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**UNQUENCHABLE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE AMERICAN WAY AND
AMERICAN LIFE: PRESCRIBING, PROMOTING, AND PRAISING
CONSERVATIVE VALUES OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING
INTERNMENT**

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of History

by
Kallie Nycole Credeur
B.A., Louisiana State University, 2016
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines two Japanese American newspapers, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* and the *Rocky Shimpo*, during World War II—specifically the period of Japanese Internment. This study examines articles from these two publications on topics including loyalty, patriotism, the war effort, resettlement, and race relations in order to illustrate that the Japanese American editorial staffs expressed their conservatism through these newspapers. Through these articles, the Japanese American newspaper staff promoted principle beliefs of conservative nationalism, economic conservatism, and social conservatism.

INTRODUCTION

On February 19, 1942, in response to the December 7, 1941, act of war on the United States by the Empire of Japan, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 authorizing the declaration of military zones under their control. After the authorization of Executive Order 9066, the military evacuated persons of Japanese descent from these military zones, and placing them in internment camps run by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). From 1942 to 1945, approximately 110,000¹ Japanese immigrants (known as issei) and Japanese Americans (known as nisei) were removed to these internment camps; roughly 70,000 of those interned were Japanese Americans possessing American citizenship. These internees were placed in swiftly created assembly centers before being transferred to one of the ten WRA internment camps. Within these camps, the internees created their own societies complete with businesses, schools, societal organizations, and newspapers staffed by the internees.

Prior to the mass evacuation and internment of the Japanese descendants, the federal government encouraged the “voluntary evacuation” from the West Coast in March of 1942. During this time, approximately 5,000 “voluntary evacuees” left the West Coast, “with 1,963 going to Colorado, 1,519 to Utah, and the rest to other states.”²

Previous examinations of Japanese internment have clearly determined that these internees were unjustly imprisoned due to racial motivations masked by fears of espionage; however, these studies mainly focus on the events which led to internment and the legality of

¹ This is particularly significant because there were approximately 130,000 persons of Japanese descent living in the United States during this time. Therefore while Executive Order 9066 did not order the internment of an entire racial population, it did order the internment of approximately 84% of a racial group.

² Brian Niiya. "Voluntary evacuation," *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Voluntary%20evacuation/> (Accessed January 4, 2018).

such detention.³ Moving beyond questions of right or wrong and beyond reasons behind internment, the intention of this study is to demonstrate the way these Japanese Americans used newspapers to express their Americanism, providing a better understanding of how the internees dealt with the day to day realities of internment, and how they felt about the nation—for many of them their own—which had confined them, and how the experience of internment impacted the Japanese American population in the decades following World War II. To accomplish this task I have examined two newspapers published during the internment years—one published inside a WRA internment camp, staffed entirely by nisei evacuees, and one published outside of the internment centers, staffed by the Japanese Americans who were part of the small percentage not interned. In both cases the Japanese American writers employed the paper’s editorials as a tool to express their overwhelmingly conservative views.⁴

With the exception of a small amount of study in the fields of communications and journalism, the majority of the prior scholarship ignores the internment camp newspapers altogether.⁵ This oversight is particularly striking considering the fact that these newspapers were

³ Travis J. Hardy, “Chapter Forty-Three: Transnational Civil Rights during World War II,” in *A Companion to World War II*, compiled Thomas W. Zeiler and Daniel M. DuBois (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013) Accessed May 13, 2015, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9781118325018.ch43>, 743-744. Roger Daniels *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans World War II* (1972) and *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (1993), Eric Muller *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II* (2007) and Greg Robinson *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (2009) all discuss racism, at the very minimum of the act of internment of being racially based, however none of these scholars discuss the ways the evacuees interpreted and responded to the racism directed to them.

⁴ One note on quoting, in order to remain faithful to my sources: I have quoted the material directly as it appears in the newspapers, respectful of spelling, grammar, and punctuation. The only instances in which I modified the sources are when I believe that the errors created problems in understanding the material. In these instances, I have enclosed the additions in brackets.

⁵ Three major pieces of scholarship on Japanese internment camp newspapers, from the fields of communications and journalism, include: Dr. John D. Stevens, “From Behind Barbed Wire:

staffed by the evacuees whose situation was most concerning in regard to the constitutional nature of internment. The fact that the nisei were American citizens and were stripped of all rights and protections generates a desire among the evacuees to speak out and fight for what they deserved. Furthermore, the sheer amount of editorial content within the newspapers is reason enough to be astonished by their almost complete absence from the historiography.

This analysis focuses on one of the ten WRA camps, the Heart Mountain Internment Camp located in Cody, Wyoming, and one of the four Japanese American newspapers published outside of the camps, the *Rocky Shimpō*, which was published out of Denver, Colorado.⁶

The first form of newspaper of this study is the internment camp newspaper. Upon deciding to create a newspaper for each relocation center, the WRA published Administrative Instruction #8 on October 10, 1942, which “suggested that there were 2 purposes and 5 concepts that had to be in place for these newspapers to meet their needs.”

The first purpose of camp newspapers was to distribute information both from the administration to the camp residents as well as to allow internees to provide feedback to the

Freedom Of The Press In World War II Japanese Centers,” *Journalism Quarterly*, 48 (1971): 279-287. Edward J. Friedlander, “Freedom of the Press behind Barbed Wire: Paul Yokota and the Jerome Relocation Center Newspaper,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 44, No. 4 (1985): 303-313. and Lauren Kessler, “Fettered Freedoms: The Journalism of World War II Japanese Internment Camps,” *Journalism History*, 15, 2-3 (1988): 70-78. Dr. Stevens was a professor of journalism and communications. According to a recorded interview of two WRA camp newspaper editors conducted by a fellow communications professor, Dr. Edward J. Friedlander (Saiki, Barry and Paul N. Yokota. Interviewed by Jay Friedlander. “Camp Connections conference: Publishing a newspaper in camp: Freedom of speech”. *Arkansas Studies Institute*. UALR Center for Arkansas History and Culture, 2004. Web. 12 Nov. 2015.), Dr. Stevens was the only communications scholar to examine each issue of all ten internment camp newspapers. To my knowledge, no historical scholar has conducted a study focusing on the internment camp newspapers, therefore, Dr. Stevens’s article “From Behind Barbed Wire” as well as other communications scholarship on the internment camp papers will be referenced in this research.

⁶ Brian Niiya, “Rocky Shimpō (newspaper),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpo%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpo%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed December 5, 2017).

administration. Secondly, the papers were supposed to maintain morale and order within the camps under the policy dubbed by the WRA as “freedom with supervision,” which meant that while there was to be no censorship of the papers, there would not be total freedom either.

In addition, the Administrative Instruction #8 established five principles for the camp papers, which laid out the structure of the papers. First, the newspaper staff would not be composed of professional journalists from outside the camps but would be derived from the internees. Second, each paper had a reports officer who would serve as the publisher and would report to the center director. Third, the papers would have the maximum freedom possible, but the reports office would not, in theory, allow libel or defamation, personal attacks in the papers, or an overall tone of the papers which failed to contribute to the general welfare of the camp. Fourth, the papers would be produced by the cheapest method available. And finally there would not be any advertising if the paper was funded by the government.

This study concentrates on Heart Mountain for three main reasons. First, Heart Mountain was one of approximately four camps which employed professional journalists on the newspaper staff.⁷ Second, the camp’s newspaper, *Heart Mountain Sentinel* published many controversial editorials which were widely reprinted in other news publications.⁸ Finally, and most significantly, Stevens’s study of all ten internment camps concluded that the staff of the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* possessed a great deal of editorial autonomy compared to several other camps.⁹ Stevens’s study is of particular importance due to the breadth of material he examined.

⁷ Stevens, “From Behind Barbed Wire,” 283.

⁸ Stevens, “From Behind Barbed Wire,” 284. Stevens goes further to note that these editorials were reprinted in both other internment camp newspapers as well as news publications outside of the internment camps.

⁹ Stevens, “From Behind Barbed Wire,” 287. Stevens compares the editorial autonomy of the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* staff to that of the *Granada Pioneer*, the *Minidoka Irrigator*, and the *Topaz Times*, stating that the *Sentinel* and the *Pioneer* appear to possess greater amounts of

There were a total of ten internment camps, each with their own paper which published weekly or biweekly. Excluding additional publications such as magazines and news bulletins, there was a minimum of 3,386 issues published in the WRA camps as a whole, with each issue being several pages in length.

While these editorials often express opinions which aligned with the WRA's agenda, they also included material which could be considered anti-administration and controversial.¹⁰ The editorials occasionally raise the issue of the sincerity of the writers' opinions, in which the *Sentinel's* editorial staff insisted that the articles reflect their personal beliefs. As with all historical documents, there is no way to be absolutely certain that these articles reflected the beliefs of the writers; however there is also no evidence to suggest otherwise. While these journalists were writing under the control of federal authority which casts doubt on the sincerity of such beliefs, the relentlessness with which these writers pursued these topics, the logical approach taken to criticize behavior the administration would disapprove of, and the passionate tone associated with these articles provides such opinions with a degree of credibility.

The *Heart Mountain Sentinel* was a weekly newspaper that was staffed entirely by the nisei evacuees under the supervision of WRA Reports Officer Vaughn Mechau.¹¹ The *Sentinel*

editorial autonomy due to the fact that they published such controversial editorials. Stevens notes that the editors of the *Irrigator* and the *Times* "did not have or did not assume such freedom."

¹⁰ It is essential to remember that these writers were under the physical control of the War Relocation Authority and the United States Federal Government, so there is a great deal of coercive power at play here, although it is impossible to say to what degree that power influenced the editorial content of the newspapers.

¹¹ The name of the Reports Officer is listed on the masthead of each paper as Vaughn Mechau, however an encyclopedia article from *Densho* references him as "Bonnie Mechau... a former newspaper man." (Patricia Wakida. "Heart Mountain Sentinel (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia* [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Heart%20Mountain%20Sentinel%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Heart%20Mountain%20Sentinel%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed December 24, 2016).) It is not noted how much of a role Mechau played in the production and supervision of the newspaper. As Dr. Jay Friedlander notes in his interview with Barry Saiki and Paul Yokota (editors of the Rohwer and Jerome newspapers respectively), the

debuted on Saturday, October 24, 1942, and was published every week until the final issue on Saturday, July 28, 1945, when the paper shut down due to the majority of the staff having relocated in preparation for the closing of Heart Mountain. There were four volumes total with 145 issues in all. Each paper, with two exceptions, was eight mimeographed pages¹² and contained several regular columns—important to this study are “Editorials,” “On the In-Side,” “On the Out-Side,” and “Mo’s Scratch Pad.”¹³ Throughout its publication, the *Sentinel* only had two Editors: Bill Hosokowa and Haruo Imura. Hosokowa was Editor from October 24, 1942, until October 16, 1943, when he and his family relocated to Des Moines, Iowa (Vol. I #1-10, Vol. II # 1-42). Imura who served as Managing Editor from October 24, 1942, to January 22, 1944, (Vol. I #1-10, Vol. II #1-52, Vol. III #1-4) before taking the role of editor on January 29,

level of involvement by the reports officer varied a great deal between camps and between editors, in some camps the reports officer would directly influence what was printed and interfere in the writing if they witnessed something they did not like, however both Yokota and Saiki claim that they never showed a single paper to the reports officer and they had no problems on that front. (Saiki, Barry and Paul N. Yokota. Interviewed by Jay Friedlander. “Camp Connections conference: Publishing a newspaper in camp: Freedom of speech”. *Arkansas Studies Institute*. UALR Center for Arkansas History and Culture, 2004. <http://arstudies.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p1532coll1/id/12535/rec/5> (Accessed November 12, 2015).)

¹² Vol. I had a total of 10-8 page issues which were published from Saturday, October 24, 1942 to Thursday, December 24, 1942. Vol. II had a total of 52 issues (51-8 page issues, 1-16 page issue: Vol. II #16 Saturday, April 17, 1943) which were published from Friday, January 1, 1943 to Saturday, December 24, 1943. Vol. III had a total of 52 issues (50-8 page issues, 1-39 page issue: Vol. III #33A Saturday, August 12, 1944, 1-missing issue: Vol. III #36: it can be assumed this would be published on Saturday, September 2, 1944) which were published from Friday, December 31, 1943 to Saturday, December 23, 1944. Vol. IV had a total of 31-8 page issues which were published from Saturday, December 30, 1944 to Saturday, July 28, 1945.

¹³ The column “On the In-Side” was written by Bill Hosokowa during his tenure as editor, and following his relocation, he continued to write a column for the *Sentinel*: “On the Out-Side.” It is also very likely that Hosokowa wrote the majority of the “Editorials” column during his tenure and that Imura took over the column following Hosokowa’s departure. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the “Editorials” are not signed therefore it is impossible to know for sure who authored them.

