn around the area (see Photos A.9 and A.10). Back at the plaque, visitors had left various artifacts from the area at the altar in front of the glass dedication. I bent over and touched one of the broken bricks. I had been conducting research on the topic of the forced Japanese American relocation for years now, and to actually stand on historic land, feeling history underneath my fingertips, left me in awe. My parents had taken me to historic locations during my childhood, but these were always places of interest to them. For the first time in my life, I walked a forgotten path, something for which I had developed a deep appreciation. Perhaps it was my maturity, or maybe it was from the hours of research spent in libraries, but for the first time in my life, I felt connected to the history of our country by more than an intellectual interest. An historical appreciation exists that cannot be gleaned from books and study alone. I stood on the precipice of all

that which I had worked for up to that point, and I knew that I had more to learn. I saw the sad tragic path forced upon the Japanese immigrants and their children in front of me. Anti-immigration nativism toward anyone with Japanese ancestry was not a singular event.

In the late 1800's, Japanese men originally migrated for labor and financial purposes in the western portion of the United States and only for short periods of time. These individuals faced nativist aggression over the fear of declining wages and labor competition caused by the introduction of Japanese migrants into the workforce. Once the U.S. federal government outlawed the use of foreign contract labor, many Japanese workers settled permanently, sent for their families still in Japan, and created communities. The shift from migrant work created a greater influx of individuals of Japanese ancestry into the country. These burgeoning communities on the West Coast fought an uphill battle against discriminatory policy backed by U.S. nativism toward the Japanese that kept them from gaining naturalized status, owning land, and having the right to attend white schools. The Japanese immigrants and their children worked against this nativist tide and still managed to assimilate by creating homes and families modeled after the typical American dream. The December 1941 attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor ushered in the next step in the gradual decline of Japanese American freedoms. These family units had their lives dashed and their belongings sold. They were then shipped to various internment camps spread predominantly around the western half of the United States, where they would stay for the duration of the Second World War.

Though their lives improved after the end of the war, the damage inflicted upon the Japanese American community took years to repair, while internal wounds still linger

to this day. These events built upon a larger tapestry of racism based regionally on the western coast of the United States before growing into national fears after the Japanese attack. I see the internment camps not as a mere byproduct of the Second World War, but as another step in a gradually declining narrative about social freedoms—a story that began as many other immigrant stories do with the search for a better life supported by U.S. civil liberties. These protections, however, were denied to the Japanese immigrants and their children for nearly 60 years.

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Introduction

The Japanese are starting the same tide of immigration which we thought we had checked in the case of the Chinese twenty years ago. In the beginning of her history the gates of America were thrown open to the liberty loving and oppressed of the world, but these people do not come under the guarantees of our constitution. The Chinese and Japanese are not bona fide citizens. They are not the stuff of which American citizens can be made. History has idly taught us unless we can draw lessons from it and in the fate of Rome, which fell into decay by reason of importation of a servile population that displaced the small farmer and industrious artisan, we may read our own doom unless we have the wisdom to take effective measures for our protection. This is not a labor question, nor a local one, but an American question involving the existence of our republic.¹

James D. Phelan, 1900

Nativism and the Decline of Social Freedoms

The excerpt above comes from a speech given in the summer of 1900 to Californian labor groups by San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan, who articulated nativist fears toward the immigration and Americanization of anyone of Asian ancestry in his comments.

This thesis concentrates on how nativism, through a series of discriminatory policies over the span of fifty years, influenced the creation of the Japanese American internment camps during the Second World War. My research into the experiences of the Japanese immigrants from 1885 to the early 1930's has led me to believe that the racism and cultural and economic segregations they dealt with were for the most part regionally based on the West Coast. Although federal laws like the Cable Act of 1922, the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908, and the Immigration Act of 1924 all existed, the impact of these laws did not affect the social consciousness of the American public as a whole.

¹ James D. Phelan, "Would Exclude the Japanese," in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 (May 8, 1900), 5.

They did, however, reflect nativist opinions during the first quarter of the twentieth century. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the regional nativism directed at the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans was incorporated into the American national consciousness.

This national nativism aimed at anyone of Japanese descent directly led to the complete separation of a particular ethnic community from the entire western coast of the United States and saw this group moved to internment camps. The creation of these camps was not a plan put into action simply because of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but a final decision made after careful consideration. Once all of the Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants on the coast had been relocated, the Office of Commanding General J.L. DeWitt released a report regarding the relocation process. The report begins by stating that “the ultimate decision to evacuate all persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast under Federal supervision was not made coincidentally with the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States. It was predicated upon a series of intermediate decisions, each of which formed a part of the progressive development of the final decision.”² Nativism alone did not call for the confinement of the Japanese living on the West Coast, or it would have happened in the decades prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. The needs of total war and the influence of nationalism in conjunction with the fears represented by nativism all worked together to incite the creation of the internment camps.

² Western Defense Command, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast 1942* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), chapter 1.

Terminology and Statement of Thesis

It is important that I describe some of the terminology that I use throughout my writing. In my thesis, I refer to the terms immigrant and migrant. An immigrant is an individual who has changed residence from one country to another with the intent of establishing a permanent residency. A migrant worker is normally described as a person who works for hire for a preset period of time before moving onto another location within the same country in search of another temporary job. For the purposes of my thesis, I have broadened the term *migrant* to also describe an individual who travels from one country to another for the purposes of contractual labor. These individuals have the initial intent of only remaining in the foreign country for a finite amount of time. Once a migrant establishes a home with the purpose of staying indefinitely, then this individual has become an immigrant.

Nativism is the ideology that establishes the importance of the racial and ethnic majority above those ethnic communities that have newly immigrated into the nation. Nativism calls for a homogenous racial, cultural, national, and economic inclusion. In some cases, cultural and national ties are required to be purged so that the immigrant group can obtain social and political acceptance. In other cases, and depending on the individual nativist, racism can influence the acculturation and assimilation of an immigrant group, making it impossible to gain acceptance. In the case of the Japanese immigrants and their children, the term unassimilable alien was used quite frequently by nativists. This refers to an immigrant group that the dominant ethnic community felt was incapable of ever obtaining any true measure of cultural assimilation.

A nativist is a member of the ethnic majority who harbors distrust toward the immigrating community. Nativists have many motivating reasons behind their fears, whether it is racism, culture, economics, politics, or national security. These will vary depending entirely upon the individual. At the turn of the twentieth century, nativism toward different racial and ethnic groups was regionally based. The threat of war, however, and technological advancements in communication allowed for the elevation of nativist concerns toward national stability to encompass a much wider population base.

I define discriminatory policy as any legislation that limits civil liberties based on race, ethnicity, cultural background, national origin, gender, religious affiliation, or sexual preference. My thesis will concentrate on how the ideological concept of nativism decreases the protection of civil liberties within a democratic country when the government (state and/or federal) creates discriminatory policy to bypass constitutionally protected social freedoms and civil equalities under the declaration that is helping the people living within national borders. I use legal documents (both state and federal) supported by nativist propaganda, media reports, and academic studies levied against the Japanese immigrants and their children, the Japanese Americans, from the period of 1885 to 1945 to explore this issue. The various laws created to discriminate against anyone of Japanese descent act as parts of the over-arching immigrant narrative of the Japanese Americans and illustrates a decline in the protection of personal freedoms because of nativism.

Many times nativism consumes a society in the years preceding an eventual conflict or in a post-war world, where dissolution and anger still remain in the forefront of public thought. The initial case best describes American nativism and its attitudes pre-

World War II toward anyone of Japanese ancestry. Tensions in the Pacific region had been high for over thirty years even before the U.S. placed an oil embargo on Japan directly leading up to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Public fears toward Asian Americans and their foreign customs grew during the early part of the twentieth century as illustrated by the enactment of the Japanese Alien Land Laws and the inability of the Japanese to gain citizenship. These nativist fears culminated with the creation of internment camps and the removal of more than a hundred thousand immigrants and American citizens of Japanese ancestry from 86 restricted zones on the West Coast.

By using the experiences of the first—and second—generations of Japanese immigrants, my thesis explores how nativism supported the creation of laws meant to preserve racial homogeneity, cultural superiority, economic segregation, and national security from the Japanese immigrants living in California during the end of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century.³ While the majority of public discomfort with Japanese immigration was focused in California, other Pacific states also created discriminatory laws aimed at the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. The largest population of people with Japanese ancestry was concentrated in Hawaii, but this community was so large that it actually constituted the ethnic majority. Hawaii was also not a state until after the end of World War II, which is why I found California the best example to show how nativism can cause a decline in the protection of civil liberties.

³ The *Sansei*, or third generation, were generally much younger, so for the purposes of my thesis, I will concentrate on the *Issei* and *Nisei*.

Historiography

Mayor Phelan expressed his nativist opinion more than a hundred years ago, and although nativist fears toward the immigration of the Japanese has virtually disappeared since the end of the Second World War, the conceptual basis behind nativist opinions of immigration has only transferred itself to other groups. Nativism is a salient discourse that changes its concerns and moves its focus from one ethnic group to another depending on the decade and the region in question.

John Highman defines nativism in his book *Strangers in the Land* “as intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., ‘un-American’) connections.”⁴ Even within a country where nativism has yet to take hold, racial fears of an immigrant group can be found to exist. It is important to mention the difference between the fear of immigration and the fear of a particular immigrant group. Fear of immigration is concerned with the implications and influences that immigration in general has upon the country and does not focus on one particular group. Although, the fear of a particular immigrant community does not discount the fear of other immigrant communities, it does however, only explore public and personal concerns regarding a single group. Both discussions are important to nativism, but I will concentrate on the fear of a single immigrant community for the purposes of my thesis.

Immigrant groups come to the United States with what would seem strange customs to the existing cultural communities and remain in small close-knit groups for the same reasons as the rest of the country. Humanity naturally congregates toward likeness. Nathaniel S. Shaler, who wrote during the early twentieth century when the fear

⁴ John Highman, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 4.

of the Japanese immigrants was increasing, states: “Seen as we may now behold it, the common bond of mankind is in effect an instinctive desire of each individual to identify himself with what he conceives to be his community.”⁵ This conceived community is important to understanding the underlying motivations of a nativist and his/her desires for a homogenous society. Shaler’s book discusses the creation of human groups. The tribe concept strengthened the individual by making him/her “strong enough to resist the impact of the disintegrating forces of the savagery in which it originated.”⁶ Shaler believes that “the dislike of unrelated men which remained after the tribe was knit together was no new evil, but the remnant of the hatred with which the primitive men regarded their fellows.”⁷ The fear of strange groups is a natural antipathy created by primitive man as an instinctual manner in which one ethnic group deals with another. It is then a natural progression that nativism would increase beyond tribal limitations to include a growing civilization and its governing body. Because of its minority status, the subordinate ethnic community finds itself at the epicenter of questions pertaining to its motives and its loyalties either as a response to culture, race, economics, national protection, etc.

William H. Katerberg’s book on nativism and liberal democracy argues that these two ideologies can go hand in hand. Discriminatory policies, like those experienced by the Japanese immigrants and their children, were enacted through democratic means. Katerberg states that many Americans are beginning to ignore nativism. They ignorantly believe that society has moved beyond the social and political intolerance of nativism.

⁵ Nathaniel Shaler, *The Neighbor: The Natural History of Human Contacts* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904), 258.

⁶ Ibid., 47.

⁷ Ibid., 47.

Katerberg argues that “such hopes need to be reevaluated. Parochial identities and conflict have made a profound comeback worldwide and have caught the attention of politicians, the media, and the academy.”⁸ He argues that nativism and liberal ideals traditionally come from the same mould. American nativists fight against individuals with different cultural backgrounds, who they fear will not assimilate to the established democratic political structure. In their views, by enacting new legislation against these different ethnicities, nativists feel they are protecting democracy.

In the case of the Japanese immigrants, race, economics, and politics inspired and supported legislation restricting social freedoms of anyone of Asian ancestry.⁹

Historiography papers written by Roger Daniels and Sucheng Chan cover the first hundred years of Asian immigration. Daniels organizes his article on the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos into a chronological investigation of how events shaped historiography from the mid-eighteen hundreds to the early nineteen seventies.¹⁰ Early academic analysis of Asian immigration discussed the so-called “Yellow Peril” and the threat Asian immigration posed to American national stability.¹¹ Noted Asian historian, Sucheng Chan, wrote another historiography.¹² Although she briefly mentions the works covered by Daniels, her intent was to focus on the writings released after the publication

⁸ William H. Katerberg, “The Irony of Identity: An Essay on Nativism, Liberal Democracy, and Parochial Identities in Canada and the United States,” in *American Quarterly* 47, no. 3, 493–524 (September 1995), 494.

⁹ See Charles McClain, editor, *Asian Americans and the Law: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Berkeley: Garland Press, 1994) for an informative analysis by various authors on the subject of the Japanese immigrants and American politics.

¹⁰ See Roger Daniels, “American Historians and the East Asian Immigrants,” in *The Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 4, 449–72 (November 1974).

¹¹ See Samuel Busey, *Immigration: Its Evils and Consequences* (New York: DeWitt & Davenport Publishing, 1856; New York: Arno Press, 1969). For contradictory views see Harvard professor Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1908; Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1967).

¹² See Sucheng Chan, “Asian American Historiography,” in *The Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 3, 363–99 (August 1996).

of Daniels' work. Chan's historiography brings the analysis in upon itself by comparing scholarly debate and the progression of academic thought up to the mid-nineties. She argues that once scholarly study moved beyond racial debate over whether or not Asians posed a national threat, academia solely concentrated on exploring prejudicial events through white perspectives and motivations. It was not until later in the twentieth century that academics gave agency to Asians and explored events, such as the Japanese internment, through their perspective.

The first chapter of my thesis will concentrate on the exclusion of an immigrant group based on cultural reasons and will begin with the first social contacts between residents of the state of California and the Japanese immigrant population. Yuji Ichioka, a pioneer in the field of Asian American study, has written many works regarding Japanese immigration. In his book *The Issei: the World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924*, Ichioka lays the groundwork for Japanese American study that is still used by scholars today.¹³ Ichioka breaks Japanese immigration into chronological phases. He writes that Japanese immigration did not pick up until around 1885. Ichioka explains that the creation of the trans-continental railroad and the need for inexpensive labor had a significant effect on Asian immigration to the United States. After the creation of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1880 barred Chinese immigrant workers to the country, labor companies sought cheap labor from other countries like Japan. Ichioka labels this initial period the *dekasegi* phase, which is a Japanese word that describes temporary migratory laborers. This period lasted until 1908 when an agreement between the United States and Japan stopped all labor migration to the U.S. Ichioka explains,

¹³ Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: the World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1988).

however, that this had a different result than intended. Japanese families were still permitted to join their relatives in the U.S. Since the *dekasegi* workers could no longer travel between countries for work, they simply stayed.

The second phase of Ichioka's chronology describes the time in which the Japanese immigrants formed family units, established homes, farms, businesses, and communities. Ichioka's work gives a great deal of study to the chronology of Japanese immigration and an exploration into the Japanese American lifestyle. He also delves deeply into the influences upon American nativism and the effects of discriminatory legislation upon the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. Although Ichioka's work has greatly influenced my writing, my thesis does not deal with these laws as separate events but instead as single parts of a larger narrative.

David Palumbo-Liu's book *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier*, offers a wealth of knowledge regarding Japanese immigration.¹⁴ Palumbo-Liu goes a step further than Ichioka by exploring both the international interactions between the U.S. and Japan as well as immigration issues. He concentrates his work on the ethnic and social conflicts that arise between the two countries as Japan grew into an imperialistic world power during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He also discusses the nativist concern that the Japanese represented a group incapable of assimilation. He writes that "bodily transformations are considered only in terms of Eastern European and Mediterranean immigrants; it seemed to go without saying that 'Orientals,' whom the [Immigration] Commission agreed should be excluded from the nation, were not susceptible to such transformation, no matter how intense or lengthy

¹⁴ David Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

their exposure—both the physiognomic and psychic gaps to be crossed were too great.”¹⁵ Walter LaFeber wrote *The Clash: A History of U.S.-Japan Relations*, a factual study of the interactions between the U.S., Japan, and Japanese immigrants.¹⁶ Both Palumbo-Liu and LaFeber agree on the social exclusionary problems inherent within the United States regarding the Japanese immigrants, and both discuss the process in which each country progressed from the initial influences of Western culture upon Japan to the end of the twentieth century. LaFeber’s work, however, gives greater consideration to the political interactions between the two countries, while Palumbo-Liu’s book deals in larger detail with how the interactions between the two countries affected the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans.

America’s vast immigrant background and large regional structure allows for the existence of many variations of an American culture. Because of this, Americans look to democracy as the force drawing the country together. For many Americans, nativism hinges on the support and continuation of democracy. In American nativist views, democracy is more than simply a political structure, but a force that gives them a shared history and a reason for existing. Within the United States, democracy has evolved beyond its original structure to become a cultural institution. Hans Kohn writes in his book on American nationalism that:

In its very origin the United States was the embodiment of an idea. [...] The ideology was a supra-national ideology, the philosophy of the eighteenth century. But it was based upon, and limited by, the English tradition which continued to be the single most important factor in the development of American life. Only by accepting and maintaining the English idea of constitutional liberty—and by thus remaining Anglo-

¹⁵ Ibid., 86.

¹⁶ Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: A History of U.S.-Japan Relations* (New York & London: Norton Publishing, 1997).

American—could the English colonies in North America continue and solidify their political existence.¹⁷

Kohn's book centers on the creation and continuation of American nationalism.

Nativism, an aspect sometimes incorporated by nationalism, is the representation of national fears toward any individual with a different ethnic or national background, whom nativists fear will not fully conform to the cultural expectations of the dominant ethnic community. Highman writes: "Specific nativistic antagonisms may, and do, vary widely in response to the changing character of minority irritants and the shifting conditions of the day; but through each hostility ran the connecting, energizing force of modern nationalism."¹⁸

Neither Kohn nor Highman's works explicitly discuss the influence of nationalism or nativism upon the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. Kohn's book does provide an understanding of the dire pressures felt by nativists in California, though. The 1890 census reported that 2,039 individuals of Japanese descent were living in the United States.¹⁹ This is a small number when compared to other immigrant groups, but still highly concentrated in the three Pacific coast states. By 1900, however, 27,440 more Japanese had immigrated to the U.S.²⁰ Nativists feared that the immigrating Japanese would not Americanize and that they represented a slow invasion force—one that was supplanting white anglicized culture as the dominant culture, one that was taking American jobs, and one that was providing economic competition in the

¹⁷ Hans Kohn, *American Nationalism* (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1957), 13.

¹⁸ John Highman, *Strangers in the Land*, 4.

¹⁹ Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and their Children* (New York: Arno Press, 1969; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), 53. Citations are to the 1969 edition.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

farming and retail markets. Their xenophobia was so strong that nativists gladly set examples for the restricting of the civil liberties of anyone with Japanese ancestry.

Highman's book uses a less analytical approach to the exploration of nativism. After establishing his definition, he then chronologically follows changing social opinions toward minority groups for a sixty-five year period from 1860 to 1925. Highman takes a broad approach to the concept of nativism by covering many minority groups; he barely touches on the experiences of Asian Americans on the West Coast though. Discriminations against Asians are only off-handedly acknowledged in favor of his greater analysis of the east coast with its large Jewish and Italian populations as well as the southern U.S. with its large African American population. Highman's discussion of these groups still provides themes (i.e. the increase and decrease in anti-immigrant rhetoric during a soft economy) which can be applied to a discussion of the Asian experience. The structure of my work closely resembles that of Highman's. Kohn writes to explain the causes behind nationalism and nativism; Highman, on the other hand, uses his writing to explore the results of these beliefs. His lack of depth into the West Coast immigrant environment provides me with fertile ground to explore.

Nicholas Robins' book *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas* has also influenced my structure and analysis of nativism.²¹ Robins' work concentrates on Native American nativism toward the colonists in the western United States. Robins uses three narratives showing a breakdown in relations between the dominant ethnic group and the immigrant community to illustrate the evolution of Native American nativism in three separate areas. He writes that these native communities rose

²¹ Nicholas Robins, *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005).

up to protect themselves from a group that they saw as a threat to their culture. He begins by exploring the birth of the conflict, the encouragement by political leaders upon the masses to rise up against this presumed threat, and finally the slaughter of white settlers. Major differences exist in the experiences of these Native American groups and the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. The Native American groups that Robins discusses did not regulate white rights, nor intern them into camps. The nativist aggression propagandized by powerful leaders who call for their fellow country men and women to arms does, however, parallel the rise of men like P.H. McCarthy and James Phelan.²²

Mae M. Ngai's book *Impossible Subjects* discusses the creation of the term alien citizen. Ngai believes that some American citizens, who are labeled unassimilable because of their racial and ethnic background, are presumed to be aliens by mainstream America despite their citizenship status.²³ She writes that her book charts "the historical origins of the 'illegal alien' in American law and society and the emergence of illegal immigration as the central problem in U.S. immigration policy in the twentieth century."²⁴ She argues that race study changed from simply looking at physical differences by adding national origins to the mix. The national heritage of an immigrant influenced public and political opinion toward an immigrant community. Ngai continues

²² See the September 1909 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for a discussion of whether or not to exclude Asians from the United States. Of special interest is the article by *Fresno Republican* editor, Chester H. Rowell, "Chinese and Japanese Immigrants—A Comparison," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2, 3–10 (September 1909), who discussed the ethnic differences between the Chinese and the Japanese. He feared that the Japanese, although hard-working and industrious, could not be trusted because of their ambivalence toward contractual obligations.

²³ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

later in her work to discuss in detail the enactment and implementation of the Immigration Act of 1924, which limited the number of non-white immigrants from other countries into the United States. She also explores the effects of the racially prejudicial legislation like the 1924 Act and the Japanese internment. The 1924 Act caused the Japanese government to impose a 100% tariff on all U.S. goods and ruined the trading business between the two countries.²⁵

My second chapter will explore Japanese attempts to gain citizenship. Alexander M. Bickel discusses the role of citizenship in the American Constitution in an article he wrote for the *Arizona Law Review*. In this article, he explains that the topic of citizenship was not discussed in the Constitution prior to Reconstruction except to designate who could hold certain offices such as the presidency. He discusses the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which stated that “all persons born in the United States [...] are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States.”²⁶ The Civil Rights Act allowed the second generation of Japanese immigrants to gain citizenship, while their parents were unable to become naturalized citizens. Bickel’s article chronicles the advancement of the birth-right citizenship topic in the political arena, and his work provides readers with a basis for understanding how the question of citizenship has progressed historically.

Linda Bosniak defines citizenship as a means of conveying “a state of democratic belonging or inclusion, yet this inclusion is usually premised on a conception of a community that is bounded and exclusive.”²⁷ Citizenship paradoxically acts as a manner of including and excluding. It is meant, as Bosniak describes, to work against

²⁵ Ibid., 49.

²⁶ *Civil Rights Act of 1866*, 14 Stat. 27, April 9, 1866.

²⁷ Linda Bosniak, *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1.

subordination of the general populace by those in power, but the exclusion of citizenship and the desire of immigrants to gain citizenship status allows for the subordination of the immigrant community. This is important to the study of the Japanese immigrants who were denied the right of naturalization. Ngai's book argues that, even though Japanese immigrant children gained citizenship by birth, the nativist belief that Asians were incapable of full assimilation forced alien citizenship status upon them.²⁸ They might have been legally present in the U.S., but to nativists, the Japanese Americans were not rightfully present in the United States.

Bosniak also questions whether or not non-citizens can gain acceptance since they are excluded. She comes to the conclusion that academics should not accept citizenship as the normative goal sought by all immigrants, many of whom may be content with simply adopting select cultural norms and the economic structures of the host society. This can be seen in the different attitudes of the Japanese immigrants and their children toward Americanization—a topic I will discuss in greater detail in the first and second chapters. She also states that “citizenship too often seems to represent all things to all people; in the process it is often hard to know what is at stake and how the concept advances discussion at all.”²⁹ Bosniak's work influenced my understanding of the influences of citizenship on immigration and how the denial of citizenship acts as exclusionary concept used to govern the lives of those excluded.

Rogers Brubaker discusses the scholarly need to group races, individuals with similar cultural backgrounds, and people with similar national origins together for academic exploration, which he calls groupism. He defines groupism as the “tendency to

²⁸ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 2–3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life [and treat these] ethnic groups, nations, and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed.”³⁰ He believes that cultures, communities, tribes, and races do not have to be bounded together. He argues that groupism is only one way of viewing ethnicity. He believes that scholars should view groupness as an ever-changing variable. Brubaker does not intend to belittle the group dynamic, but instead wants to analyze the fact that there is a dynamic and how it changes. As Ngai and Bosniak discuss, the groupness associated with the Japanese immigrant community was not just the result of likeness but also as a direct result of their exclusion by the rest of society, and their own attempts to maintain their cultural heritage.

The third chapter of the paper will go beyond social fears and explore the legislative results of nativist actions. Restrictions against the Japanese immigrants were no longer relegated to the question of citizenship.

In his book, *The Politics of Prejudice*, Roger Daniels argues that prejudice is a learned behavior, one that is pushed by both political and economic interests.³¹ His concerns lie with how politics can create a racially prejudicial environment with the intent of preserving racial, political, and economic homogeneity. The influx of Japanese immigrants to California created a large minority group. Tensions in the Pacific region had been high since the turn of the century, and the white majority in the state feared that the Japanese immigrant growth represented an invading force that would eventually sweep through the country supplanting white anglicized culture as the dominant culture

³⁰ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 8.

³¹ Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

within America. He writes that “the Anti-Japanese movement was in many ways merely a continuation of the long-standing agitation against the Chinese which began in the early 1850’s.”³² In another book about race and the Asian American experience, *American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice*, Daniels along with Harry L. Kitano argue that racial anger by white America ran deeper for the Japanese than the Chinese because white America viewed China as a geographic location and Japan as a nation.³³ This is perhaps indicative of the Westernization of Japan and its imperial presence in the Pacific.

White America created a two-category racial system in the United States consisting of whites and non-whites. The American social, economic, and political system strove to maintain this status quo, while early academic analysis concentrated mainly on the discussion of whether or not Asians and other minority groups posed a threat to national survival. As the century progressed and Japan grew as a world power, the Japanese became the central group targeted by nativism on the Pacific coast.

In the book *Farming the Home Place*, Valerie Matsumoto studies the forces that shape a rural ethnic community and how these changes progress over time. She uses the small town of Cortez, California to demonstrate the ethnic support network between the earliest Japanese immigrants. She writes that: “Cortez illustrates the cultivation of ethnic community and culture as a choice reflective of shared history and changing needs.”³⁴

The influx of these homogenous communities allowed for unified strength in the face of

³² Ibid., 16.

³³ Roger Daniels & Harry H.L. Kitano, *American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970), 45.

³⁴ Valerie Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919–1982* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 11.

discrimination, but also exacerbated existing racial fears that the Japanese immigrants were resistant to Americanization.

Although both Daniels' and Matsumoto's books provide an understanding of the influences upon American nativism toward the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans, they also give a great deal of study into the factors that existed within a society that allow for the creation of these discriminatory laws and provide a greater understanding of how these laws were created.

