Japanese Imprisonment at Amache

How do you know you’re on the right side of history?
How do you build community behind bars?
What does it mean to be a citizen?

By Christian Heimburger*

Standards and Teaching Strategies by:
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Standards Addressed

A quick-glance overview of social studies standards that teachers might address in 4th grade, 8th grade, and high school using the resources in this set.

4th Grade

History:
- **Standard 1.1:** Organize and sequence events to understand the concepts of chronology and cause and effect in the history of Colorado
- **Standard 1.2:** The historical eras, individuals, groups, ideas and themes in Colorado history and their relationships to key events in the United States

Civics:
- **Standard 3.1:** Analyze and debate multiple perspectives on an issue
- **Standard 3.2** The origins, structure, and functions of the Colorado government

8th Grade

History:
- **Standard 1.1:** Formulate appropriate hypotheses about United States history based on variety of historical sources and perspectives
- **Standard 1.2:** The historical eras, individuals, groups, ideas and themes from the origins of the American Revolution through Reconstruction and their relationships with one another

Geography:
- **Standard 2.1:** Use geographic tools to analyze patterns in human and physical systems

Economics:
- **Standard 3.1:** Understand the allocation of scarce resources in societies through analysis of individual choice, market interaction, and public policy.

Civics:
- **Standard 4.1:** Analyze the origins, structure, and functions of governments and their impacts on societies and citizens.
- **Standard 4.2:** The place of law in a constitutional system

High School

History:
- **Standard 1.1:** Use the historical method of inquiry to ask questions, evaluate primary and secondary sources, critically analyze and interpret data, and develop interpretations defended by evidence
- **Standard 1.2:** The key concepts of continuity and change, cause and effect, complexity, unity and diversity over time

Geography:
- **Standard 2.1:** Use different types of maps and geographic tools to analyze features on Earth to investigate and solve geographic questions

Economics:
- **Standard 3.1:** Productive resources – natural, human, capital – are scarce; therefore, choices are made about how individuals, businesses, governments, and societies allocate these resources

Civics:
- **Standard 4.1:** Purposes of and limitations on the foundations, structures, and functions of government
• Standard 4.3: Analyze how public policy – domestic and foreign – is developed at the local, state, and national levels and compare how policy-making occurs in other forms of government
Overview Essay

If you were to drive east along Highway 50 in southeastern Colorado, you might come across a curious ghost town called Amache. Located one-and-a-half miles west of the town of Granada, Amache appears to be little more than a couple of dusty roads, a few dozen scraggly elm trees, and miles of flat prairie. If you look carefully, however, you will see other physical remnants of the town: the crumbling foundations of hundreds of buildings, abandoned gardens, and shards of broken dinnerware. These ruins mark a place unlike any other in Colorado, a place unique among the ghost towns that dot the state: During the Second World War, Amache was a concentration camp that housed nearly 8000 Japanese and Japanese Americans who were forcibly removed from their homes in California and confined in Colorado.*

The story of Amache and its Japanese American inhabitants begins shortly after the Empire of Japan attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Fearful of potential spies embedded on the mainland, the U.S. government began arresting prominent Japanese citizens living along the West Coast on December 8. In the months after the attack, politicians, nativist groups hostile to more recent immigrants, and members of the press lobbied the federal government to take direct action against the Japanese living on West Coast, whom they feared would instigate sabotage, espionage, and “fifth column” activities expressing sympathy with the enemy.

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the creation of restricted “military zones” and gave military leaders the power to remove any person deemed to be a threat to national security. Only Japanese immigrants, as well as their American-born children, were targeted for removal. Within weeks military leaders had declared much of the U.S. West Coast a restricted zone and began to forcibly remove 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry from California and portions of Washington, Oregon, and Arizona. The newly established War Relocation Authority (WRA) was charged with moving these “evacuees” to “relocation centers” in the Interior West. While most western governors were resolutely opposed to hosting “dangerous” enemies in their states, Colorado Governor Ralph Carr publically declared that he and the citizens of his state were “big enough and patriotic enough” to accept the federal government’s decision to place California Japanese in Colorado. Construction on Colorado’s Camp Amache – or the “Granada Relocation Center” as it was officially called – began in late June 1942.

The Japanese and Japanese Americans who were incarcerated in Amache came predominantly from California communities along the Sierra Nevada foothills, the North Bay Area, and urban Los Angeles. After enduring several months in hastily constructed “assembly centers,” the families were transported in stages to southeast Colorado in August. Hailing from more temperate climates, Amache’s new residents were largely unfamiliar with the arid, desolate prairieland on which their new home was built. Many had never seen snow before or experienced anything like the area’s notorious dust storms. The incarceration center, built from scratch during the preceding months, was only partly completed when the California exiles arrived. When Amache was finally completed, it housed 7700 residents, making it the tenth largest city in Colorado. But despite government’s euphemistic reference to Amache and the other incarceration camps as a “pioneer communities,” Amache was not a conventional city. It was surrounded by a barbed wire fence and residents were guarded twenty-four

* Scholars use various terms in referring to Amache and the other camps run by the War Relocation Authority during World War II. They were called “relocation centers,” “internment camps,” and “concentration camps” by government officials of the day. However, a number of leading scholars today feel that the first two terms are euphemisms that do not do justice to the forcible removal and long-term detention of their residents, many of whom were American citizens. While some recommend using the term “concentration camp,” others feel that the Jewish Holocaust at the hands of the Nazis has changed the meaning of this term, investing it with strong connotations of mass murder that make it no longer appropriate to apply to the experience of Japanese Americans in American camps. Some scholars propose “incarceration camp” or “prison camp” as the most accurate designation of these sites where residents were kept for years against their will under guard and surrounded by barbed wire. Although this resource set generally uses the term “incarceration camp,” teachers will find several sources addressing language and terminology in the “Additional Resources” section and are encouraged to help students think critically about the language of the past and how the words we use today matter.
hours a day by armed sentries. At night, searchlights constantly swept the grounds looking for potential escapees.

The removal process took a devastating toll on Japanese immigrants and their Japanese American children. Many lost homes, businesses, and virtually everything that they had worked for decades to achieve. Abruptly separated from their friends and communities – and allowed to take with them only what they could carry – families were confused and scared. Many Japanese Americans were disillusioned by how little protection their American citizenship offered.

Though the government met the residents’ basic material needs, life behind barbed wire was difficult and far from fulfilling. Each family at Amache spent nearly three years living together in a one-bedroom “apartment.” Bathroom and bathing facilities were communal, and, like their homes, offered people little privacy. Residents waited in long lines three times a day to eat meals in crowded mess halls. Living in such artificial conditions, and facing an uncertain future, families faced tremendous social pressures. For many, these stresses were amplified in January 1943, when the military announced that Japanese American citizens would be allowed to join the military and devised a highly controversial questionnaire to evaluate the loyalty of all center residents eligible to enlist. As at other incarceration centers, this loyalty questionnaire divided Amache’s families. In the end, removal and incarceration traumatized Japanese Americans and left many with deep emotional scars.

Though the physical and emotional conditions were far from ideal, Japanese Americans did not simply languish in camp – they actively worked to make the best of their time in exile. They used scrap lumber to build furniture for their sparse apartments and planted trees and gardens to beautify the grounds. Those able to work accepted low-paying jobs to keep the camp running; many also worked as temporary laborers on farms outside the camp. After schools were built at Amache, young students attended classes, while some of their older siblings were allowed to leave to attend college. Attempting to retain elements of a normal life, residents attended religious services, organized sporting events, went to movies and dances, and put on festivals, plays, and other cultural events. After the U.S. army changed its enlistment policy, men and women from Amache joined the armed forces and served valiantly in the European and Pacific theatres. To their credit, Japanese Americans at Amache soldiered on, and, in many respects, life in camp continued as it always had – babies were born, men and women courted and married, and older members of the community passed on.

By the end of 1944, American was winning the war. In December, the U.S. Army rescinded exclusion orders and announced that incarcerees could soon return to their homes on the West Coast. Though some Amache residents had relocated to other parts of the country over the preceding two years, nearly 6,200 people still remained in the camp by January. News of the difficult employment and housing situations in California, along with reports of racial intimidation and violence, made many Amacheans reluctant to leave. After the camp officially closed on October 15, 1945, many residents of Amache returned to California to find that their homes and business had been vandalized or taken.

The Amache camp itself slowly slipped into history. Barracks and other buildings were declared “surplus” and were dismantled and auctioned off. The land in and around the camp was sold to the town of Granada, and over time nature began to reclaim the town.