1944 where he served until May 5, 1945 (Vol. III #5-52, Vol. IV #1-19).¹⁴ In addition to the copies of the *Sentinel* which were printed and distributed throughout the camp, approximately 4,500 additional copies of each issue were printed to be mailed out to the American public, friends back on the West Coast, and other internment camps. The subscription fee for the *Sentinel* was 2¢ per copy, \$1 for a 6-month subscription, or \$2 for a 12-month subscription.

The second form of newspaper examined is the Japanese American newspaper published outside of internment camps. During the war years, the majority of Japanese American publications were forced to shut down due to internment. In total there were only four publications which survived internment and published throughout this time period. This was due to the fact that each of these papers was located outside of the Pacific Coast military zone. These papers include *The Rocky Shimpo* (Denver, Colorado), *The Pacific Citizen* (Salt Lake City, Utah), *The Colorado Times* (Denver, Colorado), and *The Utah Nippo* (Salt Lake City, Utah).¹⁵

¹⁴ This is particularly significant because, as Dr. Jay Friedlander notes in his interview with Barry Saiki and Paul Yokota (editors of the Rohwer and Jerome newspapers respectively), “in many cases these newspapers had three, four, five, six, seven editors” and therefore, these editors had a large opportunity to influence their readers and to promote their nationalistic ideologies with Hosokawa editing 52 issues and Imura editing 80 issues. (Saiki, Barry and Paul N. Yokota. Interviewed by Jay Friedlander. “Camp Connections conference: Publishing a newspaper in camp: Freedom of speech”. *Arkansas Studies Institute*. UALR Center for Arkansas History and Culture, 2004.

<http://arstudies.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p1532coll1/id/12535/rec/5> (Accessed November 12, 2015.)

¹⁵ Brian Niiya. "Rocky Shimpo (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Rocky%20Shimpo%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Rocky%20Shimpo%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed December 5, 2017).; Greg Robinson. "Pacific Citizen (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Pacific%20Citizen%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Pacific%20Citizen%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed January 4, 2018).; Brian Niiya. "Colorado Times (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Colorado%20Times%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Colorado%20Times%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed January 4, 2018).; and Brian Niiya. "Utah Nippo (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Utah%20Nippo%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Utah%20Nippo%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed January 4, 2018).

This study examines the *Rocky Shimpō* because of its brief leadership under the controversial James Omura, its unique relationship with the Heart Mountain Sentinel—especially in regard to the topic of draft evasion, and finally its relationship with the federal government and its telling shifts in power.

Beginning in 1930 under the name *Rokki Nippon*, the publication expanded in October 1941 to include an English section, becoming increasingly popular among Japanese Americans. Much like the other papers which were located outside of the restricted areas on the West Coast, the *Rocky Shimpō*'s circulation increased during the war years. This is due to the fact that a large portion of the Japanese Americans in the internment camps subscribed to the *Rocky Shimpō* because they thought the paper was a more reliable news source than the internment camp papers. The paper took the name the *Rocky Shimpō* in 1943 after the founder, Shiro Toda, was arrested and interned, leaving the paper in the hands of his daughter.¹⁶

In 1944, the paper gained a controversial reputation when James Omura became the English language editor. Like nearly 5000 other Japanese Americans, Omura “voluntarily” resettled in the “wartime mecca” of Denver, Colorado in March 1942, as a way of escaping the evacuation of Japanese descendants from the West Coast. Omura quickly gained a radical reputation, frequently publishing papers that possessed an editorial position that sympathized with the Heart Mountain draft resisters. Omura’s support of the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee resulted in he and Noboru Hiraga—the editor of the Japanese section—being removed from their editorships by the government. Furthermore, on May 10, 1944, Omura was indicted with seven Fair Play Committee leaders. After his arrest on July 20th, Omura was jailed

¹⁶ Brian Niiya, “Rocky Shimpō (newspaper),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpō%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpō%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed December 5, 2017).

on charges of “unlawful conspiracy to counsel, aid, and abet violations of the draft.” When Omura and the FPC leaders went to trial in Cheyenne, Wyoming in the fall of 1944, the leaders of the FPC were convicted; Omura was acquitted on the grounds of the 1st Amendment right of freedom of the press.¹⁷

After Omura was removed from his editorship in April 1944, he was replaced by Roy Takeno, a conservative journalist “who supported Nisei compliance with the draft.”¹⁸ The instillation of Takeno transformed the *Rocky Shimpō* from a radical mouthpiece to a conservative newspaper promoting an accommodationist agenda.

An analysis of the *Rocky Shimpō* is complicated by two gaps in the historical record. The first gap is the small availability of *Rocky Shimpō* issues. Despite publishing from 1930 through the postwar years,¹⁹ there are only 249 issues accessible. Considering that the *Rocky Shimpō* was a triweekly publication, this means that the only range of issues available is from June 1944-December 1945. The issues available include: Vol. 11, No. 66 (June 2, 1944)-156 (December 29, 1944) and Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 1, 1945)-165 (December 31, 1945). The issues within this range that are missing include: Vol. 11, No. 71, 99, 107, 109, and 148 and Vol. 12, No. 9, 87, 90, 111, 115, and 156. This limited time frame leads to the second complication with these sources—the controversial editorials by Omura ended in April 1944 when he was removed from office. Therefore the only issues available were published under the leadership of Takeno, who

¹⁷ Arthur A. Hansen, “James Omura,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/James%20Omura/> (Accessed December 5, 2017).

¹⁸ Brian Niiya, “Rocky Shimpō (newspaper),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpo%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpo%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed December 5, 2017).

¹⁹ According to the encyclopedia entry on the Rocky Shimpō, “Different sources give its end date as either 1951 or 1961.” Brian Niiya, “Rocky Shimpō (newspaper),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpo%20\(newspaper\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/cite/page/Rocky%20Shimpo%20(newspaper)/) (Accessed December 5, 2017).

unfortunately has left little evidence in the historical record, with the exception of the issues of the *Rocky Shimpō* he edited, the column “On the Other Hand” he signed his name to, and one photograph of him at Manzanar Internment Camp in California.²⁰

In conclusion, in examining these two papers it is arguable that the shadow of government authority cast over the writers of these papers greatly influenced their overwhelmingly conservative and accommodationist editorials. While the *Rocky Shimpō* has a reputation of being controversial and anti-accommodationist in their writings, the radical editor behind these articles, James Omura, was quickly nudged out of office and replaced by a writer who was much more in keeping with the government approved script, Roy Takeno. This brief moment of radicalism demonstrates the existence of anti-accommodationism, while the abrupt removal of Omura and the installation of Takeno elucidates the influence the federal government possessed during times of war over private news sources. In spite of the fact that these evacuees were extremely limited in their ability to criticize the government, this constriction does not fully explain the reason they expressed conservative views instead of simply presenting no perspective at all. This suggests that the Japanese Americans either entered the camps with conservative perspectives, or they developed them once interned.

While these “acceptable” articles remained focused on the idea of Japanese Americans doing whatever was necessary to prove their loyalty to the United States, they did not blatantly support internment. Rather than focus on feelings of bitterness and resentment over their current state, these editorial writers approached the removal and relocation of Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast from the argument that cooperating with the federal government

²⁰ "Roy Takeno (editor) and group reading the Manzanar Free Press in front of the office, 1943, Manzanar concentration camp, California.," *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/sources/en-denshopd-i93-00002-1/>(Accessed January 4, 2018).

was in the best interest of the all Japanese in America both in the short term and long term.

According to this accommodationist view, cooperating with internment would ease the transition into internment and later would make assimilation into American society much easier.

In this examination of the accommodationist perspective both under direct governmental oversight inside the internment camps and outside of governmental oversight but in the shadow of governmental oversight outside of the camps, I will argue that Japanese Americans used the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* and the *Rocky Shimpō* to express their conservatism. To accomplish this, I will examine three specific forms of conservatism expressed throughout the articles of these two publications.

Chapter 1 examines articles which express tenets of conservative nationalism, largely revolving around topics on loyalty, arguing that the focus on this topic promotes a political conservatism rooted in American nationalism. These articles are centered around the praising of the nisei in khaki and denouncing acts of resistance as exemplified in the controversy over draft resistance—a topic which is particularly significant for Heart Mountain as well as the *Rocky Shimpō*.

Chapter 2 explores the papers' promotion of an economic conservatism, largely through their attention to the war effort, arguing that these editorials endorse evacuee involvement in the war effort in a manner aligned with conservative economic values.

Chapter 3 focuses on the papers' emphasis on social conservatism, largely on the topic of resettlement, arguing that the emphasis of these editorials on assimilating into American society illustrates the establishment of a social conservatism among Japanese Americans. These articles employed the discussion over Japanese American resettlement to promote the creation of “American” social behaviors which would allegedly make the transition back into society much

easier on the evacuees, while simultaneously stripping them of their Japanese characteristics. These articles emphasize the idea that Japanese Americans should conform to existing American values instead of aiming to alter the values of racist and undemocratic policies such as internment and the infringement of civil rights. This encouragement of maintaining the status quo is a central tenet of conservatism.

Through their promotion of their perspectives on these four central topics, both publications go beyond promoting a super-Americanism to specifically promote a conservative Americanism. Each of these layers of conservatism share a common theme—they are all in the best interest of the common good, not the interest of the Japanese Americans.

CHAPTER 1. PROVING LOYALTY THROUGH CONSERVATIVE NATIONALISM

When examining any war, let alone a war in which fears of espionage run especially high, the central theme of discourse is patriotism, an exuberant loyalty to the nation. This is particularly so when considering material published by Japanese Americans during internment. Specifically, the *Rocky Shimpo* and the *Heart Mountain Sentinel's* publications on this form of loyalty examine three expressions of patriotism: general declarations of loyalty to the United States, the enlistment of nisei in the military, the nisei's refusal to expatriate to Japan. In particular, the discussion of loyalty in these two papers exude elements of conservative nationalism which strives to "maintain national unity by fostering patriotic loyalty and 'pride in one's country.'"²¹ Traditionally, conservative nationalism becomes "particularly prominent when the sense of national identity is felt to be threatened or in danger of being lost,"²² such as in the United States in the mid-1940s when Japanese Americans' national identity was threatened by internment. On the surface these articles simply encourage Japanese Americans to demonstrate their patriotism, however by exhibiting their loyalty to the United States, the evacuees would also abandon their ties to Japan whether those ties were maintaining connections with relatives in Japan, or simply paying homage to their cultural heritage.

Declarations of loyalty both by the Japanese Americans as well as by non-Japanese Americans on their behalf frequently appeared in the editorials. One example which best captures the overall tone of such declarations states:

We, as Americans of Japanese descent claiming no allegiance to other than the United States, would be the first to protest a government policy calculated to weaken our war

²¹ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 180, Kindle Edition.

²² Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 181, Kindle Edition.

effort, even if that meant personal inconvenience and suffering. The sincerity of this protestation has been proven by action: 100,000 individuals cooperated with their government in a mass evacuation based solely on race, because they believed it was their patriotic duty as a wartime measure; they did not protest temporary suspension of civil rights if it was for the national good.²³

This quote illustrates that Japanese are declaring that they are true, loyal Americans who can be trusted. Their conservatism is evident in the idea that citizens must do whatever is necessary for the overall good regardless of if they would suffer greatly.

An ongoing theme in these declarations of loyalty include emphasis on the fact that the internees cooperated with evacuation and that “the majority strongly feels that it must be taken in stride as our part in the war effort and that we must go even farther in proving our records as good citizens.”²⁴ As one editorial points out, “No American can resist edicts of military necessity and call himself American. Military necessity was the official reason for evacuation, and that was our sacrifice and contribution to national unity and safety...we want to cooperate in the democratic manner for the welfare of the nation.”²⁵ Supporting this claim, one editorial, originally published by the *Capitol Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), that was reprinted by the *Rocky Shimpō* declared ““We suspect that our Japanese American citizens have accepted everything asked of them with far more grace and understanding that would have been the case if citizens of

²³ “Editorials: The Dies Committee, Again,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.27, Saturday, July 3, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

²⁴ “Editorials: Two Objectives,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.25, Saturday, June 17, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

²⁵ “Editorials: Still Strong, Straight and Smiling,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.1, Friday, January 1, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

other national backgrounds had been asked to do the same things.”²⁶ Declarations such as these illustrate a super-loyalism to the United States, arguing that the color of their skin does not impact their ability to be faithful citizens.