In 1913, the state of California enacted a land law which kept anyone of Asian ancestry from owning land. It also limited the number of years that these individuals could lease land to three year segments. Historians still debate the cause of the California Alien Land Laws. Some like Daniels argue that racial reasons influenced the creation of these discriminatory policies, while others argue that economic competition forced the enactment of these laws. Masakazu Iwata writes in his article about the influence of Japanese farmers on Californian agriculture:

The Japanese worked diligently under the most trying circumstances. Their vaulting ambitions soon enabled them to make successfully the transition from laborers to tenant farmers. As farm operators, the [Japanese immigrants] continued a life of struggle not only against the elements but also against adverse social, economic, and political pressures. But despite such discriminatory legislation as the anti-alien land laws, the Japanese, many of whom sought protection in organization, made notable advances in agriculture.³⁵

The contribution of Japanese immigrant farmers upon the agricultural success of California has been veiled by the forced relocation of the Japanese during the Second World War. Early Japanese migrants came to the U.S. as labor for railroad construction.

³⁵ Masakazu Iwata, "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," in *Agricultural History* 36, no. 1, 25-37 (January 1962), 25.

After the creation of the Gentleman's Agreement, many of these workers transitioned to mine work, factory work, and large scale farm labor. Iwata writes that these immigrants were also used as strike breakers against white unionized employees. Their willingness to work longer hours at less pay and the resistance of white unions to include Japanese workers gave business owners the upper hand in strike negotiations.

Japanese desires to improve themselves both financially and socially drew them to farming, an occupation highly respected in Japan, and one in which they could control their own destiny. Iwata states that "after the first World War, agitation against the Japanese farmers was revived. Agitators found no difficulty in winning adherents for the Anti-alien movement among the stream of returning doughboys and workers released from war industries, many of whom now felt their own economic insecurity in contrast to the established position of the Japanese."³⁶ Despite these social feelings, Iwata's article reveals that the Japanese, in actuality, posed no real competition to white farmers. Instead, they farmed areas avoided by white farmers and made these undesirable environments fertile. They also increased food production, thereby reducing food costs.

Robert Higgs writes in his article, "Landless by Law: Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture to 1941," that even before the advent of the land laws, many Japanese immigrants did not even own farms. A study from the Immigration Commission in 1909 shows that two thirds of all Japanese immigrant workers held positions in agriculture with most of these individuals actually working as farm hands or tenant farmers. Higgs' article concentrates on farm tenancy by Japanese migrants in California. After the first land law went into effect in 1913, ownership of land by

³⁶ Ibid., 30.

Japanese immigrants sharply decreased, while land tenancy increased. Higgs' article discusses the economic competition that existed within the leasing of land. Out of respect for white landlords, the California state government did not forbid land tenancy but instead restricted it to three year increments. This allowed the white landlords to frequently raise the lease rates of Japanese tenants, who had no other alternatives but to pay the higher costs. It became more financially beneficial for white owners to lease their land to Japanese families instead of white ones, who expected lower costs. Unlike Iwata, Higgs writes that "Japanese tenants invariably occupied more valuable land than their white neighbors; in some places, such as Alameda, Orange, Sacramento, and Solano Counties, much more valuable land."³⁷ Both authors provide a breakdown of the number of Japanese farms in select areas, but neither provides the reader with an explanation as to the financial condition of the land. It is likely that Japanese families owned less desirable land than tenant farmers who leased better quality and more expensive land from white owners.

Like Daniels and Matsumoto, Higgs later blames pure racism (supported by Japanese economic success) as the main reason for white discrimination.³⁸ Problematic is the fact that Higgs's structure does not quite support his final claim. Although he states that economic desires influenced preexisting racial problems, he interestingly uses economics to explain these racially prejudicial laws. On the other hand, Iwata structures his paper as an economic deconstruction of the land laws. He may come to the final conclusion that no real economic competition existed between whites and Japanese, but

³⁷ Robert Higgs, "Landless by Law: Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture to 1941," in *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 1, 205–25 (March 1978), 210.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 214.

he does acknowledge, however, that even though economic competition between the races might have been illusory, it still existed in the minds of the white voting majority. To Iwata, race supports economic interests, not the other way around.

Some academics focus their analysis of the land laws on the political nature of the United States, specifically the state of California. These scholars study the political climate, changes in majority power of a bipartisan system, or in the case of Brian J. Gaines and Wendy K. Tam Cho, the voting records for the enactment of the land laws. Gaines and Tam Cho study whether or not race or economics played a greater role in political decision making like the 1920 amendment to the existing land law. They argue “that racially discriminatory policy may be the result of self-interest and competition in the face of scarcity or prejudices and affects based on group identities.”³⁹ Their work concentrates on county voting records which they use to gauge public support for the 1920 amendment. A racial cause for the enactment of the land laws would argue that an area with a high degree of racial tension and a large minority group would more than likely see greater backing for a law that gave the solitary ethnic group with voting rights economic control of the environment. All of these expectations turned out to be false, however. Instead they found that counties with lower population numbers of Japanese immigrants and their off-spring actually gave greater support to the law, while those areas with large numbers of Japanese farmers generally provided less backing for the law. Gaines and Tam Cho come to the conclusion that “a simple economic model of support for this racially discriminatory policy is inadequate because purely economic, nonracial

³⁹ Brian J. Gaines & Wendy K. Tam Cho, “On California’s 1920 Alien Land Law: The Psychology and Economics of Racial Discrimination,” in *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4, no. 3, 271–93 (Fall 2004), 271.

variables had no effect. But a simple psychological model is also inadequate, insofar as some of the racial variables had unexpected effects.”⁴⁰ Even this quantitative study by political scientists was unable to draw a firm conclusion, which is why my thesis does not take a stance on the cause behind the land laws. Whether or not race, economic competition, or politics are acting as motivations behind nativist concerns will depend entirely upon the individual.

The final chapter of my thesis will concentrate on the nativist question of whether or not an ethnic group has the right to exist in a select area and the creation of laws forcibly removing them from these places. During the Second World War, propaganda dehumanized the Japanese by making them into subhuman villains who threatened the American way of life. Ads and literature attacking an enemy country during a time of war is an integral part of war propaganda. The attacks upon the Japanese were, however, not against an enemy regime (such as Hitler and the Nazis or Mussolini and fascism) but against their very racial existence. John W. Dower explores the differences in war propaganda during World War II between Germany, Italy, and Japan and how these differences illustrate varied racial opinions toward these groups. The Germans and Italians were never seen as the true enemy. Americans concentrated their rage upon the ideological regimes at the head of these countries. Dower uses war posters showing Hitler, Mussolini, and a non-descript Japanese soldier with exaggerated features to support his theory that wartime propaganda from World War II revealed the racist concept that the Japanese as an ethnic group were evil. The fact that Germans and Italians were white Europeans provided white Americans with racial and cultural

⁴⁰ Ibid., 290.

connectivity and allowed them to view only the leaders of Germany, Italy, and their ideological principles as actually bad.

The Japanese represented an enemy both across the Pacific Ocean but on American soil as well. The belief that the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans were incapable of Americanization, made them prime targets of nativist concerns that these communities would ally themselves with their Japanese brethren and strike at the U.S.⁴¹ Although some fears were directed toward German and Italian Americans, their similar skin tones, appearance, and cultural attributes allowed them to more easily assimilate and thereby show their allegiance than immigrants from Japan.

In the book *By Order of the President*, Greg Robinson discusses the racial environment that led to the creation of the internment camps.⁴² Like Dower, he uses the idea that some individuals within white America felt that the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans represented an invasion force, and he discusses the evolution of this thought process into the belief that internment camps were a necessary by-product of war. Unlike Dower, Robinson does not delve into comparative study of how Americans treated Germans and Italians versus anyone of Japanese ancestry. He instead looks at the chronology of events related to the creation of the camps and the relocation of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. My thesis utilizes his concept that the camps were the end result of a larger narrative. My work, though, gives greater detail to the events that transpired in the decades prior to 1940, an area of focus only given brief

⁴¹ See headline “Japanese Invasion: The Problem of the Hour for the United States,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 23, 1905 for one example of a time when the Japanese were described as a race incapable of assimilation.

⁴² Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of the Japanese Americans* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

attention in Robinsons' work. His book instead pays great detail to the political decision-making process involved in the creation of the internment camps. As I wrote my fourth chapter, I found Robinsons' work helpful in understanding the chronology of events and the persons involved. Although both of our discussions have narrative structures, his book looks at the process not as a decline in the social stability of a democratic country, but as events to be explored and explained.

In *War without Mercy*, John W. Dower writes in greater detail about the racial influences upon the Second World War that he only briefly covered in his earlier mentioned article. He argues that World War II was many things to many people. To some it was a war with new technological innovations, while to others it was a war of ideologies. To many, however, it was "a race war."⁴³ Apart from the studies done of the genocide of Europe's Jewish population, Dower feels that racism remains one of the most neglected aspects of World War II. He poses the question: "When and where did race play a significant role in the war?"⁴⁴ The subject of race has such broad implications, that the thousands of books and articles written about the Second World War have only barely touched upon the surface of possible discussions.

The idea of racial and ethnic superiority and protection allowed for a war where the acquisition of land or the allocation of power were all divided upon racial and cultural lines. In his article, "Under Cover of War," Jay Winter writes: "When industrialized nations, supported by imperial dominions, took the decision to go to war, and stayed at war over an extended period, they opened a Pandora's box. What they let free was a kind

⁴³ John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

of war unlike the world had ever seen before [...] which I call ‘total war.’”⁴⁵ Winter argues that modern warfare grew to encompass all aspects of a country. The concept of nationalism made the protection of the nation (including its people, places, and mechanisms) a priority. The mobilization for total war drew every day citizens into its maw. The peasantry, which had remained neutral during older conflicts, now helped to produce the mechanisms of warfare: machines, soldiers, and propaganda. The concept of total war influenced the need for the internment of the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. These individuals represented a possible threat to the American war machine (including military installations, sensitive information, war production, and the general population). Nativism by itself did not call for the internment of the Japanese living on the West Coast, or it would have happened some time before the attack on Pearl Harbor. After December 7th, however, nativism worked in unison with American nationalism and the country’s needs for total war to incite the creation of the internment camps.

Naturally race and culture, which had for centuries divided countries, took on an added importance. The race war discussed in Dower’s book illustrates the evolution of the ideology of war. Since humanity uses race and culture to define individuals, a race war was not fought over land and power but for the domination of one race or culture over another with land and power no longer the object of war, but the spoils associated with victory. The true object of war became the survival of an ideal—a belief in a certain culture’s prominence, support for a particular political system, or the presumed infallibility of a nation’s economic structure. Whatever this ideal may be, its survival

⁴⁵ Jay Winter, “Under Cover of War: The Armenian Genocide in the Context of Total War,” in *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, edited by Robert Gellately & Ben Kiernan, 189–213 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 189.

was dependant upon community support. Each individual within the community played his/her part in the success of the nation. Symbiotically, individual well-being was dependent upon the continuation, protection, and growth of the nation.

Nativists fear that the intrusion of other groups into the home country signals the decline in prosperity for the dominant ethnic group either as competition or as a threat to their very racial and cultural survival—for the United States it is the survival of America as a concept that moves nativists to fight against the inclusion of minority groups. If race and culture is now a battlefield, then even if one's country is not at war (as was the case with the Japanese and the United States from 1885 to 1941), the influx of other ethnic groups still represents a possible threat to the cultural continuation of the dominant ethnic community. The advancements in modern technology (i.e. radio and the movies), the attack on Pearl Harbor, and the war in the Pacific with Japan promoted the increase in nativism toward the Japanese to rise to national levels.

A race war does not have to be defined in the same manner used by Dower and Winter. Ronald Takaki in *Double Victory* takes a more positive approach to the inclusion of race into wartime thinking. He argues that the race topics brought to the forefront during the war allowed for social growth and eventually the equality of civil liberties for minority groups here in the United States. Takaki believes that his book offers a different memory of race and the Second World War. He writes:

Ordinary men *and women* from America's minority communities are given special focus. History is told from the bottom up, through the lives of everyday Americans—Joseph Kurihara as he angrily stared at the barbed-wire fence of an internment camp for Japanese Americans, Fred Smith as he joined the all-black Tuskegee squadron because he wanted to “fly and fight” for freedom, Mexican-American Alex Romandia as he enlisted with his Jewish friends in order to show that they were “more American than the Anglos,” Snohomish Indian Harriet Shelton Williams

as she worked on the assembly lines of Boeing Aircraft in Washington, and Jewish-American soldier Murray Shapiro as he wrote home from “somewhere in Germany” to say he was “knocking on Hitler’s doorstep.”⁴⁶

As these minorities fought for freedom in their various manners, they also dealt with nativism, racism, and discrimination here in the United States, which parallels the wartime cry for victory at home and abroad. Minority groups dealing with discrimination in the U.S. believed that their show of loyalty and increased solidarity with the rest of the country during war times would compel the enactment of equality back in the States.

Takaki also writes that the racisms of Nazi Germany forced the U.S. to put itself in opposition to German racial policy. Takaki feels that these were the initial steps on the road to civil rights for all racial groups here in the U.S. Although Dower might argue that this is simply an example of American hypocrisy at work, his writing does not refute the possibility that the wartime experiences of minority groups may have later influenced civil rights activists. If anything the realization of this hypocrisy, related the need for change. Takaki’s work is one of progress, while mine is one of decline. He looks to the positive gains in civil rights in the decades to come and uses the Second World War as the beginning of those changes. My work instead looks at the lack of civil rights and the hypocrisies from the decades prior. I use World War II as the culmination of discriminatory legislation against anyone with Japanese ancestry living within the United States.

⁴⁶ Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston, New York, & London: Little, Brown & Company, 2000), 4–5.

Methodology & Structure

The majority of my thesis concentrates on the American political and legislative landscapes. Within a democratic nation, discriminatory laws pass because they are supported by more than just politicians; they also have the backing of large numbers within the American populace as well. The legal documents I use are supported by examples of public opinion, thereby revealing how nativist fears guided the passage of discriminatory legislation through the American legal system by democratic means.

It is important to reveal the laws at the heart of my thesis. In 1790, the U.S. government passed a Nationality Act that allowed citizenship to “all free whites.”⁴⁷ In 1870, the U.S. passed another Nationality Act that gave citizenship rights to “persons of African descent.”⁴⁸ These two laws seem harmless in their basic essence, but became a central concept that allowed the U.S. government to create discriminatory policy against the Japanese. Since neither of these two documents specifically mentions anyone of Asian ancestry, various legal entities like the Supreme Court were able to state that these individuals were not able to gain citizenship except through birth. They labeled Asians as aliens ineligible for citizenship.

None of the inequalities experienced by the Japanese immigrants and their children would have been possible, however, if there hadn't existed an atmosphere of nativist aggression. The articles, speeches, letters, and scholarly works I use throughout my writing will illustrate that the nativism present within the United States toward Japanese immigration was not the work of a few individuals but a perpetuating ideal that

⁴⁷ *Naturalization Act of 1790*, 1 Stat. 103 (March 26, 1790).

⁴⁸ *Naturalization Act of 1870*, 16 Stat. 254 (July 14, 1870).

grew from the West Coast, predominantly in California, to eventually encompass national sentiment.

As earlier stated, I saw the internment camps not as a result of the war in the Pacific, but as another discrimination following decades of inequalities. My thesis is comprised of four chapters and a conclusion. The four chapters encompass the exclusion of culture, the loss or exclusion of citizenship, the loss of social equality, and the loss of freedom. The majority of the paper will move chronologically from 1885 (the point many historians attribute to the first full scale immigration by the Japanese to the U.S.) to 1945 (the end of the Second World War).

The first chapter of my thesis introduces the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans and examines the exclusion of culture. At the heart of this chapter lies the question of and the nativist need for assimilation. In the U.S. this is called Americanization of divergent ethnic groups. Many within the United States felt that Americanization was necessary to protect a presumed American cultural heritage. In the case of the Japanese, public opinion deemed them incapable of Americanization.

The second chapter of my thesis explores the period from 1885 to 1907 and concentrates on the loss or exclusion of citizenship. This section will deal with the beginnings of Japanese immigration, the initial cultural conflicts between white America and the Japanese, and laws that restricted Japanese American citizenship. While the first chapter brings up the idea that some cultures threatened American national strength, the second chapter shows the influence of these fears upon the laws being created.

The third chapter of my thesis covers the years 1906 to 1924 and uses the loss of civil liberties to discuss the laws that restricted equal rights for Japanese immigrants and

their children. The California Alien Land Laws and the segregation of Japanese children from the California Public School System both play a large part in showing how the initial fears of a different ethnic community evolved into the need for separation of the two groups. Like chapter two, the third chapter of my thesis shows how nativist fears encouraged the creation of laws dismissing equality of a select ethnic community.

The fourth chapter of my thesis continues through the 1930's and uses the loss of one's freedom to show the evolution of nativist fears from regional concerns to national ones. The advent of World War II took the idea of separateness even further. It was no longer enough that threatening minority groups be kept at a distance; it was now imperative that these groups be taken away so as to negate any threat they may represent. The fourth chapter deals directly with the power of the government to rescind personal freedoms based on a person's ethnicity and is illustrated by the creation of the War Relocation Authority and the internment camps.

Chapter 1: Nativism and the Exclusion of Culture

There are many who land here who really never get to America. They become Americanized in everything but in heart. To teach the foreigner English is a necessary step; but it is not an end in itself; it is merely one of the implements of Americanization. This may hold diverse peoples together for a while, just as economic opportunity and financial reward may cover their isolation. But unless, in their living—rather than in their livelihood—they daily exercise the principles on which the Republic rests, we have among us a shell of citizenship liable to explode at the least upsetting of economic balance, rather than the vital spirit which is at the basis of American life.¹

Calvin Coolidge, 1921

The Initial Steps of Japanese Immigration

In early summer of 1900, a mass meeting gathered at the Metropolitan Hall in San Francisco to discuss the threat of Japanese immigrants upon labor stability. P.H. McCarthy, Chairman of the Sailors Union and Labor Council, was the main speaker and organizer of this event meant to enrage existing fears toward the Asian immigrants and their children. San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan, a strong advocate throughout his tenure in politics for the exclusion of Asian immigrants, spoke passionately about the very survival of America as a nation. He mentioned Chinese immigration, which had originally grown in the mid-nineteenth century during the California gold rush, had been almost completely stopped with the induction of the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882.

The Chinese were brought in as cheap migrant labor to aid in the completion of the trans-continental railroad. The completion of the railroad project left thousands of

¹ Calvin Coolidge, "Whose Country is This?" in *Good Housekeeping*, 13–7 (February 1921), 15. Coolidge wrote this article when he was the Vice President of the United States. He felt that the country was originally meant to help those hard-working individuals in need of escape from religious persecution or un-democratic governments, but had since become a dumping ground for anyone of any physical and emotional stature. He believed that the creation of an immigration test could keep out undesirable immigrants.

Chinese immigrants without work and competing for other jobs with U.S. citizens. During the 1870's western states began lobbying for the restriction of Chinese immigration. In 1876, a Californian ballot revealed that 154,638 individuals supported Chinese exclusion while 883 people did not. An 1879 ballot in Nevada voted 17,259 for exclusion with 183 individuals voting against such measures. In 1880, outgoing President Rutherford B. Hayes enacted a treaty with China that allowed the U.S. to limit or suspend Chinese immigration.² By 1882, the U.S. government created the Exclusion Law as a way of discouraging labor competition by barring the immigration of anyone of Chinese ancestry. The law stipulated that the federal government would control immigration issues. It also banned the migration of Chinese labor for 10 years. The need for cheap labor did not dissipate though, and the exclusion of the Chinese only left a vacuum for other groups to fill. Around 1885 a great influx of Japanese immigrants poured into the country's western boarder as cheap labor for other projects and large farms. The use of the Japanese as migrant laborers continued through 1908 when an agreement brokered by President Theodore Roosevelt with the Japanese government slowed the migration.

Up until the mid-nineteenth century, Japan practiced national isolationism. The Tokugawa Shogunate prohibited emigration from Japan and isolated the country from outside influence. The Tokugawa period came after a period of war between several factions fighting for control before the country was ultimately united under Shogun Tokugawa Leyasu. Although the Shogunate administered national decisions, the Emperor of Japan was still regarded as the legitimate ruler of the country. The Japanese

² Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press), 358.

social structure during this period followed a strict hierarchical ladder that consisted of the Samurai at the top of the system, followed by farmers, artisans, and finally traders.

Not until 1854, when Admiral Matthew C. Perry's U.S. warships arrived at Tokyo Bay, did the Japanese open its borders to outsiders.³ The Japanese government did not allow its citizens to emigrate to other countries until 1866. Before that time, only a few individuals temporarily migrated for educational purposes to other countries.⁴ In 1867, the last Tokugawa Shogun returned administrative powers to the emperor, effectively ending this period in Japanese history. The Emperor, however, maintained his more priestly duties, and gave administrative powers to the Meiji Oligarchy. In effect, parliamentary control simply changed hands from the Shogunate to another group elected by the Emperor. This period became known as the Meiji Restoration.

The Restoration saw the opening of Japan to western influences and industrialization. To support this rapid growth, the Japanese government increased land taxation. Many farmers lost their land to support the industrial growth of the country. In 1884, Japan allowed their citizens to immigrate in the hopes of colonizing the Pacific region. David O'Brien and Stephen Fugita contend that between 1883 and 1890, 367,000 farmers were forced off their property because of over taxation.⁵ The opening of Japan to outside trade also created extreme economic competition within the country, forcing many Japanese families, who could now travel abroad, to search for sources of income outside of Japan's borders.

³ This was actually Perry's second visit. His first came in 1853, when he presented a letter from President Millard Fillmore demanding the opening of trade. At this point, Americans were only able to trade with Japan under the guise of the Dutch flag. Perry came with nine warships on his second visit to force a treaty.

⁴ Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 3.

⁵ David J. O'Brien & Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 10.

In effect, Western influence and competition from other countries, like the United States, forced Japanese laborers to migrate to the U.S. and thereby exported the same economic competition feared by individuals like P.H. McCarthy, who was also at one time the head of the San Francisco Buildings Trade Council and the eventual Mayor of San Francisco. McCarthy said at the earlier mentioned Labor meeting: “We urge the passage of an act of Congress, or the adoption of such other measures as may be necessary for the total exclusion of all classes of Japanese other than members of the diplomatic staff, such a law has become a necessity.”⁶ Marcus Braun, an Immigrant Inspector for the Department of Commerce and Labor, argued for the creation of an armed guard along the U.S. borders and for a registration law, requiring all immigrants “to register their residence either with the local police or with a special bureau to be created for that purpose.”⁷ McCarthy, Phelan, Braun, and others were elected officials and representatives of the people of California through their official positions and organizations. I use them and others throughout my thesis as examples of nativist ideas toward the Japanese immigrants and their children.⁸

The origins behind the discriminatory laws created by the federal and state governments meant to discourage Japanese immigration can be traced back to the nativist statements regarding the supposed dangers of Asian immigration. Japan, more than any other Eastern Nation, tried to model itself on Western imperialist culture. Just like its

⁶ P.H. McCarthy, “Would Exclude the Japanese,” in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 (May 8, 1900), 5.

⁷ Marcus Braun, “How Can we Enforce our Exclusion Laws?” in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2, 140–2 (September 1909), 142.

⁸ For contradictory arguments see Max J. Kohler, “Un-American Character of Race Legislation,” in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2, 55–73 (September 1909). Kohler, a former Assistant U.S. District Attorney, warned about the dangers of race-discrimination, which he believed contradicted the very core of American doctrine and showed a complete disregard for the social well-being of these individuals.

European counterparts, the Empire of Japan began to spread its influence throughout the Pacific and Asian regions. Wars with China in 1894 and Russia in 1904 over sections of Manchuria and Korea only solidified its power in the area. These conquests also increased apprehension within the United States, which held interests in the Pacific arena—namely its territories in the Philippines and Hawaii, which were both recently acquired in 1898. Roosevelt trusted neither Russia nor Japan, and his motives for creating a labor treaty with Japan stemmed from his desire for a peaceful resolution to the tensions between the United States and the island nation. He viewed Japan as a growing threat to U.S. interests in the area, and expressed those concerns in a letter to Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, where he stated: “We should build a dozen new battleships, half of them on the Pacific Coast; and these battleships should have a large coal capacity and a consequent increased radius of action. I am fully alive to the danger from Japan, and I know that it is idle to rely on any sentimental good will towards us.”⁹ Seven years later after becoming President of the United States and two years before winning the Noble Peace Prize for helping to end the Russo-Japanese war, he wrote:

I never anticipated in the least such a rise as this of Japan’s, but I have never been able to make myself afraid of Russia in the present. I like the Russian people and I believe in them. [...] But I see nothing of permanent good that can come to Russia, either for herself or for the rest of the world, until her people begin to tread the path of orderly freedom, of civil liberty, and of a measure of self-government. [...] I was a firm believer in the Japanese people, and that I most earnestly hoped as well as believed that Japan would simply take her place from now on among the great civilized nations.¹⁰

⁹ Theodore Roosevelt to Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan (letter, May 3, 1897) in *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches*, edited by Louis Auchincloss, 94–6 (New York: Harvard University Press, 1951), 94. Captain Mahan, a close-friend of Roosevelt’s, was an expert on naval history and tactics.

¹⁰ Theodore Roosevelt to Cecil Spring-Rice (letter, June 13, 1904) in *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches*, edited by Louis Auchincloss, 333–8 (New York: Harvard University Press, 1951), 333–4. Spring-Rice, a British diplomat and friend of Roosevelt’s, would later serve as the British Ambassador to the United States.

Roosevelt feared that instability in the Pacific region would only complicate U.S. interests in the region. Peaceful coexistence with Japan was paramount to avoiding unnecessary conflict.

Roosevelt, who was cognizant of Japan's growing power in the Pacific, feared that any discriminatory laws against the Japanese immigrants might be seen as a hostile act toward the Japanese Empire and could spark a conflict between the two nations. In 1908, he brokered a mutually beneficial accord with Japan that limited labor competition by halting the temporary migration of Japanese laborers. This treaty is known as the Gentleman's Agreement and can be viewed as what Yuji Ichioka has described as the defining moment that separates two phases of Japanese immigration history.¹¹

Valerie J. Matsumoto states that the first phase of Japanese immigrant workers originally "intended to make their fortunes and then return to their homeland. They considered themselves *dekasegi* workers, only going away temporarily."¹² No longer able to freely move between the two countries, many Japanese laborers accepted this new situation and sent for their families to join them in the United States. Once they shifted from migrant workers to immigrants, they moved from this initial phase to another one. Ichioka's secondary phase consists of the period in which the Japanese immigrants established homes, businesses, and families within the U.S.

To better understand the Japanese American experience, one must first learn some of the basic terms associated with this specific ethnic community. The first generation, or rather, those immigrants who originally came as *dekasegi* workers (both male and female) are known as the *Issei*. Ineligible for naturalization because of discriminatory

¹¹ Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei*, 3–4.

¹² Valerie J. Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place*, 22.

laws placed upon Asians, the *Issei* did not gain the right of naturalization until 1952.

This initial generation tried to walk a fine line between the two cultures. They held tightly to their ethnic heritage (so as to not forget where they came from), while at the same time they adopted American customs.