Though the physical markers have faded over time, the harrowing experiences of those who lived at the Amache Incarceration Center still speak to us today. Beginning in the late 1970s, former residents began to make an annual pilgrimage to the site. Though it often brings back bitter memories, many former residents say that the journeys have helped them heal. The history and legacy of wartime incarceration at Amache remains an important part of Colorado history, as well as part of our national narrative. In 2006, Amache was declared a National Historic Landmark, and efforts to restore portions of the site are ongoing.
1 / Removal From Home
Race and Citizenship

Citation

Dorothea Lange, “Oakland, Calif., Mar. 1942. A large sign reading "I am an American" placed in the window of a store, at 13th and Franklin streets, on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor. The store was closed following orders to persons of Japanese descent to evacuate from certain West Coast areas. The owner, a University of California graduate, will be housed with hundreds of evacuees in War Relocation Authority centers for the duration of the war” (photograph), Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004665381/.

Annotation

Though military planners based the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans on the fundamentally flawed logic of “military necessity,” racism also permeated the decision. Labor unions and nativist groups had for decades argued that the Japanese were “unassimilable,” a notion that informed a series of anti-Japanese laws enacted during the first two decades of the Twentieth Century. During the 1910s and 1920s, many western states created statues that barred Japanese from owning land. In 1922, the Supreme Court ruled that Japanese immigrants were ineligible for naturalization, and in 1924, Congress effectively banned any further immigration from Japan.

Like many Americans at the time, the architects of the removal policy failed to distinguish between Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans (who were legal citizens). The head of the U.S. Army's Western Defense Command, General John L. DeWitt, famously declared in 1942, “A Jap's a Jap. It makes no difference whether the Jap is a citizen or not.” Following this logic, all people of Japanese ancestry were enemies and should be removed from militarily sensitive areas of the coast. Echoing his colleague, Colonel Karl Bendetsen later added, “I am determined that if they have one drop of Japanese blood in them, they must go to camp.” The decision to remove and incarcerate Japanese Americans, without due process, was a clear violation of their constitutional rights. For many Japanese Americans, these actions raised unsettling questions about the relationship between race and citizenship.

Photographer Dorothea Lange captured this public assertion of patriotism by Torasaburo Masuda, the proprietor of Wanto Co. Grocery in Oakland, California, in the months between the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the forced removal of people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. The sign did no good: the owner was forced to close his business and taken from Oakland along with thousands of his fellow Japanese citizens.
Citation

Dorothea Lange, *National Archives*, “San Francisco, California. On a brick wall beside air raid shelter poster, exclusion orders were posted at First and Front Streets directing removal of persons of Japanese ancestry from first San Francisco section to be affected by evacuation. The order was issued April 1, 1942, by Lieutenant General J.L. DeWitt, and directed evacuation from this section by noon on April 7, 1942.” National Archives, Identifier 536018, Local Identifier: 210-G-A40, http://research.archives.gov/description/536018

Copy of Executive Order No. 5 (on following pages) courtesy of History Colorado.

Annotation

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor exacerbated racial anxieties and ultimately convinced federal officials that anyone of Japanese ancestry was a potential military threat. By issuing Executive Order 9066, President Roosevelt gave military leaders the power to designate “militarily sensitive“ areas along the West Coast off limits to certain people. Though the order was written broadly enough to include people of German or Italian ancestry, only Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans were singled out and removed en masse.

Drawing from the President’s authority, the Army’s Western Defense Command issued a series of exclusion orders in over one hundred communities along the West Coast. By mid-May, all people of Japanese ancestry who would later call the Amache Incarceration Center home had been removed from the state of California.

This photo shows Civilian Exclusion Order No. 5 and instructions addressed to people of Japanese ancestry for their forthcoming removal during the first week of April 1942, posted on a brick wall next to a notice about air raid shelters in San Francisco. A copy of the full instructions follows as primary source 2B.
Civilian Exclusion Order No. 5
WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
Presidio of San Francisco, California
April 1, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY
LIVING IN THE FOLLOWING AREA:

All that portion of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, lying generally west of the north-south line established by Junipero Serra Boulevard, Worchester Avenue, and Nineteenth Avenue, and lying generally north of the east-west line established by California Street, to the intersection of Market Street, and thence on Market Street to San Francisco Bay.

All Japanese persons, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above designated area by 12:00 o'clock noon, Tuesday, April 7, 1942.

No Japanese person will be permitted to enter or leave the above described area after 8:00 a.m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the Provost Marshal at the Civil Control Station located at:

1701 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.

2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property including: real estate, business and professional equipment, buildings, household goods, boats, automobiles, livestock, etc.

3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.

4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence, as specified below.

(OVER)
THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS MUST BE OBSERVED:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, or between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Friday, April 3, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Reception Center, the following property:
   (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
   (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
   (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
   (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
   (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions received at the Civil Control Station.

The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

No contraband items as described in paragraph 6, Public Proclamation No. 3, Headquarters Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, dated March 24, 1942, will be carried.

3. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage at the sole risk of the owner of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

4. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Reception Center. Private means of transportation will not be utilized. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station at 1701 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, California, between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, or between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Friday, April 3, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

See Civilian Exclusion Order No. 5
3 / Removal From Home
Collected Behind Barbed Wire

Citation


Annotation

Before they were sent to Amache, many Japanese American families endured five months living at the Santa Anita Racetrack in Arcadia, California (the same track where the legendary racehorse Seabiscuit had won the Santa Anita Handicap just two years earlier). In order to accommodate 19,000 people on short notice, many of the racetrack’s horse stables were hastily converted into living quarters. Despite an attempt to whitewash the walls, residents who lived in the stalls could not escape the lingering stench of horse dung.

It was in these assembly centers that many Japanese Americans came to terms with how their country now saw them – as threats to national security. The assembly centers, like the incarceration camps, were surrounded by barbed wire fences and guarded by armed military police who stood as sentries on elevated watchtowers. Ruth Okimoto, whose bed was placed next to an open window, recalled how the center’s ubiquitous searchlights “robbed blackness from my night.” Though Japanese Americans were told that removal was “for their own protection,” residents could not ignore the fact that the guns and searchlights were trained on them.

This photograph shows armed military police standing guard on one of the watchtowers that loomed above the Santa Anita Assembly Center.

When federal officials first proposed “relocating” people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast to the Interior West, governors of the affected states strongly denounced the plan. In a move that proved unpopular with his constituents, Colorado Governor Ralph Carr publically expressed a willingness to cooperate with federal authorities. In a radio address to the people of Colorado on February 29, 1942, Carr articulated his stance: “If any enemy aliens must be transferred as a war measure,” he declared, “then we of Colorado are big enough and patriotic enough to do our duty.”

Though he emphasized that his stance should “not be construed as an invitation” for Japanese Americans to come to Colorado, many of those who did voluntarily relocate to the state, as well as those incarcerated at Amache, felt welcome in Colorado thanks to Carr’s position. Indeed, even after his speech Carr campaigned for racial tolerance in Colorado and argued that incarcerating Japanese Americans was a clear violation of their constitutional rights. Later that year, he argued that the constitutional phrase “we the people” applied to all citizens, including Japanese Americans: “When it is suggested that American citizens be thrown into concentration camps, where they lose all the privileges of citizenship under the Constitution, then the principles of that great document are violated and lost.”

Transcript of Governor Ralph Carr’s Speech Broadcast on February 28, 1942

People of Colorado:

In answer to the call of our country, Colorado has done everything in her power to uphold the hands of our national leaders in carrying on the battle for humanity, for liberty, and for civilization. Our people have sent their dearest possessions to the ten or a dozen battlefronts where the Stars and Stripes are leading in the fight on savagery, paganism, and the worldwide imposition of servitude upon freemen.

Today, because of a lack of information and perhaps also because of an unhappy interpretation which has been placed upon certain rumors, Colorado as a state is threatened with a charge of a disinclination to cooperate in essential war efforts. A suspicion of a lack of patriotism which is not deserved and which cannot be permitted to go unanswered has been raised.

A few weeks ago rumors came that alien residents of the Pacific Coast states of Japanese origin were to be evacuated and perhaps 3,500 would be sent to Colorado. From some unidentified source came another suggestion, probably born of unfriendly propaganda parentage that California was attempting to dump a bothersome problem into Colorado’s lap.

The first inclination of every Coloradan was one of resentment. There was a feeling that we did not want enemy aliens within our borders who might acquire property rights, who might compete with Colorado labor, and whose presence would be a constant menace and threat to our peaceful conditions of life. Acting on this first impulse, many persons voiced a protest by mail, by telegraph, and, in some instances, through statements in the daily press. Colorado has been placed in a peculiar and embarrassing light.