Such declarations were supplemented by numerous retellings of the record of the issei and nisei as loyal American citizens. While it carries a slight tone of frustration, one example of this expresses enduring loyalty:

Despite the bitter words and threats of those who forced us from our homes and placed us behind barbed wire fences, we still believe and have faith in America and the American Way of Life. We are still a part of America in our hearts and minds and spirits. Our sons are doing their brave part on every battlefield where the flag of this nation now flies. Our friends and brothers and sisters are doing their part in the fields, in the factories, on the railroads and in industry. We have thrown off the bitterness and disillusionment and proved that we are loyal Americans. The road ahead is straight and the horizon is clear.²⁷

This frustration at being accused of disloyalty turned tragic in one instance when 30 year old Charles J. Oda, a nisei and veteran who “served in the U.S. Army from September 1941 to November 1943, slashed his arm three times with a razor” in a failed suicide attempt. Oda had written a note which read: “I am a good, loyal American. Honest to God. I am no spy or the things they say. Please believe me. There will never be peace anywhere for me.”²⁸ Accounts such as these illustrate the impact internment had on Japanese Americans’ sense of national identity.

²⁶ “EDITORIAL PRAISES CITIZENS’ ATTITUDE,” *Rocky Shimo* Vol. 11, No. 72.2, Friday, June 16, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

²⁷ “Three Years and Two Days: An Editorial,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.50, Saturday, December 9, 1944, p. 1; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

²⁸ “Blood Plasma Saves Life Of Delirious Nisei Youth,” *Rocky Shimo* Vol. 12, No. 25, Monday, February 26, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

Additionally, one editorial provided a specific example as to why there should be no doubt of the evacuee's loyalty. Referring to a scheduled blackout which occurred in December 1942, Editor-in-Chief at the time Bill Hosokowa, pointed out that despite the evacuee's prior knowledge of this blackout "there was no attempted break through the barbed wire fence that surrounds us, no reported case of theft, assault or other breach of the peace." Hosokowa explains that this lack of trouble was unsurprising to the internees who "took the blackouts in stride, as a matter of course. We accepted the temporary inconvenience of being without electricity simply as the duty of civilians in a war-torn world faced with the obvious necessity of rehearsing the blackout which we hope may never become necessary." Hosokowa drew attention to the fact that this lack of reaction "should mean more to those on the outside who are not our friends...The fact that the blackouts were complete and scheduled in advance demonstrated the confidence of the administration in the evacuees, and of the evacuees in each other."²⁹ By stressing their loyalty to the United States, declaring that they are true Americans, and rejecting the idea of race as a distinguishing factor, the evacuees expressed the conservative belief that a homogenous society is a good society and that differences cause fractures within a society.

A strong focus of both publications was the discussion on the "war's fightin'ist, toughest, most colorful and bravest groups of warriors,"³⁰ the Japanese Americans who enlisted in the military and fought in both the European and Pacific theaters. These articles explore the reputation and accommodations of these soldiers, better known as the nisei in khaki, as well as their reasons for enlisting in the first place. A great deal of editorial effort was devoted toward

²⁹ Bill Hosokowa, "ON THE IN-SIDE," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.9, Saturday, December 19, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

³⁰ "Editorials: Proudly We Hail," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.41, Saturday, October 7, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

honoring the nisei who were “out to do or die for their country.”³¹ These articles emphasize that the nisei have proven themselves loyal in both the European and Pacific theaters. This is clearly conveyed in one letter from Lieutenant General Mark Clark of the Fifth Army who wrote:

'Your record in battle has been marked by one continuous achievement after another....You are always thinking of your country before yourselves. You have never complained through your long periods in the line. You have written a brilliant chapter in the history of the fighting men of America....The Fifth Army is proud of you, and the whole United States is proud of you.'³²

By publishing such articles, the Japanese American editorial staffs are praising the nisei in khaki for a dedication to the United States in spite of the struggles placed upon them by internment.

In particular, these articles incorporated the words of the nisei in khaki themselves to express why they enlisted, explaining that Selective Service is “not merely an obligation to bear arms,” but “is an opportunity to prove the nisei’s right to be called an American.”³³ Furthermore, it was not simply that once the draft was opened to the Nisei that they fulfilled their obligation to their country. Prior to the draft allowing for the enlistment of Japanese Americans “they insisted and fought for the right to defend our country...serving bravely and gallantly in every theatre of the war,” and giving “their lives in defense of the principles for which America stands.”³⁴ In total

³¹ “150 Service Flags Fly Over Heart Mountain,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.8, Saturday, February 20, 1943, p. 1, 8; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

³² “‘U.S. IS PROUD OF YOU!’,” *Rocky Shimpo* Vol. 11, No. 91, Monday, July 31, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

³³ Bill Hosokawa, “ON THE OUT-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.11, Saturday, March 11, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

³⁴ “Editorials: The Greatest Gift: Freedom,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.52, Saturday, December 23, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

it is estimated that 33,000 Japanese Americans served in the military throughout and immediate following World War II.³⁵

In 1944, the War Department decided to allow loyal issei to volunteer. The first of whom was 24 year old Henry Ebiharo, who explained his desire to enlist stating ““My people are Americans even though I was born in Japan and can't be a citizen because my skin is yellow. This war isn't one race against another--it is a war of ideals and principles. I want to fight the Japanese fascists.””³⁶ This account notes that even the issei—the group which lost the most because of internment—were determined to prove their loyalty to the United States. This article challenges the idea that alien Japanese immigrants maintained a loyalty to Japan, when in reality many issei wanted to become American citizens but were ineligible for citizenship due to racially based immigration laws.

Many of these articles emphasized the personal motivation behind enlisting—“proving their loyalty to this nation on the fire scorched field of battle like other Americans.” By enlisting, “They are, through offering their lives, making it easier for others who have not yet had the opportunity to show in an indelible manner that we have no other loyalties.”³⁷ This is evidenced by two accounts of nisei soldiers. The first, Chaplain Masso Yamada of the 442nd, viewed his service as meaning ““more than victory over our foes; it means our first sacrificial offering for

³⁵ Brian Niiya, “Japanese Americans in military during World War II,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese%20Americans%20in%20military%20during%20World%20War%20II/> (Accessed February 19, 2018)

³⁶ “TOKYO-BORN BOY TO ENTER ARMY,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 144, Friday, December 1, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

³⁷ “Editorials: A SOLID FOUNDATION,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.43, Saturday, October 23, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

the land we love."³⁸ The second, Sgt. Ronald Yoshioka of the 100th, who explained the excellent record of the nisei soldiers stating "'We fought harder than the rest...'because we wanted to show the people we were just as loyal as the others."³⁹ These two accounts illustrate the significance nisei placed on serving their country—this wasn't just for them, but for all Japanese Americans.

One of the many praises for the nisei in khaki is best depicted in an article discussing the significance of service stars hanging in the windows of internment camp barracks, explaining that these stars "signify more than the fact that the nisei are in the war against the Axis powers along with other Americans;" they "tell a story of the struggle of a group of citizens to fight for their rightful place in America."⁴⁰ This account highlights the pride the evacuees placed in their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers who served in the military.

Emphasizing the nisei's sacrifice, one article employs vivid and emotional imagery declaring that the most significant way Japanese Americans were proving that they were as Americans as other racial groups was through "the lives of our boys, lying side by side on the world's bloody battlefields with Americans of almost every racial extraction."⁴¹ Expanding further on the discussion of sacrifice, another article discusses the loss of three Heart Mountain soldiers arguing that while the nisei in khaki were not better than other soldiers, "they did offer their services –ready to give their lives-after having faced more bitterness, more prejudice and

³⁸ "CHAPLAIN SPEAKS," *Rocky Shimo* Vol. 12, No. 12, Friday, January 26, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

³⁹ "Fought Harder To Prove Their Loyalty," *Rocky Shimo* Vol. 11, No. 113, Wednesday, September 20, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁴⁰ Kunio Otani, "Nisei Soldiers Are Serving on All Fronts: Confusion, Bitterness After Evacuation Held Many Loyal Americans in Centers," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.33A, Saturday, August 12, 1944, p. 38; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁴¹ "Editorials: Significant Developments," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.39, Saturday, September 23, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

discrimination than any other American boy.” Explaining that serving one’s country requires bravery under the best circumstances, however “One must be many times braver after having been cast out like a stranger to fight and die for principles that have been denied, to prove that he believes in them, even though denied.”⁴² This depiction of the Japanese American soldiers provides both praise of these men as well as an acknowledgement of the treatment of the Japanese American population.

Providing readers with an example of such heroism and bravery, the papers present the story of Sergeant Ben Kuroki who “volunteered to fight for his country when it became embroiled in this war,” “fought gallantly,” and was awarded “two Distinguished Flying crosses and the Air Medal with four oak leaf clusters.” Despite experiencing “the heartaches of intolerance and distrust” throughout basic training, Sergeant Kuroki “begged with tears in his eyes” to be included in a combat mission “into that crucible of hell where death hovered wing to wing with his Liberator bomber.” Even after completing the standard duty (25 missions) “he passed up a chance to come home so that he could volunteer for an extra five missions.” The account of Sgt. Kuroki published by these two papers stands as reminders to all nisei that they must go beyond what is asked of them to prove their loyalty.

Discussing race relations, Kuroki explained that “all his decorations are incidental to his fight against intolerance” and “his desire to prove to America that race, color or creed are not criterions of Americanism.”⁴³ As he expressed in one interview, “I have the face of a Japanese

⁴² “Editorials: The Price of Admission,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.47, November 18, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁴³ “Editorials: Triumph Over Intolerance,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.18, Saturday, April 29, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

but my heart is American.”⁴⁴ Sergeant Ben Kuroki “is a glowing example of a true American,” and “an inspiration to every Japanese American” “because he has dedicated his life to earn equal acceptance for all minorities.”⁴⁵ By publishing this well-known hero’s perspective, the papers remind readers of what the nation is fighting against, and encourage racial tolerance and equality.

The Japanese American men who composed the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the 100th Infantry Battalion are remembered today as the units which earned the most accommodations in the history of the United States Military for their size and the length of time that they served.⁴⁶ In May 1945, the *Rocky Shimpō* boasted that the 100th “has become the most decorated unit in Army history.”⁴⁷ The praise of the nisei in khaki has been well earned, “in just over one year,” the 442nd and 100th “compiled an astonishing combat record.”⁴⁸ These units earn “awards by the arm loads,”⁴⁹ receiving several Distinguished Unit Citations, “including one awarded personally by President Harry Truman who said, on July 15, 1946, ‘You fought the enemy abroad and prejudice at home and you won.’” In all, a total of 21 Medals of Honor, 29

⁴⁴ “Soldier’s Assignment In Pacific Revealed Kuroki Is Happy Sgt.,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 147, Friday, December 9, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁴⁵ “Editorials: Triumph Over Intolerance,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.18, Saturday, April 29, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁴⁶ Franklin Odo, “442nd Regimental Combat Team,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/442nd%20Regimental%20Combat%20Team/> (Accessed April 28, 2017).; I also referenced Franklin Odo, “100th Infantry Battalion,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/100th%20Infantry%20Battalion/> (Accessed April 28, 2017).

⁴⁷ “MOST DECORATED UNIT IN ARMY,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 65, Wednesday, May 30, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 2, 2017).

⁴⁸ Franklin Odo, “442nd Regimental Combat Team,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/442nd%20Regimental%20Combat%20Team/> (Accessed April 28, 2017).

⁴⁹ Roy M. Takeno, “ON THE OTHER HAND,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 88, Monday, July 24, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

Distinguished Service Crosses, 588 Silver Stars, and over 4,000 Purple Hearts as just as many Bronze Stars were awarded to the nisei who served in the 442nd.⁵⁰

This praise of the nisei in khaki expresses conservative nationalism in that it is aiming to “maintain national unity by fostering patriotic loyalty and ‘pride in one’s country,’”⁵¹ however this idea is built upon a misguided assumption that the intent on conservative nationalism focuses on the good of the nation. It can be argued that conservative nationalism is a way for the ruling class to manipulate its subjects, after all, the nation is invented, defined, and employed by the elite ruling class to meet their needs. One example of this occurs when a nation is facing times of war or international crisis, and must mobilize its citizens to fight on its behalf. This type of nationalism is conservative because it strives to maintain the status quo.⁵² Therefore, while these articles may appear to praise the Japanese Americans who served in the war, they also subtly express conservative nationalism.

Following evacuation, the WRA attempted to segregate the loyal from the disloyal in an attempt to keep disloyal internees from contaminating those still loyal to the United States. It was determined that Tule Lake would become the segregation center. Part of this process included the evacuees taking a loyalty questionnaire which included two questions that declared many evacuees disloyal: “Question number 27 asked if Nisei men were willing to serve on combat duty wherever ordered and asked everyone else if they would be willing to serve in other ways, such as serving in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps,” and “Question number 28 asked if

⁵⁰ Franklin Odo, “442nd Regimental Combat Team,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/442nd%20Regimental%20Combat%20Team/> (Accessed April 28, 2017).

⁵¹ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 180, Kindle Edition.