The second generation of Japanese immigrants, or *Nisei*, gained U.S. citizenship by being born on U.S. soil. Unlike their parents, they held dual citizenship with both the United States as well as with Japan. They retained their parent's Japanese citizenship, which required that they serve in the Japanese army. As discussed during a House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization:

Under Japan's Nationality Law, it would appear, therefore, that every Japanese born in America, and an American citizen under our law, is liable to serve his time in the Japanese army, and to fight for Japan in time of war. In order to enforce this allegiance, the Japanese government keeps a record of all Japanese born abroad. Japanese subjects are required to register births with the local Japanese consulate. A birth certificate is also forwarded to the district in Japan where the parents originally lived thus when the Japanese reach the age of seventeen, they are placed on the military register.¹³

The dual citizenship of the *Nisei* was one of the major questions regarding the assimilability of the Japanese immigrants. What many Americans of the time failed to realize was that most *Issei* did not register their children for this selective service draft instituted by the Japanese government, therefore remaining completely anonymous. The Japanese government though, viewed the Japanese immigrants to the United States and

¹³ House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Japanese Immigration: Hearings on Immigration and Naturalization on the Pacific Coast* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 1189, quoted in Raymond Leslie Buell, "Some Legal Aspects of the Japanese Question," in *Asian Americans and the Law: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Charles McClain, 3-24 (Berkeley: Garland Press, 1994).

throughout the Pacific as colonial agents.¹⁴ In March 15, 1916, Japan instituted the Japanese Expatriation Law, to aid second generation Japanese immigrants in severing their ties to the nation. The law was, however, best described as a farce. It stipulated that only Japanese minors born abroad and under fifteen years of age, or between the ages of fifteen and seventeen with the written consent of a parent or guardian, or older than seventeen and who had served at least two years in the Japanese army could expatriate themselves from Japan. These limitations made it difficult for the *Nisei* to actually separate themselves from Japan. The *Nisei* hoped to establish themselves as American citizens not just legally but culturally as well. They did this for multiple reasons depending entirely upon the individual. Some assimilated as a response to the racist discrimination placed upon anyone deemed un-American, while others did so out of a sincere desire to assimilate.¹⁵

Japanese Immigrant Assimilation

At the time that the Japanese were emigrating to the United States, academics felt that one of three possibilities occurred: the acculturation of the dominant ethnic community with cultural aspects brought by the migrating subordinate community; the accommodation of the two groups after each adopts select ethnic characteristics from the other, thereby bringing the two groups into a close union and eventually merging two

¹⁴ See Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 222. Choate's book concentrates on Italian emigration, but frequently throughout his book, he compares Italian colonization and emigration with that of Japan's.

¹⁵ See Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival in Los Angeles, 1934–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) to learn more about how the second generation tried to adapt to American culture and how the older generation attempted to help them maintain cultural ties to their ancestry. He believes that the celebration of *Nisei* week was a response by the *Issei* to ensure the survival of their ethnic heritage through the younger generation and a common thread with immigration studies regardless of the ethnic group.

separate ethnicities into one ethnic culture; and the assimilation of the subordinate culture into the dominate one.¹⁶

This section of chapter one will deal with how the *Issei* and the *Nisei* assimilated many aspects of American culture. O'Brien and Fugita state:

The Meiji Restoration illustrates a typical Japanese way of dealing with new exigencies. As in an earlier period when they adopted significant elements of Chinese culture, and during the post World War II period when they adopted Western ideas of government and fashion—some forcibly—the nineteenth century Japanese were able to incorporate ideas and practices from the outside without altering their basic forms of social organization.¹⁷

O'Brien and Fugita call this Japanese cultural relativism, which they believe is based upon a group survival dynamic. Because the Japanese believe that cultural ideas are not sacred, they do not consider outside customs bad simply because they are foreign. Instead, their cultural survival instinct looks to whether or not multiple cultural classifications can exist harmoniously with each community adopting important aspects of the other. They write that “the incorporation of these ‘foreign’ elements into Japanese culture did not weaken the integrity of the Japanese social system.”¹⁸ Cultural relativism affirms that foreign cultural elements only weaken an ethnic group if the community assumes that any cultural aspects lost in the transition are essential to its very survival. The Japanese felt that the survival of the group was more important than preserving cultural traditions, styles, and pursuits. Adapting to new cultural environments and

¹⁶ See Emory S. Bogardus, “A Race Relations Cycle,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 35, no. 4, 612–7 (January 1930). Bogardus, a prominent American sociologist, outlined a country’s acculturation, accommodation, and assimilation of an immigrant group. He placed these three aspects as inevitable agents that take place over historical connections between the two divergent ethnicities. His study is important to understanding one possible cycle followed by immigrant groups, and is also helpful to learning important terminology related to immigration and cultural studies.

¹⁷ David J. O'Brien & Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience*, 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

customs meant a better chance of group survival. Mamoru Iga writes about the desire for growth within the Japanese community: “In a closed society, it strengthened the attitude of conformity to tradition, but in the process of cultural contact with ‘superior’ culture, it implied an eagerness to learn from ‘more advanced’ countries.”¹⁹

Discriminations levied against the Japanese only encouraged the spread of Japanese culture in select regions of the West Coast. O’Brien and Fugita write that:

One additional ‘advantage’ the *Issei* had over most European immigrant groups in recreating traditional community life was that they were more insulated from mainstream society by virtue of the more intense discrimination against them in employment and housing. The Japanese did not experience the kind of complete isolation enforced upon blacks, as illustrated by the fact that most *Nisei* children attended public schools with whites, but they did nonetheless live apart from white society in many significant ways.²⁰

Despite this segregation, the *Nisei* still adopted many American concepts and activities. They formed bowling leagues, formal dance classes, and basketball teams, which allowed them to participate in traditional American activities while still participating in the Japanese immigrant community.²¹ *Nisei* attempts at assimilation became known as the *beika*-movement.²² Harry Kitano writes that even though the *Nisei* were pushed to do well in their American schools they also attended Japanese language schools. He claims that “most *Nisei* who attended these schools, some for as long as ten years, are still [in 1969] unable to speak Japanese with any degree of fluency.”²³ He does appreciate, however, the many friendships he made and the memories he gained from the experience.

¹⁹ Mamoru Iga, “The Japanese Social Structure and the Source of mental Strains of Japanese Immigrants in the United States,” in *Social Forces* 35, no. 3, 271–8 (March 1957), 275.

²⁰ David J. O’Brien & Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience*, 34–5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

²² Gary Okihiro, *Whispered Silences*, 145.

²³ Harry H.L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: the Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc., 1969), 25.

In 1900 the Japanese Association of America (JAA) was formed to combat anti-Asian activity in California.²⁴ It began receiving support from Japan in 1908 and acted as a way of improving relations with the native masses in the United States. It was only open to successful males since the Japanese government was trying to improve the image of its citizens that emigrated around the world. Although Japan originally encouraged the emigration of basic laborers, as it Westernized and grew imperialistically, the Japanese government changed its stance and wanted to improve its national image. “In 1900 the empire stopped the emigration of Japanese born laborers to the United States, Canada, and Mexico, and this ban was strengthened in 1908 with the diplomatically negotiated Gentlemen’s Agreements.”²⁵ Another group, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) formed much later in 1929.²⁶ The JACL was originally comprised predominantly of *Nisei* and whose goals included improved relations between Japanese Americans and the rest of the country and the cessation of discriminatory policy against peoples of Japanese descent. The JACL differed from the JAA in that it was not nationally backed by Japan and was open to all sexes and classes. Although both groups desired the cessation of anti-Japanese rhetoric, the JAA was a political move meant to improve Japan’s image, while the JACL was an immigrant organization meant to create unity with the native population. The JACL pushed for assimilation of the Japanese American community to help end nativist aggression and foster unity within the United States. Their creed dictates that:

²⁴ Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890–1930* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2002), 13. Van Nuys argues that Americanization was central to progressive opinions toward immigration and that Americanization attempts in the Western United States represented a desire to tame an uncultivated racial frontier.

²⁵ Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation*, 222.

²⁶ *Japanese American Citizens League*, <http://www.jacl.org/>, accessed on October 9, 2009.

Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people. [...] Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me, and because I have received innumerable benefits from her, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and all places; to support her constitution; to obey her laws; to respect her flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign and domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America.²⁷

Research compiled by the JACL lists that fluency in Japanese by the *Issei* was 100%.

This language ability declined to 19.3% with the *Nisei*. Japanese Buddhist affiliation dropped from 62.6% with the first generation to 36.1% with the second generation. And participation in Japanese American community activities such as reading a Japanese American newspaper and community help in securing employment both dropped from 91.4% to 64% and 95.9% to 50.6% respectively. Most of the statistics compiled by the JARP (Japanese American Research Project) show an even sharper decline with the third generation—only aspects dealing directly with the family unit seemed to rebound slightly. The importance of family continuity, help securing employment, and parental marriage influence each showed slight increases from the *Nisei* to the third generation.²⁸

Although the *Nisei* viewed themselves as American citizens and wanted to participate in uniquely American activities, they also respected the cultural traditions of their parents. David K. Yoo writes that the *Nisei* “formed Japanese clubs in high schools and colleges.”²⁹ During World War I, anything that was deemed as un-American came under attack. The Japanese Language schools were criticized, but most Japanese

²⁷ David J. O'Brien & Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience*, 40.

²⁸ Eric Woodrum, “An Assessment of Japanese American Assimilation, Pluralism, and Subordination,” in *The American Journal of Sociology* 87, no. 1, 157–69 (July 1981), 161.

²⁹ David K. Yoo, *Growing up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–49* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 9–10.

Americans argued that the schools simply complemented their U.S. education and did not hinder their assimilation. Yoo writes that textbooks and teachers at these schools “encouraged the *Nisei* to be good Americans and become fully conversant with life in the United States. [...] The Japanese consulate thought of the schools as part of the larger Americanization effort. In Contrast, Japanese associations, geared to immigrant concerns, viewed the schools in more nationalistic terms.”³⁰ Some language teachers might have had sincere desires for their students to fully assimilate, but the second generation needed little reminder from their parents, teachers, or the rest of American society that they were American citizens of Japanese ancestry.³¹

There are two sides to the scholarly debate regarding the assimilation of the *Nisei*. On one side of the issue lies the Assimilationist camp, who argue that the second generation rejected their parental heritage and assimilated because they truly desired to adopt presumed American cultural norms. On the other side of the debate, the Revisionists contend that the *Nisei* assimilated as a response to the racisms and fears present within American society during this time period.³²

The truth probably lies somewhere in between these two arguments. Some *Nisei* assimilated to American culture because they knew that greater separation from their parent’s cultural beliefs would aid in their acceptance within the United States. The desire for social acceptance can be a strong attraction for people, but sometimes it has absolutely nothing to do with the avoidance of the social outcast label. Other individuals, however, want to act a certain way simply because that is how they choose to be. Many

³⁰ Ibid., 29.

³¹ Ibid., 29.

³² Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American*, 3–4.

people react to negative social constructs by accepting those who shun them in an attempt to avoid being cast as the social “other.” Only this argument puts the entire decision making process as a reactionary result of outside influences and neglects the idea of agency held by the *Nisei*. It assumes that this younger generation had no control over their own future—that they were simply reacting to aspects already present within the social fabric of the time. One has to consider that many *Nisei* assimilated of their own free will and not as a reaction to the nativism present in Californian society. To project a single expectation upon an entire minority group with individuals from different family backgrounds with variant life experiences, opinions, and personalities together remains just as neglectful as the nativist stance that casted all Asians into one large group.

Nativism and Americanization

At a 1916 convention regarding citizenship, Woodrow Wilson stated that Americanization should come naturally to immigrants. He compares it to an “infection” and calls it “a process of self-examination, [and] a process of purification.”³³ The concept of Americanization is similar to assimilation; only it expresses an even stronger connotation where the immigrant is not simply required to assimilate to the political and economic structure of the dominant ethnicity, but to acquiesce to every single aspect of a believed cultural heritage.

Assimilation expresses the adoption of the existing political system, the economic structure, outward cultural attributes (i.e. language, styles of dress, and activities), and

³³ Woodrow Wilson, “On Citizenship,” (address, Citizenship Convention, Washington, DC, July 13, 1916) in *The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, edited by Albert Shaw, 290–4 (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1924), 294.

other inward cultural concepts (i.e. behavior). It does not expect the complete dissolution of the immigrant's culture. Instead assimilation is an aspect of culture that may happen naturally. Richard Alba and Victor Nee discuss a race relations cycle presented by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess in 1921. Park and Burgess discussed the fusion of the immigrant group with the dominant ethnic community. They believed that the minority community would eventually share the historical memories, sentiments, and attitudes of the majority, thereby being incorporated into the cultural community.³⁴ Alba and Nee believe that "this definition does not appear to require what many critics assume assimilation must—namely, the erasure of all signs of ethnic origins. Instead, it equates assimilation with the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life."³⁵ The specification of Americanization, rather, reveals the expectations of the dominant cultural community to be the complete submission by the immigrant population in the adoption of social and cultural standards. Milton M. Gordon supports that: "Social assimilation does not require the complete identification of all the units, but such modifications as eliminate the characteristics of foreign origin, and enable them all to fit smoothly into the typical structure and functioning of the new cultural unit."³⁶ Alba and Nee agree with Gordon's view that assimilation does not require complete submission, but they do have a problem with the lack of regard for a multi-ethnic society.³⁷ Gordon's race relations cycle presents the concept that a minority group will, after a time, naturally and completely assimilate to the dominant cultural standard. This

³⁴ Robert E. Park & Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1921), 735.

³⁵ Richard Alba & Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," in *International Migration Review* 31, no. 41, 826–74 (Winter 1997), 828.

³⁶ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 64.

³⁷ Richard Alba & Victor Nee, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration," 830.

differs from Alba and Nee, who feel that assimilation does not require a complete transformation.

In his book on assimilation, Nathan Glazer discusses the “decline in the positive attitude toward the term ‘assimilation.’”³⁸ He cites the First World War as the catalyst for the negative transformation of academic opinion toward assimilation. Glazer’s work was published before the September 11th terrorist attack, and because of this, he believes that assimilationist numbers are relatively small. His goal is not to support assimilationism but instead to reveal that even during relative times of peace, assimilation is still a powerful force affecting racial and immigration discussions within the United States.³⁹ Author Noah Pickus also believes that assimilation only became viewed as a bad concept after World War I. He differs from Glazer, however, in that he argues for what he believes are the positive effects of assimilation. He contends that cultural monoism supports nationalism, which “makes both liberty and justice possible” in the United States.⁴⁰ What Pickus calls assimilation bears resemblance to Americanization. Assimilation is something that may occur naturally, while Americanization is the expected outcome for immigrants, or what Pickus would describe as a necessity for a successful America.

Americanization can also be a governmental policy, while assimilation is something that may occur over time. Progressives felt that Americanization was central to the civilizing of the American west, which at the onset of the twentieth century was

³⁸ See Nathan Glazer, “Is Assimilation Dead?” in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530, 122–36 (November 1993), 122.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁴⁰ Noah Pickus, *True Faith and Allegiance: Immigration and American Civic Nationalism* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 153.

still a frontier land. The formation of educational groups like the Bureau of Education aided in the federal government's attempts at Americanizing immigrants. Frank Van Nuys writes that the "federal bureaucrats' endorsement of education for Americanization reflected the progressives' faith in the power of education as well as education reformers' recognition of environmental forces in shaping individuals."⁴¹ Van Nuys quotes the Federal Commissioner of Education, Philander P. Claxton, who likens Americanization to a form of enlightenment.⁴² To further encourage Americanizing education, the federal government formed a National Americanization Day Committee tasked with the job of planning and implementing an Americanization Day celebration on July 4, 1915.⁴³

In reality, a one true American culture has never existed. America is a combination of separate ethnic and racial groups that have come together under the flag of support for democratic and capitalistic opportunities. This is why democracy and the importance of its survival are central to American nationalism. Democracy becomes the shared origin for these disparate groups. No true American culture exists for immigrants to assimilate to, but a large majority of the American populace has created a single imaginary American culture from democratic expectations and unified cultural desires of the dominant white Anglicized majority, whose cultural beliefs, in actuality, are derived from various customs through cultural accommodation. Americanization has the expectation of cultural genocide toward any cultural differences or ethnic groups it does not openly bring into its amebic structure.

⁴¹ Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West*, 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 44.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Americanization required some immigrant groups to completely conform to presumed cultural norms, while others it coldly deemed incapable of any true or lasting alterations. Ethnic communities like the Japanese immigrants and their children fall into this second category and act as opposition unifiers of the general population by having the mantle of “other” placed upon them.

The melting pot concept championed by many within the U.S. connotes the idea that America is a nation of many nations where many immigrant groups have come together—each adding their own ethnic distinctiveness to society as a whole, thereby changing and being changed into a vast indistinguishable mass of people. The melting pot theory does not accurately describe American cultural society though. John Highman writes: “In some degree a multi-ethnic melting pot indubitably has worked—but so imperfectly, so inconsistently, so incompletely! It worked, but it did not prevail. Whereas virtually all of the local or tribal identities that the people of this country brought with them from other lands have been obliterated, every one of the racial and national groupings that was created in America has stubbornly persisted.”⁴⁴ The melting pot view does not truly express the intentions of Americanization. Nor does it truly describe an American community with hundreds of subcultures divided by regional and ancestral customs all maintaining their own insular identity, while prescribing to the basic economic and political constructs of the United States.

⁴⁴ John Highman, “Problems of Assimilation in the United States,” in *Major Problems in American Immigration and Ethnic History*, edited by Jon Gjerde, 16–22 (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 17–8.

In his book on second generation Japanese immigrants, David K. Yoo discusses the cultural experiences of the *Nisei* and how they dealt with American racisms toward inclusion and assimilation of Asians. He mentions the acculturation of select parts of European immigrant heritages upon the American social conscience:

European Americans, by virtue of their ‘whiteness,’ occupy an unmarked category that privileges it as normative. [...] In a subtle turn, ‘cult of ethnicity’ proponents have reasserted the virtue of Anglo-American assimilation as the American way, reinscribing the past to reflect one nation, indivisible. In this schema, St. Patrick’s Day, Columbus Day, and Oktoberfest are really celebrations of ethnicity more than they are about being Irish, Italian, or German American. Hence all Americans can become ‘ethnic’ and embrace these festivals.⁴⁵

The participation in ethnic festivals and holidays by completely divergent groups within the country also acts as an example of how European immigrants influenced the body politic. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the country viewed the acculturation of Japanese customs with extreme fear and resistance. The Japanese, like their European counterparts, were expected to Americanize, and although Calvin Coolidge, in the earlier mentioned quote, wrote about the need for all immigrant groups to Americanize, he ignored how the general populace had adopted at least some aspects of European immigrant ethnicities.

The early part of the century saw the creation of the Asian Exclusion League in California as a response to the immigration of the Japanese into the area. Quoted within a 1911 proceeding, the Exclusion League outlined the importance of their existence and the necessity of separating ethnic communities incapable of Americanization from the

⁴⁵ David K. Yoo, *Growing up Nisei*, 9–10.

rest of the country.⁴⁶ It stated that individuals from certain racial groups (in this case Asians) held physical and mental characteristics passed down through generations that would mark “them as separate and distinct people with us but not of us, they become a source of trouble and of possible danger. [...] Therefore it is of the utmost importance for a nation, and especially in case of a republic, to have a homogeneous population.”⁴⁷

Americanization is a representation of the nativist concern that a non-homogenous society is vulnerable to outside cultural threats. A single cultural community within a nation dissipates loyalty questions. As shown in the Exclusion league quote, many within the United States, especially those with political power and public influence, felt the Japanese incapable of Americanization. It is useful to mention that some felt anglicized white America also incapable of any form of cultural assimilation. John P. Young, a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, argued that white America and the Japanese were polar opposites, who would always be reticent of cultural and ethnic submission. He called them both “unassimilable races” and believed that it was dangerous to bring them into close contact.⁴⁸ Nevada Senator, Francis G. Newlands, also agreed that the survival of the two groups depended on complete separation, thereby avoiding a social Darwinist clash for ethnic supremacy. He wrote: “Race tolerance [...] means race amalgamation, and this is undesirable. Race intolerance means, ultimately, race war and mutual destruction or the reduction of one race to servitude.”⁴⁹ Newlands

⁴⁶ Asiatic Exclusion League, “Asians Cannot Be Assimilated,” in *Major Problems in American Immigration and Ethnic History*, edited by Jon Gjerde, 278–80 (University of California Berkeley: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 279.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 278–79.

⁴⁸ John P. Young, “The Support of the Anti-Oriental Movement,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2, 11–8 (September 1909), 18.

⁴⁹ Francis G. Newlands, “A Western View of the Race Question,” in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2, 49–51 (September 1909), 50.

felt that contact between two unassimilable ethnic groups would eventually lead to race conflict and the inevitable conquest of one over the other.

Mae M. Ngai discusses the paradoxical effect of the separation of immigrants into segregated communities and the use of the term unassimilable alien. She argues that immigrants inhabit homogenous communities as a response to forced separation. These areas are then labeled high crime regions consisting of ethnic groups who refuse to Americanize. She writes: “Indeed, the association of these minority groups as unassimilable foreigners has led to the creation of ‘alien citizens’—persons who are American citizens by virtue of their birth in the United States but who are presumed to be foreign by the mainstream of American culture and, at times, by the state.”⁵⁰ By separating immigrant communities, American society works against greater inclusion of the minority group and reinforces the status of non-assimilation.

U.S. nativism thrives upon the belief that some minority groups pose a threat to national stability. Theodore Roosevelt wrote about the importance of Americanism in a letter to Stanwood Menken, the Executive Director of National Security League.⁵¹ He stated that “unless we are Americans and nothing else, we are not a nation at all—and thoroughgoing preparedness in time of peace against war—for if we are not thus prepared, we shall remain a nation only until some more virile nation finds it worthwhile to conquer us.”⁵² Within the Industrial Commission’s Report on Immigration in 1901, Cleveland L. Dam, an attorney at law for the city and county of San Francisco, stated: “The Japanese stop at nothing, evidently imbued with the idea that he represents a

⁵⁰ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 2.

⁵¹ A non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to higher military budgets.

⁵² Theodore Roosevelt to Stanwood Menken (letter, January 10, 1917) in *Theodore Roosevelt: Letters and Speeches*, edited by Louis Auchincloss, 710–7 (New York: Harvard University Press, 1951), 710–11.

superior civilization.”⁵³ The fear expressed by Cleveland Dam that the Japanese viewed themselves as a superior race stems not from anything done by the Japanese immigrants, but from the nationalist argument that the United States is superior to other nations and the nativist fear of being supplanted or proved incorrect. The rise of Japan as a national power and rival in the Pacific region fed the nativism expressed by Dam. Racial and cultural connections of native born white Americans to white Europeans allowed for greater inclusion. The differences in national heritage, cultural traditions, and race created a divide that separated white America from those individuals with Japanese ancestry and fed nativist fears of Japan as a national rival.

In my introduction I used a speech by San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan. In the latter part of this speech, he discussed the fall of the Roman Empire and how outside immigration brought about its decline and eventual downfall. “This is not a labor question,” he said.⁵⁴ Just like Rome, the immigration question is central to the survival of America, its government, its ideals, its people, and its Anglicized cultural and ethnic identity. Chester H. Rowell, editor for the Fresno *Republican Paper*, stated that:

Against Asiatic immigration we could not survive. The numbers who would come would be greater than we could encyst, and the races who would come are those which we could never absorb. The permanence not merely of American civilization, but of the white race on this continent, depends on our not doing, on the Pacific side, what we have done on the Atlantic side. [...] There is no other possible national menace at all to be compared with this.”⁵⁵

Nativists feared that the Japanese only partially adopted American cultural values for financial gain and not out of a sincere desire to Americanize. At the earlier

⁵³ Cleveland L. Dam, “Affidavit of Mr. Cleveland L. Dam,” in *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration* 15, 767–8 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 768.

⁵⁴ James D. Phelan, “Would Exclude the Japanese,” 5.

⁵⁵ Chester H. Rowell, “Chinese and Japanese Immigrants: A Comparison,” 10.

mentioned labor meeting, McCarthy also stated “that the assumed virtue of the Japanese, i.e., their partial adoption of American customs, makes them more dangerous as competitors.”⁵⁶ Coolidge, the eventual President of the United States, articulated that the refusal of an immigrant to completely adopt American cultural norms would leave the individual as “shell of a citizen” and a problem for the entire nation.⁵⁷ He also felt that all immigrant groups needed to be restricted and tested to make sure that they were “not inconsistent with American institutions.”⁵⁸ The cultural relativism practiced by the Japanese differed from its American counterpart, which labeled the survival and protection of ideological principles, such as democracy, as the defining characteristic of its cultural strength. Both groups and individuals remain subordinate to these ideologies and are meant to service the continuation of these cultural tropes.

The Americanism described by Theodore Roosevelt is based on the protection of concepts and our loyalty to the institutions that support them. He felt that it was the responsibility of everyone within the country: every man, women, and child to aid in the Americanization of immigrants. Gayle Gullett in her article on women progressives and Americanization in the early part of the twentieth century argues that women actively participated in the Americanization process of immigrant groups. The California chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the California Federation of Women’s Clubs, and the National General Federation of Women’s Clubs took up the Americanization campaign. Gullett states: “The ultimate goal of Americanization was to transform rural peasants of dubious national loyalties into contented and reasonably

⁵⁶ P.H. McCarthy, “Would Exclude the Japanese,” 5.

⁵⁷ Calvin Coolidge, “Whose Country is this?” 15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

rewarded American workers who accepted the elite leadership of American society.”⁵⁹ Progressive Americanizers wanted to mold workers into loyal employees and citizens.⁶⁰ In 1907, the North American Civic League for Immigrants (NACL) formed in New York City. Just like the women’s organization mentioned earlier, the NACL harbored the progressive idea that education in the home and in the work place would cultivate good behavior by laborers.⁶¹ The group became so popular that it spread across the country and eventually had an immigrant aid center in Los Angeles.

Roosevelt believed that it was the responsibility of the general American population to provide immigrants with American cultural values, therefore protecting the nation by forcing the immigrant to dismiss their original national allegiance and shed their old traditions. The immigrant does this by adopting the shared historical narrative of the dominant group and makes it their own: Italians no longer consider themselves Italian or even Italian Americans but instead Americans with a prideful connection to the nation’s democratic origins and concerns for its ultimate future. The migrant group also takes pride in the influence they bring to the shared American historical narrative which continues to evolve by adding other immigrant group narratives and incorporating them into its over-arching discourse. The immigrant experience eventually becomes a part of the shared national heritage and contributes to the entire national origin. The historic significance of Ellis Island and the increase of European immigration to the U.S. during the early twentieth century is no longer a concern but now an important aspect of American history. Connecting immigrant groups in this manner to the dominant ethnic

⁵⁹ Gayle Gullet, “Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915–1920,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 1, 75–94 (February 1995), 75.

⁶⁰ Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West*, 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 37–8.

community can dissolve nativism associated with a particular ethnic group. This concept works for nativism when it is driven by economic, national, and cultural concerns. When nativism is supported by racial reasons, however, it creates a wall between the immigrant group and social acceptance. So while some nativists will accept the immigrant group once they feel the community has sufficiently assimilated, has adopted a new national allegiance, or does not pose a real economic threat, others may still denounce immigration of this particular ethnic group, based purely on racial differences.

In the 1930's when Japan was again at war with China, many Japanese communities here in the United States became very active in fund raising projects to help Japan. Jonathan Dresner writes in his review of a posthumously and only partially completed book by Yuji Ichioka that this created a great deal of tension between the *Issei* and the *Nisei*. The patriotic support of their homeland was mainly supported by the older generation, while the *Nisei*, "organized under groups like the JACL, were largely uninvolved or actively hostile to *Issei* efforts to engage them in Japan-orientated activities, and American authorities were suspicious of this unassimilated minority."⁶²

Although the Japanese faced great hurdles in their attempts at social acceptance because of national, cultural, and economic reasons, racial differences remained a problem for the Japanese who immigrated to the United States. Nativists who held racial views toward the Japanese were always going to see them as a threat to national stability, cultural dominance, and economic strength. These race-based nativist fears influenced the creation of discriminatory naturalization laws in the United States. Just as the Japanese immigrants faced an up-hill battle to prove themselves culturally to the rest of

⁶² Jonathan Dresner, Review of Yuji Ichioka, *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese-American History*, H-Net Reviews, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=13517> (August 2007), 4.

the country, they also had to fight for citizenship status—a subject I will explore in my next chapter.