An official request has been made for a survey of our facilities for harboring aliens of all classes—Italians, Germans, and Japanese. Last week, a presidential order was issued directing the establishment of military zones in the United States, from which any person can be excluded. Clearly, this refers specifically to the West Coast.

In the hope that I may assist in clarifying the situation by establishing our position toward this and other national problems and our patriotism and sincerity of purpose, this announcement is made. Colorado must never be charged with a failure to cooperate in the gravest moment of our nation’s history.

Three months ago, no American dreamed that the Japanese or any other people could dominate the Pacific by force of arms. Today many strongholds, including the Gibraltar of the East at Singapore, have fallen. Our own ships, our own air forces, our own army have suffered severe losses. The blood of American soldiers stains the soil of nearly every island in the Far East. Tonight, as General Douglas MacArthur and his glorious band of Americans and Filipinos set new records for bravery and resourcefulness in the Bataan Peninsula in the face of terrific odds, we have finally come to guess the seriousness of the situation. The enemy controls the very conduct of life in every corner of the world since it has seized the countries where essential raw materials are produced.

There can be no question that the attacks on Pearl Harbor and the Philippines were aided by fifth columnists [saboteurs]. The potency of that evil organization has been proved in every European country which has fallen, exemplified by the desertion of France, as Winston Churchill described it, and the rape of Norway and the rest. The overthrow of any nation is assured when the approach of an attacking force is made smooth and paved by subversive activities within.

Along the Pacific Coast there are thousands of persons who are not friendly to those things which we call American. Only Monday night of this week, the beautiful country surrounding Santa Barbara in Southern California was attacked by an enemy submarine which came to the surface and hurled shells at a great supply of gasoline. The enemy has become so confident that he knocks at the very front door of one of the great cities of the world and attacks the mainland of the United States.

Military strategists say that if Java falls, then Australia will constitute the only barrier between California and the enemy. Fifth columnists—our enemies—are within signaling distance of any plane, any battleship, any submarine which approaches our coast. Attacks similar to that of Monday night, fraught with infinitely more serious consequences, are to be expected any minute. And if Australia, New Zealand, Java, and Sumatra fall, we know what the next move will be. We will be put to it to protect our shoreline from Canada to Mexico against the most aggressive, the most effective, the most dangerous war machine that has ever been assembled. The defense of California is the defense of Colorado, of the United States of America, of the cause
of the United Allies. It is the defense of the very future of that civilization which we value above everything else.

If those who command the armed forces of our nation say that it is necessary to remove any persons from the Pacific Coast and call upon Colorado to do her part in this war by furnishing temporary quarters for those individuals, we stand ready to carry out that order. If any enemy aliens must be transferred as a war measure, then we of Colorado are big enough and patriotic enough to do our duty. We announce to the world that 1,118,000 red-blooded citizens of this state are able to take care of 3,500 or any number of enemies, if that be the task which is allotted to us.

When our boys are facing thousands of them along the battlefronts of the Pacific; when Americans are being cut down by the withering fire of machine guns; when our ships are sunk by treacherous planes while their diplomats sue for peace, when our very shores are shelled by submarines—Colorado will not complain because she is asked to take care of a handful of undesirables whose presence on the coast might prove the difference between a successful invasion and the saving of our country.

We do not welcome any enemy aliens from any country into this state. But by the same token, we do not rejoice that our boys are conscripted. We find no happiness in the daily casualty lists which we scan for familiar names with fear and trepidation. We do not glory in the fact that we have been drawn into the most terrible warfare that humankind has ever invented. There is no pleasure in the sacrifice of great industries and the surrender of private rights for the good of the nation. In fact, there is nothing connected with this war which renders it desirable. But as patriots, as Americans, as Coloradans, we say to the world—we say to our leaders—Colorado will do her part and more.

The people of Colorado are giving their sons, are offering their possessions, are surrendering their rights and privileges to the end that this war may be fought to victory and permanent peace. If it is our duty to receive disloyal persons, we shall welcome the performance of that task.

This statement must not be construed as an invitation, however. Only because the needs of our nation dictate it, do we even consider such an arrangement. In making the transfers, we can feel assured that governmental agencies will take every precaution to protect our people, our defense projects, and our property from the same menace which demands their removal from those sections. And in this connection, I think it is only fair for us to ask in the placement of evacuees that local conditions and the needs of our communities be consulted. Sources of water supply, timber growth, and essential industrial activities should be considered. The protection of wildlife is a major concern in Colorado.

For an understanding of the reasons for the possible evacuation of such enemy aliens, let us hear a story told by an American, a Colorado girl now living in Hawaii. She witnessed the attack on Pearl Harbor. She saw the awful results of those unbelievable assassinations. Many planes, manned by Japanese pilots, were shot down by the American anti-aircraft guns. And the bodies of those pilots shout a warning which we cannot ignore. And when the break came, when Japan loosed its attack on Pearl Harbor, the rings and insignia of the graduating classes of high school and colleges of the islands and the Pacific Coast of the United States were found on the fingers of many of the Japanese pilots who fell under American gunfire.

All of these educated Japanese are not pilots, however. All of them are not confined to the city of Tokio [sic]. Nor do they constitute all of the people who dislike Americans and America. They are to be found wherever there are Japanese, Italians, and Germans—and particularly in California. In justice and fairness, let us pause
here to speak a word in behalf of loyal German, Italian, and Japanese citizens who must not suffer for the activities and animosities of others.

In Colorado there are thousands of men and women and children—in the nation there are millions of them—who by reason of blood only, are regarded by some people as unfriendly. They are as loyal to American institutions as you or I. Many of them have been here—are American citizens, with no connection with or feeling of loyalty toward the customs and philosophies of Italy, Japan, or Germany. The world’s great melting pot is peopled by the descendants of every nation in the globe. It is not fair for the rest of us to segregate the people from one or two or three nations and to brand them as unpatriotic or disloyal regardless.

The coming of these evacuees will, of necessity, give rise to social problems, to business and labor questions, and similar vexing issues. But surely we possess the brains, the resources, the solid American character which will enable us to solve those problems properly and intelligently. People of Colorado, let us remember that we have a job to do. Answers which would be correct under ordinary circumstances do not apply when all conditions are changed.

We are at war. We must realize that. Let us approach these social and economic problems with a new attitude of mind. Let us get that job done as quickly as possible so that our boys may come home and we may return to our American way of life.

Men of Colorado, if MacArthur and a handful of men can hold off hundreds of thousands of Japanese under the conditions which they face, we can control the conduct of any little group which may be sent to Colorado.

And finally, I urge upon our people the danger of inflammatory statements and threats against these unwelcome guests. The newspapers report that some aroused citizens have threatened force against the approach of undesirables. In my presence the other morning, a young man in uniform outed a superior as favoring the firing squad as the solution of this problem. Such reckless statements may bring reactions which we shall always regret.

Let it be understood that such conduct is not approved by the code of humanity. Americans have too great a sense of fair play. Let it also be known that we do not hold all the cards and that reprisals would be visited upon our own soldiers, officers, and citizens who will be taken prisoners before this is over. Let us consider ourselves as part of a great army, engaged in the most righteous war in history. No good soldier interferes with the activities of his superiors. People of Colorado, let us all be good soldiers. Let us accept the fortunes of war with heads up.

This is a solemn affair. We must approach it in that attitude of mind.
Having already been removed from their homes, Japanese Americans faced another dislocation in September 1942. Though grateful to leave the assembly centers at Santa Anita and Merced behind, residents now boarded trains to a new, unknown destination in Colorado.

Many Japanese Americans were routed through Salt Lake City, while others, like Mary Hamano, remembered riding the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe railroad through the California, Arizona, and New Mexico deserts before heading north into Colorado. The arduous three-day voyage was punctuated by frequent stops and starts as higher priority trains – deemed critical to the war effort – delayed their passage. While some older Japanese Americans were assigned limited space in sleeper cars, most of the passengers spent the uncomfortable journey sitting and sleeping upright on hard wooden benches. Bathroom facilities were limited, and conditions in the cars were often hot and stuffy. Military police often instructed passengers to draw the shades as they passed through cities and towns along the route (ostensibly for their own safety).

When they finally disembarked at the Granada train station, they confronted a new, unfamiliar world. Disoriented and dislocated, they, along with the limited belongings they were able to carry, were transported by bus to their new home at Amache. Once there, the new residents endured another two hours of “intake” procedures.