⁵² Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 182, Kindle Edition.

individuals would swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and forswear any form of allegiance to the Emperor of Japan.” These questions resulted in “concern and unrest.” This was due to the various citizenship statuses and the nature of wartime enlistment. First, young nisei worried that by answering yes to Question 27 they would be volunteering for service. Secondly, the issei resented that the United States was requesting that they renounce their loyalty to the Emperor of Japan, especially since most of them were not loyal to the Emperor of Japan. The only reason these Japanese immigrants did not obtain American citizenship was that they were barred from doing so because of their race—prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese attempted to participate in American society through serving in the military, running their own businesses, and owning property. This legal inability to obtain citizenship did not mean that the issei did not wish to renounce their Japanese citizenship, but that answering yes to Question 28 and renouncing their citizenship to the Emperor of Japan would leave them stateless.⁵³

These papers addressed what the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* referred to as the “the greatest tragedy” of the segregation process: “the young men and women who in deference to parental authority registered against their wills to be segregated.” The editorials illustrate the heartbreaking scene of the “voluntary expatriates leaving the nation they realized too late that they loved, sobbed bitterly as the train pulled out. They were the Americans-lost, the tragic, lonely figures among the happy souls glad to be off to meet their hoped-for destinies in Japan.”⁵⁴ Describing these young people as “‘tag-alongs’...who are much more American than they are

⁵³ Cherstin Lyon, “Loyalty questionnaire,” *Densho Encyclopedia*

<http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Loyalty%20questionnaire/> (Accessed April 15, 2017).

⁵⁴ Bill Hosokawa, “ON THE IN-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.39, Saturday, September 25, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

Japanese,”⁵⁵ these articles demonstrate that the segregation process was complicated and that not all of those who chose to expatriate to Japan were disloyal to the United States and did so for understandable reasons.

More specifically however, the articles discouraged nisei from expatriating to Japan in what one *Rocky Shimpō* article described as “Figuratively a suicidal one-way voyage.” In a logical manner, a Japanese professor, Professor Iwas, explained, “‘Consider the age of the isseis...What, really, can they do?’ As to the niseis who may have glimmering hopes of success in Japan—forget about it. Relocate. Resettle.”⁵⁶ The articles discussing expatriation strongly express conservative ideals. By criticizing the nisei who expatriated and discouraging expatriation, these articles promote a conservative Americanness which encourages separating (in this case literally) from ancestral relations in order to claim a place in American society.

Finally, the discussion of acts of protest within the internment camps focus largely on the draft evasion, however also includes some discussion on other forms of protests, mainly violent protests. The editorials on draft evasion examine a very specific form of protest which largely occurred at Heart Mountain: the high volume of men who failed to report when drafted and the Fair Play Committee. As one editorial explains, “In comparison with other relocation centers in which selective service has been accepted with little opposition, Heart Mountain is conspicuous with its deplorable record.”⁵⁷ Placing a great deal of blame for such high levels of draft evasion

⁵⁵ “Editorials: Transfer Tule Lake Center!,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.47, Saturday, November 20, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁵⁶ “ONE-WAY SUICIDAL TRIP SEEN BY EDUCATOR FOR RETURNING EVACUEES,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 87, Friday, July 21, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁵⁷ “Editorials: Facing the Future,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.15, Saturday, April 8, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

at the center, the *Sentinel* editorials point an accusing finger at the Fair Play Committee, a group of “disgruntled agitators, self-styled guardians of nisei rights,” who “took to the soap box in latrines and messhalls,” “urging kids to stick up for their rights and oppose the draft on the ground that since they had been stuck into these camps in complete disregard of their American citizenship rights, they should not be asked to fight.”⁵⁸ These articles denounce the actions of the Fair Play Committee as well as the draft resisters.

When sixty-three draft evaders were placed on trial, the *Sentinel* editorial staff once again indicted the Fair Play Committee as well as the draft evaders, in an uncompromising charge which read:

It is the belief of The Sentinel that the 63 Heart Mountain men now on trial are doing all Japanese Americans a disservice...Loyal Japanese Americans as a whole condemn the Fair Play Committee and the action of the 63 defendants as being as serious an attack on the integrity of all nisei as the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, the treatment of allied prisoners on Bataan and other acts which have placed all persons of Japanese ancestry under suspicion.⁵⁹

This account illustrates the severity that the newspapers placed upon draft evasion.

Acknowledging that the number of draft evaders from Heart Mountain was only slightly more than “half a hundred” men, one editorial best explains the severity of draft evasion among the nisei, stating that while the number of draft evaders represent only a small percentage of Japanese Americans, “that minority, through the misguided judgement of rabble rousers and a group whose patriotism can be seriously doubted, is hampering the honest and wholehearted

⁵⁸ John Kitasako, “Soap-Box Quarterbacks Said Jeopardizing Future of Nisei,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.8, Saturday, February 19, 1944, p.1,5; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁵⁹ “Editorials: Two Objectives,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.25, Saturday, June 17, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

desire of the vast majority of American with Japanese faces to be good citizens.”⁶⁰ By placing such strong emphasis on draft evasion and the actions of the Fair Play Committee, the *Sentinel* editorials go beyond simply illustrating the gravity of the situation and probable consequences of such actions to condemn these behaviors as fundamentally un-American.

The articles regarding violent disturbances focus on three specific events, each at a different internment camp: Poston, Manzanar, and Tule Lake. In November 1942, an editorial states that the disturbance at Poston in which individuals who were suspected of being administration informers were attacked. Two kibe (nisei who were educated in Japan and then returned to the United States) were held pending an investigation by the FBI, however no charges were pressed. Demonstrations occurred as fears that the two men would not receive a fair trial surfaced, and quickly negotiations broke down. Both the Temporary Community Council and the Issei Advisory Board for Camp I resigned, and a new representative body was formed which consisted of both issei and nisei leaders. There was a general strike in the camp which restricted services to only those that were necessary, however this week long strike concluded when the administration conceded to release the two men under the condition that informers would no longer be attacked and internees would cooperate with the administration. The result of this event was that evacuees, issei in particular, were involved in a larger degree in determining the conditions they lived under.⁶¹

Editorials discussing this event argued that such behavior could cause the public opinion to “turn sharply against ALL nisei and issei-regardless of their intentions.” This disturbance led

⁶⁰ “Editorials: They Are Worth Saving,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.16, Saturday, April 15, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁶¹ Thomas Fujita-Rony, “Poston (Colorado River),” *Densho Encyclopedia* [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Poston%20\(Colorado%20River\)/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Poston%20(Colorado%20River)/) (Accessed December 12, 2016).

to a general strike by “a rebellious group protesting the jailing of two men on a charge of assault to kill.” Two of the direct results of this disturbance, according to a *Sentinel* editorial, was the creation of “doubt in the minds of the American public as to the sympathies of American-Japanese and Japanese nationals alike,” and “Giving cause for outside pressure groups to influence public opinion and legislative bodies to consider prohibitive measures to further restrict the liberties of the evacuees.” The editorial claims that “Because the Santa Anita assembly center riot was successful in the early days of evacuation, certain elements foolishly believe that riots and strikes are the solution to their difficulties....the Sentinel believes that rather than correcting a situation such action only makes matters worse in the long-time planning of relocation.”⁶² The protestors in the Poston incident justified attacks on administration informers on the grounds that these informers were cooperating with the unjust system which allowed for the internment of the Japanese Americans population.

In December 1942, the Manzanar riot/uprising began when a Japanese American Citizens League official Fred Tayama was beaten upon returning from a meeting in Salt Lake City. Tayama’s assailant, Harry Ueno, was arrested and detained. Tensions in between Ueno and the Manzanar administration began when Ueno, a mess hall worker, began noticing shortfalls in the sugar supply, and organized a group to investigate. This group found evidence that WRA officials were siphoning camp provisions for sale on the black market. As these tensions evolved, a strongly anti-JACL sentiment emerged within the camp to the point that when Tayama was attacked and Ueno was arrested, the internees believed Ueno was innocent but identified as retaliation for his accusations about the missing sugar. Demanding Ueno’s release and informers

⁶² “Editorials: The ‘Poston Disturbance,’” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.6, Saturday, November 28, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

like Tayama be killed, the mob divide into two sections—one which went to the camp hospital to finish the attack on Tayama, and the other which went to the jail to free Ueno. Both groups were unsuccessful as the first group could not locate Tayama and military police entered the camp, establishing a barricade between the mob and the jail.⁶³ The result of this incident was the instillation of martial law at Manzanar which ended with soldiers firing into the crowds of inmates in which two inmates were killed and many more injured.⁶⁴

A *Sentinel* editorial addressing these incidents notes that in both disturbances, “the WRA project directors have been quoted as saying small but well-organized 'pro-Axis groups' were the cause of the disturbance, and hundreds of loyal pro-American evacuees stood by the administration and did everything in their power to maintain order.” This editorial demonstrated the danger of such protests and charged the evacuees with ensuring that these destructive acts of protest do not continue. Explaining that these riots “concern more than just the residents and administration of Poston and Manzanar,” the article stresses that such acts of protest “affect the futures in this country of 110,000 residents of the 10 WRA centers as well as the 20,000 other Americans of Japanese extraction and loyal aliens living in various parts of the United States.” The article warns readers that ultimately it is the responsibility of the internees to ensure “that these shameful incidents are not repeated.”⁶⁵ By expressing these opinions, the newspapers promoted the conservative belief that the subject class should not challenge the ruling class. In

⁶³ Arthur A. Hansen, “Harry Ueno,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Harry%20Ueno/> (Accessed March 6, 2018).

⁶⁴ “Manzanar riot/uprising,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Manzanar%20riot/uprising/> (Accessed April 15, 2017).

⁶⁵ “Editorials: Obligation to Loyalty,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.8, Saturday, December 12, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

essence, these opinions promote maintaining the status quo and reject the idea of revolting against the established order.

The Tule Lake disturbance during November 1943 resulted in the U.S. Army taking control of the center after “three hundred to four hundred young Japanese men armed with sticks and clubs...moved into the Administration area”⁶⁶ during a “demonstration against the administration of the center by Japanese internees who sworn loyalty to Japan, brought about their segregation from the nine other relocation centers.”⁶⁷ *Sentinel* editorials describe the event’s consequences on evacuees as a whole, stating that “The incipient revolt at Tule Lake has added another millstone to the already heavy burden of nisei and loyal issei who hope to re-establish themselves without prejudice as progressive and worthwhile citizens of their own country and the country of their choice.”⁶⁸ The editorials regarding the Tule Lake incident in comparison to the Poston and Manzanar disturbances carry a tone of disgust with the protesters, declaring that many Japanese Americans view the “incipient revolt at Tule Lake” as a “stupid folly and totally unwarranted.” Additionally, this article declares this event “the second worse attack against us who anxiously wait an opportunity to prove ourselves loyal Americans,” with the first attack

⁶⁶ “Tule Lake Is Again Quiet: Best Issues Statement On Incident,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.46, Saturday, November 13, 1942, p. 1, 3; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁶⁷ “20 Casualties at Tule Lake As Military Takes Action: Four-Day Demonstration Against Administration Brings Drastic Results,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.45, Saturday, November 6, 1943, p. 1,6; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁶⁸ “Editorials: Transfer Tule Lake Center!,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.47, Saturday, November 20, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

referencing the attack on Pearl Harbor. This account expresses frustration at acts of protest which the editorial staff views as threatening the status quo.⁶⁹

Articles regarding strikes and walk-outs are the least frequent form of protest discussed and are incredibly general, looking at these forms of non-violent protest from a broad perspective encompassing all of the internment camps as a whole. While it can be assumed that there were strikes and walk-outs at Heart Mountain or at the very least in other camps, little is said about these in editorial pieces. Rather, the editorial staff simply refers to these events as “strikes and inexcusable absenteeism”⁷⁰ which are “irresponsible and immature.”⁷¹ And most influential, they explain that behavior such as this will not achieve the goals the protesters desire:

We residents have a job to do....That situation is the same as on the outside where petty differences in industry, which might have been cause for strike in the easy-going days of peace, must now be overlooked in the interest of getting the work done so that we may win the war. In both cases disruption is a matter of cutting off one’s nose to spite one’s face.⁷²

This article emphasizes strongly conservative belief which require citizens to do what is in the best interest of the nation as a whole—even if that means that those citizens would suffer.

The *Sentinel’s* editorials addressing loyalty demonstrate the concern over the reputation of persons of Japanese descent which could be tarnished by failure to demonstrate loyalty, especially through acts of resistance. The overall lack of any form of support for these acts of

⁶⁹ “Editorials: One Race; Two Principles,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.46, Saturday, November 13, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁷⁰ “Bill Hosokowa, “ON THE OUT-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.24, Saturday, June 10, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁷¹ Editorials: To Strike or Not To Strike,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.2, Saturday, January 9, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁷² “Editorials: To Strike or Not To Strike,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.2, Saturday, January 9, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

protest strongly emphasize conservative ideals. The central conservative principle highlights that society must place trust in the ruling authority and that any form of opposition to that authority will end in disaster. In essence, attempts at reform or revolting against the established authority with typically result in worse conditions than what was originally in place.⁷³ Ultimately, protesting for civil rights, equality, and justice are not unpatriotic, but simply alternate expressions of patriotism. While the argument presented by the *Sentinel* that these forms of protests are damaging to the entire Japanese population is a logical one, they are conservative in nature because they promote an accommodationist perspective, insisting that the internees must change rather than the institutions and attitudes of society. By showing nothing but contempt for these acts of protest, the editors of the *Sentinel* are expressing conservative values.