Chapter 2: Nativism and the Exclusion of Citizenship

The time has come, in my judgment, when the United States, as a matter of self-protection and self-preservation, must declare by statutory enactment that it will not tolerate further race complications upon our soil. Our country, by law to take effect upon the expiration of existing treaties, should prevent the immigration of all peoples other than those of the white race, except under restricted conditions relating to international commerce, travel, and education.¹

Francis G. Newlands, 1909

Race Competition and the Fear of Increased Japanese Immigration

In September 1909, Senator Francis G. Newlands from Nevada stated the above quote in an essay he wrote regarding immigration issues. He argued for race segregation, not within the United States alone, but throughout the entire world. He thought that it was unfair for the U.S. to ask Japan to restrict its peoples from coming to the United States since the U.S. government would never enact such a restrictive law against its own people. He believed, however, that it was the responsibility of each nation to stipulate what immigration into their respective countries they would allow, thereby avoiding race competition all-together. Newlands did not argue that the Japanese were incapable of Americanization, but he did contend that “two such powerful races, of such differing views” should refrain from living in the same territory.² Pragmatically, he felt as if it was in the best interest of the entire world if national borders were racially divided so as to avoid ethnic conflict.

The headline for the February 23rd issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle* stated in extremely large bold letters: “**JAPANESE INVASION: THE PROBLEM OF THE**

¹ Francis G. Newlands, “A Western View of the Race Question,” 51.

² *Ibid.*, 50.

HOUR FOR THE UNITED STATES.³ This headline was atop the 1905 issue of the *Chronicle*, and was meant to garner public support and encourage awareness to the growing Japanese immigrant population in California. Mae M. Ngai writes that by giving the government the power to regulate immigration, in essence it presumes that immigrants represent potential agents of a foreign country.⁴ She contends that in truth immigrants have traditionally come to the U.S. not as troops in an eventual conflict, but as individuals seeking personal and familial improvement or to escape persecution.

Early twentieth century nativists feared the ramifications of increased immigration and a decline in native born numbers. Some nativists did not view the Japanese immigrants as direct competition, but rather, as an inferior race, which would ultimately dilute American strength and eventually lead to the failure of the American nation. Declining birth rates within the white American community exacerbated fears of “race suicide.”⁵ General Francis Amasa Walker, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, looked at population statistics and forecast racial doom for Anglicized white America. Walker, a follower of Social Darwinist theory and an active nativist, had also served as the President of the American Statistical Association in 1882 and the Superintendent of the 1870 and 1880 censuses. Although Walker’s nativist fears focused on the immigration of individuals from Eastern and Southern Europe, his arguments and

³ Headline “Japanese Invasion: The Problem of the Hour for the United States.” Beginning with the February 23, 1905 issue of the newspaper, the *San Francisco Chronicle* began releasing regular articles about the so-called “Asian threat.”

⁴ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 11.

⁵ Isaac A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor: The Economic Aspects of European Immigration to the United States* (New York & London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912), 221. Hourwich does not prescribe to the “Race Suicide” theory, but does use the term to name a chapter of his book. For more information about how declining birth rates influence public opinions toward immigration, see David Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier*, 26. Also see Elisa Camiscioli, “Reproducing the ‘French Race’: Immigration and Pronationalism in Early-Twentieth-Century France,” in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, edited by Tony Ballantyne & Antoinette Burton, 219–33 (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005).

statistical calculations were aligned with those made by the Japanese Exclusion League.

In an article for *The Atlantic Monthly* journal, he wrote: “Only a short time ago, the immigrants from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than one percent of our immigration. Today the proportion has risen to something like forty percent, and threatens soon to become fifty or sixty percent, or even more.”⁶

Walker labeled these individuals as “beaten men from beaten races” who he felt represented the worst societal failures.⁷ Paradoxically, it is these same societal failures that he feared would overrun the United States, therefore succeeding in the U.S. because of increased numbers and declining birth rates of Anglicized white American citizens.

The transcripts from a 1911 Asiatic Exclusion League meeting stated:

Don't be deceived by any delusive hope that the yellow race can possibly become amalgamated with the white race in this country through intermarriage. The very thought is preposterous and revolting in view of their physical, mental and moral differences. [...] We must, as a nation, take immediate and vigorous measures to stop further Asiatic immigration, for what will be the fate of the nation when the white race is outnumbered.⁸

Three years later, Francis A. Walker, wrote a book on economics and statistics. His book explored in great detail population statistics, industrial and agricultural numbers, gender and political calculations, and many other statistical influences upon and within the United States. He even dedicated entire chapters to immigration and the degradation that it caused within the U.S. He cautioned that the decline in native born white Americans was due to the increase in immigration.⁹ Walker felt that Americans pulled away from

⁶ Francis A. Walker, “Restriction of Immigration,” in *The Atlantic Monthly* 77, no. 464, 822–9 (June 1896), 828.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 828.

⁸ Asiatic Exclusion League, “Asians Cannot Be Assimilated,” 279.

⁹ Francis A. Walker, *Discussions in Economics and Statistics* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1899), 423.

the competition for industrial jobs, but also refused to do the lowest forms of day labor. Native born white families shrank as parents refused to bare sons and daughters in a society they disagreed with.¹⁰ In 1912, Russian born statistician, Isaac A. Hourwich, published his book on immigration. In his chapter titled *Race Suicide*, he attacked Walker's theory of declining birthrates and the increase of immigration. He argued that the decline in native born births should be attributed to the switch within the U.S. from an agrarian lifestyle to that of an industrial one.

Walker used census data from 1820 to 1890 and theories regarding population increases to support his ideas toward declining birth rates. Hourwich wrote that Walker's "conclusion illustrates in a striking manner the effect of a preconceived idea upon the reasoning ability of a scientific writer."¹¹ Hourwich referred to a point in Walker's book where he had discussed the 1870 census results. Walker had written about the social changes happening in the United States as American society industrialized and had claimed that it was absurd for statisticians to continue applying former birth rate calculations to projected population numbers in lieu of societal changes.¹² He had argued that native birth rates would continue to decline each decade because families no longer required many children to run personal farms. Hourwich agreed with Walker's idea, but he felt that Walker let his nativist leanings subjugate his scientific conclusions regarding immigration issues. To disprove Walker's claim that immigration had caused native birth rates to decline, Hourwich wrote that "the number of children under five years of age to one hundred women of the child-bearing age decreased in 1810–1830 by 9.9, and in

¹⁰ Ibid., 424.

¹¹ Isaac A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, 223.

¹² Francis A. Walker, *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, 42–3.

1880–1900 by 9.4. Thus the twenty-year period of recent immigration did not substantially differ in this respect from the time when, according to General Walker himself, immigration had not affected the birth-rate among native Americans.”¹³ Even if native birth rates were not slowing as a result of increased immigration as Walker had claimed, his writing still illustrates nativism toward the implications represented by immigration.

The fear that the Japanese immigrant population was reproducing at a quicker rate than the native population created a stir among nativists.¹⁴ It was feared that the Asian countries would consume America with their vast populations. One has to keep in mind, that during the first part of the century, very little distinction had been drawn between the Chinese and the Japanese. The separation of the two groups into the good and the bad did not occur until the years preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor and throughout the Second World War.

In his writings on the evils of immigration, Doctor Samuel C. Busey discussed the prospect that if native birth rates failed to grow, then the nation could be overwhelmed by new immigrant cultures. He wrote that:

The rapid propagation of the immigrant races tends, in a great measure, to prevent the assimilation of those races with the American people. [...] Another effect of this rapid propagation among the foreign, is to preserve and perpetuate the habits, customs, peculiarities, and distinctive characteristics of the immigrants. It has been shown in another part of this treatise, that two distinct nationalities cannot exist together harmoniously under the same jurisdiction.¹⁵

¹³ Isaac A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, 224.

¹⁴ See Chester H. Rowell, “Chinese and Japanese Immigrants: A Comparison,” 10.

¹⁵ Samuel C. Busey, *Immigration: Its Evils and Consequences*, 88. See Madison Grant, *Passing of the Great Race* (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1918; New York: Arno Press, 1970) for more on the threat that immigrants placed upon white society and the social Darwinist competition between different races for supremacy and survival.

Although Busey wrote his monograph fifty years before the years depicted within this thesis, this concept still retains its national importance and echoed the same concerns listed by General Walker. Busey believed that immigrant groups who grew quickly without proper assimilation threatened national security. It also showcased public fears of cultural dissemination, national longevity, and the increase in race-based economic competition.

Citizenship and Race

Alexander M. Bickel writes that “the relationship between the individual and the state is largely defined by the concept of citizenship. It is by virtue of his citizenship that the individual is a member of the political community, and by virtue of it that he has rights.”¹⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century, fear of the Japanese centered mainly on the West Coast, but as the twentieth century continued, race-based fears would influence naturalization laws and the definition of citizenship for Japanese immigrants and their children. Less than a hundred years ago, the idea of race-based thinking aided the creation of laws that limited and restricted Asian immigration to the United States. In 1876, the Democratic Party ran on a platform calling for the exclusion of anyone with Asian ancestry. The focus was directed at the Chinese immigrants. Rogers M. Smith writes that in 1876, a Californian referendum called for exclusion of Chinese immigration. 154,638 ballots voted against Chinese immigration with 883 voting in favor. In 1892, the suspension of Chinese immigration was extended for another 10

¹⁶ Alexander M. Bickel, “Citizenship in the American Constitution,” in *Arizona Law Review* 15, 369–88 (1973), 369.

years.¹⁷ As shown earlier, the lack of a cheap labor force opened the door for increased Japanese migration as labor contractors sought inexpensive workers from other countries.

As Ngai mentions, immigrants have traditionally come for social improvement and freedom. Americans feel a duty to help immigrants escape communist and totalitarian regimes, but at the same time, many Americans feel angered with the prospect of sharing the opportunities and privileges awarded to citizens. Americans take nationalistic pride in their democratic ideals and generous immigration policy that saves many individuals and families from destitution and subjugation in their native countries. Paradoxically many Americans take pride in their generosity toward immigrants, while at the same time lamenting the responsibilities that come with a more liberal immigration policy. Mae M. Ngai argues that Americans want to believe that immigration proves the universal nature of America as a nation and its liberal democratic principles.¹⁸ She writes: “We like to believe that our immigration policy is generous, but we also resent the demands made upon us by others and we think we owe outsiders nothing.”¹⁹ Rogers M. Smith calls this the “divided heart of American civic identity.”²⁰ Americans question what responsibilities they have, if any, to immigrants. Smith contends that after 1885 the U.S. went through extreme social, economic, and political changes. The country had been largely agrarian in nature before the onset of industrialization toward the end of the nineteenth century. Industrial growth did away with small family farms in favor of large business-like farms and increased urbanization around large factories, which employed massive work forces. Immigration grew as new labor was needed for this

¹⁷ Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 358–59.

¹⁸ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁰ Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 4.

industrialization. Smith looks at industrialization of the U.S. as one of the driving forces behind civil inequalities and increased nativism. Before the onset of factories and large farms, only people in urban areas were readily affected by immigration. Alexander M. Bickel states that “the original Constitution, prior to Reconstruction, contained no definition of citizenship, and precious few references to the concept altogether.”²¹ The framers of the Constitution wished to attract immigrants to increase the country’s population. The industrial age put various ethnic groups into direct contact with each other. From 1870 to 1890, the U.S. accepted nearly 10 million immigrants, before the number dropped during the recessionary 1890’s. By 1900, immigration numbers began to increase again to the highest levels on record in terms of percentage of foreign born total population.

As the Coolidge quote from the beginning of Chapter One shows, many Americans feared that immigrants came to the United States, learned the language, and followed capitalist doctrine in the search of a better life, but at the same time failed to truly become American in spirit and not just actions. He used the word “heart,” which connotes a strong national tie to the adopted country. To gain admission to a nation, one cannot simply act as everyone else but has to be like everyone else in a scientifically immeasurable way. Unseen ties that cannot be measured by deeds lie underneath the surface. This concept helps unify a country and creates a sense of pride, but at the same time creates requirements that cannot be calculated in a normal manner, placing admission on a pedestal only reachable by those individuals deemed worthy by existing members of this fraternity. Exclusionary in its very essence, the Americanization

²¹ Alexander M. Bickel, “Citizenship in the American Constitution,” 1.

discourse helps single out anyone that the dominant cultural group feels unworthy of acceptance.

Coolidge argued for the creation of a national immigration test that would allow the country to attempt to calculate the worth of various individuals. He does not expressly connect his idea with any single immigrant group, but the creation of this test would very likely be used in a racially driven manner to exclude or in the very least excessively scrutinize select racial and ethnic groups. In 1900, the Industrial Commission on Immigration in a special report stressed the importance of the change to racial classification. It stated that “the most important improvement since 1893 in the method of compiling statistics of immigration was introduced in 1899, when, instead of the preceding classification of immigrants according to the countries or political divisions from which they came, they were classified according to the races to which they belonged.”²² This use of racial categorization would eventually lead to the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924, which would halt all Japanese immigration to the United States.

Race statistics continued to play an integral part of immigration debates, especially when deciding naturalization laws. In his monograph on race, Jacques Barzun describes how a society inexorably links the ideas of race separation and peace. He writes that “to consolidate political unity, certain national cultures seek to exclude one another on the ground of the racial incompatibility of minds. The idea of race makes

²² Industrial Commission, *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration* 15 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), ix. This report covers immigrant groups of all races and cultural backgrounds and their effect on industrial labor around the country. There is a special section, however, entirely devoted to the Chinese and Japanese with exhibits by individuals ranging from P.H. McCarthy (at this time, McCarthy was the President of the Federated Trades of the Pacific Coast), Frank Schuyler (a Chinese labor importer), William Price (Lieutenant in the San Francisco Police Department), John P. Jackson (San Francisco Customs Office), and many others.

easy the transition from cultural to political ill-feeling, and when we want to condemn some course of national action in our neighbors, race provides the universal joint that holds together the aliens' ignorable traditions, their present shameful course, and their innate perversity.”²³

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the only way anyone of Asian ancestry could gain citizenship was through birthright citizenship. A clause in the Fourteenth Amendment grants full citizenship to anyone born on U.S. soil. Author Robin Jacobson discusses the importance of birthright citizenship in an article for *Political Research Quarterly*. Restrictionist groups have been challenging the citizenship clause included in the fourteenth amendment for a century. She concedes that “consensual citizenship is not raced based and may seem emancipatory,” but she also feels that it can be dangerous.²⁴

Birthright citizenship is unchangeable and is also not race based. She writes:

“Consensual citizenship employed by political forces on the ground is imbued with racial meaning. When race is a salient category for understanding immigration and national identity, choice as the core of citizenship policy leads to racial exclusion.”²⁵ As the Coolidge article illustrates, citizenship not based on birth would be based on a chosen loyalty, something that cannot be truly measured. Because of this immeasurability the process would inevitably adopt racial categorization as its means of structure.

²³ Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Superstition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 3. Originally published as *Race: A Study in Modern Superstition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1937). Citations are to the 1965 edition.

²⁴ Robin Jacobson, “Characterizing Consent: Race, Citizenship, and the New Restrictionists,” in *Political Research Quarterly* 59, no. 4, 645–54 (December 2006), 645. For more on the influence of nativism on restrictionist arguments see Maxine S. Seller, “Historical Perspectives on American Immigration Policy: Case Studies and Current Implications,” in *Law and Contemporary Problems* 45, no. 2, 137–62 (Spring 1982). Seller discusses many of the reasons behind restrictionist arguments and uses facts to denounce their viability.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 645.

Citizenship and the Legal System

In *Bessho vs. the United States*, Namayo Bessho, a Japanese immigrant who had served in the U.S. military had hoped to gain citizenship through a Congressional Act in 1894 that stipulated that “any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upward who has enlisted or may enlist in the United States Navy or Marine Corps, and has served or may hereafter serve five consecutive years in the United States Navy or Marine Corps, and has been or may hereafter be honorably discharged, shall be admitted to become a citizen of the United States upon his petition.”²⁶ Mr. Bessho had made the petition to the Circuit Court of appeals in 1910, but was subsequently denied upon the argument that he was neither white nor black, and thus could not become a U.S. citizen. The court transcript stated: “They [Asians] are not free white persons, or of African nativity, then such aliens, even though they so enlisted and were thereafter honorably discharged, are not entitled to naturalization.”²⁷

When Japanese immigrants tried to become U.S. citizens, the federal government denied such requests. The Japanese fell into a crack within the political system. The Nationality Act of 1790 gave permission for naturalization to any immigrant “being a free white person,” but fails to mention blacks, Asians, and anyone not labeled as European and white.²⁸ Although this Act was not written in a manner meant to discriminate against Asians, it was still used to keep them from gaining naturalized status. In 1870 another Nationality Act stated that freed slaves were U.S. citizens and

²⁶ *Act of Congress 1894*, 28 Stat. 124 (July 24, 1894), 124.

²⁷ *Bessho vs. United States*, 178 Fed. 245 (4th Circuit 1910), 247–48.

²⁸ *Naturalization Act of 1790*, 1 Stat. 103 (March 26, 1790), 103.

that persons of African descent had the ability to become naturalized U.S. citizens.²⁹

This amendment to the existing naturalization law left a void for anyone who did not fall into these two categories. The U.S. government labeled Asians as neither “free whites” nor of “African nativity,” and left first generation immigrants without the ability to become naturalized citizens, while their children were able to gain U.S. citizenship via the birthright clause in the Fourteenth Amendment.

Linda Bosniak writes that “the idea of citizenship is commonly invoked to convey a state of democratic belonging or inclusion, yet this inclusion is usually premised on a conception of a community that is bounded and exclusive. Citizenship as an ideal is understood to embody a commitment against subordination, but citizenship can also represent an axis of subordination itself.”³⁰ Bosniak continues to explain that liberal democratic states have both universal and exclusionary citizenship commitments. Those immigrant groups who are socially accepted and those that are not can be citizens. While one community is accepted by the larger native population, the other is relegated to the edges of society. This second group is still allowed citizenship and given a status, albeit on the fringes of American society. In the case of the Japanese immigrants, this fringe status marked the Japanese as unassimilable aliens at the same time that it allowed the *Issei* to live in the United States and enjoy many (but not all) of its privileges and allowed the *Nisei* to gain citizenship. While their children were born citizens, the *Issei* had the possibility of citizenship status for them relegated to the threshold of possibility. They were allowed to live in American society but, at the same time, could not be American.

²⁹ *Naturalization Act of 1870*, 16 Stat. 254 (July 14, 1870), 254.

³⁰ Linda Bosniak, *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1.

The Fourteenth Amendment protected their civil liberties, but they were still denied many of the social freedoms granted white immigrants. Mae M. Ngai calls this an “impossible subject.”³¹

Japanese immigrants found themselves stuck in a void. Even though nothing in any of the congressional naturalization laws directly stipulated that individuals of Asian ancestry should be marked as aliens ineligible for citizenship, nothing specifically mentions that they could gain citizenship either. The 1894 Congressional Act contradicted this void. Because of racial categorization and nativism, it was ignored, however, in favor of continued exclusion. Even the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: “nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person in its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”³² The Fourteenth Amendment, which Mr. Bessho tried to use to support his case for naturalization, does not deal with questions of citizenship only the protection of freedoms. The Supreme Court stated that Mr. Bessho’s freedoms were not infringed upon by the lower court’s decision to deny citizenship since citizenship was not believed to be an inalienable right. Constitutionally all alien groups were protected by the Fourteenth amendment. Mr. Bessho’s freedom and ability to have his day in court were protected, while his request for naturalization was denied because people of his nativity were not strictly mentioned in any of the naturalization laws of that time.

Mr. Bessho was not the only individual with Asian ancestry who was denied citizenship. In 1894, Shebata Saito was denied citizenship on the grounds “that when Congress, in designating the class of persons who would be naturalized, inserted the

³¹ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 5.

³² United States Constitution, Amendment 14, section 1.

qualifying word ‘white,’ it intended to exclude from the privilege of citizenship all alien races except the Caucasian.”³³ Nearly thirty years later in 1922, Takao Ozawa was also denied citizenship.³⁴ Ozawa, who had lived in Hawaii for most of his life, had attended high school in Southern California, had children who were U.S. citizens, and according to his testimony only spoke English in his household. None of this convinced the judge, however, who came to the conclusion “that the words ‘white person’ are synonymous with the words ‘a white person of the Caucasian race’” and thus denied Ozawa’s petition for naturalization.³⁵

The loophole denying naturalization to Japanese immigrants was not supported by everyone within the government though. Theodore Roosevelt did not believe that the right of citizenship should be based on race. In 1906, he wrote a message to Congress, in which he stated: “I ask for fair treatment of the Japanese as I would ask fair treatment for Germans or Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, or Italians. [...] I recommend to Congress that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens.”³⁶

A cartoon strip written and drawn by Henry “Yoshitaki” Kiyama, an immigrant to San Francisco, satirized the plight of the Japanese in America. Lost for fifty years, Kiyama’s work was found in 1980 by Frederik L. Schodt while researching Japanese comics at the University of California Library. Although the work was bilingual, much of it still had to be translated by Schodt. The episodes reprinted in this collection reveal

³³ *Saito vs. United States*, 62 Fed. 126 (June 27, 1894).

³⁴ *Ozawa vs. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (November 13, 1922).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Theodore Roosevelt to Congress (message, December 3, 1906) in *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, edited by Eliot Grinnell Mears, 438–42 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928; New York: Arno Press, 1978), 441, citations are to the 1978 edition.

the hardship of four immigrant men as they try to assimilate and to adapt to American life. They struggle for the American dream of financial and emotional success within a world that discriminated against their very attempts to accomplish what many in society felt Asians were incapable of obtaining. Kiyama satirizes the sorrowful plight of the Japanese immigrants as they maneuvered through the daily hypocrisies of early twentieth century American society.

One strip shows a young Japanese man named Charlie, who is eager to gain U.S. citizenship and excited about defending his adopted country (see Photo B.1). He participates in the First World War by fighting for the United States. He hopes that he will be able to use this as leverage to obtain naturalization just as Mr. Bessho attempted. Unfortunately, once he returns from war, the strip shows him standing before a judge, who states: “Um! Not for Orientals yet.”³⁷ A moment later he is standing with his friend outside the House of Congress with his arms folded tightly and a distraught look upon his face. He says: “After that, I feel like a real idiot...”³⁸ Kiyama’s work pokes fun at the discriminatory environment present at the time of Mr. Bessho’s failed naturalization attempt. Charlie’s upset expression mirrors the down-trodden attitude of a group of people who wanted recognition and fair treatment.

In another episode, Frank—also one of Kiyama’s characters, muses about the difficulty of finding a Japanese bride. In the early part of the twentieth century, a huge gender discrepancy existed within the United States between the numbers of Japanese

³⁷ Henry “Yoshitaka” Kiyama, *The Four Immigrants Manga: A Japanese Experience in San Francisco, 1904–1924* translation and notes by Frederik L. Schodt (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1999), 119, originally published as *Manga Yonin Shosei* (San Francisco: Yoshitaka Kiyama Studio, 1931).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

males and females.³⁹ The Gentleman's Agreement decreased temporary migrant numbers while increasing immigrant numbers. After a few slow years, 1911 saw an increase again in Japanese immigration due to the many wives and children who joined their husbands and fathers on the west coast. As the early twentieth century continued, the ratio between male and female immigration began to shrink. In 1900, around 2,369 males for every 100 females, while in 1910, 694 males for every 100 females immigrated. In 1920, the ratio between males and females had shrunk to a 189 males for every 100 females.⁴⁰

Another episode of Kiyama's comic depicts Frank dreaming of wealth and women. Panel seven shows him with a woman on each arm, one of which happens to be white. In this episode, he dreams of owning his own business, dating various women, and driving a fancy car. The dream ends with him and the young women in the car going over a cliff (see Photo B.2). In reality, the next box shows him knocking a large potted plant onto his head, soaking himself and the bed in the process with the water from the vase. He exclaims: "Drat!! It was all a dream!!"⁴¹ This final caption captures the plight of a male Japanese immigrant in all his down-trodden glory. With water and flowers soaking his head, Frank comes to the uneasy realization that all male Japanese immigrants had to come to: the American dream depicted while he slept was nothing more than a pipe dream. At the time, Frank would find it very difficult to own his own store because of the California land laws. Outside of Frank's imaginary shoe store, people of all races line up to make their purchases, when in reality white people would

³⁹ Ibid., 145.

⁴⁰ David J. O'Brien & Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience*, 32.

⁴¹ Henry "Yoshitaka" Kiyama, *The Four Immigrants Manga*, 67.

not have frequented a Japanese immigrant store let alone in such vast numbers, and the prospect of dating a white woman was extremely frowned upon, and marriage between an Asian male and a white woman was nearly illegal because of the Cable Act of 1922. This Act stated that: “any woman citizen who marries an alien ineligible to citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of the United States.”⁴² Although the law does not explicitly mention Japanese males, it was ultimately created and used to discriminate against the Japanese and other Asians who were the only racial group not eligible for naturalization.

Kiyama’s cartoon shows that Japanese immigrants were aware of the futility of their desire for a better life in the United States because of the federal laws attempting to keep them from migrating here in the first place. His comics also reveal the strong desire of the Japanese immigrants to Americanize. Just like many other immigrants who had traveled to this country, they had dreamed of a better life. The Federal government denied them this reality, and no matter how much they assimilated, white America viewed them as unassimilable aliens. Because of their racial, ethnic, and citizenship ties to Japan, many felt that those individuals of Japanese ancestry could never truly become Americans, and thus rejected their requests for citizenship until 1952 when the country changed its naturalization laws to allow first generation Japanese immigrants to obtain naturalized status.

It would take nearly fifty years from the signing of the Gentleman’s Agreement before Japanese immigrants could become citizens. In that time, the *Issei* and *Nisei* already within the United States experienced many social inequalities and discriminatory tactics by the state of California and its white population. The next chapter will deal

⁴² *Cable Act of 1922*, 42 Stat. 1021 (September 22, 1922), 1021.

directly with these policies and their affects upon the Japanese immigrants and their children.

Chapter 3: Nativism and the Exclusion of Social Equality

On the shores of the Pacific the white man, at first curiously noticing the incoming advance-guard of the Asiatic races, soon took genuine alarm at the thought that untold millions of these people might domicile themselves with us, introducing to our people dangerous forms of vice and creating a labor situation which it was feared would banish the white laborer from the coast.¹

Albert G. Burnett, 1909

Educational Segregation and Labor Contracts

Albert G. Burnett, Associate Justice of the Third District Court of Appeals of Sacramento, California, like many other white Californians feared that Japanese culture might negatively influence American culture and that the Japanese immigrants represented the creation of labor competition within their state. These factors along with the racial reasons mentioned earlier in this thesis drove California's state government to seek social exclusionary policy very similar at times to the racial inequality experienced by blacks in the American south. This chapter covers inequalities in land ownership, segregation of the California school system, and exclusion in the workplace.