In a scene that artfully captures the chaos of removal and confinement, a new wave of residents arrive at the Granada Incarceration Center – which was the official name for Amache – in September 1942.
Amache Incarceration Center

Citation

Tom Parker, Overview of prefabricated army-style barracks at the Granada Relocation Center, Camp Amache, Prowers County, Southeastern Colorado, June 20, 1943, courtesy of Denver Public Library. Available at http://digital.denverlibrary.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15330coll22/id/6859/rec/17

Annotation

The Amache (or Granada) Incarceration Center was built in the arid dustbowl region of Colorado, where its new occupants – mainly from temperate regions in California – faced an unfamiliar landscape largely void of trees and dominated by short grass, sagebrush, thistle, and prickly pear. The Army Corps of Engineers began construction on Amache on June 29, 1942, and residents were moved in before it was halfway complete. When finished, the “city” measured one mile square and was divided into 29 blocks. Completely surrounded by a barbed wire fence, the Japanese and Japanese Americans who lived there for up to three years were not free to leave. Selling or leaving behind most of their material possessions, Amache residents were generally only allowed to bring what they could carry.
Citation

Tom Parker, “Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colorado. Two days after arrival and the first Sunday afternoon finds these volunteer workers of the first contingent have arranged their barracks as comfortably as possible and are spending an afternoon much in the manner of young folks anywhere else.” August 30, 1942. Source: National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives, Identifier 538753, Local Identifier: 210-G-E90. Available at https://catalog.archives.gov/id/538753.

Annotation

Amache was, in essence, a city of military-style barracks. The barracks measured 120 x 20 feet each, and were converted into mess halls, recreation centers, restroom and bathing facilities, and residences. Upon arrival, each family was assigned a one-room “apartment,” meagerly furnished with a single bare light bulb, a coal-burning stove, and army cots for beds. Most barracks at Amache lacked adequate insulation, and gaps between boards allowed dust and cold air to infiltrate the apartments. Residents lacked space and privacy. The units were small by any measure: families of four to six people lived for several years in a 16 x 20 foot room with no partitions for privacy.

Despite these difficult living conditions, Japanese American families incarcerated at Amache adapted. Many built their own furniture out of scrape lumber, and decorated their apartments with hand-made adornments or goods ordered from the Sears Catalog. In an attempt to create a modicum of privacy, many residents hung bed sheets from clotheslines to act as makeshift walls.

This photograph shows some of the earliest residents of as they adjust to living in cramped quarters. Like other Amacheans, these Japanese Americans tried to turn a bare barrack into a home and, as the photographer noted in his caption, “have arranged their barracks as comfortably as possible.”
Citation


Annotation

Each block at Amache had a designated mess hall where residents sat at picnic tables to consume each of their three meals. Meals were served cafeteria style, in three or four shifts, to 1000 to 1200 people at a time. As a result, incarcerees spent a significant portion of their day lined up to eat.

Though residents were hired to prepare the food, wartime rationing, a lack of preferred ingredients, and inexperience on the part of the cooks left much to be desired. One former incarceree bluntly described the food as “bland but adequate.” The communal eating arrangements had a significant impact on the family unit as well: children often sat by their friends rather than their families, further undermining the authority of their parents.

Amache resident Frank Endo photographed the people of block 7K eating their afternoon meal during the winter of 1943.
Citation

Tom Parker, “One member of a family group of former California residents topping beets in a field near Prospect, Colorado.” November 5, 1942. Source: Online Archive of California, Identifier Volume 18 Section B WRA no. E-178. Available at http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft309nb0nx/?brand=oac4

Annotation

Though the government provided the incarcerated people with basic necessities, Japanese Americans did not merely languish in camp. Despite low salaries, a large percentage of them chose to work both inside and outside of the camp.

Operating the tenth largest city in Colorado required a tremendous number of workers: many residents worked as cooks, wait staff, and helpers in the mess halls, while others kept the camp running smoothly as part of the public works department. Residents staffed Amache’s administrative offices, newspaper, post office, fire department, and recreation department, while professionals pursued their work as doctors, nurses, dentists, and teachers. Another large contingent of laborers worked on the project farm, producing food for Amache and other camps. Granted seasonal leave, many men and women temporarily left the camp to work in surrounding communities – the largest percentage of whom aided local farmers during the beet harvest season.

In this photo, a group of incarcerees on temporary leave from Amache work in the sugar beet fields of Northeast Colorado. The sugar extracted from beets was used in industrial products deemed vital to the war effort.
10 / Life Behind Barbed Wire
Camp Through the Eyes of a Child

Citation


Annotation

This photograph shows a group of boys happily digging a cave on the outskirts of Amache. Though most Japanese American children adapted remarkably to their new life, this depiction of child-like innocence is tinged with the serious social consequences of incarceration. Because the government provided basic necessities like food and shelter, the authority of parents began to diminish in the eyes of their children. Fathers and mothers struggled to maintain family unity as peer groups often replaced parents as the dominant moral influence. Though schools were established in all of the incarceration camps, children had few of the chores they may have been responsible for in a normal home setting and less supervision from parents who were busy with camp jobs. Outside of the classroom, children in camp had an atypical amount of freedom and free time that many incarcerees felt weakened traditional family structures. Some teenagers at Amache joined gangs and engaged in bullying, vandalism, and petty theft; other children avoided mischief by channeling their energy and spare time into sports, school clubs, and jobs.
November 9, 1944

Dear Dr. Garrison,

First of all I want to thank you for coming to talk to us today. It was nice of you to take time out from your work to explain why Wiley cancelled the game. We now know we were all disappointed and nothing could null that but it certainly made all of us feel better after your talk. I know that you, Mr. Welther, Mr. Dunbar and the faculty are doing all you can to help us and we really appreciate it, and no matter how bad we tried we couldn’t thank you enough. If this race discriminative test is tested we would have people like you to thank for it.

I think you were right in saying that we must try to play all of our games in our own backyard as you said. It would prevent us from running into the same kind of trouble and from becoming more narrow minded towards the attitude of the people.
know as well as the rest of
the students at school that
we have more fun playing
another school but I don’t
sure that we can have just
as much fun with everyone’s
cooporation right here in
Amache.

We Niseis are very lucky
compared to the treatment
that
the negroes have been receiving.
I know we have nothing
to really complain about.
With so many people and
organizations trying to help us
we should feel grateful and
prove to them that they aren’t
wasting their time and effort.

Thank you again for
your talk.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

[Address]
Sup' of Apache High
Dr. Garrison

We students appreciate the sincere desire of the faculty and you, to help eliminate such prejudices around surrounding communities. The Wiley game proved a very disappointing factor, but if so long as we combat the source of prejudice such as you had many others are doing, we can sooner or later get rid of race hatred.

But by playing games with other schools and associating more with occasional this winter, by establishing friendly attitudes, and sportsmanship, wouldn't it be a speedier way of eliminating prejudices?
11 / Life Behind Barbed Wire

Sporting Events and Community Relations

Citation

11A

11B
Letter courtesy of History Colorado collection.

11C
Letter courtesy of History Colorado collection.

Annotation

Though they lived behind barbed wire, sporting events bestowed a sense of normalcy on the residents of Amache. Young boys and girls participated in a variety of sports in camp, including basketball, football, baseball, softball, and volleyball. On occasion, teams from Amache even competed against teams from local communities. More than just providing competition for Japanese American youth, sporting events promoted interaction between Amache residents and their neighbors.

For the most part, this interaction promoted increased understanding and tolerance between the two communities. In some cases, however, sporting events demonstrated how racial intolerance continued to permeate some Colorado communities: in November 1944, for example, several parents of the Wiley High School football team refused to let their sons play a team of Japanese Americans, forcing the game to be cancelled.

Wiley’s principal, Dr. Garrison, came to Amache to explain to students why the game had been cancelled. In response, many students wrote Dr. Garrison letters expressing their feelings. Ken Nakatagama, a member of the Amache team, wrote: “Rather than feeling disappointed over the waste of our many practices, I am rather more disappointed in the 5 boys’ parents who would not permit their sons to play against us because we are Japanese Americans. . . . I hope that in the near future we can get to a better understanding with them and be able to go about engaging in athletic activities without having anyone opposing because of race or color.”

This photo shows the Amache High School football team taking on Holly on November 11, 1943 at the camp. On this play, Amache quarterback Tok Kunimoto ran a sneak for a fourteen-yard gain en route to a 6-0 win. Photographer: George Ochikubo. Courtesy of the George Ochikubo collection at History Colorado.
Dear Dr. Garrison,

First of all I want to thank you for coming to talk to us today. It was nice of you to take time out from your work to explain why Wiley cancelled the game.

As you know we were all disappointed and nothing could cure that but it certainly made all of us feel better after your talk. I know that you, Mr. Walther, Mr. Drummond and the faculty are doing all you can to help us and we really appreciate it, and no matter how hard we tried we couldn’t thank you enough. If this race discrimination is beaten we would have people like you to thank for it.