These papers express national pride and patriotism, and a desire to be considered loyal Americans. Through patriotic symbols and established institutions such as the military and the claiming of citizenship, these papers express a patriotic conservatism. Furthermore, through the condemnation of acts of protest, these papers uphold the conservative principle that opposition to authority will create devastating fractures within a nation which can lead to its collapse and the only way to prevent such destruction is to defend the ruling authority.

⁷³ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 69, Kindle Edition.

CHAPTER 2. EXHIBITING USEFULNESS WITH ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM

At first glance, the articles in the *Rocky Shimpō* and the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* seem anything but economic—apart from advertisements and discussions of employment, these topics appear to focus entirely on the war, politics, and social events. A closer examination however reveals the idea that evacuees “must make plans, permanent plans for their future, on the basis of their usefulness to the communities in which they reside.”⁷⁴ Specifically, evacuees must ensure that they are economically “useful” in the three central roles they fill: citizen, employee, and individual. Providing encouragement and advice on being useful in these three roles, the *Rocky Shimpō* and the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* published articles oozing rhetoric of loyalty and Americanism while subtly upholding a central tenant of conservative economic philosophy: a commitment to minimize spending and reduce government debt. In other words, “In its simplest form, fiscal conservatism as a public policy can be translated as: ‘Do more with less.’”⁷⁵

When looking at what makes an economically useful citizen, the principle idea focuses on a commitment to encourage fiscal conservatism within the different levels of government. Furthermore, an economically conservative citizen emphasizes contributing financially to the government rather than being a financial drain on the government. This is illustrated through two topics of these publications—the topic of fundraising and the denial of coddling charges.

As in any modern war, World War II witnessed a series of fundraising efforts including but not limited to the selling of war bonds and stamps, as well as simple money drives, through a

⁷⁴ Roy M. Takeno, “ON THE OTHER HAND,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 136, Monday, November 13, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁷⁵ Robert M. Freeman, *Correctional organization and management: public policy challenges, behavior and structure* (Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), 109, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=B10JkvO82x8C&pg=PA109#v=onepage&q&f=false>. (Accessed February 13, 2018).

variety of organizations. Like the majority of publications during this time, the *Rocky Shimpō* and the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* both advertised these efforts, praising the patriotic and loyal donors while encouraging readers to make their contribution to the war effort and donate today. Employing nationalistic imagery, these promotions tug at readers' heart strings while simultaneously preaching philanthropy as well as the idea that it is up to Americans to band together and raise money in order to help reduce the fiscal strain placed upon the federal government, as seen in one article which states "Never in the world's history has so far-flung an effort been made to alleviate suffering, to back up our fighting men, and at the same time meet domestic emergencies and disasters."⁷⁶ Through these emotional appeals for monetary donations, these articles promote the conservative values of contributing to the common good regardless of individual ability to do so.

Publishing reports on funds raised by different organizations, these newspapers declared that "'Americans of all ancestry are asked to purchase bonds in this drive so that victory may be fastened. Japanese Americans at home will want to support their boys fighting so valiantly on many fronts of the world."⁷⁷ In addition, these articles acknowledge that the Japanese were "enthusiastic and regular buyers in the war bond market before the war" and before evacuation, but even though their current subsistence allowances don't allow them to buy much, "Post Offices in most camps have been selling bonds to evacuees at a pace slower than in pre-Pearl

⁷⁶ "RED CROSS DRIVE," *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 30, Friday, March 9, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁷⁷ "TAKE PART IN WAR LOAN DRIVE," *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 141, Friday, November 24, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

Harbor days." ⁷⁸ Through these articles, the newspaper staff emphasized fundraising in order to make the Japanese Americans a bit uncomfortable, almost shaming them into financially contributing to the war for the good of the nation. However these articles fail to acknowledge that the evacuees have already made the greatest economic contribution to the war effort through the loss of nearly all of their private property when they were removed from the West Coast.

Much along the same lines as the fundraising efforts, both publications—albeit more so the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*—vehemently denied the charges made by many anti-Japanese advocates that the federal government was coddling the evacuees in the internment camps. At first glance the repudiations of these charges seem like common sense—naturally the evacuees would wish to set the record straight and deny false rumors.

North Carolina Senator Robert Rice Reynolds led the charge against evacuees, brandishing accusations that the War Relocation Authority was coddling internees. The Senator was “quoted in a press dispatch as saying: ‘Why, the Japs are even given fine bathrooms.’... ‘The Japs are getting everything and our people aren’t getting anything, Why, they won’t even let the Japs serve as common laborers.’” Illustrating the audacity of such a claim and refuting it wholly, the *Sentinel* editorial staff responded stating that “it does little good for us to proclaim our loyalty, assert that we did not evacuate of our own volition, or cry that we are not being pampered,” because the very people making such claims “are not interested in the truth.” Welcoming an investigation into the life inside the internment camps, the editorial goes as far as to invite the Senator to “spend a month with us behind barbed wire,” living “under the watchful eyes of sentries who wear the same uniforms worn by our brothers, husbands and sons serving in

⁷⁸ Roy M. Takeno, “On the Other Hand,” *Rocky Shimpo* Vol. 11, No. 79, Monday, July 3, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

the United States forces.” Highlighting the experiences of internment, the article declares “We should be pleased to share our one-room apartments and the rationed mess hall fare with him,” and “what comfort and luxury we have been able to fashion and contrive with our own hands, scrap lumber and ingenuity from the bare barracks that were our homes when we first arrived.” Inviting the Senator to join them as they “walk through the snow...to our ‘fine bathrooms’ when the temperature is 30 degrees below zero” or “join our men shoveling coal out of freight cars for about eight and one-half cents per hour, or cleaning out an irrigation ditch for the same salary, or struggling all night in sub-zero weather to repair a water main, broken because of faulty construction, for the same remuneration.” The article concludes declaring “We doubt if there are 10,000 Americans in all the length and breadth of the land today who would change places with us to enjoy the ‘coddling’ and ‘pampering’ to which we have been subjected.”⁷⁹ The fierce objection to Senator Reynold’s accusations illustrates the significance the evacuees placed on their reputation as American citizens.

In addition to Senator Reynolds’s claims that the internees were being coddled, the *Sentinel* editorials also responded to attacks by a second group whom they refer to as the “most notorious of yellow journals,” the *Denver Post*. According to the opinions of the *Sentinel* editorial division, the *Post* employed charges of coddling as a “convenient tool to promote its anti-Democratic, anti-New Deal campaign, and it makes light of 100,000 innocent by-standers in WRA centers whose futures are jeopardized.” The *Sentinel*, despite being “a frail, small voice replying to the *Post*’s thunderings,” defended the evacuees against “the viciously editorialized headlines coldly calculated to inflame public opinion against loyal American citizens whose only

⁷⁹ “Editorials: Welcome to Heart Mountain, Senator Reynolds!,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II No.4, Saturday, January 23, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

crime was that of being born with Japanese faces.”⁸⁰ One editorial specifically addresses a political cartoon printed in the *Post* (Figure 1), which depicts “Uncle Sam waiting on...four toothy Japanese,” and carrying “a huge tray loaded with ‘meat’, ‘butter’, and ‘delicacies.’” Looking up at Uncle Sam, the Japanese child exclaims “‘Home was nothing like this.’” There is a posted sign which reads “‘If you don’t see what you want ask for it.’” In the background there is an American couple “looking forlornly in through a window,” as the caption reads “How Come?”⁸¹



The editorial responds to this glaring attack by noting that the cartoon is “calculated to arouse public feeling against the evacuees, who, according to the conclusion to be drawn, are enemy aliens being loaded with ‘delicacies’ while the rest of America goes hungry. The cartoon

⁸⁰ “Editorials: ‘Oh, Justice, When Expelled from Other Habitations, Make This Thy Dwelling Place.,’” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.18, Saturday, May 1, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁸¹ “Uncle Sam Political Cartoon,” *Denver Post*, March 24, 1943: 3.

portrays a damnable and damaging lie...” Setting the record straight, the article continues that “Anyone who thinks that the food provided in WRA camps (at a cost of less than 15 cents per individual each meal) is luxurious needs but to share our fare for a week to learn differently. We are subjected to the same rationing restrictions imposed on other citizens.”⁸² The *Sentinel’s* perspective on such sensationalized journalism is that of disgust and frustration, depicting this yellow journalism as smelling “of something foully un-American,” and stressing the need for a “straight factual presentation of the news to counteract the hysterical demagogues and professional rabble-rousers.”⁸³ Such an account stresses the Americanism of the internees by charging their accusers with un-Americanism.

Delving deeper into these articles illuminates a desire to prove that they too are true Americans, after all, they surely would not want Americans thinking they were receiving special treatment while the rest of the country was in the midst of rationing all supplies. The articles denying these charges are far more concerned with their fiscal reputation among the rest of American society than they are with correcting false charges. The most important thing for the evacuees is to stress that they would not exploit the government’s purse, especially at such dire times. Considering the fact that the evacuees were in the midst of trying to reenter American society, it is understandable why they would be so concerned with their reputation amongst the remainder of society.

Overall the articles addressing the topic of being a “useful citizen” focus largely on the reputation of the Japanese, in which the evacuees focus on having a good “American” reputation

⁸² “Editorials: How Come?,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.14, Saturday, April 3, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁸³ Bill Hosokawa, “ON THE IN-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.18, Saturday, May 1, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

by conforming their actions to meet American standards. One characteristic of the perfect American is the idea that they should possess a good work ethic. From the economically conservative viewpoint, a useful employee possesses traits reflected in two central principles discussed in both publications: contributing to wartime labor and being a good employee. The theme of the majority of the articles discussing labor during the war depicts such employment as a win-win situation, the evacuees obtain reliable employment while there are jobs available and they are able to contribute to the war effort. There were two major areas which evacuees were encouraged to work in: agriculture and manufacturing.

Encouraging every evacuee to do his or her part and addressing any critics who could charge them with being unwilling to contribute to the war effort, one editorial states: “We would gladly leave the shelter of the paternalistic government today to take our rightful places in the United States as free citizens, and pitch in to do our share toward winning this war as full-fledged Americans.”⁸⁴ Even in the centers, there were chances to contribute to the war effort. As early as 1942, the year the center opened, Heart Mountain announced intentions to open a ceramics plant in order to “supply WRA and Army needs” and serve as “another medium through which the residents of this community can help in the nation's war effort... We may be isolated and segregated from the rest of the country in some ways, but even barbed wire cannot

⁸⁴ “Editorials: To Keep the Record Straight,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.5, Saturday, January 30, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016). This was during the early days of interment, prior to being allowed to resettle, as is mentioned earlier in this paper, once resettlement was opened up to the vast majority of internees, remaining in the center was considered a way to avoid doing one’s duty as an American citizen and contributing to the war effort.

prevent us from serving our nation in this emergency."⁸⁵ This account emphasizes that through contributing to the war effort, the internees can prove themselves useful.

In particular, the call for evacuees to enter the agriculture labor force was greatly emphasized and propagandized. One particular event which received a great deal of applause was the assistance of 1128 internees from Heart Mountain, who traveled to Montana, Wyoming, and southern Colorado on work permits in 1942, to assist with the harvesting of sugar beets.⁸⁶ These evacuees returned to Heart Mountain "gratified in the knowledge that they had contributed in the preservation of a vital war-time commodity," and "eager to go again wherever their talents can best be utilized in the war efforts of this nation."⁸⁷ Cloaked in patriotic appeals, these articles stress the glory of aiding in the war effort.

Another agricultural element that received a great deal of praise was the farm program, which provided the dietary necessities for the relocation center, as well as a surplus which was able to feed other centers. This program was applauded because it allowed the federal government to divert resources from the internment camps to the war effort in a time "when every morsel of food is a round of ammunition,"⁸⁸ and providing a large portion of the center's own foodstuffs "in order that the nation's flow of supplies could go unhampered to the armed

⁸⁵ "Editorials: Serving the Nation," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.5, Saturday, November 21, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁸⁶ "1128 Leave For Harvest," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.1, Saturday, October 24, 1942, p. 8; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁸⁷ Fumi Amano, "Workers Return to Life Of Ease from Beet Field," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.8, Saturday, December 12, 1942, p. 5; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁸⁸ "Editorials: Routing the Defeatists," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.23, Saturday, June 5, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

forces.”⁸⁹ The account of the farm program in particular highlights the idea of being a useful by contributing to vital wartime labor.