In 1918, Madison Grant, the Chairman of the New York Zoological Society; Trustee of the American Museum of Natural History; and Councilor of the American Geographical Society, wrote about racial threats to the white European race—or what he calls “the Great Race.” Grant, a eugenicist, was a member of a group called the Internationalists. Comprised of businessmen, educational theorists, publishers, and government officials, this group worked to maintain world peace with democratic and

¹ Albert G. Burnett, “Misunderstanding of Eastern and Western States Regarding Oriental Immigration,” in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34, no. 2, 37–41 (September 1909), 37.

capitalistic schemes. The group's belief in the genetic differences of the world's races supported many of their goals. Grant, also a lawyer and core member of this group, felt that the human race was divided into smaller subcategories that could be distinguished by studying physical characteristics (i.e. craniology) and cultural attributes. He contended that cultural and geographic locations influenced one's racial characteristics. In his writing, he used the report of an anthropological expert from the Congressional Immigration Commission that had discussed instances that he felt confirmed his argument:

That a round skull Jew on his way across the Atlantic might and did have a round skull child but a few years later, in response to the subtle elixir of American institutions as exemplified in an East Side tenement, might and did have a child whose skull was appreciably longer; and that a long skull south Italian, breeding freely, would have precisely the same experience in the reverse direction. In other words the Melting Pot was acting instantly under the influence of a changed environment.²

Grant also mentioned that during colonial times, having a large family was an asset to immigrants as they struggled with the burdens of social establishment. He said that after time and material prosperity, large families became a burden instead of an aid to the familial structure. Larger families meant more to support, more to educate, and more to prepare for the future. When new immigrants come to the United States, they harbor the old concept of maintaining large family units. Rogers M. Smith writes that at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, American society "crossed the watershed between a largely agrarian society of small family farms and a new manufacturing society of large corporations and masses of workers."³ He believes that the industrial growth of this time strengthened America's enlightenment faith in scientific

² Madison Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*, 17.

³ Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 349.

growth with new technologies and scientific understanding of the natural world. The study of eugenics fit perfectly into America's interest in race and the social sciences. Smith claims that America's industrialization also created severe social inequalities. As the industrial growth spawned huge urban areas with powerful corporations, immigration to these areas increased heavily and threatened the cultural homogeneity of the country, thereby influencing nativism and eventually civic inequalities. Racial and cultural groups with little to no previous contact now lived and worked together in small, but ever increasing urban areas or as labor on large corporate farms. Competition between racial groups, which had never been of a high concern for small self-sustaining family owned farms, now influenced public opinion.

Grant warns that as one racial group surpasses another in population numbers as a result of immigration and reproduction the process of replacement begins to occur.⁴ He considers this not in cultural adaptive terms but instead as a Social Darwinist struggle where the group with lower birth rates is slowly replaced by the new majority. In California, the fear existed that the increase of Japanese immigrant families was changing the demographic composition within the state. Some Americans feared that immigrant children would negatively influence the culture and attitude of white American children. Denis Kearney, a leader in the Populist Party of California, stated that, "We are paying out money for the purpose of allowing fully developed men who know no morals but vice to sit beside our sons and daughters in our public schools that they may help to debauch,

⁴ Ibid., 46-7.

demoralize, and teach them the vices which are the customs of the country whence they came.”⁵ Kearney is referring to older Japanese who attended public schools.⁶

Pushed by the Asiatic Exclusion League and other interest groups, in May 1905, the San Francisco School Board announced a policy of segregation of all Japanese American school children from all white schools. These children were then congregated into a single Oriental school. It was hoped that separating the children would stop the negative influence the Asian children might have had on their white counterparts.

Yamato Ichihashi writes that many white Californians feared that “the presence of young Japanese boys in school would inevitably result in importing immorality to young American girls.”⁷ At the time, 93 students of Japanese descent were enrolled in 23 public schools in the San Francisco area, and 25 of these students were American citizens.⁸ E.

A. Hayes, a California member of the House of Representatives, stated in March of 1906 that “the Japanese people do not understand the meaning of the word ‘morality.’”⁹

Nativists feared that the Japanese youth with their presumed lack of morals and negative cultural influences would affect white school children. By December of 1906, the San Francisco School Board began barring Japanese children from public schools. Enraged over the unfair treatment of the Japanese immigrants, the Japanese citizenry requested that their nation’s government request that the United States end this discriminatory

⁵ Denis Kearney, *Sacramento Records Union* (July 7, 1892) quoted in *California Nativism: Organized Opposition to the Japanese 1890–1913* (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1973), 2.

⁶ See “Japanese Barred from Schools Are Men,” in *The New York Times* (October 29, 1906), young uneducated Japanese men attended San Francisco schools to learn English and get an education. Not all Japanese attending public schools were young adults, though, many were school age children.

⁷ Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 239.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 238.

⁹ E. A. Hayes, “Japanese Traits,” (speech, House of Representatives, March 13, 1906) in *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and their Children*, Yamato Ichihashi, 239 (New York: Arno Press, 1969. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), citations are to the 1969 edition.

policy. The Japanese government began to pressure President Roosevelt, who sent Secretary of the Navy Victor H. Metcalf to assess the situation in San Francisco. Metcalf reported that there was support for reintegrating the school system. Roosevelt then met with San Francisco municipal officers and convinced them to reintegrate the city's public school system. He assured them that he could come to a compromise with Japan regarding labor issues if they began the reintegration process.¹⁰ By March 13, 1907, San Francisco had rescinded the segregation of Japanese school children, and Roosevelt began the talks with Japan that would directly lead to the creation of the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908.

H.A. Millis, a Professor of Economics at the University of Kansas, was hired to investigate the so-called "Japanese Problem" for the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in American. He found that the labor and ethnic competition, or at least the perception of these things, led to a great deal of Japanese discrimination. He believed that Americans took pride in their capitalistic ambitions, but when other races showed this same characteristic, they grew angry and found it to be an undesirable quality.¹¹ Millis also believed that naturalization laws should be changed to include all races, and he concluded that much of the concerns for the assimilation of Japanese immigrants to be inconclusive, depending entirely on the individual immigrant.

For decades labor contractors had traveled to Asia in search of inexpensive laborers. As stated earlier, the Chinese Exclusion Act stopped the use of Chinese labor and left an opening for Japanese workers. As outlined by the 1901 Industrial Commission on Immigration, these organizations maintained contacts with labor

¹⁰ Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 239–44.

¹¹ H.A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, 246.

companies in Japan and openly recruited workers to the U.S. The Commission reports that 80% of all Japanese who migrated to the U.S. listed themselves as farmers. The wages of a farm hand in Japan was 3 to 4 yen per month (the equivalent of \$1.50 USD) and did not include room or board or perks provided by the labor companies.¹² The recruited individuals were required to take care of all the necessary paperwork and expenditures as well as the \$30 landing fee required by Immigration. It was reported that every one of the migrants had exactly this amount in his pocket. The Commission speculated later in the report that these funds must have been provided by the contractors.¹³ Although this violated various labor regulations, the commission was not able to find proof of these underhanded tactics. To avoid immigration laws, some companies even resorted to smuggling workers into the U.S. through Canada and Mexico.

Most labor contracts expired after three year periods, which allowed workers to return to Japan. After analyzing pay scales for various labor companies, the Commission found that the average worker made around \$0.60 to \$0.70 a day—quite a bit more than the \$1.50 a month they earned in Japan but still less than white laborers, who were represented by unions.¹⁴ The Commission also mentions the increase in white arrests in the areas where high amounts of Japanese labor resided. Apparently, it was felt that white drunkenness, vagrancy, and burglary were a response to joblessness and to their “hopeless defeat in the unequal struggle with their Asiatic competitors.”¹⁵ P.H.

McCarthy stated in the same report that he felt that labor contractors were content to

¹² Industrial Commission, *Reports of the Industrial Commission Immigration* 15, 756.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 758.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 757.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 758.

direct “their white help in the same manner, placing them on a level with coolie labor. [...] I have known some of the most honest and best citizens of the United States who, in order to accept the labor offered them, were compelled to live on a level with Chinamen and Japanese. They are thus driven to be tramps and hoboes.”¹⁶ His statement referred to an earlier comment mentioned in the report, where the committee discussed the fact that whenever Japanese migrants worked in an area, white laborers chose to leave their jobs rather than work side by side with and receive comparable wages to Asian laborers.¹⁷ Chester Rowell mentions that whenever Japanese immigrants moved into housing districts, white Americans vacated the area, thereby allowing an increase of Japanese immigrants into white neighborhoods. They feared that the flood of Japanese immigrants into an area had forced white Americans out of their homes.¹⁸ Cleveland L. Dam stated in the Industrial Commission’s Report on Immigration that “the influx of Japanese cannot be considered otherwise than a serious menace to the welfare of white labor in our state.”¹⁹

President Theodore Roosevelt was aware of the regional concern over coolie labor replacing white workers. Once he got San Francisco to agree to the reintegration of their school system, he set out to create a compromise with Japan that would include restriction of labor migration of Japanese citizens. Even though Japan had restricted laborers from migrating, contractors still brought workers to the U.S. Roosevelt did not want a law that completely restricted Japanese immigration to the United States similar to

¹⁶ P.H. McCarthy, “Affidavit of Mr. P.H. McCarthy,” in *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration* 15, 801–2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 801.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 801.

¹⁸ Chester H. Rowell, “Chinese and Japanese Immigrants,” 8.

¹⁹ Cleveland L. Dam, “Affidavit of Mr. Cleveland L. Dam,” 768.

the Chinese Exclusion Act. Japan's growing imperialist power in the Pacific made them a possible threat to U.S. growth in the area. By 1900, the U.S. had annexed Hawaii and colonized Guam and the Philippines. Roosevelt believed that it was in the best interest of both countries to come to a compromise that would allow the U.S. to stop contractors from using Japanese workers without insulting the Japanese government. In 1908, Roosevelt drafted the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan, which only halted the migration of male Japanese laborers, and established a peaceful resolution for both countries. The agreement, as discussed in a report by the Commissioner General of Immigration, stated: "This understanding contemplates that the Japanese government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-laborers or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there."²⁰ The law still allowed for the immigration of families to the United States, and in the end only temporarily appeased the Californian populace, who eventually realized that the treaty unknowingly encouraged increased Japanese immigration to their state. The Japanese immigrant community had originally consisted predominantly of male laborers—many of whom had originally intended to return to Japan. Contract workers already present in the United States were not forced to leave the country, and since they could no longer travel freely between the two nations, many sent for their families back in Japan to join them in the U.S.

²⁰ Immigration Commission, Commissioner-General of Immigration, *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration: Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1908*, report compiled by A. Warner Parker (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908), 125.

The Gentleman's Agreement did slow migration numbers into the United States. In 1908 before the Agreement went into affect, 9,544 Japanese came to the United States, while 4,796 traveled back to Japan. The following year only 2,432 Japanese came to this country, while 5,004 returned to Japan.²¹ Each subsequent year, smaller numbers migrated to the U.S. These numbers were either equivalent to or less than the number of Japanese citizens returning to Japan.²² By 1913, the numbers had once again reversed as more Japanese immigrated to the U.S. (6,771) than returned to Japan (5,647). The six year totals after the Agreement, reveal that the Gentleman's Agreement curbed Japanese migration to the country. Although Japanese citizens still immigrate to the United States, statics show that a difference of only 792 more individuals returned to Japan than entered the U.S., revealing that as the labor contracts expired these individuals were replaced by individuals who intended to establish residence in the U.S.

Japanese Immigrants in the Work Place

The Gentleman's Agreement did not completely stop Japanese immigration to California, and although it reduced migration caused by contract labor, it still did not protect white workers and farmers from labor competition with the Japanese immigrants in the way that many Californians would have preferred. Because of the Agreement, labor and economic competition, which had originally been concentrated in the area of manual labor, spread to other job markets.

²¹ H.A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, 18.

²² See Masao Suzuki, "Success Story? Japanese Immigrants Economic Achievement and Return Migration, 1920–1930," in *The Journal of Economic History* 55, no. 4, 889–901 (December 1995) for a discussion of Japanese repatriation to Japan.

Yuji Ichioka writes that Abiko Kyutaro, a Japanese immigrant leader and publisher of the Japanese paper *Nichibei Shimbun* felt that the *dekasegi* ideal acted as an obstacle to the establishment of a stable Japanese community in the United States, and that it lay at the heart of the many unsavory features attributed to Japanese migrant life. “During the anti-Japanese exclusion movement, he exhorted his countrymen to abandon the *dekasegi* ideal. As his solution to the exclusion question, he formulated an ideal of permanent settlement and persuaded many immigrants to adopt it, thereby laying the real foundations of Japanese immigrant society.”²³ Abiko reasoned that racial and economic competitions helped aid the creation of exclusionary policy, but he argued that the underlying problem was that Americans were ignorant of Japan and Japanese immigrants. By fostering respect toward cherished American customs, Japanese immigrants would be participating in America’s growth as a nation.²⁴ Japanese immigrants were encouraged to create permanent and stable family units. As the number of immigrant families increased and communities were created, many Japanese purchased farmland or started their own businesses.

While most Japanese men originally migrated for labor jobs predominantly in rural areas, large numbers of workers began to move to Californian cities in search of urban occupations. Contrary to popular opinion, not all Japanese immigrants wanted labor or farm work. For those who sought urban and industrial work, the completion of their labor contracts allowed them to follow their own calling. It is true that the largest majority of Japanese immigrants did agricultural work. In 1910, only 38.7% of the Japanese in California lived in urban areas. This number actually went down slightly by

²³ Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei*, 146.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 147.

1920, when 37.8% lived in Californian cities. In 1930, the percentage of Japanese immigrants living in urban locations increased to 43.8%.²⁵

Farming was a job highly regarded in Japan, and even the implementation of the Gentleman's Agreement did not quickly equalize the number of Japanese immigrants living in rural versus urban areas. The Industrial Commission estimated in 1909 that 39,000 Japanese were employed in some form of agricultural occupation (farmers, gardeners, poultry and cattle raisers, and other types of farm labor), while in 1920, the census reported that 25,657 were engaged in agricultural work.²⁶ Japanese immigrant involvement in agriculture fell, and equalization slowly occurred between rural and urban work as Japanese immigrant involvement in city trades saw an increase over a twenty year period from the advent of the Gentleman's agreement to the end of the 1920's. In 1909, it was reported by the Immigration Commission that there were 315 Japanese owned stores, selling a wide range of goods from food products to flowers and from florists to shoe stores. Twenty years later in 1929, that number slightly increased to 328. In 1909, there were 203 Japanese owned personal service shops such as barbers, laundries, and hotels. By 1929, that number grew to 250.²⁷

Contract labor acted as an opportunity for obtaining the funds they would later use to help their families back home, bring their families to the U.S., to begin their own businesses, or to purchase the land necessary to start their own farms. Another option for Japanese immigrants seeking to purchase farmland or start businesses was an

²⁵ Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

organizational system of rotating credit called *tanomoshi*.²⁸ A group of individuals and families regularly contributed to a community savings account. Every individual who had contributed to the pot would, at one time, have a chance to use the money to fund these projects. The *tanomoshi* required a great deal of individual trust in one's community and family honor.²⁹

As O'Brien and Fugita describe: "The Japanese were quite well educated for immigrants and thus often recognized when they were being exploited. When they felt they were being mistreated, they frequently struck or left for other work."³⁰ The Japanese even helped to organize other ethnic communities against unfair work practices and wages. In 1936, the Japanese immigrant community found themselves on both sides of the fair labor issue. Japanese, Mexican, and Filipino celery pickers fought against the celery growers in the Venice, California area (many of which were actually Japanese farmers). The Southern California Farm Federation, a group started by Japanese immigrant growers, rejected the wage demands of the strikers. As the strike rapidly spread through the area, the Japanese growers received support from the Japanese consulate and even the L.A. County Sheriff's department and Immigration Services. The JACL endorsed the growers, because the strike was felt to be a detriment to the community.³¹

²⁸ David J. O'Brien & Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience*, 27.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

The California Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920

The fear of economic competition with the Japanese immigrants focused a great deal on a presumed agricultural competition between farmers of Japanese ancestry and native white farmers. In 1914, author Charles Wallace Collins stated in the *Yale Law Journal* that, “Californians feel very strongly that there can be no efficient cooperation between Japanese and Americans. And seeing the possibility of a greater increase of Japanese immigration, they have fears for the future.”³² Although Collins discussed the Alien Land Laws, he asserted that in the eyes of many Californians, the heart of the competition did not lie with economics but with race. The “cooperation” that he referred to was between the two races not just those who owned farms.

In 1915, H.A. Millis reported that the Japanese owned a very small amount of the good land in California, except in the case of various types of berries and potatoes.³³ Japanese immigrant farmers produced 7,875, 905 quarts of strawberries on 2,223 acres of land and produced 1,966,690 potatoes on 10,227 acres of land. In the Vaca Valley, they either leased or owned nearly half the land devoted to fruits. According to the 1910 Immigration Commission there were 531 Japanese leased or owned farms for a total of 6,173 acres of land in the Los Angeles area. There were 79 large farms in the San Joaquin area with nearly 12,730 acres of total land.³⁴ Millis also deduced that although there were some large owned and leased properties, most Japanese immigrant farms were no more than 9 acres.³⁵

³² Charles Wallace Collins, “Will the California Alien Land Law Stand the Test of the Fourteenth Amendment?” in *The Yale Law Journal* 23, no. 4, 330–8 (February 1914), 331.

³³ H.A. Millis, *Japanese Problem in the United States*, 134.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.

In their article about the California Alien Land Laws, Brian J. Gaines and Wendy K. Tam Cho discuss how the Gentleman's Agreement, which "merely slowed the rate of new Japanese arrivals, was not sufficient to remedy the 'Japanese problem' in the eyes of the many Californians who were keen, not only to discourage new immigration, but also to drive away the Japanese problem already in the state."³⁶ The competition for farmland and markets led to the creation of various discriminatory bills meant to keep the Japanese from agricultural pursuits. In 1907, the first law meant to restrict farmland ownership by Asians was eventually defeated in the California State Assembly. A bill to once again segregate the California school system was the only law to make it through the system in 1909, but after renewed pressures from President Roosevelt, the Assembly stopped the law when it went up for reconsideration. Republican Presidential support aided the defeat of discriminatory laws against the Japanese immigrants and their children, but in 1912 a shift in the political distribution of power within California shifted the majority control from the Republicans to the Democrats. The Californian Democrats had obtained power by utilizing a platform arguing for Japanese exclusion and segregation.³⁷

White farmers with limited land ownership supported this legislation in the hopes of destroying even the possibility of economic competition, while owners of large farmland areas actually fought against the creation of land restrictions for Japanese immigrants. They had found that it was more profitable to lease their land or sell it at a higher rate to immigrants than to cultivate it themselves. The change in the political party majority in California, however, provided supporters of land regulation the opening they needed. In 1913 California passed the Alien Land Law, or as it is also known, the

³⁶ Brian J. Gaines & Wendy K. Tam Cho, "On California's 1920 Alien Land Law," 277.

³⁷ Ibid., 275.

Webb-Haney Bill. This law stipulated that only aliens eligible for citizenship could own, purchase, or inherit property and that those immigrants not eligible for citizenship could only lease lands for three-year increments and only for agricultural purposes.³⁸ The law did not specifically mention Asian immigrants, but was created with the intent to deny land ownership to the Japanese immigrants, who were the largest immigrant group not eligible for citizenship in the state of California. During the California Supreme Court trial over the estate and guardianship of Tetsubumi Yano, the Judges concluded:

This law [referring to the California Alien Land Law of 1913 and its 1920 amendment] is general in terms. It is not confined to citizens in its application, but purports to confer the right upon all residents regardless of citizenship. [...] This restriction is not put upon a citizen of any country whose citizens are eligible to citizenship here, nor upon any other class of residents of this state who are not citizens thereof. It is clearly a discrimination against citizens of Japan residing in this state.³⁹

It is true that the Japanese could lease land for three year periods, thereby allowing them to still work, but the reality remained that they could not own the land they farmed. Those individuals who did own property were forced to sell their land, or give it to their American-born children.

Gaines and Tam Cho argue that the 1913 Alien Land Law turned out to be toothless.⁴⁰ The *Issei* farmers found a loop-hole within the land law's stipulations that had been neglected. They could not own the land, but their children, who had gained citizenship by being born on U.S. soil, could. The *Issei* simply signed over ownership of their property to their *Nisei* children. This circumvention of the law only agitated racial

³⁸ *California Alien Land Law of 1913*, 40 Cal. Stat. 206 (May 19, 1913), 207.

³⁹ *Yano vs. State of California*, 188 Cal. Stat. 645 (Supreme Court of California 1922).

⁴⁰ Brian J. Gaines & Wendy K. Tam Cho, "On California's 1920 Alien Land Law," 275.

animosity toward the Japanese and encouraged the pre-existing racial profile of the Japanese as underhanded and untruthful.⁴¹

Seven years later, in 1920, the state of California attempted to solve the agricultural competition problem for the final time. An amendment to the 1913 Land Law passed through the state government. Section four of this amendment stated that immigrants not eligible for citizenship or companies ran by individuals not eligible for citizenship could not be appointed the guardian of land owned by a citizen of the United States (i.e. their American born children) nor could they enjoy any of the profits attributed to the property.⁴² The law also stipulated that a public administrator in the appropriate county would be appointed guardian of any land owned by a minor citizen whose parents were ineligible for naturalization.”⁴³ The courts had the right to remove the parents as legal guardians of the child’s land, while section six of the amendment allowed the state government to seize the child’s property in case of death and sell it.

In May of 1922, the estate guardianship of Tetsubumi Yano, a minor, went to trial. Yano, a fourteen year old girl, had held the ownership of her family’s farm land since the age of two. The case of Yano’s ownership of the land went to the California Supreme Court, where her parents petitioned the right to guardianship of their daughter and the land under her name by arguing that their removal went against the Fourteenth Amendment to the American Constitution.

⁴¹ See statement by the Collector of Customs for San Francisco, California, J.P. Jackson, “Affidavit of J.P. Jackson,” in *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration* 15, 795–7 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901) for his description of why the Japanese could not be trusted.

⁴² *California Alien Land Law of 1913, Amendment* (November 2, 1920), section 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, section 4.

The Fourteenth Amendment, however, did not take away or supersede state powers. Each individual state still retained the right to make decisions according to their own discretion.⁴⁴ This allowed the state of California to enact restrictive laws against Japanese immigrants. It was argued in *Terrace vs. Thompson* that the rights of aliens differed from that of citizens, thus allowing for exceptions to be made in regards to the protections guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment.⁴⁵

The court agreed that the code of Civil Procedures (section 197) supported Hayao Yano's (Tetsubumi's father) parental guardianship rights of his biological daughter, and that the court could find no evidence of "incompetency."⁴⁶ The court concluded, however, that Japanese immigrants were the only group who had attempted to evade the 1913 Land Law, and that the only reason for Yano's daughter to hold the title to the land, was "to evade the laws of the state of California."⁴⁷ Hayao admitted "that he had the land deeded to his infant daughter because he was Japanese and could not take the title himself; that his baby was a citizen of the United States and that he had the land conveyed to her for that reason alone."⁴⁸ The court upheld Hayao's request for guardianship of his daughter, but they argued that his right to guardianship did not transfer to the land under Tetsubumi's name since it is property. It stated that his eligibility for guardianship of his child did not guarantee "a right of property."⁴⁹ It pertained exclusively to the person. The court contended that individuals ineligible for citizenship had grown to proportions constituting a class within the state of California,

⁴⁴ Eliot Grinnell Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1928; New York: Arno Press, 1978), citations are to the 1978 edition, 86.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁶ *Yano vs. State of California*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

allowing the state to “to enact peculiar legislation depriving them of rights or privileges which are accorded to others not of that class,” therefore nullifying the Fourteenth Amendment’s decree.⁵⁰ The Yano family retained guardianship of the land under Tetsubumi’s name, but with the stipulation that, although Tetsubumi's parents were allowed to work the land, they would not be considered its true guardian, and therefore made them ineligible to enjoy any of its profits. They had to provide receipts from the farming operation to verify that all profits went to the child and the child alone. It was also stated that if Tetsubumi should pass away, upon her death, the land would be sold with the profits from the sale going elsewhere.

Woodrow Wilson and his Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan supported state rights to govern themselves and enact laws for their own well-being. Wilson though, did not agree with the California Land Laws and dispatched Bryan to the area to report back to him with any recommendations for the situation. Bryan recommended to President Wilson that forcibly removing the Japanese immigrants from the West Coast might alleviate the tensions in the area. In a conversation with Wilson about the forced disbursement of the Japanese, the President rejected Bryan’s proposal, fearing that his solution would only spread the problem throughout the country.⁵¹

The land laws did not cause a sharp decrease in Japanese land ownership as the Japanese found ways around the land laws. Yuji Ichioka shows in his article on how the Japanese responded to the California Alien Land Laws that land ownership actually increased from 26,707 acres in 1913 to 74,769 acres in 1920 and did not decrease until

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Paolo E. Coletta, “The Most Thankless Task: Bryan and the California Alien Land Legislation,” in *Asian Americans and the Law: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Charles McClain, 145–69 (Berkeley: Garland Press, 1994).

thereafter. By 1925, the amount of acres owned decreased to 41,898 but still remained above the amount owned in 1913, when the first California Land Law was passed. Even though land ownership did decrease, the amount of land share-leased increased from 50,495 in 1913 to 76,397 acres. 1925 also saw a sharp decrease in the total number of acres farmed by individuals of Japanese ancestry as many left agriculture for more urban occupations.⁵²

The Immigration Act of 1924 stopped a great deal of the nativist concerns toward Japanese immigration to the United States. Originally legislated in 1921, it took nearly ten years “before permanent immigration quotas were implemented. The intervening years were filled with contention and difficulty as Congress debated the design of a new system, [which] would codify certain values and judgments about the sources of immigration, the desired makeup of the nation, and the requirements of citizenship.”⁵³ The 1924 Act set limits based on an immigrant’s national origin and assumed ability to Americanize. It limited immigration into the U.S. to 155,000 a year and excluded all persons not eligible for citizenship.⁵⁴ It stipulated that only white people living in Japan could immigrate to the U.S. and only a 100 individuals each year. By not allowing the Japanese to immigrate it preserved white population statistics. Mae M. Ngai argues that “the national origins quota system proceeded from the conviction that the American nation was, and should remain, a white nation descended from Europe. If Congress did not go so far as to sponsor race breeding, it did seek to transform immigration law into an

⁵² See Yuji Ichioka, “Japanese Immigrant Response to the 1920 California Alien Land Law,” *Agricultural History* 58, no. 2, 157–78 (April 1984) for data.

⁵³ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

instrument of mass racial engineering.”⁵⁵ Nativists were keenly aware of Japan’s power in the Pacific, and many did not argue that the Japanese were racially inferior like they did with the Chinese.⁵⁶ Japan’s imperialist growth throughout Asia and in the Pacific caused political, national, and imperialist conflicts with the United States during the 1930’s culminating in the entrance of the U.S. into the Second World War. The fourth chapter will cover the conflicts between the two countries during the 1930’s. It will also explore the loss of freedom for the Japanese immigrants and their children as they dealt with the increase in nativist doctrine, which eventually grew to encompass not just the West Coast but the entire American nation, providing support for nationalist ideals during the Second World War.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 40.

Chapter 4: Nativism and the Exclusion of Freedom

The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation. [...] I believe I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger. With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.¹

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1941

In the Decade Prior to the Attack on Pearl Harbor

In the early twentieth century, the Empire of Japan was isolated to its original island chain and had to look beyond its national borders to supplement its limited natural resources. Japan's imperialist goals made the acquisition of outside territories and the occupation of other less-established countries a necessity. Just like the United States and many European nations, Japan chose to spread further into the Pacific area and into China, thereby attaining natural resources such as oil and metals not readily available within their home country. Western powers viewed China, its large population, and its many natural resources as a center for commercial growth. Because of this, the United States and Europe instituted an open-door policy, which allowed countries the freedom to pursue their own interests in the country without fighting over the territory or the spoils like they had in Africa. It also provided the Chinese people with protection from an invasion which would threaten the economic interests of the other countries doing business in China.