I think you were right in saying that we must try to play all of our games in our own “backyard” as you said. It would prevent us from running into the same kind of trouble and from becoming more narrow minded toward the attitude of the people. I know as well as the rest of the students at school that we have more fun playing another school, but I am sure that we can have just as much fun with everyone’s cooperation right here in Amache.

We Nisei are very lucky compared to the treatment that the negroes have been receiving. I know we have nothing really to complain about. With so many people and organizations trying to help us we should feel grateful and prove to them that they weren’t wasting their time and effort. I thank you again for your talk.

Sincerely,
Aster Fujikawa

Sup’t of Amache High
Dr. Garrison,

We students appreciate the sincere desire of the faculty and you to help eliminate such prejudices surrounding communities. The Wiley game proved a very disappointing factor, but if so long as we combat the source of prejudice such as you and many others are doing we can sooner or later get rid of race hatred.

But by playing games with other schools and associating more with Caucasians this winter, by establishing friendly attitudes, and sportsmanship, wouldn’t it be a speedier way of eliminating prejudice?

Tom Kinoshita
12 / Life Behind Barbed Wire

Returning Home

Citation

Hikaru Iwasaki, “Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colorado. Shuichi Yamamoto, last Amache evacuee to leave the Granada Project Relocation Center, says "Goodbye" to Project Director James G. Lindley, as War Relocation Authority camp is officially closed October 15, 1945. Mr. Yamamoto, 65 years of age, is returning to his former home in Marysville, California.” October 15, 1945. Source: National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives, Identifier 539903, Local Identifier: 210-G-K382. Available at http://research.archives.gov/description/539903

Annotation

Following nearly three years of exile, the army announced that Japanese Americans would be allowed to return to their homes beginning in January 1945. Over the course of the spring and summer, most of Amache’s residents made their way back to California, where some found that their homes and/or businesses had been vandalized or lost. Not all chose to return to California – many remained in Colorado or settled in other communities in the Interior West. Along with Chicago and Salt Lake City, Denver became home to a vibrant Japanese American community for many years following the war.

Camp Amache itself was quickly disassembled following the war. Some of the barracks and other buildings were dismantled and sold, including 40 buildings that were purchased by the La Junta School District; most of the camp’s structures were demolished. Just as the physical markers of the Amache camp disappeared, so did the memory of incarceration for many Americans.

In this photograph, 65 year-old Shuichi Yamamoto – the last incarceree to leave the Amache camp – shakes hands with the project director, James Lindley on October 15, 1945.
AMERICA, OUR HOPE IS IN YOU

One and a half years ago I knew only one America—an America that gave me an equal chance in the struggle for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If I were asked then—"What does America mean to you?"—I would answer without any hesitation and with all sincerity—"America means freedom, equality, security, and justice.

The other night while I was preparing for this speech, I asked myself this same question—"What does America mean to you?" I hesitated—I was not sure of my answer. I wondered if America still means and will mean freedom, equality, security, and justice when some of its citizens were segregated, discriminated against, and treated so unfairly. I knew I was not the only American seeking an answer.

Then I remembered that old saying—all the answers to the future will be found in the past for all men. So unmindful of the searchlights reflecting in my windows, I sat down and tried to recall all the things that were taught to me in my history, sociology, and American life classes. This is what I remembered:

America was born in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, and for 167 years it has been held as the hope, the only hope, for the common man. America has guaranteed to each and all, native and foreign, the right to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak, and act as he pleased—as a free man equal to every other man.

Every revolution within the last 167 years which had for its aim more freedom was based on her constitution. No cry from an oppressed people has ever gone unanswered by her. America froze, shoeless, in the snow at Valley Forge, and battled for her life at Gettysburg. She gave the world its greatest symbols of democracy: George Washington, who freed her from tyranny; Thomas Jefferson, who defined her democratic course; and Abraham Lincoln, who saved her and renewed her faith.

Sometimes America failed and suffered. Sometimes she made mistakes, great mistakes, but she always admitted them and tried to rectify all the injustice that flowed from them. I noticed that the major trend in America history has been towards equality and fair play for all. America hounded and harassed the Indians, then remembering that these were the first Americans, she gave them back their citizenship. She enslaved the Negroes, then again remembering Americanism, she wrote out the Emancipation Proclamation. She persecuted the German-Americans during the First World War, then recalling that America was born of those who came from every nation seeking liberty and justice, she repented. Her history is full of errors but with each mistake she has learned and has marched forward onward toward
a goal of security and peace and a society of free men where the understanding that all men are created equal, an understanding that all men whatever their race, color, or religion be given an equal opportunity to serve themselves and each other according to their needs and abilities.

I was once again at my desk. True, I was just as much em-bittered as any other evacuee, but I had found in the past the answer to my question. I had also found my faith in America—faith in the "merica that is still alive in the hearts, minds, and consciences of true Americans today—faith in the American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play that will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of actions and achievements and not on the basis of physical characteristics.

Can we the graduating class of Amache Senior High School, still believe that America means freedom, equality, security, and justice? Do I believe this? Do my classmates believe this? Yes, with all our hearts, because in that faith, in that hope, is my future, our future, and the world's future.
13 / The Meaning of Freedom, Citizenship, and Loyalty

“America, Our Hope is in You”

Citation

Source 13A
Marion Konishi, “America, Our Hope is in You”. June 25, 1943. Donald T. Horn Collection, Colorado College Tuft Library Special Colletions. Available at http://www2.coloradocollege.edu/library/specialcollections/image/Konishispeech.pdf

Source 13B

Annotation

While many Japanese Americans ultimately came to terms with the injustice of their incarceration, others were left disillusioned by their experiences during the war. Forced removal and confinement caused nearly all to ponder the meaning of citizenship and the reality of constitutional rights. In June 1943, seventeen-year-old Granada High School valedictorian Marion Konishi delivered the commencement speech to her graduating class.

Transcript

One and a half years ago I knew only one America—An America that gave me an equal chance in the struggle for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If I were asked then—“what does America mean to you?”—I would answer without hesitation and with all sincerity- “America means freedom, equality, security and justice.”

The other night while I was preparing for this speech, I asked myself the same question –“What does America mean to you?” I hesitated – I was not sure of my answer. I wondered if America still means and will mean freedom, equality, security, and justice when some of its citizens were segregated, discriminated against, and treated so unfairly. I knew I was not the only American seeking an answer.

Then I remember that old saying – All the answers to the future will be found in the past for all men. So unmindful of the search-lights reflecting in my windows, I sat down and tried to recall all the things that were taught to me in my history, sociology, and American life classes. This is what I remembered:

America was born in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, and for 167 years it has been held as the hope, the only hope, for the common man. America has guaranteed to each and all, native and foreign, the right to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak, and act as he pleased—as a free man equal to every other man.
Every revolution within the last 167 years which had for its aim more freedom was based on her constitution. No cry from an oppressed people has ever gone unanswered by her. America froze, shoeless, in the snow at Valley Forge, and battled for her life at Gettysburg. She gave the world its greatest symbols of democracy: George Washington, who freed her from tyranny; Thomas Jefferson, who defined her democratic course; and Abraham Lincoln, who saved her and renewed her faith.

Sometimes America failed and suffered. Sometimes she made mistakes, great mistakes, but she always admitted them and tried to rectify all the injustice that flowed from them. I noticed that the major trend in American history has been towards equality and fair play for all. America hounded and harassed the Indians, then remembering these were the first Americans, she gave them back their citizenship. She enslaved the Negroes, then again remembering Americanism, she wrote out the Emancipation Proclamation. She persecuted the German-Americans during the First World War, then recalling that America was born of those who came from every nation seeking liberty and justice, she repented. Her history is full of errors, but with each mistake she has learned and has marched forward toward a goal of security and peace and a society of free men where the understanding that all men are created equal, an understanding that all men whatever their race, color, or religion be given an equal opportunity to serve themselves and each other according to their needs and abilities.

I was once again at my desk. True, I was just as much embittered as any other evacuee, but I had found in the past the answer to my question. I had also found my faith in America—faith in the America that is still alive in the hearts, minds, and consciences of true Americans today—faith in the American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play that will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of actions and achievements and not on the basis of physical characteristics.