A final example of the importance of agriculture to the war effort is the Provo Incident, in which a group of “hoodlums...fired shot guns into the farm labor camp at Provo, Utah” and “endangered 200 evacuee workers.” The article covering this event took the extreme perspective that “the hoodlums were endangering the lives of men and women taking part in the vital work of harvesting foodstuffs, a role without the hazards of military service but still one that is high in the priority list of occupations essential to the war effort.” Declaring that these men “were attempting to sabotage the nation’s production,” and that they are “as guilty as any trained saboteurs an enemy might try to land on our shores,” this article condemns the behavior of these “hoodlums,” while praising the contribution to the agricultural industry by the evacuees and calling upon readers to their own contribution to the nation’s defense.⁹⁰

These articles even called upon women to contribute stating that American women have always “backed their fighting men. But in this war they have a greater obligation to participate actively--by taking over vital Army jobs behind the front.” Evoking patriotism, loyalty, and materialistic desires to protect and serve one’s family, these articles emphasize that women are needed

For this war is bigger, more terrific than any in history. To win it, you, the women of America, are needed as well as your men...Every day your soldiers are risking their lives. You can help them win their fight sooner by taking over important tasks behind the lines—tasks which can often be done more easily by women than by men. This is your

⁸⁹ “Editorials: The Greatest Gift: Freedom,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.52, Saturday, December 23, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

⁹⁰ “Editorials: The Provo Incident,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.41, Saturday, October 9, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

challenge—your obligation. Can you refuse to accept it—when it may be within your power to help shorten the war? You are needed now.⁹¹

By calling upon women to contribute, this article highlights the conservative belief that every citizen—regardless of gender—must contribute to national defense.

Articles discussing the evacuees who went into manufacturing of ordnances portrayed these evacuees as saviors, declaring that ““These are the people who will relieve a situation which had become extremely serious—who will enable the depot to increase its mission according to plan—who will help in the vitally important work of winning the war.”

Denouncing racial discrimination against the Japanese, this article insists that ““They [the evacuees] did not choose their predecessors but they have chosen the sides on which they will fight. They have chosen the side which stands for personal freedom and for tolerance.””⁹² This account plays upon patriotism as it connects working in ordnance manufacturing with the national fight against totalitarian regimes.

Ultimately, these articles often fail to acknowledge who truly benefited by these papers encouraging evacuees to find employment in these areas: the employer class. The fields which the editorials are encouraging evacuees to contribute towards—agriculture and manufacturing—are areas which faced critical labor shortages during the war. Agriculture in particular, a field to which the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* paid particular attention, was perhaps the area which faced the most devastating shortages, largely due to the fact that many pre-war agriculture laborers found better paying jobs in manufacturing once the United States entered the war. Of all the articles discussing agriculture, the articles addressing the sugar beet workers comes the closest to

⁹¹ “WOMEN BACK MEN IN ARMY: WHY ARE WOMEN NEEDED FO RMILITARY SERVICE,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 68.1, Wednesday, June 7, 1944, p. 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁹² “DEPOT ADJUTANT URGES GREETING FOR WORKERS,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 119, Wednesday, October 4, 1944, p. 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

acknowledging that the evacuee workers were not the sole beneficiaries when they address the fact that it was only because of the evacuee workers that the sugar beet harvest was not lost. These articles subtly suggest that this contribution to the war effort was not wholly in the favor of the evacuees so much as it was in the favor of those depending on the sugar beet harvest, however there is still a great deal of emphasis on the glory of contributing to the war effort. The discussion of the farm program strongly emphasizes the economic American values of providing for oneself and not being an economic drain on the government, however these articles fail to acknowledge that the only reason that nearly the entire Japanese American population was being supported by the government was because the government removed them from their homes and placed them in internment camps. One article addressing housing resettlers best explained this fact, noting that “the Japanese Americans traditionally had cared for their own, but that relocation ‘had destroyed the economic foundation for self-assistance.’”⁹³ Additionally, in addressing the Provo Incident, the articles condemn the attack on the nation’s food supply and encourage readers to contribute to national defense, however there is no emphasis on the fact that the assailants attacked American citizens; rather, the 200 evacuee workers are depicted as tools in the production of the nation’s food supply, almost in the same manner that slaves in the American south were portrayed as tools (a form of property) in the plantation economy.

In addition, the drastic increase in manufacturing required a drastic increase in the number of workers. In the discussion of women contributing to the war effort, it can be assumed that these contributions would most likely be in the manufacturing industry, as supported by the infamous accounts of all the “Rosie the Riveters” who answered this call from the manufacturing

⁹³ “HOUSING PROBLEM FOR RESETTLERS,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 50, Wednesday, April 25, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

industry during the war. These articles once again emphasize the rectitude that comes with such a contribution to the war effort, however the central element these articles overlook is that women were cheaper to employ, therefore it was beneficial for employers to hire women. In addition, the discussion of the ordnance workers brings a nearly sacred element to the articles, emphasizing that these workers are the saviors which will contribute to winning the war. These articles further combat racial discrimination and promote a racial tolerance, however they fail to note that this was fairly dangerous work that was in high demand, and therefore there was a great need to fill these positions. For these evacuees, these were jobs which provided economic security as well as credit for contributing to the war effort, however ultimately the employers needed someone to cheaply fill these positions, and the Japanese Americans fit the bill.

The second way evacuees could be economically useful employees was by simply being a good employee. Advice of this nature is found more so in the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* and serves as a warning of what not to do for internees who will soon leave the camps for the outside. These editorials warn internees against having poor employment practices. Noting that life in the relocation centers have created “lax work tendencies,” *Sentinel* editorials explain that when evacuees with these “lax work tendencies relocate, they usually become the notorious ‘two weeks Japs’ by flitting from one job to another,” leaving “in their shameful wake enraged employers who turn thumbs down on future evacuees seeking employment.”⁹⁴ Beyond simply encouraging reliability, one editorial also suggests “Two fundamental rules” which “should be kept in mind by all evacuees planning to go out to work.” First, evacuees should not work for sub-standard wages. Explaining that there is no reason to work for lower wages than usual in the

⁹⁴ John Kitasako, “Evacuees’ ‘Curdled Initiative’ Develops Bread-line Complex,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.3, Saturday, January 15, 1944, p. 1, 6; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

market, this article also notes that “one of the big reasons for the hostility toward those of Japanese descent was their willingness to do more work for less return than others,” therefore, under no circumstances should the Japanese work for lower pay. On the other hand, the second rule explains that evacuees should not “try to hold up the employer just because you know that the labor shortage has him on the spot.” This behavior will only lead to the employer class resenting persons of Japanese descent. Ultimately, evacuees should find a balance between the two: “If we are to be accepted in the communities in which we hope to resettle, we must take care not to go to extremes either way.”⁹⁵ While these articles provide reasonable advice, they fail to note that being a good employee is much more a benefit for the employer disguised as benefiting the evacuees by not causing any conflict with coworkers and employers and by contributing to a positive reputation in society.

Overall, the articles which discuss being a useful employee promoted the formation of a Japanese American population who would be subservient to the (largely white) employer class. Such advice expresses conservative values through the insistence that it the evacuees who must conform their economic practices in order to fit into society, rather than the businesses, employers, and non-Japanese employees who must adjust.

Finally, the papers promoted being useful for oneself by deciding not to return to the West Coast and instead by permanently resettling elsewhere in the United States. Article on this topic emphasize that returning to the West Coast would be economically damaging to the evacuees (as well as physically dangerous). Expressing concern over the economic wellbeing of the evacuees should they return to the West Coast, these articles explain to evacuees that staying

⁹⁵ “Editorials: Evacuees and Labor Relations,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.12, Saturday, March 20, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

away is in their best interest as seen in one article out of San Francisco: “Japanese Americans returning to the Pacific Coast farms will be facing grave problems of procuring farm equipment, farm loans, and labor.”⁹⁶ However these opinions are often tainted with personal bias as many of them are reprints from West Coast publications. One example from the Los Angeles Daily News addresses rumors that government officials in Washington D.C. were considering returning Japanese to California on the basis that keeping them from the West Coast denied them of their Constitutional rights. Combating this idea the article declares

It would be a tragic dis-service to return a man to his house because he had a constitutional right to live there, if the house were located in the midst of a burning forest. Just so, it would be tragic ineptitude to say the least, to return Japanese to California at a time when the hot flames of war hatred are enveloping the state. The test of his (Japanese American’s) patriotism is his willingness to stay out of California while Japanese soldiers are killing California boys.⁹⁷

Approaching the topic from a more logical perspective, one Japanese scholar, Professor Iwas argued that the only chance the evacuees had for a successful life was to permanently resettle outside of the West Coast—“Back to California movement?’ If the Japanese can and do return to the West Coast, most of them can hope for no more, probably, than to become itinerant laborers. They should relocate; and wherever they relocate, plan to remain there.”⁹⁸ This account provides a dose of reality to the exaggerated and jingoistic articles on being economically useful. In particular, it encourages evacuees to think of themselves for a change, rather than the nation as a whole, and be an economically useful individual.

⁹⁶ “GRAVE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THOSE WHO COME BACK TO FARMS ANALYZED,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 8, Wednesday, January 17, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 2, 2017).

⁹⁷ “STATES HIS VIEW,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 74, Wednesday, June 21, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

⁹⁸ “ONE-WAY SUICIDAL TRIP SEEN BY EDUCATOR FOR RETURNING EVACUEES,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 87, Friday, July 21, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://dcdensho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

Disguising personal economic interest as concern for the evacuees, the *Rocky Shimpō* and the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* reinforce the economic conservatism that these West Coast publications promote. While this advice may hold some truth, ultimately the economic benefit is for those on the West Coast who benefitted from the evacuation of the Japanese Americans either by gaining possession of land, homes, and businesses, or by eliminating economic competition. The concept of economic usefulness promoted in these articles stress the conservative ideal that society—in particular the minority elements of society—must accommodate the ruling element, whether that be the government, the employer class, or societal leaders. This form of conservatism endorses an economic accommodationist perspective concealed by advice for the evacuees finding fiscal benefit.

CHAPTER 3. RETURNING TO SOCIETY BY MEANS OF SOCIAL CONSERVATISM

Much like nearly every other newspaper in the world, both the *Rocky Shrimpo* and the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* publish frequent articles on social events, issues facing various communities, and many other elements of American society. Unlike every other newspaper however, these publications paid particular attention to the fact that many evacuees would be reentering American society in the upcoming days. Because of this, there were several articles addressing how to make the return to everyday society an easy process. These articles possessed advice seasoned with several elements of a central principle of social conservatism which argues that society is consists of an intricate network of relationships which is incredibly fragile and is supported by a respect to three things: duty, traditional values, and established institutions.⁹⁹

According to social conservatism, the freedom that the evacuees desire comes with a price— “a willing acceptance of social obligations and ties by individuals who recognize their value,” simply put, “Freedom involves ‘doing one’s duty.’” The emphasis placed on civic duty by these articles endorses the conservative belief “that a society in which individuals know only their rights, and do not acknowledge their duties, would be rootless and atomistic,” and “it is the bonds of duty and obligation that hold society together.”¹⁰⁰ Additionally, these articles stress another central belief of conservative thought, the defending of traditional American values and established institutions “on the ground that they safeguard the fragile ‘fabric of society’, giving security-seeking human beings a sense of stability and rootedness.”¹⁰¹ According to conservative

⁹⁹ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 69, Kindle Edition.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 69, Kindle Edition.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 62, Kindle Edition.

thought, these central American traditions provide members of society “with a feeling of ‘rootedness’ and belonging,” generating “social cohesion by linking people to the past and providing them with a collective sense of who they are.” In contrast, the changing of traditional values—whether it involves the rejection or alteration of traditional values, “is a journey into the unknown: it creates uncertainty and insecurity, and so endangers our happiness.”¹⁰² Finally, the discussion of established institutions—in particular the federal government—denotes a conservative tone which expresses functionalism, or “the theory that social institutions and practices should be understood in terms of the functions they carry out in sustaining the larger social system.”¹⁰³ In the case of Japanese Americans, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* and the *Rocky Shimpo* encouraged evacuees to fulfill their civic duties, adopt traditional American values, and refrain from challenging the established authority.

These articles promote the concept of duty as a way in which members of society can uphold the conservative principle of maintaining the status quo. The articles uphold this principle by exploring the civic duties of the evacuees, some of which include being a contributing member of society, participating in political processes such as voting in public elections, and aiding in the establishment and continuation of law and order. Throughout both publications, evacuees are encouraged to uphold their civic duties in order to make re-entry into society easier.

One recurring comment on being a responsible citizen focused on being a contributing member of society—something which first requires resettlement. The *Heart Mountain Sentinel* in particular urged evacuees to rejoin American society and in editorials promoting resettlement emphasized the positive effects that would result from evacuee’s return into American society.