¹ Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Infamy Speech," (speech, Capital Building, joint session of Congress, Washington, DC, December 8, 1941).

With the world economies left stagnant during the 1930's nothing could be done about Japan's further conquest of the Chinese mainland. While the rest of the world, felt the constraints of the global depression, Japan's unemployment numbered 500,000, one-tenth that of Germany and one-twentieth that of the United States. By 1935, the Japanese national income had climbed to historic levels.² Although Japanese exports had grown to record highs, the country's imports still out-weighed the number of exports. Japanese expansion evened out the discrepancy between the imports and exports and gained social support for the country's imperialistic aims. This horrified other countries—mainly the U.S.—which had become a power in the Pacific with its military bases in the Philippines and Hawaii and its imports to China. By 1937, Japan had conquered much of Manchuria and had begun a full-scale invasion of China, causing Secretary of State Henry Stimson to decree that the United States would not recognize further Japanese expansion.³

President Franklin D. Roosevelt did not want a war with Japan, but many within the United States government began to see it as an extreme probability. The two nations had been in talks for years to try to resolve the disputes over rights to trade and territory in China. By 1941, Japan had become allied with Germany and Italy, and all attempts at a peaceful resolution to the problems in the Pacific had failed. In July 1941, Roosevelt decided to freeze Japanese assets in the U.S. and to discontinue the export of high-grade aviation gasoline important to the Japanese air force. Misinterpreting this act by Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson cut off all oil exports to Japan and virtually set in motion the events leading to the Japanese attack on December 7, 1941.

² Ibid., 174.

³ Raymond F. Wylie & Paul Gordon Lauren, "U.S.-Japanese Relations: From the Past to the Present," in *Destinies Shared: U.S.- Japanese Relations*, edited by Raymond F. Wylie & Paul Gordon Lauren, 17–26 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 21.

On December 8, 1941, the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke to a confused American people who were saddened, angry, and curious as to how an attack of that magnitude could have ever happened. Fear and frustration ran rampant through a country that usually wished to avoid international conflict. Only twenty years had passed since the end of the First World War, and the Congressional denial of President Wilson's request to join the League of Nations. In a June 1941 survey, seventy-nine percent of Americans stated that they wanted the country to stay out of the war in Europe. Less than a day after the attack on Pearl Harbor though, the majority of isolationist support had completely disappeared. Congress took only thirty-three minutes to vote on whether or not the country should go to war with Japan. The vote was 82-0 in the Senate and 388-1 in the House.⁴ Ronald Takaki writes:

For years, Roosevelt had been struggling against the isolationist tide in order to prepare the United States for what he considered an unavoidable war against Nazi Germany [...] Later Roosevelt admitted to Winston Churchill that if it had not been for Pearl Harbor, he would have had a 'great difficulty in getting the American people into the war.' The President told his aid Harry Hopkins that the issue had been taken 'entirely out of his hands, because the Japanese had made the decision for him.' Hopkins recalled Roosevelt's great relief: 'In spite of the disaster at Pearl Harbor...it completely solidified the American people and made the war upon Japan inevitable.'⁵

Roosevelt accused Japan of hypocritically planning to attack the United States while working for peace. In his address to the American people the day after the attack, he stated: "It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the

⁴ Gordon W. Prange, Donald M. Goldstein & Katherine V. Dillon, *December 7, 1941: The Day the Japanese Attacked Pearl Harbor* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988), 393.

⁵ Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory*, 14.

intervening time the Japanese government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.”⁶ While many individuals within the U.S. government worked tirelessly for peace, many high ranking political and military figures within the U.S. were also planning for war. A topic of concern was the formulation of a strategy to combat any internal conflicts perpetrated by anyone with Japanese ancestry.

Defining the “Other”

The attack on Pearl Harbor encouraged the advancement of nativist concern from regional fears concentrated on the West Coast of the United States and upped them to national levels. Like nativists, nationalists fear for the survival of the country. As fear and frustration spread throughout the country after Pearl Harbor, nationalist zeal incorporated the nativist concerns toward the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. During the Second World War, nativists became less concerned with the economic and cultural implications of the Japanese on the coast, and instead concentrated on the national and racial significance of their presence within the country during a time of war.

To a nationalist, the nation in its entirety is a perfect representation of the racial, ethnic, cultural, political, economic, and social fabric of the insular community spirit. For a nation state to survive, nationalism requires complete and utter support from the general population. By the time it has grown beyond just the government, it becomes

⁶ Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Infamy Speech.”

what Ernest Gellner calls “nationalist sentiment.”⁷ Nationalism views its existence “as a natural and universal ordering of the political life of mankind.”⁸ One can see hints of this belief in the blind support of the federal and state laws enacted during the first forty years of the twentieth century meant to segregate anyone of Japanese ancestry or to restrict Japanese immigration to the U.S.

American nationalism does not recognize a separation of politics and the nation (signified by American democracy) from the desire for cultural monism (represented by the myth of a shared origin and concern for future stability) (see Photo C.1). In his monograph about nationalism, Anthony W. Marx argues that states are often faced with competing or antagonistic groups.⁹ To keep these groups in check and to build a nationalistic ideology that will unify a society, the elites target a minority community for exclusion. In the case of the United States and the state of California, nativism had already segregated the Japanese from the ethnic majority and formed them into the “other.” Whether knowingly or not, government elites then used anger directed at the Japanese to unify the country on the idea of war. Anthony D. Smith warns in his book on nations and identity that national unity along racial lines encourages public fears toward national survival.¹⁰ He argues that nationalism is used as a stabilizing factor within a country by drawing solidarity from a shared background and similar goals. The separation of one group, the “other,” provides a unifying antagonist and creates a sense of solidarity amongst the general population. Those individuals living in the United States

⁷ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca & New York: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁹ Anthony W. Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 22.

¹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 76.

with Japanese ancestry had already existed as the “other” since the end of the nineteenth century, but national awareness of the so-called dangers presented by the “yellow peril” only became evident throughout the country after the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Japanese then became one of the motivating factors used to mobilize the American people for war and to protect American democracy from imperialistic aggression, fascism, and Nazism.

It was the belief of many within the United States that no difference existed between the Japanese immigrant community and Japan the nation. This ethnic link directly influenced the U.S. government’s decision to intern the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans for the duration of the war. Greg Robinson writes that by labeling *Issei* and *Nisei* “as enemy aliens and foreigners, Roosevelt and the army had tacitly encouraged the wide spread public identification of Japanese Americans with Japan, a problem anti-Japanese propaganda only intensified.”¹¹ Anthony D. Smith writes that ethnic communities, or “ethnies,” are quite often misinterpreted as separate race groups; thereby creating a singular conglomerate view of many groups who, in actuality, have separate and distinct cultural qualities.¹² At the time, many within the United States viewed the Japanese and the Japanese Americans not as separate ethnic communities but as one race whose loyalty would always be to the Emperor and Japan. Los Angeles times columnist W.H. Anderson stated in a February issue that a “Viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched—so a Japanese-American. Born of Japanese parents—grows up to be a Japanese. Not an American [see photo C.2].”¹³

¹¹ Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 131.

¹² Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, 21.

¹³ W.H. Anderson “The Question of Japanese Americans,” *Los Angeles Times* (February 2, 1942).

Former Californian District Attorney and three time California State Governor, Attorney General Earl Warren questioned whether or not individuals of Japanese descent could have their loyalty tested. He felt that it was possible to measure the loyalty of a Caucasian person but not the loyalty of a person with Japanese heritage. He argued: “When we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field and we cannot form any opinion.”¹⁴ Those individuals of Japanese origin are placed on a completely different scientific table than that of the white ethnicities. Prior to December 7, 1941, government officials felt that the country had made headway in pacifying the Pacific tensions with Japan. After the attack on Pearl Harbor the fear that individuals with Japanese ancestry were untrustworthy only intensified. They felt that while the U.S. had been working for a peaceful resolution to the Pacific conflicts, the Japanese had been preparing their fleet for a devastating preemptive attack, and therefore confirmed this racial stereotype.

Total War and its Influence on Society

FDR knew that for the war effort to succeed, the United States had to be united as never before. During his address to Congress, Roosevelt discussed the need for complete support from the American people to ensure the protection of the United States. He stated: “As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense. Always will we remember the character of the onslaught against us. No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated

¹⁴ Reed Ueda, “The Changing Path to Citizenship,” in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*, edited by Lewis A. Erenberg & Susan E. Hirsch, 202–16 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 207–8.

invasion, the American people in their righteousness might well win through to absolute victory.”¹⁵

The United States had never before mobilized for total war in the modern era. American involvement in the First World War lasted for only eighteen months, and popular opinion was mixed on whether or not the U.S. should have even gotten involved. In his article on the influence of total war on genocidal activities, Jay Winter argues that the advent of total warfare dissolved the line separating innocent civilians from the exploits and horrors brought by war. He states: “Civilians had always been trampled on by invading armies. What was more disturbing now was not only the scale of the disaster but the implication visible for all to see that such acts were not unfortunate by-products of war but were built in to the nature of the conflict itself. The boundaries between civilian and military targets were fading fast.”¹⁶ To secure the nation, all enemy nations had to be defeated through absolute victory. This did not center solely on the military might of a nation but the public machine that gave birth and raised soldiers, published propaganda, created the mechanisms of war, and fought subversively from within enemy territory as well. After Pearl Harbor the U.S. war machine mobilized for this idea of total war. The government reinstated the draft (though many young men were happy to go to war without being sequestered), women flooded the workplace to keep production of war materials in process, and people limited their use of certain products so that they could be saved for the war effort (see Photo C.3). The entire country mobilized under the national cry of victory at home and abroad. Victory became the responsibility of all citizens (see Photos C.4 & C.5). This idea of civilians working for the war effort exemplifies Winter’s

¹⁵ Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Infamy Speech.”

¹⁶ Jay Winter, “Under Cover of War,” 192–93.

argument that with total war, the entire nation worked to pursue victory. To an enemy nation, the entire population had to be brought to its knees. “Total war is never literally total. It is ‘totalizing’ in the sense that the longer it lasts, the more human and material resources are drawn inexorably into its vortex.”¹⁷ No one was safe from this concept, and eventually, in some form or another, everyone either becomes a victim or a victimizer.

When describing the President’s order to have the Japanese Americans sent to the internment camps, Historian Greg Robinson illustrates the President’s lack of concern for individual well-being when it lay in opposition to national interests:

FDR’s pattern of conduct toward Japanese Americans highlights the negative face of such pragmatism. The President’s attitude toward the Japanese Americans was marked by what John Hersey termed a ‘grand offhandedness.’ Unlike Stimson, who was tortured by doubts over the morality and constitutionality of making racial distinctions and removing American citizens, the President displayed no worry or hesitation over evacuation and its consequences [...] Roosevelt’s failure was a lack of compassion, or, more precisely, of empathy. Although the President may have seen the evacuation as entirely a matter of military judgment, underlying his approval of that plan was carelessness toward innocent people that was born of prejudice. Although he had genuine humanitarian instincts, his paramount concern was leading the country to victory in a conflict of global proportions and unprecedented destructiveness. The rights of American citizens, especially those of Japanese ancestry, paled in comparison.¹⁸

The freedom of Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans was deliberately suspended to maintain stability on the home front as well as protect other American citizens and the American war effort from insurgent activities.

Anti-Japanese sentiment increased after Pearl Harbor as a growing number of people within the United States adopted the opinion that the Japanese were a treacherous

¹⁷ Ibid., 190.

¹⁸ Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 123–24.

people. The attack on the Pacific Fleet remained in the forefront of the American consciousness. Historian John W. Dower believes that the attack on Pearl Harbor aroused a vengeful spirit in Americans toward the Japanese. The Japanese, who felt that a devastating preemptive attack would crush American spirit, failed to predict this race-inspired response. He states that this anger bordered on genocidal feelings before mentioning Admiral William Halsey (the eventual Commander of the South Pacific Force), who asserted that by the war's end Japanese would only be spoken in hell. He also used the slogan "Kill Japs, kill Japs, kill more Japs."¹⁹ To inspire themselves, U.S. Marines used a variation of Halsey's motto, in which they stated: "Remember Pearl Harbor—keep 'em dying."²⁰ This anti-Japanese rhetoric was not exclusively centered on the Japanese military, the country of Japan, nor Japan's Emperor. Anyone of Japanese descent was seen as part of an evil race nation bent on the destruction of the United States and democracy. After traveling to the Pacific War, Ernie Pyle wrote in 1945: "In Europe we felt that our enemies, were horrible and deadly as they were, were still people. But out here I soon gathered that the Japanese were looked upon as something subhuman and repulsive, the way some people feel about cockroaches or mice."²¹

War propaganda is another aspect of total war and can reveal the nativism directed at anyone of Japanese descent. Propaganda works as either a representation of nativist aggression toward a specific racial group or acts as an influence upon public opinion. The last three chapters have illustrated that government employees both state

¹⁹ John W. Dower, *War without Mercy*, 36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

²¹ John W. Dower, "Race, Language, and War in Two Cultures," in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*, edited by Lewis A. Erenberg & Susan E. Hirsch, 169–201 (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 169–70.

and federal along with everyday citizens had harbored nativist aggression toward anyone with Japanese ancestry. These individuals feared the cultural, racial, and economic implications of Japanese incursion onto U.S. soil. The attack on Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war against the United States only strengthened earlier made claims made by nativists. War propaganda was simply the next evolution of nativist aggression.

A group called the Remember Pearl Harbor League was formed after the December attack. The group pushed for the deportation of all Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans once the war with Japan ended. A 1945 pamphlet stated that “Alien Japanese within our borders are a menace and of course must be excluded. These are now ‘enemy aliens’ and can now be and should be promptly deported at the termination of the war.”²² The pamphlet continued to explain that the group had found the Japanese Americans to be disloyal. They claimed that their findings were not based on race or industrial competition, but on the fact that the Japanese Americans held dual citizenship. They also warned of the Japanese language schools and of travel between the two countries, which they felt “impregnated” the *Nisei* with Japanese nationalism.²³ While the pamphlet basically covered many of the same nativist fears explained in the earlier chapters of this thesis, it illustrates the growth of nativism to nationalism. The pamphlet explained these various topics of concern as if they were newly discovered material and not information that had been circulating around the state of California for over fifty years. The matter in which the material is expressed also reveals a desire to educate individuals who did not have an already existing knowledge base of the Japanese

²² Remember Pearl Harbor League, *Evidence of Disloyalty of American-born Japanese* (Auburn: Remember Pearl Harbor League, Inc., 1945), 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, 5.

immigrants and the Japanese Americans. The pamphlet acted as a merging of nativist concerns and national propaganda.

Flyers, posters, and political cartoons had been around long before the First World War, but technological growth after the turn of the century, only increased the extents to which nations advertised their righteousness and dehumanized their enemies. Greater connectivity throughout the country allowed for the wider circulation of propaganda, and the radio allowed for even the most remote listener to keep apprised of current events. Politically-minded movies (see Photo C.6) and pre-movie newsreels impressed a constant warlike influence upon the general populace. Propaganda portrayed the Japanese as little psychotic monkey men. The cover of *Time* magazine from January 26, 1942 shows a scowling monkey with a helmet and a gun meant to represent a Japanese soldier hanging from a tree behind the Dutch Commander of the Netherlands territory in the East Indies (see Photo C.7). Social scientists argued that the Japanese were a primitive race. A photo from the May 1944 issue of *Life* magazine shows a young woman writing a thank-you letter to her boyfriend fighting in the Pacific while next to her pad of paper lies the skull of a Japanese soldier sent to her as a gift (see Photo C.8). The skull is treated as a trophy and displayed in that manner.

War propaganda also illustrates the American view that all Japanese were linked as a single race while those with Caucasian ancestry retained their individuality and could not be blamed for the conflicts started by their leaders (see Photos C.9 and C.10). Dower explains that Americans grouped all Japanese into one larger race thereby labeling and dehumanizing them as inferior:

Hollywood formulaically introduced good Germans as well as Nazis but almost never showed a 'good Japanese.' In depicting the Axis

Triumvirate, political cartoonists routinely gave the German enemy Hitler's face and the Italian enemy Mussolini's, but they rendered the Japanese as plain, homogeneous 'Japanese' caricatures: short, round-faced, bucktoothed, slant-eyed, frequently myopic behind horn-rimmed glasses [...] The German enemy was conflated to bad Germans (Nazis), the Japanese enemy was inflated to a supra-Japanese foe.²⁴

Although caricatures of Tojo and Hirohito were sometimes used in U.S. propaganda and generic images of Nazi German soldiers at times substituted for Hitler, neither was used to the extent of their already mentioned counterparts and neither left a lasting impression.

Ensuring the continuation of the American dream was not just the responsibility of those fighting overseas but the entire American populace as well. The concept of victory at home and abroad used by U.S. war propaganda exemplifies the ideas behind total warfare. War propaganda used the concept of the "other" established by U.S. nativism toward the Japanese. The same nativistic fears with a nationalist lean grew from its West Coast origins to engulf the entire nation.

The right amount of societal pressure can cause nationalism to incorporate nativism and its desire for a homogenous society. The concern over racial and/or cultural death resonates almost as strongly to some individuals as their fears of physical death. Cultural death can represent severing of a cultural community's ties to its past. Physical death may mean the end of the individual, but the end of an entire ethnic or cultural community means that knowledge will no longer be passed down by generation. Most cultures take pride in the fact that their customs and accomplishments will live on after the death of the individual. The fear that one's race and culture could be lost forever supports the nativist vision of a homogenous nation. The need for total war is felt necessary to ensure the continuation of one's race and/or culture and the end of the

²⁴ John W. Dower, "Race, Language, and War in Two Cultures," 170.

“other” race and/or culture that threatens this longevity. Anthony D. Smith states: “Nationalism offers a narrow, conflict-laden legitimation for political community, which inevitably pits culture-communities against each other.”²⁵ In the case of the United States, the conglomerate of ethnicities and cultures strove for the protection of the nation’s democratic ideals and the history that forged its creation up to that point.

The Question of What to Do with the “Enemy Alien”

The idea of total war provided nativism with the means to place regional social concerns on a national pedestal, thereby making the entire country, not just Californians, fear the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. Even though, those individuals living in the U.S. with Japanese ancestry were not Japanese soldiers on the battlefield, many feared that they still represented a possible threat to national stability. The wants, desires, and civil rights of the individual take second place to the survival of the nation. Nationalism dictates that the survival of the people is dependant on popular support of the nation and its governing bodies, thereby justifying the belief that when trying to protect the public, the nation becomes an infallible entity. Anatol Lieven describes this as “innate innocence.”²⁶ He believes that this is a key component to American nationalism and argues that a myth exists in the American creed “that the United States is exceptional in its allegiance to democracy and freedom and is therefore exceptionally good.”²⁷

²⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, 18.

²⁶ Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 49.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

The question of what to do with enemy aliens during wartime had circulated around Washington more than a year before the United States officially entered World War II. The government feared that immigrants with ancestry native to the country at war with the United States may conduct fifth column activities (subversive actions meant to undermine or cripple the American war effort), or harbor individuals meant to create problems around the country or leak vital information to the enemy. The Japanese citizenship retained by the *Issei* and the dual citizenship held by the *Nisei* was a national concern. In the summer of 1941, a memorandum from Acting Assistant Chief of Staff C.H. Mason to Chief of Staff George Marshall contains a document outlining the problem of dual citizenship and expresses the need for a resolution to this situation. In this document, Mason stated that “anything that can be done to break the ties—consular and governmental as well as traditional and ancestral—between Americans of Japanese ancestry and Japan will assist the people involved and be in the interest of our national defense.”²⁸

Many *Nisei* felt that being an American citizen and following American cultural standards showed their loyalty to the United States. This fear of being considered an “enemy alien” divided the Japanese American community. The *Nisei* saw the older generation as old-fashioned examples of their Japanese past—something that many *Nisei* desperately wanted to move away from. Any problems that existed between white America and the Japanese were placed on the doorstep of the older generation. They respected and cherished their Japanese heritage, but they also felt that their parents

²⁸ C.H. Mason to George Marshall (memorandum, June 17, 1941) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

represented a hindrance to their continued assimilation and eventual acceptance into American society. Gary Okihiro recounts a statement by Takie Okumura, a Christian minister, and leader in the Japanese Americanization movement, in which he states that the *Nisei* should “ignore the parents and adult Japanese and lead the young people in removing all forces which retard their development as American citizens, and prove that they are good and loyal American citizens.”²⁹ Even though a growing number of *Nisei* attempted to prove their adoption of American cultural norms by separating themselves from their parents, nativists still questioned their loyalty. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor clouded all the Japanese attempts at Americanization. Although the Japanese Americans took oaths of allegiance to the United States (see Photo C.11), the fear of disloyalty still permeated American society. Even before the start of the Pacific War in early 1941, the FBI had already compiled a list of over two thousand Japanese Americans living on the western coast who were designated as possible threats. The FBI then categorized them into levels of supposed danger.³⁰

Roosevelt believed, as did many others, that the Japanese were incapable of true Americanization. He viewed them as a treacherous people and “referred to them as ‘unassimilable aliens.’”³¹ In 1935, Roosevelt stated: “that aggression ‘was in the blood’ of Japanese leaders.”³² In early 1941, Roosevelt, created a small intelligence gathering group with the goal to investigate the Japanese immigrant communities on the West Coast.³³ Heading this group was journalist John Franklin Carter, who, in November

²⁹ Gary Okihiro, *Whispered Silences*, 142.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 160

³¹ Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 121.

³² Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 120.

³³ Francis MacDonnell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 85.

1941, forwarded a report written by his subordinate and fellow journalist, C.B. Munson, regarding the so-called “Japanese problem.” Munson felt that it was impossible to explore Japanese American loyalty amongst such a large population spread over thousands of miles of coastline. He likened the possibility of fully exploring these people to taking a shovel full of sand and forgetting the complexities of the individual within the group.³⁴ He also mentioned that, to a person of Japanese ancestry, personal ties trumped those of a legal nature.³⁵ Although Munson spoke in high esteem of the Japanese Americans, Carter still marked specific quotes for President Roosevelt’s consideration.³⁶ He ignored passages where Munson had stated: “The Japanese are the greatest joiner in the world” and “Many [*Issei*] would take out American citizenship if allowed to do so.”³⁷ He instead mentioned statements like: “There are still Japanese in the United States who will tie dynamite around their waist and make a human bomb out of themselves.” Carter did not draw attention to the entire passage regarding suicide bombers, however; he left out Munson’s statement that only a few individuals (Munson refers to them as “crackpots.”) would actually conduct a terrorist activity.³⁸ Munson makes it clear that this is not characteristic of Japanese immigrants or the Japanese Americans as a whole. Munson also comes to the conclusion that there is no Japanese problem on the coast and that he does not believe that there would be an armed uprising.³⁹ Contained within

³⁴ C.B. Munson, “*Japanese on the West Coast*” (November 1941), 1 in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁶ See John Franklin Carter to Franklin D. Roosevelt (memorandum, November 7, 1941) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

³⁷ C.B. Munson, “*Japanese on the West Coast*,” 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

Munson's report were supplemental sections about other regions with high concentrations of Japanese immigrants. Munson came to the same conclusion in all of these sections as well. Roosevelt agreed with Carter's worries and not Munson's reassurances regarding insurgency by the *Issei* and *Nisei* and forwarded the materials to Secretary of War Stimson.

Roosevelt had considered relocating the Japanese Americans population to confinement areas as far back as 1936. In discussing the possibility of espionage by Japanese naval and merchant vessels docked in Hawaiian ports, FDR asked the Acting Navy Secretary: "What arrangements and plans have been made relative to concentration camps in the Hawaiian Islands for dangerous or undesirable aliens or citizens in the event of national emergency."⁴⁰ In 1940, secret memorandums and documents began circulating between government officials regarding the possible relocation, internment, and seizure of individuals with ancestry native to the nation at war with the United States as well as who would be in charge of enacting such policies.⁴¹

A memorandum from Judge Advocate General Allen Gullion to Assistant Chief of Staff William Shedd outlines the problems created by the U.S. Bill of Rights in respect to government seizure of property, the forced relocation, and the prolonged internment of American citizens.⁴² He quotes the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixths Amendments to the American Constitution. The Fourth Amendment disallows the government from taking the property of Japanese American citizens by stating that the people have the right "to be

⁴⁰ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered Silences*, 153.

⁴¹ Roger Daniels, *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945* (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁴² Allen W. Gullion to William Shedd (memorandum, August 12, 1940) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures.”⁴³ The Fifth Amendment made it illegal for non-military Japanese American citizens to be “held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentation or indictment of a Grand Jury.”⁴⁴ And the Sixth Amendment prohibited the government from confining the Japanese American citizens in relocation camps since they were guaranteed by law to “enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed.”⁴⁵ The relocation of non-U.S. citizens offered a simple solution: The Act Respecting Enemy Aliens, created in 1798, gave the President the wartime power to make proclamations concerning the removal of any non-naturalized immigrant and any American citizen that still retained citizenship with another country. This 150-year-old document provided the President with the power to create laws giving the federal government and the military the right to apprehend, restrain, secure, remove, and to create any other regulation necessary for the protection of the country during a time of war.⁴⁶ Many officials felt that in time of war that the Executive and Congressional branches would grant greater powers to the Army and Navy, allowing the military to take a prominent role in dealing with civilians.

On December 7, 1941, the same day as the attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt gave Proclamation 2525, which labeled the Japanese as enemy aliens and gave the

⁴³ United States Constitution, Amendment 4.

⁴⁴ United States Constitution, Amendment 5.

⁴⁵ United States Constitution, Amendment 6.

⁴⁶ *An Act Respecting Alien Enemies*, 1 Stat. 577 (July 6, 1798).

Attorney General and the Secretary of War the power to regulate them.⁴⁷ Since the *Issei* could not be naturalized and the *Nisei* held dual citizenship, the Attorney General and the Secretary of War had the right to restrain or remove them. The proclamation also detailed illegal items that the *Issei* and *Nisei* could not possess such as firearms, ammunition, bombs, radios, transmitters, cameras, or signal devices. It also forbids their use of aircraft and disallows their travel in or out of the United States. On December 8, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Proclamation 2526 and Proclamation 2527—both of which labeled anyone with German or Italian citizenship an “enemy alien.”

On January 29, 1942, Attorney General Francis Biddle, on recommendation by the War Department, issued a press release detailing the creation of restricted zones for anyone with Japanese, German, or Italian citizenship.⁴⁸ A few days later, another press release was issued outlining 69 restricted zones in California.⁴⁹ Two days later another release announced 15 more zones bringing the California total to 86.⁵⁰ By mid February “the exclusion area included all of California, the western half of Washington and Oregon, and southern Arizona.”⁵¹ Even though German and Italian citizens were also restricted from these areas, they had the right to naturalization, which would have made them exempt from the restriction. During World War II, more immigrants became

⁴⁷ Franklin D. Roosevelt, proclamation, “Proclamation 2525,” (December 7, 1941) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁴⁸ Department of Justice, press release (January 29, 1942) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁴⁹ Department of Justice, press release (January 31, 1942) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁵⁰ Department of Justice, press release (February 2, 1942) in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁵¹ War Relocations Authority, *Community Government in War Relocation Centers* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 2.

naturalized citizens than in any previous five-year period from 1907 to 1945.⁵² German and Italian population numbers were also not extremely high in these areas either. The restricted zones did however, have high concentrations of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. These individuals and families were told to evacuate these areas. On February 19, 1942, the President issued Executive Order 9066.⁵³ This order authorized the Secretary of War to create military zones (see Photo C.12 for a map of the military areas within the state of California). In March, the Western Defense Command began stipulating that not just alien Japanese were to vacate the military areas, but that everyone with Japanese ancestry should leave these zones.⁵⁴ The Secretary of War had the responsibility of finding accommodations for the aliens forcibly removed from their homes.⁵⁵ The military was tasked with relocating these individuals. In March of 1941, the President created the War Relocation Authority to aid in the evacuation process.⁵⁶

Many Japanese families had already begun to sell their property and businesses after the President's earlier proclamations (see Photo C.13), but as Greg Robinson observes:

The practical difficulties of such voluntary evacuation soon became apparent. The evacuees were generally reluctant to liquidate their

⁵² Reed Ueda, "The Changing Path to Citizenship," 202.