Can we the graduating class of Amache Senior High School, still believe that America means freedom, equality, security and justice? Do I believe this? Do my classmates believe this? Yes, with all our hearts, because in that faith, in that hope, is my future, our future, and the world’s future.
The Loyalty Questionnaire

Citation

Tom Parker, “Sergeant Robert I. Bischoff, a member of a special recruiting detail, sent to the Granada Relocation Center, where persons of Japanese ancestry evacuated from west coast defense areas are residing, explains two pertinent questions in an army recruiting form to Mineow Hanada, 22, a former resident of Colusa, California.” February 10, 1943. Source: Online Archive of California, Identifier Volume 18 Section A WRA no. E-742. Available at http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft8c6008b0/?docId=ft8c6008b0&brand=oac4&layout=printable-details

Annotation

Hoping to recruit Japanese American volunteers for the army, as well as to entice residents to resettle outside of the centers, federal officials administered a questionnaire to all incarcerated adults in February 1943. Questions 27 and 28, designed to determine one’s loyalty to the United States, were the focal point of the questionnaire:

- **Question 27**: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?
- **Question 28**: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

The “loyalty questionnaire” (as it was later called) generated confusion and crisis within the incarceration camps, including Amache. Many Japanese Americans answered questions 27 and 28 with “yes, yes” hoping it would demonstrate their loyalty to the United States; others struggled with the meaning of “loyalty” to a nation that had blatantly disregarded their rights as citizens. Japanese immigrants, who by law were not allowed to become naturalized citizens, worried that answering “yes” to question 28 would leave them without citizenship in Japan or the United States. Individual members within families often disagreed on their answers, and worried that inconsistent answers within the family would cause them to be segregated from loved ones. As a result, some loyal Japanese Americans chose “no, no.” These fears were realized when the WRA transferred 125 individuals who had answered “no, no” from Amache to the Tule Lake Segregation Camp on September 16, 1943.

In this photograph, Amache resident Mineow Hanada (22 years-old) discusses his answers to the questionnaire with army recruiter Sergeant Robert I. Bischoff.
The following is an explanation of my application for declination of repatriation:

Enveloped by the war's fury are many victims of unfortunate circumstances and sorrows. The strain of war has put me (Tadao Mukaihata) in a peculiar and disturbing situation. The disturbing situation is this: While being interned in Santa Anita Assembly Center, my family applied for repatriation hoping, too, that I would act similarly. It is only natural for human beings to act in accordance to the true manner their mind is affected. It is a human instinct for my parents as well as all Issei to have a slight warm spot for their native country, Japan. They have been reared in an entirely different atmosphere from ours. However, that does not mean in the slightest that they are ungrateful and unappre- ciative to the tastes of the fruits which this nation has bore for them. They being impartial and knowing that my education and ideals differ from theirs, did not in any way influence or compel me to apply for expatriation. Although family conditions almost pressed me to adopt my parent's course at that time I could not commit myself to such an act since my ideas are thoroughly Americanized.

After being relocated to Granada Center, repatriation matters again confronted me, and I found my situation more intensified. I am now 19 years of age and being the oldest of the three children, I am responsible in maintaining family harmony and solidarity. Since my family already requested repatriation it meant my separation from them. The future aspects of my family growing dimmer and doubtful with the progress of time, I became very much concerned over them. My parents are unfit to do heavy work and are in no condition to sustain the entire family. My sister 15 years of age and my brother, age 7, cannot assume responsibilities and are too young to support the family. Faced with this irritating situation I was seized with the instinctive selfishness of any ordinary man to think and consider the safety and solidarity of family relationship. Being bound by this family responsibility, I was compelled, not compelled, to ultimately apply for expatriation, am obligated to my family and have a profound respect and esteem for my parents. However, though I respect and admire them immensely, I have a mind of my own, and it has always been rather animistic instinct of me to act according to what I believe is right, of course, after a careful process of thinking and weighing both sides of the question.

The loyalty registration which tested the loyalty of evacuees, provoked my position more. Being an expatriate I could not answer yes to question number 28 (meaning the pledge of allegiance to the United States and severing all relationship with the Japanese Emperor). I would be contradicting myself if I answered yes since my future home would be in Japan, being an expatriate. I could not also answer no because I harbor no detrimental and subversive thoughts of this nation. I did not expatriate through an act of disloyalty but because of bearing family circumstances. Instead of answering yes or no, I defined my situation and reasons of expatriation. However my response was accepted as a negative one.
This depressed me greatly and after careful deliberation and thinking, I came to the conclusion that I must reverse my decision. I have known no nation other than the United States. I have been born, reared, and educated in American institutions. My mind has absorbed American influences and ideals of freedom. And I would like very much to continue residing in the atmosphere of these ideals. Thus I entreat in profound sincerity for the cancellation of expatriation. It is my fervent desire that your impartiality and sense of fairness will motivate you to consider my sincerity and act in accordance with true justice of reinstating me as citizen of this nation.

Signed by a resident of Granada
Relocation Center, Amache, Colo.
“I Have Known No Other Nation”

Citation


Annotation

The “loyalty questionnaire” deeply divided the Japanese American community, and even individual families. Though government officials conceived the questionnaire as a simple, straightforward test of allegiance, Japanese immigrants and their American-born children struggled to make sense of the questionnaire’s implications. Understanding the untenable position of their parents, young Japanese Americans were torn between affirming loyalty to the only county they had ever known and risking permanent separation from their families. Hoping to keep the family together, some young people applied for repatriation (defined as returning to one’s country of origin or allegiance) to Japan.

In a letter directed to the U.S. State Department in 1944, 19 year-old Tadao Mukaikata of Amache explains why he initially applied for repatriation, only to later reverse his position. Originally he felt responsible to take care of his aging parents. “Being bound by...family responsibility, I was impelled, not compelled, to ultimately apply for expatriation,” he explained. “I am obligated to my family and have a profound respect and esteem for my parents.” Torn between loyalty to his family and country, he later recognized the seriousness of the situation. “After careful deliberation and thinking, I came to the conclusion that I must reverse my decision. I have known no nation other than the United States.”

Transcript

The following is an explanation of my application for declination of repatriation:

Enveloped by the war’s fury are many victims of unfortunate circumstances and sorrows. The strain of war has put me (Tadao Mukaikata) in a peculiar and disturbing situation. The disturbing situation is this: While being interned in Santa Anita Assembly Center, my family applied for repatriation hoping, too, that I would act in accordance to the true manner their mind is affected. It is a human instinct for my parents as well as all issei to have a slight warm spot for their native country, Japan. They have been reared in an entirely different atmosphere from ours. However, that does not mean in the slightest that they are ungrateful and unappreciative to the tastes of the fruits which this nation has bore for them. They being impartial and knowing that my education and ideals differ from theirs, did not in any way influence or compel me to apply for expatriation. Although family conditions almost pressed me to adopt my parent’s course at that time I could not commit myself to such an act since my ideas are thoroughly Americanized.

After being relocated to Granada Center, repatriation matters again confronted me, and I found my situation more intensified. I am now 19 years of age and being the oldest of the three children, I am responsible in maintaining family harmony and solidarity. Since my family already requested repatriation it meant my
separation from them. The future aspects of my family growing dimmer and doubtful with the progress of time, I became very much concerned over them. My parents are unfit to do heavy work and are in no condition to sustain the entire family. My sister 13 years of age and my brother, age 7, cannot assume responsibilities and are too young to support the family. Faced with this irritating situation I was seized with the instinctive selfishness of any ordinary man to think and consider the safety and solidarity of family relationship. Being bound by this family responsibility, I was impelled, not compelled, to ultimately apply for expatriation. I am obligated to my family and have a profound respect and esteem for my parents. However, though I respect and admire them immensely, I have a mind of my own, and it has always been rather an innate instinct of me to act according to what I believe is right, of course, after a careful process of thinking and weighing both sides of the question.

The loyalty registration which tested the loyalty of evacuees, provoked my position more. Being an expatriate I could not answer yes to question number 28 (meaning the pledge of allegiance to the United States and severing all relationship with the Japanese Emperor). I would be contradicting myself if I answered yes since my future home would be in Japan, being an expatriate. I could not also answer no because I harbor no detrimental and subservice thoughts of this nation. I did not expatriate through an act of disloyalty but because of bearing family circumstances. Instead of answering yes or no, I defined my situation and reasons of expatiation. However, my response was accepted as a negative one.

This depressed me greatly and after careful deliberation and thinking, I came to the conclusion that I must reverse my decision. I have known no other nation than the United States. I have been born, reared, and educated in American institutions. My mind has absorbed American influence and ideals of freedom. And I would like very much to continue residing in the atmosphere of these ideals. Thus I entreat in profound sincerity for the cancellation of expatriation. It is my fervent desire that your impartiality and sense of fairness will motivate you to consider my sincerity and act in accordance with true justice of reinstating me as a citizen of this nation.