¹⁰² Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 66, Kindle Edition.

¹⁰³ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 70, Kindle Edition.

Stressing the impact resettlement could have on the image of the entire population, and placing agency on the evacuees, these articles insisted that “individual evacuees can play to improve public relations for all evacuees. Despite all that officialdom can do, resettlement is a matter of individual adjustment and relationships. Officialdom can only help. The rest is in our hands.”¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, pro-resettlement articles portrayed resettlement as a means of claiming evacuee’s place as loyal Americans. The overarching tone of these resettlement articles are best expressed in Bill Hosokowa’s reaction to the Heart Mountain high school valedictorian’s speech. This young girl demonstrated her Americanness stating:

‘We, as the new citizens of the world to come, must realize our responsibilities in making the most of victory, in promoting a democratic way of living which will mean equal opportunity for all men, regardless of race, color or creed. It is for this that we dedicate ourselves.’... ‘We shall look forward with a faith in democracy that is shining and strong, for we know that the real America has a big and understanding heart.’... ‘As we cast our eyes to the future, we must wage the battle against prejudice with a spirit which will never admit defeat.’

Hosokowa enthusiastically embraced the speech, saying that from the audience

We wanted to stand up and shout, Shout: ‘Get Out! Get out on the other side of the barbed wire. Get out into the great wide, good world, and live and enjoy and practice the democracy that we all believe in.’ Because there is no democracy nor even a tiny part of American behind watch towers and barbed wire.¹⁰⁵

These editorials acknowledge that leaving the internment camps is a scary task. But they continually emphasize that the end result is worth the risk—“in return for giving up the security that is to be found behind barbed wire there is compensation to be found in liberty, the exercise

¹⁰⁴ “Editorials,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.6, Saturday, February 6, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹⁰⁵ Bill Hosokowa, “ON THE IN-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.25, Saturday, June 19, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

of initiative, and the zest of competition in something so mundane as making a living.”¹⁰⁶

Despite the obstacles and trepidation that resettlement presents, these editorials explain that “If the number is small it will be tragic proof that” internment “deteriorated our moral fiber, and that we have lost the red-blooded pioneering spirit, the fierce pride in independence, the determination to make one's way that has characterized the best in the American way of life.”¹⁰⁷

These editorials attempt to rally the evacuees, declaring in a battle cry: “Let us face the future and take advantage of the opportunity of again becoming worthwhile and self-reliant people. Let us recognize that ‘there is no alternative;’”¹⁰⁸

This is a time when the nisei must take the lead if they want to be accepted as loyal Americans... It is evident that during time[s]of war, the honestly loyal citizen is the one who throws off the deadly influence of relocation center frustration and inhibition and takes advantage of the myriad opportunities of proving himself before the eyes of the nation.¹⁰⁹

Exclaiming of “the pioneers of our new life to come” that “They will be able to always say that they were not content to live the demoralized existence offered by relocation centers. That they helped the nation when their services were most needed –and that they helped by their own

¹⁰⁶ Bill Hosokowa, “Drama Seen in Evacuee Efforts To Resume Normal Livelihoods,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.31, Saturday, July 31, 1943, p. 1-2; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹⁰⁷ Bill Hosokowa, “ON THE IN-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.6, Saturday, November 28, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹⁰⁸ “Editorials: ‘There Is no Alternative,’” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. IV, No.9, Saturday, February 24, 1945, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹⁰⁹ “Editorials: The Burden of Proof,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.38, Saturday, September 16, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

initiative to solve an acute minority problem,”¹¹⁰ these editorials provide a captivating example of the *Sentinel*'s attempt to encourage internees to leave the centers.

A second duty stressed by these papers declares that evacuees must fulfill their civic duty of participating in the political process—specifically by taking advantage of the privilege of franchise. Viewed as being a central honor of American citizenship, the right to vote was one of the few rights not entirely stripped away from evacuees during internment. Whenever election time rolled around, both publications urged their Japanese readers to take advantage of this right. In July 1944, the JACL office issued a statement encouraging all nisei to register immediately "Because it is so necessary that nisei citizens take an interest in the community, state, and national issues..." Furthermore this statement continued stating that "Nisei soldiers should also exercise their franchise," and went into detail explaining how this could be accomplished, as the process was a bit more complex than the average nisei.¹¹¹

These articles suggested to readers that exercising their right of franchise was an excellent way to prove themselves a loyal and responsible citizen as noted in one article which declares that "every nisei of voting age" must register without delay, "so that when the polls are thrown open in November there will be no doubt as to his right to express his wishes in government," because "without the desire of each to express himself at the polls there can be no claim to the responsibilities of citizenship."¹¹² Participating in the voting process was "the only way to enjoy the privileges of their birthrights is by becoming part of American life and not by

¹¹⁰ "Editorials: Death by Inertia," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.29, Saturday, July 15, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹¹¹ "Citizens Urged to Register," *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 11, No. 82, Monday, July 10, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

¹¹² "Editorials: Now Is the Time," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.26, Saturday, June 24, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

remaining in its backwash.”¹¹³ These articles emphasize that voting is both a privilege as well as a responsibility of American citizens, therefore evacuees who are declaring themselves loyal citizens should not hesitate to register.

A third duty of citizenship emphasized that evacuees should aid in upholding law and order largely through obeying the law and not allowing anti-Japanese sentiment to keep them from rejoining American society. These articles express the conservative belief that “the role of law is not to uphold liberty, but to preserve order.”¹¹⁴ While advice to abide by the law may seem commonsensical, as the evacuees were released from the internment camps, several pieces of legislation were passed on the local, state, and federal levels dictating when and where the evacuees could go, as well as restricting certain persons from owning certain materials such as radios. Because of these rapidly shifting laws, it was important to stress being a responsible citizen and to keep evacuees informed of new legislation because, as it was repeatedly emphasized, the poor reputation of a few nisei can have a detrimental impact on the population as a whole.¹¹⁵

This is clearly seen in one article, “Suggestions Given Isseis Who Propose To Return To Coast,” which states “On the Pacific Coast, the JACL suggests that because of numerous defense installations and factories, the issei must be especially careful in complying with the travel regulations.” According to this article, these regulations were especially constrictive stating that “When traveling more than five miles, they must first obtain permit from the United States

¹¹³ “Editorials: A Job Completed,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. IV, No.31, Saturday, July 28, 1945, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹¹⁴ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 67, Kindle Edition.

¹¹⁵ Bill Hosokawa, “ON THE IN-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.7, Saturday, December 5, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

district attorney. Also in changing their employment and place of residence even if it is across the street, a permit must be obtained first.” It is also noted that any issei who failed to comply with these regulations would return to an internment camp.¹¹⁶

Finally, the evacuees were occasionally encouraged to aid in restoring law and order on the West Coast by calling the bluff of anti-Japanese pressure groups committing acts of terror in attempts to keep the Japanese from returning to the West Coast. In one article in particular, WRA director Dillion Myer encourages internees to return to the West Coast saying “I am trying to tell you that the situation in California has changed and if there will just be enough people who are brave enough to go back and stick it out for about 60 days the bluffing will be over.”¹¹⁷ While these articles may appear somewhat contradictory in the sense that the advice given would initially cause more unrest, this action—according to these articles—would help establish law and order in the long run. By encouraging the evacuees to rejoin American society and fulfil their civic duty these articles promoted the conservative idea that being an American citizen is dependent upon claiming a place in society and contributing to the function of society.

The second element of social conservatism addressed in these articles focuses on the promotion of traditional American values through the denouncement of four central behaviors that express non-American values. In particular, these articles stood as warnings to the evacuees of behaviors to avoid in order to ease the process of rejoining society. The first behavior denounced by these articles focuses on the reluctance of some internees to resettle. The *Heart Mountain Sentinel* in particular strongly criticized evacuees who failed to relocate, preferring to

¹¹⁶ “Suggestions Given Isseis Who Propose To Return To Coast,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 5, Wednesday, January 10, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

¹¹⁷ “‘STICK IT OUT!’ DIRECTOR ADVISES,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 23, Wednesday, February 21, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

remain in the centers following the court case of Mitsuye Endo in which the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that loyal Japanese American citizens could not be detained in internment camps and therefore were permitted to be released (although this did not allow for the release of issei).¹¹⁸ These articles emphasized four major points of criticism: an inability to resist parental authority, the demoralizing nature of center life, blatant laziness—the “no excuses” argument, and most striking of all, the charge of a failure to contribute to the war effort.

One point of critique for the nisei’s failure to relocate was their inability to resist parental authority. As the *Sentinel* frequently illustrates, a key characteristic of Japanese culture that persisted in the United States was respect for parental authority. In the case of resettlement, the *Sentinel’s* general perspective suggests that many of the issei were hesitant to leave the security of the internment camps because they were afraid of once again having to start over in a country that did not want them, and that many of the nisei did not have any intentions of leaving their elderly parents behind in the centers. This created a tension between the two generations, because the nisei’s “desire to relocate is strong, but an outdated sense of filial piety, an undesired [sic] to disobey parents is stronger.” At first the editorial tone on this topic was somewhat understanding; however, quickly it began to express frustration at the issei’s stubbornness, suggesting that “It is high time that the Nisei determine who and what are to fashion their lives. Will it be they and their western ideals, or their parents with minds shackled by fear and distrust?”¹¹⁹ This encouragement to choose the future over the past and all the strings attached to it carries a sense of urgency that implies that time is running out to make a decision: the sooner

¹¹⁸ Brian Niiya, “Ex patre Endo,” *Densho Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Ex%20parte%20Endo/> (Accessed March 6, 2018).

¹¹⁹ John Kitasako, “Tragedies Stalk Young Lives Who Follow Too Close Devotion,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.1, Friday, December 31, 1943, p. 1,5; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

the nisei relocate and rejoin American society, the better. These articles however fail to acknowledge the nisei who were unable to leave the camps due to situations that were out of their control. For example, a nisei may not be able to resettle if they have elderly issei parents who required their care.

Secondly, these editorials object to the evacuee's continued stay in the internment camps because "The inertia of center life has proven as incipiently fatal as any virus-born disease except that it does not kill the physical but it stuns and warps the mental and spiritual development of everyone who remains within its influence."¹²⁰ The only way internees can combat this demoralizing impact of center life is through relocation. Pointing out that "By continuing Heart Mountain we hurt only ourselves,"¹²¹ these editorials attempt to convince the internees to leave the centers as quickly as possible, arguing that "Remaining in centers until we trade our self-respect for a mess of pottage in the form of government subsidies will only serve to further weaken our morale."¹²² Even the former Editor-in-Chief Bill Hosokawa wrote an editorial titled "From the 'Outside'" in which he criticized those remaining in the centers and encourages these internees to relocate immediately:

From the 'outside' we wonder why anyone is so foolish and misguided as to remain in centers....why our friends and neighbors of two years ago, who were industrious and almost self-sufficient have fallen into slovenly habits both physically and mentally....how anyone can force themselves to live off government paternalism and lose

¹²⁰ "Editorials: Death by Inertia," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.29, Saturday, July 15, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²¹ "Editorials: The Gates Will Swing Closed," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. IV, No.27, Saturday, June 30, 1945, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²² "Editorials: Leadership Is Needed," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. IV, No.14, Saturday, March 31, 1945, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

the finest of all human rights-independence...Relocation is the only answer that will restore self-respect and independence...¹²³

By criticizing such reluctance, Hosokowa attempts to convince evacuees to leave before center life has destroyed any sense of independence and any ability they had to reenter American society as contributing citizens.

A third point of critique regarding the failure of the Nisei to leave the centers is one charging them with pure laziness. This criticism insists that “there is no excuse to remain in relocation centers,”¹²⁴ and associates a tone that scolds “Shame on you!” Such reproaches merge with a final point of criticism—a charge of failing to contribute to the war effort. Recalling the early claims that the Americans of Japanese descent cooperated with internment as their contribution to the war effort, later editorials explain that this is no longer the case: the “nisei is not doing his nation the greatest service by remaining in exile. And now it is obvious that continued marking of time in the centers is not the hard duty of citizens-it has become a convenient excuse for shirking duties.”¹²⁵ Declaring that “the red tape has been slashed to a minimum,” “practically everyone who is safe to be on the outside can get out provided he has a job or means of support,” and “On the other side of the gate a manpower-hungry America calls for willing hands,” these editorials make it clear that there is no reason for evacuees to remain in the centers, and that “Under these circumstances it is something short of patriotism for able-bodied men and women in this center to be contented with marking time here when there is so

¹²³ “EDITORIALS: FROM THE ‘OUTSIDE’,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.24, Saturday, June 10, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²⁴ “Editorials: Death by Inertia,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.29, Saturday, July 15, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²⁵ Bill Hosokowa, “ON THE OUT-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.7, Saturday, February 12, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

much to be done on the outside, and it has become so easy to take the transitional step.”¹²⁶ These critiques of laziness express frustration at the fact that internees who could be living a free life as American citizens are so complacent as to remain in the centers.