⁵³ Executive Order 9066, *Authorizing the Secretary of War to Prescribe Military Areas* (February 19, 1942), in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁵⁴ Western Defense Command, *Public Proclamation 1* (March 2, 1942), in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

⁵⁵ See Executive Order 9095, *Establishing the Office of Alien Property Custodian and Defining its Functions and Duties* (March 11, 1942), in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989) for more on the process of managing the property of interned individuals.

⁵⁶ Executive Order 9106, *Establishing the War Relocation Authority in the Executive Office of the President and Defining its Functions and Duties* (March 18, 1942), in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).

possessions and leave before they were forced to, and most did not have friends or family living in other parts of the country to sponsor them. Most Japanese Americans lacked the resources to afford moving and resettlement expenses, especially when *Issei* bank withdrawals were still limited to \$100 per month by the Treasury Department, and the government did not step in and offer aid for resettlement.⁵⁷

Most Japanese Americans had no means to relocate of their own accord because of government restrictions and lack of protection against an agitated American populace. The Japanese who did try to relocate had to complete and submit a “Change of Residence Notice” one to five days before moving.⁵⁸

When the voluntary relocation didn’t move as quickly as planned, it was stopped. By the end of March, the military broke up the prohibited areas into sections and began removing civilians from these areas to 10 internment camps created by the War Relocation Authority. Usually signs or newspaper articles notified citizens that they needed to show up to pre-selected processing centers on certain dates (see Photo C.14). Those awaiting relocation were subject to stringent curfews, racism, and exclusionary business tactics (see Photo C.15). The government created the War Relocation Authority to help aid the process (see Photos C.16, C.17, and C.18) but when the removal of the Japanese Americans did not proceed as quickly as Roosevelt had anticipated, he became angry at the lack of progress. Henry Morgenthau went to the President with a plan to utilize the Federal Reserve in the liquidation of Japanese American property. Roosevelt stated that he wasn’t interested in what happened to their property only that they were

⁵⁷ Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 128.

⁵⁸ See Western Defense Command, *Public Proclamation 1* (March 2, 1942), in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989) for a description of the “Change of Residence Notice.”

moved and what happened after they were moved. He also couldn't understand why the process was taking so long.⁵⁹

By November of 1942, the military completed the process of moving over 110,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry, of which 77,000 were American citizens, to 10 internment camps located in the Western half of the United States (see Photo C.19). Most *Issei* and *Nisei* remained at the camps until the end of the war in the Pacific. While some interned individuals were able to get daily passes to leave the compounds for work purposes, they always had to report back to the camps that evening.

Loyalty and the Draft Resistance

Nativism is a discourse supported by many individuals with many different motivations. To protect the nation from the perceived threat within American borders, U.S. nationalism eventually incorporated nativistic fears of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans. By democratically justifying racially exclusionary policy, nativism can produce degradation within the social fabric of a democratic society or within an ethnic community. This has already been shown to a small degree with varying opinions toward assimilation by the *Issei* and *Nisei*.

Within a country consumed by a nationalist spirit and supported by nativist concerns, loyalty becomes of extreme importance. Kiyoshi Okamoto, the head of the Japanese American resistance to the wartime draft of internees, wrote in a statement of purpose for the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee:

Loyalty towards a country or a nation is a matter of sentiment. It is nurtured from a knowledge of justice received. It is a covenant of faith

⁵⁹ Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 142.

between the party of the people on the one hand and, the party of the government on the other. Under this understanding, the people are obligated to maintain the inviolability of our instruments of government and the various institutions. For this service, the government assumes the responsibility of justice, freedom, security and liberty to its inhabitants.⁶⁰

In his purpose statement Okamoto discussed the role that loyalty should play between the people and their governing body. Nationalists argue that loyalty can be demonstrated through unwavering national support. This divergent belief in what it means to be loyal to one's country or nation split the Japanese American community and can best be described with the contrasting opinion toward the military draft of male *Nisei*.

Although many Japanese Americans were already serving in some form of the U.S. military in Hawaii, after the events of December 7, 1941, all soldiers of Japanese descent were segregated into one unit called the Provisional Battalion. In June of 1942, 1,432 men sailed for the European mainland, while around six thousand *Nisei* served as translators for Military Intelligence in the Pacific War. The military integrated these soldiers amongst the rest of the troops and assigned them bodyguards who kept watch over them. This was done to both ensure that they did not join with the Japanese military and to protect them from average soldiers, who in the heat of battle, it was felt, might not be able to tell the difference between a Japanese American soldier and an enemy soldier.⁶¹

In 1944, the country declared that the Japanese Americans would be eligible for the draft. A group of internees protested the decision made by Secretary of State Stimson regarding this decision. They did not agree with the policy that they had the

⁶⁰ Kiyoshi Okamoto, *We Should Know* (February 25, 1944), 1, available at National Archives and Records Administration, www.archives.gov, accessed on July 17, 2007.

⁶¹ Home of Heroes, *War in the Pacific: MIS and the Nisei*, http://www.homeofheroes.com/moh/nisei/index8_pacific.html, accessed on June 29, 2008.

responsibility to fight and die for a country where they were denied the same inalienable rights of every other citizen. Jack Tono, a member of the Heart Mountain draft resistance was ready to join the army before the evacuation process, but mentions that his opinion quickly changed once he was forcibly removed from his home and moved to an internment camp. He did not agree with the idea that he had to fight to preserve democracy for the same government that had confined him at Heart Mountain. “Tono mused: ‘You start thinking, where the hell is the democracy we learned in school? Hey, wait a minute now. When I have to give my life up for democracy, I want to see the goddamn thing first... We weren’t completely against defending the country,’ he explained, ‘but we wanted what we had before first, and then we’d go and fight.’”⁶²

The draft resistance by the Japanese Americans illustrates how nativist segregation can severely divide a minority ethnic community, many times creating an “other” group within the larger minority community. This split occurs as one segment of a minority group responds to nativist fears and attempts to create a bond with the dominant ethnic majority by segregating and forming a sub-“other” group. The minority community hopes that this show of loyalty and solidarity with the dominant ethnic group will help them to gain cultural acceptance.

Draft resistance by the Japanese Americans existed within all ten of the relocation centers. Although over three hundred individuals resisted the draft, the largest resistance formed at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, where the sixty-three resisters maintain the distinction of being a part of the largest mass trial in Wyoming history (see Photos C.20 and C.21). Of the sixty-three young men, fifty-six were sentenced on June 26, 1944

⁶² Gary Okihiro, *Whispered Silences*, 210.

to three years in a federal penitentiary for violating the Selective Service Act. The remaining seven were sentenced a month later to four years in Fort Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary for also violating the Selective Service Act and for conspiring to council other draft-age *Nisei* to resist the military draft. These resisters argued that their refusal to participate in the draft did not signify disloyalty or a fear of war, but instead a concentrated effort to support the Constitution and the rights that it guaranteed to all American citizens. Those of Japanese ancestry who supported the drafting of the *Nisei* believed that any resistance to the American governmental policy hurt their chances of regaining their pre-war lives. They argued that by resisting the draft, these sixty three individuals exacerbated existing fears of Japanese American disloyalty and that it was in the Japanese American community's best interest if the *Nisei* showed their loyalty and entered the war.⁶³

One of the seven Heart Mountain draft resistance leaders sent to Leavenworth was Frank Emi (see Photo C.22), who remembers his attempt with fellow internees, Minoru Tamesa and Isamu Horino, to test the boundaries of their confinement:

We went by the sentry, and we started to walk through, and he stopped us and said, "You can't go out." And we answered that we had a perfect right to go in and out, we're American citizens, we didn't do anything wrong. And he still refused to let us go, so we said, "Well, what's going to happen if we insist on going out and keep walking?" He says, "I'll have to shoot you." So there was no point in getting shot, so we let him take us into the guardhouse.⁶⁴

⁶³ See Stephen S. Fugita & Marilyn Fernandez, *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember Their World War II Incarceration* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2004) for statistical comparisons between those individuals who resisted the draft and those who did not. Their work also analyzes the familial and personal lifestyles of Japanese Americans and their answers to the Loyalty Questionnaire.

⁶⁴ Frank Emi (interview by Emiko Omori, March 20, 1994) available at Densho Digital Archive, www.densho.org, accessed on July 16, 2007 Emi fails to mention the participation of Isamu Horino in his interview with Omori, but he does mention Horino in his account of the events to Prosecutor Carl L.

All three men were angry at the loss of their civil freedoms and organized against many of the smaller injustices around the camp. In a 1998 interview, Emi mentions trying to stop police harassment of the internees as well as improving the food situation in the camp.⁶⁵ It was not until 1943, when these men met fifty-year old Kiyoshi Okamoto, that an organized movement started. Okamoto, a soil test engineer originally from Hawaii was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union (see Photo C.23). At the time, Okamoto was calling himself the Fair Play Committee of One. In a 1998 interview, Emi remembered that Okamoto was a good speaker who knew how to express his feelings:

[Okamoto] spoke about the, all the unconstitutional acts that were perpetrated on us. So some of us felt that, here's a fellow that has the same feelings that we did and knew what he was talking about. So that's when we got together with him and found out that he was very familiar, he was very knowledgeable about the law and about the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, which most of us weren't. And after a couple, two or three meetings with him we formed the Fair Play Committee as an organization in 1943.⁶⁶

Emi, whose family owned a grocery store before the war, found himself at the center of a movement that to this day still divides much of the Japanese American community. He mentions that his family got completely cleaned out in the relocation process. The short amount of time they had to sell all of their property before being forcibly removed from their home caused Emi's family to lose close to \$25,000 worth of investments in the family owned store. On September 10, 1942, the entire Emi family, including Frank's wife and nine-month-old daughter, were sent to Heart Mountain.

Sackett when on trial in August. Also see *United States vs. Okamoto et al* (August 31, 1944) in National Archives & Records Administration, www.archives.gov, accessed on July 17, 2007.

⁶⁵ Frank Emi (interview by Frank Abe, January 30, 1998) available at Densho Digital Archive, www.densho.org, accessed on July 16, 2007.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Emi's initial involvement in camp resistance came in February 1943 when the government issued loyalty oaths and questionnaires to all interned Japanese men and women over the age of seventeen. A month earlier on January 28, 1943, secretary of War Stimson announced that the War Department would create an all *Nisei* combat team comprised of volunteer Japanese-Americans seventeen years and older housed in the relocation centers. To conduct this informal call for volunteers, a loyalty questionnaire was issued to all internees.⁶⁷ However, the War Relocation Authority's attempts to secretly conduct this eligibility test for the military draft did not go unnoticed by the interned male *Nisei*. For the most part, the questionnaire was harmless except for two questions: numbers 27 and 28 of the thirty point questionnaire. Number 27 asked male *Nisei* if they were willing to serve in the United States armed forces. Question 28 asked: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"⁶⁸ Emi challenged the fairness of this question. He had no problem with the first part of the question, but he found himself unable to comply with the second part where he was asked to denounce his allegiance to the Japanese Emperor and any foreign government. He felt that the question was demeaning to him and his fellow citizens and refused to answer. If he answered 'yes' then it seemed as though at one point he had not been loyal, if he had said "no," then he would currently be disloyal to the United States, so he chose to put that he was unable to

⁶⁷ War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description*, 162.

⁶⁸ Selective Service System, *Army Enlistment and Leave Clearance Registration*, form DSS 304 for male citizens 17 years of age, 1943, question 28.

answer the question at that time. A little while later the camp had a hearing about Emi's answer. In a 1994 interview, he recalled:

They asked me if I wanted to keep question 28 under the same thing. In that case they were figuring on sending me to Tule Lake. So at that second hearing, I think I told them that question 28—I will answer 'yes' without qualifications except that I want them to understand that I had never pledged allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. [...] And they asked me about question 27, and I said 'no,' that I won't change that because I can't answer that under these conditions. I said, 'Before I go into combat duty, I would like to know what my citizenship status is.'⁶⁹

In 1943, Secretary of War Stimson announced that all relocation centers, with the exception of the Tule Lake Center in Northern California, which housed individuals believed by the WRA to be disruptive, would allow male citizens to leave the camps to join the military. According to the War Relocation Authority, those individuals, 1,208 in all, who answered "yes" to number 27 and deemed fit for military service, were to be counted as military volunteers and enlisted into the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (an entirely Japanese American combat team).

The loyalty questionnaire compelled the first wartime increase in Japanese Americans into the military. The second increase came in 1944 when the country declared that the *Nisei* would be eligible for the draft. The newly united Fair Play Committee (FPC) headed by Kiyoshi Okamoto protested the decision made by Secretary of State Stimson. Although draft resisters could be found at all ten of the relocation centers, Heart Mountain boasted the only organized resistance. The group did not agree with the policy that they had the responsibility to fight and die for a country that had denied them the same inalienable rights of every other American citizen. Frank Emi and

⁶⁹ Frank Emi (interview by Emiko Omori, March 20, 1994) available at Densho Digital Archive, www.densho.org, accessed on July 17, 2007.

the other leaders of the FPC found themselves at the epicenter of this resistance movement, arguing that they would oppose Japanese American involvement in the war effort until the U.S. government restored their constitutional freedoms.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans of draft-age were listed 4-C, or not acceptable for service because of ancestry. When this was changed in 1943 to increase the number of American soldiers, the FPC members felt that this was a terrible travesty. They were denied the right to move freely wherever they chose, they'd been stripped of the majority of their belongings, and now the government wanted them to go to war for constitutional freedoms they'd been denied for the past two years.

The Heart Mountain Center split as two opposing groups formed. On one side stood the Fair Play Committee, who opposed the draft, while on the other side stood the Japanese American Citizens League and the Japanese American newspaper, *The Heart Mountain Sentinel*. The JACL believed that the best way to show loyalty to the United States was to accept relocation, work within the system to regain their lost liberties, and to go to war if called upon to do so. The FPC believed that the best means to regain constitutional freedoms for Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants was to resist unconstitutional laws. A month after Okamoto wrote the Fair Play Committee's purpose statement, his support for constitutional liberties got him labeled a troublemaker and sent to Tule Lake. Guy Robertson, Project Director of the Heart Mountain Center had been trying to get rid of Okamoto for some time, but was unable to do so since Okamoto was much too old to be sentenced for draft resistance. By sending him to Tule Lake,

Robertson separated the outspoken man from his younger compatriots, who were of draft age.⁷⁰

Fred Hirasuna, a supporter of the JACL and their methods, offers a different opinion than Okamoto:

In wartime, you have constitutional rights, but sometimes you have to forget constitutional rights. There's a time and a place for those things, and that wasn't the time, and that wasn't the place because if JACL and the Japanese American group as a whole had told everybody in camp, 'We're supporting the Heart Mountain resisters, we want all of you not to, to go into the army, not to accept the draft, not volunteer,' and they didn't go, what would have happened? The American public, if they saw the Japanese Americans who were not cooperating [...] they would have deported us.⁷¹

Hirasuna was born in Lodi, California where he remained until just after the attack on Pearl Harbor. There he worked in his family's business shipping fruits and vegetables. After a few years in the shipping business though, Hirasuna grew tired of this life and began working for his brother's chicken hatchery as a sexer. When the President offered Proclamations 2525 and 2526, Hirasuna left his brother's business and moved his family to Minnesota, where he stayed for the duration of the war. Because Hirasuna had vacated the restricted zone where he had originally lived before the onset of Executive Order 9066, he avoided being sent to an internment camp. Unlike Emi, he did not own his own business, therefore making it much easier for him to escape the relocation process.

⁷⁰ Eric L. Muller, *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 91. Muller describes a vast political and legislative tapestry fully describing the draft resistance movement across the ten relocation centers. His work provides an in-depth analysis of the important people and events. Also see Mike Mackey, *Heart Mountain: Life in Wyoming's Concentration Camp* (Powell: Western History Publications, 2000) for an expanded description of life at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. Mackey devotes a section to the draft resisters, but he also talks in depth about other aspects and experiences of the internees.

⁷¹ Fred Hirasuna (interview by Frank Abe, 1998) available at Densho Digital Archive, www.densho.org, accessed on July 16, 2007.

Between 1940 and 1970, the concentration of individuals with Japanese ancestry living in the western states dropped from over 95% to 81%.⁷²

Supporters of the JACL viewed the draft resisters as cowards who opposed the draft not on constitutional grounds, but for fear of going to war.⁷³ They also accused the FPC of meeting secretly in the dark and conspiring to cause civil unrest within the camp.⁷⁴ By slandering the opposing group, the JACL and the *Sentinel* played to existing nativist and nationalist fears of secret groups who plotted social unrest. By forming the FPC into a sub-“other” group within the Japanese immigrant community, the JACL attempted to combat these nativist concerns.

By late March 1944, forty-four draft resisters had been arrested and were being held in various jails around the state of Wyoming. In May 10, 1944, seven of the draft resistance leaders were indicted for “unlawfully, willfully and knowingly combined, conspired, confederated, and agreed together and with each other [...] to evade the requirements of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.”⁷⁵ In the end, sixty-three individuals were sent to prison for resisting the draft at Heart Mountain. On Christmas Eve 1947, President Truman, as a public relations move, granted a presidential pardon to all draft resisters, including the sixty-three Heart Mountain resisters who, by

⁷² Eric Woodrum, “An Assessment of Japanese American Assimilation, Pluralism, and Subordination,” in *The American Journal of Sociology* 87, no. 1, 157–169 (July 1981), 159.

⁷³ See Minoru Tamesa, *Fair Play Committee Meeting Notes* (April 5, 1944) available at National Archives & Records Administration, www.archives.gov, accessed on July 17, 2007. Tamesa argues against the accusation that the committee’s goal is to avoid fighting in the war.

⁷⁴ Frank Emi (interview by Frank Abe, February 23, 1993) available at Densho Digital Archive, www.densho.org, accessed on July 16, 2007. See Frank Emi to *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Editors (letter, March 19, 1944) available at National Archives and Records Administration, www.archives.gov, accessed on July 17, 2007. Emi denounces all the charges labeled against the FPC in an earlier editorial. He attempts to tell the public that the members of the FPC are law abiding citizens who support the U.S., but who feel that mistakes have been made as to the freedoms of anyone of Japanese heritage.

⁷⁵ *United States vs. Okamoto et al* (May 10, 1944) available at National Archives & Records Administration, www.archives.gov, accessed on July 17, 2007.

that time, had already served their sentence. A year earlier, five of the seven leaders, who had been sentenced to Leavenworth, left prison having already served the majority of their term in prison by that point.

Kiyoshi Okamoto declared in an proclamation that he sent to President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Stimson, the War Relocation Authority, and others: “The very same unconstitutional infringements and un-American practices will be visited upon the other minorities of this nation at some future date unless the present dictatorial and tyrannical assumption of willful disposition of human destinies is made to stop and rectification made of those breaches in the Constitution now in existence.”⁷⁶

The Loss

Images of the Japanese relocation camps showcased hardworking people sowing the field (see Photo C.24) and enjoying the company of other native Japanese. The media painted them as happy to contribute to the safety of the nation. Marita Sturken discusses the absent images of the Japanese American internment in her article about remembering the relocation camps:

The internment continues to be narrativized as a regrettable step that appeared necessary in its time—not as bad as what other countries did. Even though the term “concentration camps” was used by government officials and Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, the image of prison camps where people were peaceably assembled screens out the image of prison camps where people became ill and died and where resisters were shot.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Kiyoshi Okamoto, *Proclamation and Notice of Dissatisfaction and Demand* (December 31, 1943), 2, available at National Archives and Records Administration, www.archives.gov, accessed on July 17, 2007.

⁷⁷ Marita Sturken, “Absent Images of Memory: Remembering and Reenacting the Japanese Internment,” in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, edited by T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White & Lisa Yoneyama, 33–49 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 36.

Looking past the propaganda, one finds an ethnic community confined in camps because of their cultural and racial heritage. They couldn't leave the compound without special order, their lives were structured and routine to maintain security, and they were allowed little to no property, most of which had been forcibly sold during the relocation process. The War Relocation Authority banned cameras from the camps, so that they could control the images viewed by the general public and which might have been counter-productive to continued confinement of the Japanese living in America. Author David Palumbo-Liu describes the internment camps as the nation's way of turning history "back in order to erase the presence of Japanese Americans and restore a pristine image of the nation."⁷⁸ He explains that the logic of exclusion, in this case the internment of the Japanese, is to preserve a pristine national space. He calls it "absolute racial separateness," and it acts as a reminder of the state's revisionist power over the people. The Japanese people were culturally and ancestrally linked to the Empire of Japan, which had caused great devastation upon the United States, by erasing them from public view, the government could redefine American territory in the name of national defense.

The separation of the "other" helped silence public fears regarding security within the country. The nativist fears of economic competition held by white farmers quieted when the trains shuttled the Japanese away to the various relocation centers. In March of 1942, over six thousand Japanese farms had their ownership transferred to non-Japanese operators.⁷⁹ Researchers have estimated that the entire Japanese American community,

⁷⁸ David Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/American*, 222.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

not just farmers, lost around \$67 million to \$116 million by 1945 standards—that statistic is inflated to around \$500 million by 2001 standards.⁸⁰

Nativist fears of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans did not subside with the end of the war. As earlier shown, the Remember Pearl Harbor League called for the deportation of anyone with Japanese ancestry at the war's end. 1944 issues of the *Seattle Star* and the *Seattle Times* ran pieces about the release of the Japanese from the internment camps. Each of these articles had sections, where public comments were published. Although a few voices had no problem with their release and reintegration into the country, most were fairly negative and echoed the sentiments made by the Remember Pearl Harbor League. Betty Lou Hufty told the *Seattle Star* that she felt the Japanese should never be allowed to return, though she neglected to go into any details as to why she felt the way she did. She simply explained that she did not have time to give all of her reasons.⁸¹ In the *Seattle Times*, a Marjorie Hines and a Bertha Saltie both expressed their distrust of the Japanese and did not want to see them walking around their neighborhoods.⁸² Although the war in the Pacific was coming to a close, nativist and nationalist fears of anyone with Japanese ancestry and anger toward the attack on Pearl Harbor still remained strong in the public consciousness. The War Relocation Authority reported that many internees feared reintegration into society because of attacks stemming from aggression over their racial heritage.⁸³

In 1988, President Ronald Reagan allotted \$20 thousand to each interned citizen. Immediately following the end of the war, the War Relocation Authority reported that the

⁸⁰ Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 144.

⁸¹ "What Do You Say?" *Seattle Star* (December 18, 1944).

⁸² "Seattleites Tell Views on Japs," *Seattle Times* (December 18, 1944).

⁸³ War Relocation Authority, *Community Government in War Relocation Centers*, 94.

confined Japanese feared the financial constraints caused by the destruction of their financial foundations. Many of the internees no longer had homes to return to once released from the camps.⁸⁴

Eventually these families did leave the relocation centers and began new lives elsewhere in the United States. All that remains now of their temporary imprisonment are a few broken down buildings, concrete foundations, cracked bricks, rusted tools, forgotten toys, and other household items left in their absence. Some of the centers have small memorials in place like what I found at Heart Mountain, but no large scale preservation has been undertaken to memorialize this part of our country's past. Most centers remain ghost towns eerily reminiscent of the nativism toward the Japanese immigrants and their children.

⁸⁴ War Relocation Authority, *Community Government in War Relocation Centers*, 94-6.

Conclusion

Similarly disturbing to overseas soldiers—especially those who are liberal and tolerant—are the growing race hatreds at home. [...] I read in American magazines and newspapers letters condemning all Japanese, regardless of birth, in the most bitter, intolerant and un-American manner. Japanese Americans were the target of the most vile attacks and discrimination. [...] You can well imagine what we thought of this bigoted group in the United States which was seeking to make life unbearable for the parents and families of these men [the all-Japanese American 100th Battalion].¹

Joe Fromm, 1944

Opinions of American Servicemen

Nativism directed at a specific “other” group has the ability to aid in the creation of discriminatory legislation and cause the suspension of civil liberties for an entire ethnic community. The experiences of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans from the end of the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century illustrates how nativism given governmental support prevented equality for anyone with Japanese ancestry.

Not all Americans supported the internment of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans, however. Many Americans, especially those on the East Coast, were not as aware of what was happening in California, Oregon, Washington, and Arizona. As earlier discussed, the American public was also shown pictures that weakened the impact of the internment camps on public opinion. One also has to consider that initially the government drew American attention away from the Pacific and directed it toward the war in Europe. Roosevelt decided that, although public support for

¹ Joe Fromm to *Chicago Sun* (letter, September 10, 1944) in *What We're Fighting For*, edited by the War Relocation Authority, 5–6 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1945), 5.

the war was originally directed toward Japan, the best strategy was to concentrate on Europe first. He felt that Nazi Germany posed a greater and more imminent threat than Japan, whose strategy was to invade as much territory and as quickly as possible, hoping that the U.S. would come at them with all their power before succumbing to military and public fatigue. By concentrating on Germany first, the U.S. led small strikes against the Japanese, all the while building experience and increasing military strength.

Although the image of the young woman with the skull of the Japanese soldier and the comments by Ernie Pyle illustrate the lack of ethnic respect many Americans held for anyone of Japanese ancestry, some American soldiers did not agree with the internment of the Japanese Americans. A March 1945 pamphlet collected statements made by American soldiers. This pamphlet shows that not everyone harbored nativist ideals. In 1943, 22-year old veteran of Guadalcanal, Marine Pfc. Robert E. Borchers, of Chicago, while recovering from malaria wrote to the American Legion in California:

I am one of the fortunate Marines who have recently returned to this country after serving in the offensive against the Japanese on Guadalcanal [...] We find [...] a condition behind our backs that stuns us. We find that our American citizens, those of Japanese ancestry, are being persecuted, yes, persecuted as though Adolph Hitler himself were in charge. [...] We shall fight this injustice, intolerance and un-Americanism at home! We will not break faith with those who died. [...] We have fought the Japanese and are recuperating to fight again. We can endure the hell of battle, but we are resolved not to be sold out at home.²

Sections of the letter were used for an article in the December 20, 1943 issue of

Time Magazine. In a response to Pfc. Borchers' comments, Sergeant Wadsworth

Likely wrote:

² Robert E. Borchers to the California Chapter of the American Legion (letter, December 20 1943) in *What We're Fighting For*, edited by the War Relocation Authority, 1 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1945), 1. See "Inquisition in Los Angeles," in *Time Magazine* (December 20, 1943) for the reasons behind Pfc. Borchers' letter.