Signed by a resident of Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colo.
16 / The Meaning of Freedom, Citizenship, and Loyalty

Ultimate Sacrifice

Citation

Hikaru Iwasaki, “Gold stars are here being presented by K. Okura, USO representative, to mothers whose sons were killed in action. This presentation was made in the high school auditorium,” April 21, 1945. Source: Online Archive of California, Identifier Volume 53 Section F WRA I-865. Available at http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6w100763/?docId=ft6w100763&brand=oac4&layout=printable-details

Annotation

Despite their incarceration, many Japanese Americans chose to serve their country during World War II. Nearly 10 percent of all Amacheans, in fact, eventually served in the armed forces – the highest percentage of any of the incarceration camps. Women volunteered for the Women’s Army Corps and the Nurses Army Corps, while men served in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the 100th Infantry Battalion, and the Military Intelligence Service. The Japanese American units displayed extraordinary valor on the battlefield, and became one of the most decorated combat groups in U.S. military history. In total, 956 men and women from Amache served in the U.S. military.

Not every Japanese American was comfortable serving a nation who had incarcerated them. Some incarcerees at Amache protested the 1944 draft, and publically demanded that the government recognize their rights as citizens. Though most young Nisei ultimately complied with draft orders, thirty-one were convicted of draft evasion.

In a terrible irony, many young Japanese Americans died even as their parents remained incarcerated in American camps. Thirty-one soldiers from Amache made the ultimate sacrifice for their country. In this photograph, K. Okura, a representative of the United Service Organization (USO), presents gold stars to mothers whose sons were killed in action.
Citation

A decorative footbridge over a garden pond at Amache built by residents as it appeared during the camp’s years of operation and more recently. Photos courtesy of History Colorado collection.

Annotation

In the decades after the camp closed, nature slowly reclaimed the 593-acre site. Native grasses, sage brush, and prickly pear cactus grew between the naked foundations of the camp’s once teeming barracks, mess halls, and schools; for many years, empty concrete basins, river rocks, and the skeleton of an arched bridge were all that remained of elaborate gardens and koi ponds built by resourceful residents. Like the physical markers of incarceration, memories of life in the camps also slipped into time – incarcerees, like most Americans, were eager to forget what had happened in Amache.

Though the camp’s deteriorating remains serve as a physical reminder of forced removal and incarceration, many Americans, including former incarcerees, feel that it is important to preserve the Amache site so that future generations of Americans will not forget this episode in history. Today, there are many groups who are working to recover parts of Amache’s physical and historical past. Since 1976, former incarcerees have participated in an annual pilgrimage to Amache. Often bringing their children and grandchildren, the pilgrimage has become a way for Japanese Americans to remember their incarceration, honor the dead, and in some cases, to heal from a painful past. Led by teacher John Hopper, students from nearby Granada High School have worked to restore and maintain portions of the site, including the camp’s cemetery; known as the Amache Preservation Society, Hopper and his students also operate a local museum and facilitate a public outreach program to educate local community members and visitors about the history of incarceration. Bonnie Clark and students in Denver University’s Department of Anthropology also conduct field research at Amache, helping to recover and preserve physical artifacts that document the lives of the camp’s former residents.

National and state organizations are also working to recover and preserve Amache’s past. In 1994, the National Park Service listed Amache on its National Register of Historical Places, and in 2006, designated it as a National Historic Landmark. Today, visitors to Amache are greeted by a series of interpretive kiosks, and can view the camp’s monument to fallen soldiers and cemetery. Funded by the Park Service’s Japanese American Confinement Site Grant Program, the Friends of Amache, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Colorado Preservation, Inc., and other organizations have reconstructed the camp’s iconic water tower and one of guard towers. Efforts to restore the site are ongoing: in June 2015, volunteers began laying the brick floor for a former barrack building that will soon be restored and returned to block 12H. Supporters of these and other restoration efforts hope to eventually reconstruct a complete city block at the site, thus enabling visitors to have a more tactile and meaningful interaction with Amache’s complicated past.
Additional Resources

Websites
Colorado State Archives: http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/wwcod/granada.htm
Amache Preservation Society: www.amache.org
University of Denver Museum of Anthropology: http://www.du.edu/behindbarbedwire/welcome.html

Books and Articles

Films

Young Adult Books
Colorado Humanities Series, *Great Lives in Colorado History*
Ken Mochizuki, *Baseball Saved Us*
Yoshiko Uchida, *The Bracelet*

Additional Educational Resources

On Language and Terminology
Teaching Strategies

General Instructional Strategies for using primary sources in classrooms followed by grade-level-targeted suggestions for essential questions, inquiry questions (including writing prompts and discussion starters), activities, and assessments aligned to specific state academic standards for 4th grade, 8th grade, and high school.

4th Grade

**Essential Questions:**

- How are events in U.S. and world history connected to events in Colorado?
- How have different people left an impact on the state of Colorado?
- In what ways do we see Colorado’s history reflected in the state today?
- How do decisions and actions impact society?

**Inquiry Questions (writing prompts or discussion starters):**

- Why would different terms be used for describing places like Amache (i.e.: “relocation centers,” “internment camps,” and “concentration camps”)? How could a name impact people’s opinion of these camps?
- What conflicting emotions might a Japanese-American feel towards the United States?
- Why do you think Colorado agreed to have Camp Amache built within its borders?
- What is the theme or message that Amache and the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans can teach today’s Colorado residents?

**Activities:**

**Warm up/quick activities**

- Choose a random source from the set to analyze using the “Crop It” method. [http://teachinghistory.org/teaching-materials/teaching-guides/25697](http://teachinghistory.org/teaching-materials/teaching-guides/25697)

- Students can do a quick Primary Source Investigation (http://www.loc.gov/creativity/hampson/workshop/psiorganizer.pdf). Ideally, one primary source would be “investigated” at the beginning of each lesson to provide for a quick introduction to the lessons listed below.

**Lesson activities**

- Read the following books to students prior to accessing primary sources to provide background knowledge and personal connections to the Japanese internment camps:
  - The Bracelet by Yoshiko Uchida
  - Baseball Saved Us by Ken Mochizuki

- If you are unable to visit the History Colorado Center, visit their online Amache exhibit with students at [http://exhibits.historycolorado.org/amache/amache_home.html](http://exhibits.historycolorado.org/amache/amache_home.html).

- Utilize the Library of Congress’ recommendations for analyzing primary sources [http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/resources/Analyzing_Primary_Sources.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/resources/Analyzing_Primary_Sources.pdf) To do this, students should either receive a copy of a primary source that they will be analyzing, or a copy can be projected to the entire class. Each student should have three post-it notes where they can write observations, reflections, and a questions. After they have done this, they can post their notes in three designated places (i.e.: a bulletin board, white board, charts paper, etc.) The teacher can then go through each step of analyzing with students and discuss commonalities. Following the observation
stage, the teacher may want to provide students with more background knowledge about the source. A follow up activity may involve having students research their questions in more depth.

- As a class, students can create a primary source timeline. This process could start with dates of national importance which may include the dates of World War II, the attack on Pearl Harbor, etc. Then students can go through the primary sources, and add them to the timeline (teachers may have the students organize the information according to their assessment of the chronology first, then go back and fix the timeline so it corresponds with actual events. This could be an informal assessment of how well students are analyzing sources, if they understand chronological order, etc.). Students can put the documents on the timeline, then write a caption in their own words to summarize.

- To help students understand what life was like at Amache, they could first review primary sources #5-#12. Then students could participate in a variety of activities to help them understand just how difficult this process would have been for Japanese-American citizens. Activities could include:
  - Creating a packing list of what they could have taken with them.
  - Mapping out the size of a room or barracks using the dimensions, then trying to fit the correct number of residents inside the space
  - Reading through the propaganda and forced removal posters (source #2)
  - Creating a daily schedule of life at camp
  - Following the activities, students should discuss their experiences and share how the citizens of Camp Amache must have felt. Try not to let them focus on whether it was right or wrong, but more on what this experience can teach us about how react in the future.

- Students can do a quick biography study of Ralph Carr to uncover his legacy. The book series Great Lives in Colorado History is an excellent 4th grade level text for this. Students could read his biography Ralph Carr: Defender of Japanese Americans, review his speech (source #4), and watch https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OBJttisMtqw. Then, students could create protest signs that in favor of or condemning Ralph Carr’s decisions. Students would then present their signs to the class explaining each perspective. They could also write a mock newspaper article explaining Carr’s speech and actions using Printing Press (http://www.readwritethink.org/files/resources/interactives/Printing_Press/).