Trying to stir evacuees from their complacency, these articles illustrate that these “do-nothing-nisei” are opening themselves up for criticism after the war, because “One of the first questions the returning soldiers will ask is: ‘what did you do to help after the West coast ban was lifted and you could go anywhere?’”¹²⁷ And “it may be mighty embarrassing for an able-bodied American citizen to be found sitting complacently behind barbed wire here when the war ends;”¹²⁸ questioning if these nisei will be able to “face a veteran after the war and confess that he chose the passive role of exile because three meals a day and block socials had more appeal than struggle on the outside.”¹²⁹ In a more direct way, these articles question the authenticity of these internees’ Americanness by stating that the end of the war would usher in a “different America,” one “which there will be a place only for those who have earned the right to call themselves American by taking part in its defense.” Attempting to rouse evacuees from their sheltered place in the camps, Hosokowa explains that “the nisei will not qualify for that right by whining about discrimination and injustice from within fences that confine them only because

¹²⁶ “Editorials: It Might Be Embarrassing,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.15, Saturday, April 10, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²⁷ “Editorials: Center Nisei and the Future,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. IV, No.5, Saturday, January 27, 1945, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²⁸ “Editorials: It Might Be Embarrassing,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.15, Saturday, April 10, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹²⁹ Bill Hosokowa, “ON THE OUT-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.7, Saturday, February 12, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

they wish to be confined.”¹³⁰ Such accounts aim to promote resettlement through threats of disgrace and embarrassment.

On the surface, these articles aimed straight for the heart of the American spirit, raising questions of the loyalty and devotion to America and its principles, the editorials pose the question that “any board of inquiry would ask: if you were such a good citizen; if you desired to help your adopted country; if you wanted an opportunity when your new country offered it-why did you remain behind a barbed wire fence when you could have left?”¹³¹ However a closer examination clearly reveals a critique of these evacuees for their lack of the traditional American values including a courageous, pioneering attitude, a dedication to hard work, and a desire to better one’s situation. While these arguments encouraged resettlement for the good of the entire Japanese population, they are also encouraging the nisei to abandon their parents and to replace their duty to family with a duty to the United States. The ultimate idea of these articles is that it is essential that the evacuees trade their Japaneseness for Americanness.

The second behavior criticized by the articles revolves around the mannerisms of evacuees— specifically speaking Japanese in public and bowing. According to a suggestion by JACL published in the *Rocky Shimpō*, “To avoid attracting public attention, Isseis are advised not to speak Japanese on the streets and in other public places. They should not bow to each other because this makes them conspicuous.”¹³² Editorials on this topic describe such action as

¹³⁰ Bill Hosokawa, “ON THE OUT-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.7, Saturday, February 12, 1944, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹³¹ “Editorials: Citizenship and Exclusion,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.49, Saturday, December 4, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹³² “Suggestions Given Isseis Who Propose To Return To Coast,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 5, Wednesday, January 10, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

“Perhaps [the] most conspicuous” of all “breaches of discretion and good taste.” By speaking Japanese in public places, these Nisei are “attracting attention to themselves and the fact that they are not Americans,” and by doing so, “they are inviting someone to take a healthy slug at them.”¹³³ Providing a specific example of this, *Sentinel* writer Miyako Oana revealed that recent reports from a restaurant “inform us that some nisei who were dining and talking there stirred up quite a ripple of resentment when they suddenly switched their conversation from English to Japanese.” While this may not seem like a newsworthy account, as Oana explained to her readers, “A little thing like this can mean a lot in these times when everything we do is being recorded and magnified tenfold in the minds of those who do not know us.”¹³⁴ By partaking in foreign traditions and speaking a foreign language, these evacuees are setting themselves apart from American society. By encouraging evacuees to speak English and partake in only American customs, these articles are attempting to remove non-American practices from society and thus create a uniform American society. These articles are essentially telling the evacuees, particularly the issei among whom many of the practices were prevalent, that they must hide their Japaneseness when they are in public; they must hide the essence of who they are in order to make the remainder of society feel comfortable. This concept of accommodating the desires of the majority as well as the promotion of a society that is homogenous in customs and traditions are key aspects of conservative ideology.

Thirdly, the articles call attention to the practice of self-isolation by Americans of Japanese descent prior to the war. The general belief expressed throughout these publications is

¹³³ Bill Hosokawa, “ON THE IN-SIDE,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. I, No.7, Saturday, December 5, 1942, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹³⁴ Miyako Oana, “MO’S Scratch Pad: Remember This,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.8, Saturday, February 20, 1943, p. 5; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

that this self-imposed isolation and the formation of Lil' Tokyos was the cause for the general lack of familiarity with the Japanese by the American public, which cast an air of suspicion on the entire population, as conveyed in one article which states: "Part of the responsibility for lack of knowledge regarding Japanese Americans...lies with the Japanese Americans who practiced a self-imposed segregation and laid themselves open to suspicions because they were unknown."¹³⁵ It can be suggested that this was a common belief among non-Japanese American citizens, as is noted in a letter that was reprinted in the *Sentinel*, from "Mrs. Anonymous" in San Gabriel Valley, California who writes: "The Japanese is reserved and with many this quality extends to secretiveness. He remains a stranger whom we do not know whether or not to trust."¹³⁶ These editorials warn internees leaving the centers to interact with other Americans and to avoid grouping together with other Japanese descendants—in essence, to better assimilate into American society.

This idea of becoming "American" is blatantly noticeable in an article regarding religion and recreation in which Roy M. Takeno, *Rocky Shimpō* English Editor disagrees with Elwyn Gregory the California Superintendent of Schools, who stated that "with the return of the evacuees, 'there would soon be the Shinto temples and all the other subversive things that went on before evacuation.'" Takeno responds to this statement in his column, "On The Other Hand," in which he disagrees with Gregory, arguing on behalf of "all evacuees," that Japanese Americans "would want to go in wholly, for activities typical of their American friends. The old pattern of community life, predominated by the isseis, have gone over the boards. That kind of

¹³⁵ "Editorials: Mr. Roosevelt Takes Notice," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.40, Saturday, October 2, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

¹³⁶ Bill Hosokawa, "ON THE IN-SIDE," *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. II, No.6, Saturday, February 6, 1943, p. 4; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

community cannot be restored. It is quite dead.”¹³⁷ Much like the articles referencing the mannerisms of evacuees, those warning of continuing the prewar practice of self-isolation among the Japanese emphasize the importance of assimilating into American society and abandoning all non-American traditional values. However these articles fail to acknowledge that the isolation among the Japanese in American prior to the war was due to the fact that issei were banned from purchasing property which meant that they were largely restricted to renting, and they were only rented to in certain neighborhoods. This means that during the prewar period, the Japanese did not self-isolate, but rather isolation was imposed upon the Japanese by white Americans on the West Coast.

And finally, the fourth category of warnings advises evacuees leaving the centers to refrain from a damaging attitude. In essence, do not leave the camps with feelings of resentment and bitterness; go out into society and do not allow the chip on your shoulder to create antipathy against Japanese Americans. Providing readers with an example of such behavior, the article tells of a situation involving evacuees on seasonal work leave who took over a bowling alley one evening, occupying every lane and refusing to allow the Caucasian patrons to bowl. While this behavior alone was enough to create feelings of ill will against persons of Japanese descent, the evacuees went even farther, rhetorically questioning why they should let the Caucasians bowl when ““Our money’s as good as yours. And we’re American citizens.”” As editorial staffer John Kitasako explains, these nisei “were breaking the code of sharing and of respecting the privileges of other, the code which is the keystone in harmonious human relations.” Kitasako continued, quoting one of his fellow nisei who said: ““Sure, we’re American citizens, but we have to take it

¹³⁷ Roy M. Takeno, “ON THE OTHER HAND,” *Rocky Shimpō* Vol. 12, No. 5, Wednesday, January 10, 1945, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

easy. We can't lead with our chins. We've got two strikes on us already and it'll go mighty hard against us if we try to make issues out of situations which can be avoided by using a little sense.” Summarizing the conclusions to be drawn from this example and the advice of his nisei friend, Kitasako explains that “The going is tough enough by being handicapped with a Japanese face, but to have an arrogant, overly-assertive attitude in addition to having that physical drawback is tantamount to suicide, suicide to efforts in finding and making the nisei's place in American society.”¹³⁸ According to Kitasako, upholding the American values of respect, sharing, and equality, and having a good attitude will go a long way not just in helping to ease an individual nisei's situation, but in easing the re-entry into American society of all Americans of Japanese descent. However more than benefiting the nisei, refraining from having damaging attitudes was beneficial to the rest of society. These articles assert that the evacuees should not hold a grudge, but more importantly, that they don't have anything to hold a grudge against—that being an American citizen is payback enough. The articles promoting traditional “American” values promotes a conservative ideology in the sense that they encourage the evacuees to change who they are and abandon their heritage in order to accommodate the rest of American society.

Finally, these editorials emphasize the upholding and respect of established institutions—specifically the federal government. In spite of the blatantly unjust evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans, these articles portray the federal government in a largely positive light—as noted by Leo T. Simmons, Kansas City acting war relocation authority supervisor for the central area who announced that “Japanese Americans from the west coast who have been relocated in

¹³⁸ John Kitasako, “‘Invasion’ of Public Places By Workers Is Detrimental,” *Heart Mountain Sentinel* Vol. III, No.4, Saturday, January 22, 1944, p. 6; Densho Digital Archive, <http://archive.densho.org/main.aspx> (Accessed December 18, 2016).

the midwest ‘feel that they are getting an awfully square deal.’”¹³⁹ These articles promote evacuees to trust in the government regardless of past mistakes. In a more subtle manner, these articles discourage evacuees from demanding the rights which they deserve but which have been denied to them. This observation can be inferred from accounts by evacuees expressing their contentment at their situation and nothing further—these accounts do not demand that the American government restore full Japanese Americans rights nor do they even discuss the fact that their rights were stripped from them in the first place. Rather, these articles emphasize a more optimistic tone as noted in one quote by Jim Haratani, a nisei, who declared that “As to relocation, he said, ‘I have not had one unpleasant experience...The government has done its part in putting us on our feet again...and letting us become real Americans and live like real Americans. People have been very good to us.’”¹⁴⁰ While this advice on how to behave in American society as given by these publications appears to be a way to help evacuees reenter American society without difficulty, it also allows for the subtle Americanization of this minority. By advising evacuees on how to dress, talk, and act, these publications are simultaneously suppressing social behaviors prevalent among Americans of Japanese ancestry while proclaiming that only “American” social behaviors would be accepted.

Along with this advice, the papers also published a great amount of articles denouncing racism and advocating for racial tolerance and equality. These articles stress a cohesive American society regardless of race, however they do not emphasize continuing racial and ethnic social behaviors—instead they simply call for a homogeneous “American” society regardless of

¹³⁹ “‘Awfully Square Deal,’ They Say,” *Rocky Shimpo* Vol. 11, No. 92, Wednesday, August 2, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

¹⁴⁰ “Clark University Man Describes Experience,” *Rocky Shimpo* Vol. 11, No. 137, Wednesday, November 15, 1944, Page 1; Densho Digital Repository <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-148/> (Accessed August 14, 2017).

race or ethnicity. Essentially, the solution to unequal race relations promoted by these articles is for everyone to conform to the same race—white.

CONCLUSION

Throughout these publications, articles on a variety of topics clearly promote an image of the ideal American citizen who exudes patriotism and loyalty. However examining these topics on a closer scale exposes the subtle promotion of national, economic, and social conservatism. While it is nearly impossible to determine if the disseminating of these conservative values was deliberate or subconscious on the part of the writers, and while it is nearly impossible to determine if the evacuees entered the camp with a conservative mindset, it is highly probable that this conservative endorsement played a significant role in shaping the mindset of the Japanese Americans who staffed these papers once they left the internment camps—regardless of if their beliefs were created or simply reinforced through the conservatism of these publications.

Beyond expressing their conservatism, the Japanese American editorial staff had the opportunity to use the newspapers to express other ideologies. For example, they could have taken a more liberal stance much like James Omura and the draft resisters who challenged the established ruling authority in order to effect change in a system they deemed unjust. Or perhaps the articles could have encouraged Japanese Americans to resist assimilating into American society, to preserve and even flaunt their cultural heritage—continuing traditions such as bowing and speaking Japanese in public, so that maybe the rest of American society could be educated on different cultures. Another possible liberal alternative would have been to urge evacuees to return to the West Coast and reclaim their lost property. However they did not choose to promote these attitudes. Rather, by making the decision to advocate for ideals such as the defense of the status quo, condemnation of acts of protest, and aiding in efforts for the common good, the Japanese Americans who staffed the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* and the *Rocky Shimpo* expressed their own conservatism.

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