I think I have the right to expect that the fundamental human rights which are held up as a banner for us now are still in existence when I get back. The emotional, hateful racial prejudice shown by certain Californians against anyone with yellow skin who can be called 'Jap' certainly helps tear down the Constitution of our country not only for loyal Americans of Japanese descent, but for all loyal Americans. If California succeeds in passing a law excluding all persons of Japanese descent, there is nothing which would stop any state from passing a law excluding all New Yorkers who wear glasses (like me) or all Baptists with Swedish names. They say many of us don't know what we're fighting for now; you keep up the good work and we'll know right well what we have to fight for, and against when we get back.³

I feel that these letters best reveal that although I've written about American nativism for this project, readers must keep in mind that not everyone in the country agreed with the measures taken by the U.S. government. Of all people, one would expect soldiers—instruments of war—to harbor aggression toward individuals of a similar native heritage to their wartime enemy. This was the case with some, but it was not indicative of all servicemen nor all American citizens.

Final Thoughts

Despite fifty years of discrimination, social segregation, and finally internment, the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans persevered through these injustices. One might think that the withholding of naturalization might have discouraged immigration, but it did not. Immigration from Japan increased steadily through 1924, and did not completely cease even at that point. One might conclude that the Gentleman's Agreement would have stopped the hiring of and migration of Japanese workers and their families, but in truth, it only encouraged the increase in family immigration. Many

³ Wadsworth Likely to *Time Magazine* (letter, January 10, 1944) in *What We're Fighting For*, edited by War Relocation Authority, 1-2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1945), 1-2.

migrant workers were still smuggled into the country via Canada and Mexico.⁴ One might conclude that the land laws caused a sharp decrease in Japanese land ownership, but instead the Japanese found ways around the land laws, and as the end of the third chapter shows, the number of acres owned by peoples of Japanese descent actually increased. One might conclude that the internment of the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans might have shown an increase in the number of deaths due to stress, forced labor, and other harsh conditions associated with imprisonment. This did not happen though. 112,985 individuals of Japanese descent lived in the states of Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington in 1940.⁵ The number of deaths compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Census showed that 737 or .6% died that year. By 1944, there were a little over 110,000 individuals living in the relocation centers. The War Relocation Authority lists that 607 or .5% died that year—a one tenth of a percentage point decrease.⁶

Ultimately nativism failed to keep many Japanese immigrants and their children from being successful.⁷ But the segregation, discrimination, hatred, and fear caused by American nativism during the first part of the twentieth century still took its mental toll and still stands as a testament to the evils of nativism. The laws, although democratically enacted, were racially discriminatory in nature. The Japanese immigrants should not have had to endure laws that limited their constitutionally protected civil rights.

⁴ Industrial Commission on Immigration, *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration*, 755.

⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1940.htm>, February 9, 2009.

⁶ War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description*, 145.

⁷ See Robert M. Jiobu, "Ethnic Hegemony and the Japanese of California," in *American Sociological Review* 53, no. 3, 353–67 (June 1988) and David J. Obrien & Stephen S. Fugita, "Middleman Minority Concept: Its Explanatory Value in the Case of the Japanese in California Agriculture," in *The Pacific Sociological Review* 25, no. 2, 185–204 (April 1982) for discussions of how the Japanese were able to overcome discriminations and carve their own niche in American society by providing goods in neglected areas.

Whenever minority groups immigrate to another country, nativism may eventually rear its head. Whether or not this nativism will be based on racial or cultural prejudices, economic or national concerns, or some other reason, will depend entirely upon the individual, the region, and the events (historical and current). Jacques Barzun wrote: “Old habits and tolerances will break down, friction and resentment will arise. Soon each group will tend to ascribe unpleasant characteristics to all the members of the other group. It will be a more or less open conflict of ‘We’ and ‘They.’”⁸ The idea of race differences grows more prevalent within a nativist society both from within one nation as well as between separate nations: “The idea of race makes easy the transition from cultural to political ill-feeling, and when we want to condemn some course of national action in our neighbors, race provides the universal joint that holds together the aliens’ ignoble traditions, their present shameful course, and the innate perversity.”⁹

Nativism toward a particular immigrant group will vary its focus depending on upon the region. With the right amount of pressure, nativism can engulf an entire country as it did the United States during the Second World War. Once a regional nativism begins to focus on national pride, productivity, and protection, it is incorporated into the sphere of nationalism and unites ethnic communities against one of the “other,” smaller ethnic minority groups.

Whenever, nativism invades a regional or national consciousness, discriminatory laws will eventually permeate the political landscape. These laws act as a social response to nativist fears for racial purity, cultural continuity, economic success, and national survival—whether it be from miscegenation of the existing populace through inter-racial

⁸ Jacques Barzun, *Race a Study in Superstition*, ix.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

breeding, hybridization of ethnicity (thereby losing cultural traditions), competition over labor and cultural supremacy, or from illegal activities meant to harm the nation.

U.S. nativism defined the Japanese immigrants as the “other,” and for over fifty years, the Japanese experienced nativism because of unsubstantiated fears by the American public and the U.S. government. Roger Daniels writes:

Most of the charges against the Japanese—their nonassimilation, their low standard of living, their high birth rate, their vile habits—were made also against European immigrants. But only against Orientals was it seriously charged that the peaceful immigrants were but a vanguard of an invading horde to come. Throughout the years under discussion, and beyond, there was a consistent fear, expressed and believed in many quarters, that some named or unnamed Oriental power—usually, but not always, Japan—was on the verge of invading all or part of the continental United States.¹⁰

I hope that my thesis has shown how nativism preys upon basic human differences, increases social tensions, and destabilizes social freedoms within a democratic society. As already shown, the majority of discriminatory laws and public discomfort with Japanese immigration was focused in California. Other states such as Oregon and Washington also created discriminatory laws aimed at the Japanese immigrants and the Japanese Americans, but I found California the best example to show how nativism can cause a decline in the protection of civil liberties.

It is sadly ironic that to protect democracy and the freedoms included therein, many individuals were willing to suspend certain constitutionally protected freedoms, be it their own or that of others, and thereby completed a self-fulfilling prophecy.

¹⁰ Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion*, 68.

Epilogue

We will never forget as long as the haunting memories of lonely desert gravesites pursue us still. We will never forget as long as the wind blows cold and hot and the dark gives way to light. We will never forget as long as the grass grows green and the splashing raindrops on the stone find their way to the sea. For with commemoration, we define ourselves as human, and with the inscriptions of the past, we reconfigure our destiny. And we will never forget, because this story is about us all.¹

Gary Y. Okihiro, 1996

Revisiting the Past

Summer 2009—as we carefully searched the map and the side of the road for the unmarked turn-off, I felt a rush of fear that we might not be able to locate the site. I'd had a difficult time searching for the location and directions to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center back in 2007, but in the end we'd found the center quite easily. Roads were properly marked and signs directed the curious to the makeshift memorial. Stephanie and I had a much more difficult time, however locating the Moab Isolation Center. Finding directions and its location on a map had been much easier than finding Heart Mountain, but when actually driving on Highway 191 near Arches National Park, we could not find any mention of the Isolation Center. We knew that the site was marked by two stone pillars. Finally, after carefully driving both ways down the road, I saw two stone stumps—not pillars—and we turned off the road (see Photo 4.1).

I had first heard about the Moab Isolation Center in passing while reading one of the many books used for this thesis. Stephanie and I had planned to visit some of the National Parks in Utah and Colorado during the summer. I decided that since we were going to be in the area, it might be beneficial to my research to visit another location

¹ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered Silences*, 244.

referent to my writing. I chose Moab, because of its proximity to our other ventures, but also because it was different than Heart Mountain. Heart Mountain was a relocation center—a place where the U.S. government sent regular Japanese American citizens and Japanese immigrants. These individuals were allowed certain freedoms, such as the ability to leave the center. They were allowed some belongings and were near their families. The isolation centers existed as prison centers for individuals that the W.R.A. deemed “persistent troublemakers.”² In 1943, the War Relocation Authority created three sites for these individuals. The Cow Creek center was a short lived site in southern California that acted more as overflow for the Manzanar Relocation Center than as an isolation center. The other two sites were located in Leupp, Arizona and Moab, Utah. The W.R.A. created these sites after a particularly violent riot at the Manzanar camp in December of 1943 when Fred Tayama, a leading JACL official was attacked and beaten by an unknown group of assailants.³ Sixteen Japanese activists, who harbored anti-JACL beliefs for their cooperation with the W.R.A., were blamed for the attack and summarily arrested. Demonstrators demanding their release were tear-gassed by the military and caused a riot. The War Relocation Authority then decided to separate any male U.S. citizens designated as troublemakers. The W.R.A. shipped these individuals to either Leupp or Moab, both of which operated as miniature high-security prisons.⁴ The sixteen men arrested in Manzanar became the first individuals sent to the Moab Center.

² Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgement without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle & Washington: University of Washington Press, 2003), 139. Kashima’s writing attempts to analyze the entire breadth of the Relocation process and its locations during the war.

³ Wendy Ng, *Japanese American Internment during World War II: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport & London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 47.

⁴ Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment without Trial*, 145.

At first I didn't know if I had actually found the correct place. There was no memorial, no buildings like I had found at Heart Mountain, and no parking. I could only see farmland and barbed wire fencing surrounding a small area. We returned to our car and drove a short distance further on the dirt road before we finally saw a small plaque with a brief commemoration to the center. I had printed a map of the area that I had found online (see Photo 4.2), and after finding the remains of building foundations, I attempted to plot out the various buildings. The only buildings near our location were three barracks (see Photos 4.3 and 4.4). We searched around for the mess hall, the well, and the supply building but found that they were located on private property which was protected by a barbed fence. A mound of dirt also blocked our view of this part of the center. I was able to get a photo of what I believe is the old well, but I didn't feel comfortable getting any closer (see Photo 4.5).

I had started this project almost five years ago with a paper written for only my second graduate level history course. From there, the ideas within that original paper had permeated other writing assignments, and before I knew it, I had switched my thesis focus to the Japanese immigrants. By the time I had made this trip, I had already submitted the first draft of my thesis and had made considerable inroads into my second draft. When I visited Heart Mountain I had not even decided that this would be my topic. As I stood looking out at the barren desert and what remained of this ethnic prison, I could not help feel sad for anyone of Japanese descent who had been negatively influenced by nativism. I also could not help feeling just a little relieved that the majority of my thesis work had finally been completed.

Appendices

Appendix A: Photos for Preface



Photo A.1¹



Photo A.3³



Photo A.2²



Photo A.4⁴

¹ Personal photo, “View of Heart Mountain” (June 12, 2007).

² Personal photo, “Tracks Leading to Heart Mountain Center” (June 12, 2007).

³ Personal photo, “Heart Mountain Relocation Center Memorial” (June 12, 2007).

⁴ Personal photo, “Glass Plaque with the Names of all Internees” (June 12, 2007).



Photo A.5⁵



Photo A.8⁸



Photo A.6⁶



Photo A.9⁹



Photo A.7⁷



Photo A.10¹⁰

⁵ Personal photo, "Plaque with the Names of *Nisei* who died in WWII" (June 12, 2007).

⁶ Personal photo, "View of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Hospital" (June 12, 2007).

⁷ Personal Photo, "View of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Administrative Office" (June 12, 2007).

⁸ Personal Photo, "View of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Speaker's Platform" (June 12, 2007).

⁹ Personal Photo, "Heart Mountain Forgotten Relics 1" (June 12, 2007).

¹⁰ Personal Photo, "Heart Mountain Forgotten Relics 2" (June 12, 2007).

Appendix B: Photos for Chapter 2



Photo B.1¹¹



¹¹ Henry "Yoshitaka" Kiyama, *The Four Immigrants Manga*, 118–9.



Photo B.2¹²



¹² Henry "Yoshitaka" Kiyama, *The Four Immigrants Manga*, 66-7.

Appendix C: Photos for Chapter 4

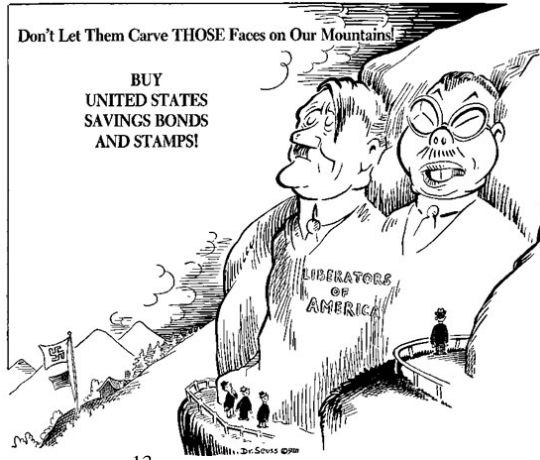


Photo C.1¹³

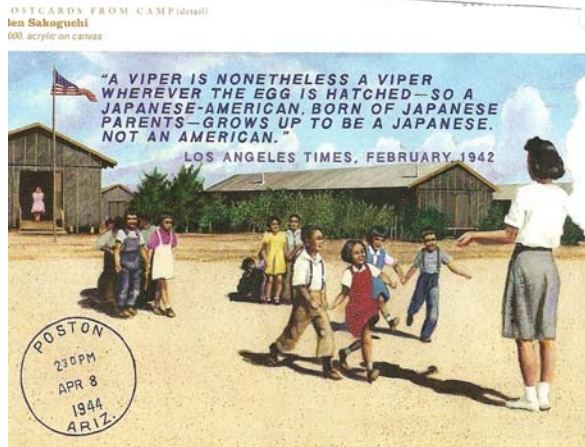


Photo C.2¹⁴



Photo C.3¹⁵

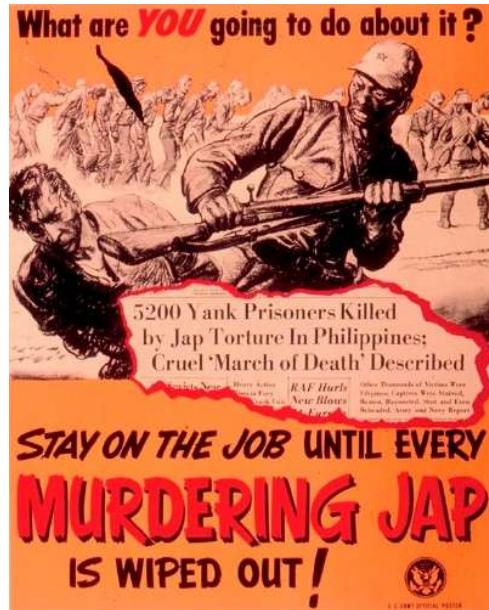


Photo C.4¹⁶

¹³ Dr. Seuss, “Don’t Let them Carve those Faces on our Mountains,” poster, <http://orpheus.ucsd.edu/speccoll/dspolitic/pm/11212cs.jpg> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

¹⁴ Ben Sakaguchi, *Postcards from Camp*, acrylic on canvas (2000). Sakaguchi uses a postcard from camp. Also see W.H. Anderson “The Question of Japanese Americans,” for the quote Sakoguchi uses for his piece.

¹⁵ “Help Bring them back to You,” poster, <http://www.library.northwestern.edu/govinfo/collections/wwii-posters/> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

¹⁶ “Stay on the Job,” poster, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/headovmetal/sets/>

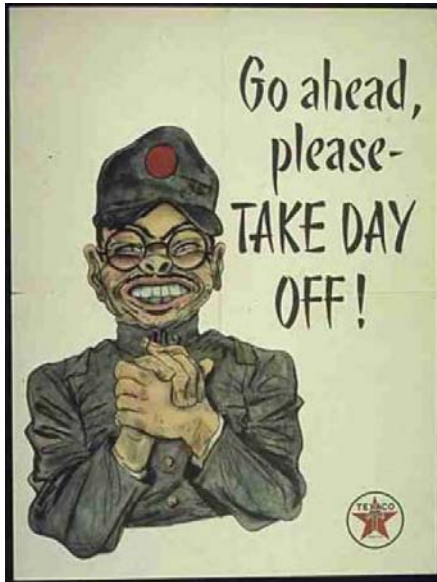


Photo C.5¹⁷



Photo C.7¹⁹



Photo C.6¹⁸

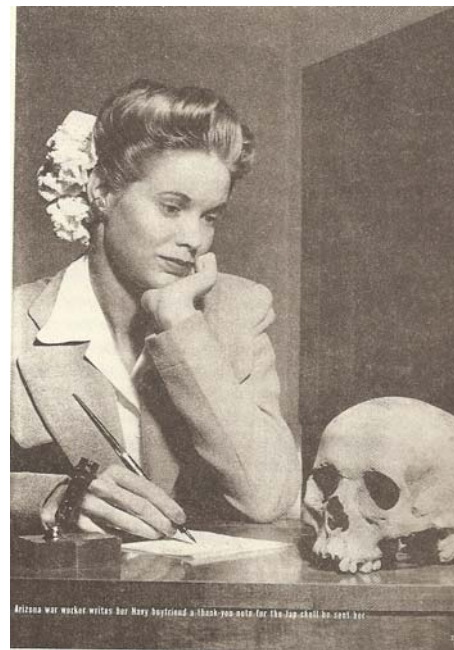


Photo C.8²⁰

72157602730833017/ (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

¹⁷ "Go ahead, Please—Take Day Off!" poster, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/headovmetal/sets/72157602730833017/> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

¹⁸ *Guadalcanal Diary*, movie poster, http://www.impawards.com/1943/guadalcanal_diary.html (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

¹⁹ "Dutch Commander of the East Indies," painting, in *Time Magazine*, cover (January 26, 1942).



Photo C.9²¹

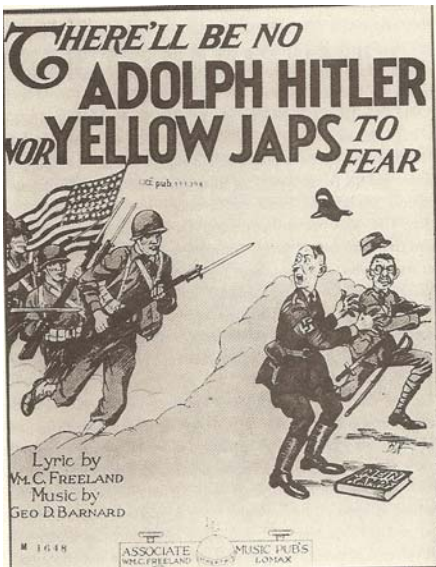


Photo C.10²²

²⁰ "War Worker with the Skull of a Japanese Soldier," photograph, in *Life*, 35 (May 22, 1944).

²¹ "Our Homes are in Danger Now!" poster, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/headovmetal/sets/72157602730833017/> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

²² "There'll Be no Adolph Hitler nor Yellow Japs to Fear," song cover, in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during*



Photo C.11²³

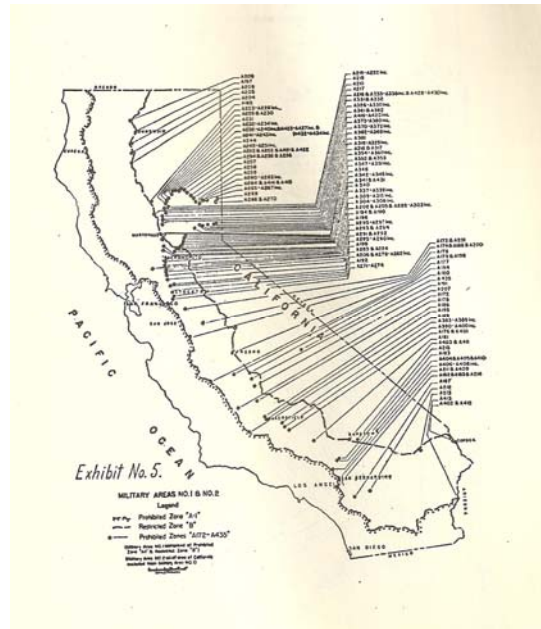


Photo C.12²⁴

World War II, 172 (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²³ "Japanese Americans Taking Oath of Loyalty," screen caption, in *Nisei Soldier: Standard Bearer for an Exiled People*, Director Loni Ding, Interviewer Ken Hori, Narrator Russ Holcomb (Vox, 1983).

²⁴ "California Military Areas," in *American Concentration Camps: A Documentary History of the Relocation and Incarceration of Japanese Americans, 1942–1945*, edited by Roger Daniels (New York & London: Garland Press, 1989).



Photo C.13²⁵



Photo C.15²⁷

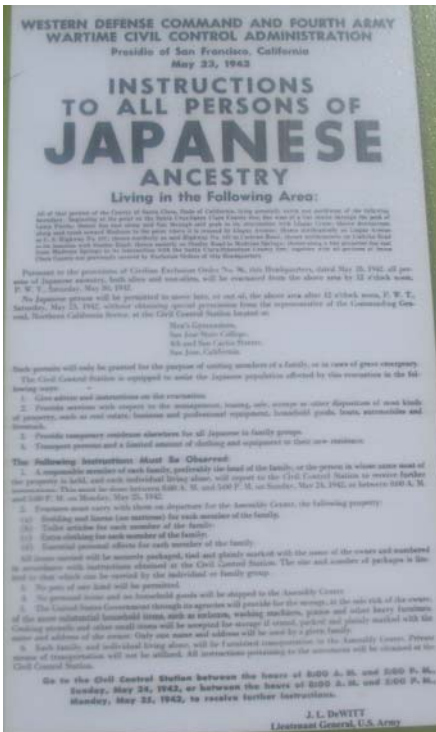


Photo C.14²⁶



Photo C.16²⁸

²⁵ "Evacuation Sale," screen caption, in *Nisei Soldier: Standard Bearer for an Exiled People*, Director Loni Ding, Interviewer Ken Hori, Narrator Russ Holcomb (Vox, 1983).

²⁶ Personal photo, "Copy of Processing Center Notification" (June 12, 2007).

²⁷ "Japs Keep Out," screen caption, in *Nisei Soldier: Standard Bearer for an Exiled People*, Director Loni Ding, Interviewer Ken Hori, Narrator Russ Holcomb (Vox, 1983).

²⁸ United States Army Signal Corp "Other Evacuees were Transported from their Residence Areas to Assembly Centers by Train," Photograph at Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/tr/print/catalog.html> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).



Photo C.17²⁹

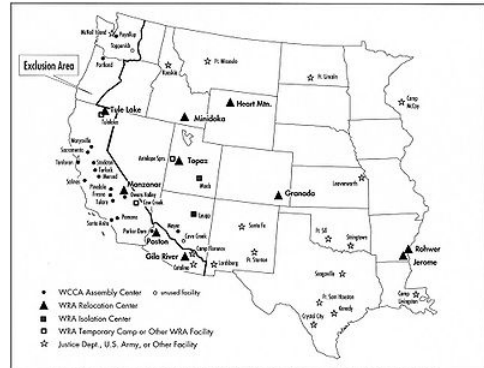


Figure 1.1. Sites in the western U.S. associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Photo C.19³¹



Photo C.18³⁰



Photo C.20³²



Photo C.21³³

²⁹ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, "Bainbridge Island, Washington, Evacuation, Mother and Her Brood of Children Await Transportation on Evacuation Day," photograph at Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

³⁰ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, "Young Japanese Boy Standing beside Rifle Held by Soldier during Evacuation of Bainbridge Island, Washington," photograph at Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

³¹ "Japanese Relocation Sites," dDiagram, http://www.knowledgerush.com/kr/encyclopedia/Japanese_internment_camp/ (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

³² "Heart Mountain Relocation Center with Heart Mountain in the Background," photograph, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Jean%20Miyake-Downey/2234> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).



Photo C.22³⁴



Photo C.24³⁶



Photo C.23³⁵

³³ “Heart Mountain Draft Resisters,” photograph, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Jean%20Miyake-Downey/2234> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

³⁴ “Frank Emi,” photograph, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Jean%20Miyake-Downey/2234> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

³⁵ “Kiyoshi Okamoto,” photograph, http://www.pbs.org/itvs/conscience/the_story/characters/okamoto_kiyoshi.html (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

³⁶ Russell Lee, “Japanese-American camp, war emergency evacuation, [Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, Calif.],” photograph at Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/catalog.html> (Accessed on October 16, 2009).

Appendix D: Photos for Epilogue



Photo D.1³⁷



Photo D.4⁴⁰

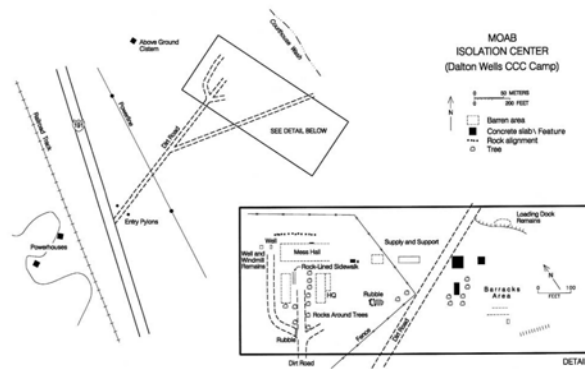


Photo D.2³⁸



Photo D.5⁴¹



Photo D.3³⁹

³⁷ Personal photo, “Entrance to the Moab Isolation Center” (July 19, 2009).

³⁸ “Moab Isolation Center,” map, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/anthropology74/cel.htm (Accessed on June 20, 2009).

³⁹ Personal photo, “Moab Center Barracks Foundation 1” (July 19, 2009).

⁴⁰ Personal photo, “Moab Center Barracks Foundation 2” (July 19, 2009).

⁴¹ Personal photo, “Moab Center Old Well” (July 19, 2009).

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Curriculum Vitae

Jonathon P. O'Neal

Education:

M.A., History, Indiana University—Purdue University Indianapolis, 2009

Concentrations: Japanese American History

Thesis: *Nativism and the Decline in Civil Liberties: Reactions of White America toward the Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1945*

B.S., English, Indiana State University, 2001

Professional Experience:

Assistant Director of Admissions, November 2009–Current

Indiana University School of Medicine's Admissions Office

- Advise potential medical students of the admissions process and aid in their educational and personal growth. Review student applications for medical admissions requirements.
- Current member of the Rural Medicine Admissions Committee. Devise plans for the promotion and implementation of the Rural Medicine admissions process.
- Conduct promotional travel around the Midwest. Always dedicated to consistently improving the largest medical school in the United States, and providing applicants with a positive view of IUSM.

Admissions Coordinator, June 2002–October 2009

Indiana University School of Medicine's Admissions Office

- Nearly ten years experience in a higher educational setting, advising undergraduates about admissions procedures and requirements.
- Excellent written skills that allows me to create all official correspondence for 4,000 medical school applicants and evaluated more than 5,000 letters of recommendation. Experience in journalistic, business, and creative writing and knowledgeable of both
- Chicago Manual of Style and MLA Style. Proficient in Microsoft Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Publisher, Outlook, Internet Explorer.
- Gather statistical information relevant to both the admissions process and the recruitment of potential students.

Administrative Assistant, August 2001–June 2002

Indiana University School of Medicine's Admissions Office

- Began professional career by creating data files and organizing information for the students applying to medical school.

- Courteously handled various correspondences between the university and the applicants in a consistent manner. Maintained my employer's confidence by protecting confidential and sensitive information for the university and the applicants.
- Managed all admissions procedures for the fledgling M.S. in Medical Science Program until it received its own office staff (September 2001–September 2003).

Notable Experiences:

- Started and solely managed a Christmas toy drive within the Dean's Office of the medical school for the Julian Center (a battered woman's shelter): 2003–Current.
- Member of the Delta Pi chapter of Theta Chi fraternity.
- Member of multiple band programs from middle school through college.

Honors and Awards:

- Awarded my own private art show in Bare-Montgomery Student Gallery at Indiana State University in 2000.
- Awarded membership into Sigma Tau Delta an English honors fraternity.
- Awarded 2001 Mary Reid McBeth Distinguished Award for Fiction.
- Finalist for the 2001 Alan C. Rankin Distinguished Senior Award.