- Loyalty and citizenship could be great discussion topics. Using sources 1 and 14-16, students could take the Loyalty Questionnaire, (or something similar) so they could better understand what the Japanese American citizens experienced. The teacher could then lead a discussion about important vocabulary terms like segregation, discrimination, and prejudice. Students could then do a role play where different groups have to explain the differing points of view on the issue of taking the Loyalty Questionnaire. Important perspectives to consider might include the U.S. Government, Japanese American citizens, families, Japanese Government, etc. The teacher should emphasize answering the question, “How do decisions and actions impact society?”

Assessments (aligned to specific state academic standards for your grade level):
- To assess History Standard 1 and 2 students could complete a cause and effect assessment whereby they would be expected to utilize the primary source documents to identify specific causes and effects of a main event. A graphic organizer could be used to assess a variety of concepts (see below). The main event could be adjusted according to desired concept to assess, including:
  - Camp Amache was built due to federal legislation.
  - Governor Ralph Carr volunteered to house Camp Amache in the state of Colorado.
  - Thousands of Japanese-Americans were sent to Camp Amache.
To assess Geography Standards 1 & 2, students could be given a map assessment. Using the primary source documents as a guide, students would have to locate Amache on a physical map of Colorado. Using this tool, the primary source documents, and what students have learned about life at Camp Amache, they would answer the following questions:

- Why was Colorado’s geographic location within the United States ideal for a relocation center?
- How was the climate in Colorado different than the one interned Japanese-American citizens were familiar with? How did this affect them?
- What changes to their way of life did the people of Camp Amache have to make because of the physical geography?
- To increase discussion of this formative assessment, teachers could also post this on an online discussion tool such as Schoology so students could respond to one another and hear each other’s ideas about these concepts.

To assess Civics Standards 1 & 2, students could create a problem and solution assessment where they identify the problems Camp Amache was meant to solve. Using the primary source documents and what they have learned about system of Federal, State, and Local governments, students should identify the problem and solutions as proposed by all three branches. Following the completion of each graphic organizer (see below) students could write an opinion statement describing whether the government solved the “problem” appropriately. Students should then suggest alternative solutions.
Problem and Solution Graphic Organizer

Problem

Solution(s)

Desired Outcome

Instructions: State the problem in the Problem box, State the Solution or Solutions in the Solution(s) box, and the Desired Outcome in the Desired Outcomes box.
8th Grade Teaching Strategies

Essential Questions:
- How has the United States government handled the treatment of minority groups during times of conflict?
- Was the United States justified in its action against Japanese Americans to relocate large groups of Japanese people to Colorado during World War II?
- What is an American? What does it mean to be an American?
- What is the roll of the United States Constitution in questions over Federal vs. States’ Rights, and how does that relate to Japanese Internment at Amache.
- How did Japanese internment impact Colorado during WWII? What was the lasting legacy or impact in Colorado? Is there evidence of this legacy in today’s society?

Inquiry Questions (writing prompts or discussion starters):
- How would you feel if you were removed from your home with little warning? What would you do?
- How did Geography impact or dictate the location of Japanese Relocation Centers? Why Colorado? (Discuss climate, geography, topography and economic options of Granada/Amache)
- What are other examples from current events or events in U.S. History where the rights of citizens were suppressed in the name of national security? Explain.
- What do the primary sources say about Colorado history as a whole? What about the treatment of minority groups?
- Gov. Ralph Carr suggests that the relocation of Japanese Americans to Colorado violated their Constitutional Rights. Putting yourself in Gov. Carr’s shoes, what would you have said differently if you were giving a speech in February of 1942?

Activities:
- The U.S. Government has just ordered your neighbors who are of Japanese descent to move to a Relocation Center. Write a letter to your Senator explaining why you are against this decision/ action.
- Using the docs provided, in addition to picking one other event from U.S. history, compare/contrast the events in relation to how minority groups have been treated by the United States government.
- Use the website Narrable.com to upload the images and tell a story. Record at least 15-20 seconds of audio for each image describing how the documents answer this question: Was the United States government justified in its actions to intern Japanese Americans during WWII?
- Pick two documents that resonated most with you. Why did they resonate with you more than the others? (Ideas: the photo of the Amache high school football team or the photo of the Amache students graduating from high school).

Assessments:
- Assemble the documents in chronological order from the earliest (oldest) to the most recent based on what you know about WWII and Colorado History. Give a brief explanation of how you chose the order you chose. Once you have the documents in order give a word or phrase that best describes the document (this is not a caption, it could be a summary phrase or a phrase that describes the feeling or mood of the document). After you have written words for each document assemble the words in order to form a stanza or to write a poem.
- Socratic Seminar- Central Question: What are the lasting impacts of Japanese Internment during WWII in Colorado? (Discuss race relations, population trends, economic trends, etc.)
- Debate- Defend this statement: “The United States government can and should override the Constitution in times of national crisis.”
• Use the website- www.thinglink.com to upload a primary source document from the set. Label and identify objects in the photo and provide identification and analysis of the photo.
High School Teaching Strategies

**Essential Questions**
- What constitutional principles were violated by the internment of Japanese-Americans?
- How did culture, geography, politics, and economics affect the decision to intern Japanese-Americans?
- What events led to the internment of Japanese-Americans?
- What did everyday life in the camp at Amache look like?
- Why is it important to study the internment at Amache?
- What lasting impacts have resulted from this internment?
- What connections can be made to modern day issues in America?

**Inquiry Questions**
- How would your everyday life be different if you had to share one room with your family?
- Why were Americans so willing to ignore Japanese-Americans’ constitutional rights? Could the same thing happen today?
- If you were a guard at the camp, what would you classify as acceptable/unacceptable behavior for both guards and internees? How would you deal with unacceptable behavior?
- What do you think the biggest challenges were for Japanese families returning home from the camps?
- From the perspective of a Japanese-American detainee, argue both for and against serving in the U.S. military.

**Activities (by subject)**

**U.S. History:**
- Have students list on the board dates and events that they possess in their background knowledge about the causes of Japan’s involvement in WW2 and why we interned Japanese-Americans. Do the following to discuss as a class:
  - Compare background knowledge to events leading up to and including the years of internment at Amache using primary source documents when possible. Add to these thoughts by creating a timeline using: [http://www.santafetrailscenicandhistoricbyway.org/amache.html](http://www.santafetrailscenicandhistoricbyway.org/amache.html) (short paragraphs with important dates) OR [http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~matsu22k/classweb/page1h.html](http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~matsu22k/classweb/page1h.html) (timeline at bottom).
- Executive Order 9066 gave permission to intern anyone deemed to be a “national security threat”. In groups using primary documents identify what standards were used in 1941. What standards should be used today? Create a speech or poster letting the nation know who is consider a national security threat.

**Geography:**
- Watch: Children of the Camps (PBS) See video guide below with questions.
  - After watching the video have students write a one-page diary of what life would be like for someone their age in the camp. Have students write in the style of historical fiction by adding in real details of camp life and actual world events
Using a map of the Western U.S. and internet search do the following:
1. Locate all of the Japanese-Internment camps (include numbers of people at each camp and dates opened and closed)
2. Locate Pearl Harbor, Hawaii
3. Locate states and major cities where Japanese-Americans lived before the war.

Create a one act play that involves an internment guard and an internee. Highlight how they may be feeling based on real events. You need to do the following as preparation
1. Brainstorm map of potential topics they could discuss
2. Annotate the brainstorm map by indicating which subjects they would agree and disagree on
3. Write a script that includes setting, dialogue, and action
4. Record the dialogue using audio or video recorders
5. Present to class and have a discussion post watching on whether or not they agree with how the interactions went and whether the script seems historically accurate

Civics:
• Using the Bill of Rights, identify which aspects of these rights were violated by Executive Order 9066. Have a Socratic seminar debating when, where, and if ever there is a case to be made for the government to override or suspend these rights.

Economics:
• Read Civilian Exclusion Order No. 5. In groups, have students make a list of items that they would bring today. Have them explain why they chose each item, whether these items are needs or wants, and how they will serve to make life better?

Assessments
• Use primary sources to compose a diary that could plausibly have been written by someone in the camp.
  o Prompt: Using stories and events described in the primary sources, create a diary that describes a month in the life of someone in the camp
• Create a Newscast: in groups of 4 – 5, students will prepare a newscast where they report on internment, and specifically the camp at Amache.
  o Students must explain the cultural, geographical, political, and economic rationales for internment.
  o Newscasts may editorialize on internment or promote the idea using period-specific rationales.
  o Newsreels from 1941 – 1945 (available on YouTube) may be helpful here.
• Using a map of the Western U.S. and Colorado Governor Ralph Carr’s speech, complete the following activities:
  o Locate on a map major (including Colorado’s) Japanese-Internment camps.
  o In one paragraph, explain why these locations may have been chosen to intern Japanese-Americans