

Arizona and Japanese American History: The World War II Colorado River Relocation Center

THOMAS FUJITA-RONY

While research on Asian Americans has typically been directed towards port cities like San Francisco and New York City, the Southwest too has long been important for Asian Americans. For instance, early Chinese American and Japanese American communities are known to have formed in Arizona, creating pioneer sites of community settlement and contributing to the history and diversity of the area. However, Arizona's significance for the growth of Asian America has not been only as a location for permanent settlement, but also as a place and space in the larger regional economy of the U.S. West. Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans who settled in Arizona in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were a segment of a larger pool of Asian American workers that circulated throughout the region in search of work, whether in agriculture, on the railroads, or in other industries that dominated the emerging regional economy.¹

In this article, I will undertake an analysis of one Asian American community that sprang up in Arizona in the early 1940s as a result of World War II: the War Relocation Authority camp on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation, commonly known among the Japanese Americans who resided there as "Poston." During World War II, thousands of Japanese Americans from California, along with a smaller number of Japanese Americans from Arizona, were sent to the Colorado River Relocation Center. The site became the third largest "city" in Arizona during that time.²

Despite its brief history, the Colorado River Relocation Center provides us with an opportunity to assess how people's participation in the regional economy of the Southwest was shaped by federal intervention, as well as by race and ethnicity. In addition, these issues speak to central topics concerning Arizona's economic development during World War II, as well as offering us an additional avenue to consider the relation-

THOMAS FUJITA-RONY is assistant professor in the Department of History,
California State University, Fullerton.

ship of Arizona to its neighbor to the west, California. Reflecting on this history allows a more expansive view of how community formation was affected by, and had an effect upon, this part of the Southwest. Hence, although the Arizona residence of most Japanese Americans at the Colorado River Relocation Center was transitory, it demonstrates that the relationship of Asian Americans to a particular place is not determined solely by permanent stability. For the Japanese Americans who were incarcerated at the Colorado River Relocation Center, this Arizona experience would have continued resonance, even several decades after their World War II experiences.

JAPANESE AMERICANS AND THE U.S. WEST BEFORE WORLD WAR II

At the close of the nineteenth century, the population of Japanese workers in the United States consisted primarily of young, single males. In the 1900 census, 24,326 Japanese were listed, with 23,341 males and only 985 females. By 1910, the community's total numbers had almost tripled, to 72,157. The population further increased to 111,010 by the 1920 census, of whom 72,707 were men or boys and 38,303 were women or girls. Over the next two decades, gender breakdowns became relatively more equitable, with the 1930 total of 138,834 including 81,771 males and 57,063 females, decreasing slightly in the 1940 census to 126,947 for the whole group, of which 71,967 were males and 54,980 were females. While the overwhelming majority of the population lived in the West, mainly in the states of California, Oregon, and Washington, Arizona emerged as another destination for migration, typically after an initial stop on the West Coast. The settled Arizona population was not a large one, however. In 1900, there were but 281 Japanese Americans in Arizona, and by 1940, these numbers had only gone up to 632 residents, of whom 220 were immigrants and 412 were U.S.-born, with a gender breakdown of 354 men or boys and 278 women or girls.³

In the different sites where they migrated or settled, Japanese Americans made significant contributions to the local economies in which they participated. Many Japanese immigrants possessed extensive knowledge of either fishing or agriculture from their former communities in Japan. In particular, they came equipped with a background in highly intensive farming methods, an expertise necessitated by the scarcity of arable

land in that small and mountainous country, a condition which was exacerbated by high population densities. This knowledge base allowed Japanese immigrants to farm successfully the often marginal lands to which they were generally restricted. By utilizing lands that were seen as too difficult to work, or as not being economically viable due to limited acreage or other characteristics, they were able to gain a foothold in the local economy and even succeed in some cases. Another tactic Japanese Americans frequently utilized to deal with the discrimination they encountered was the organization of vertical linkages from producer to wholesaler to retailer in a select number of crops, such as in celery and strawberries. They also opened small urban businesses, especially in the service and retail sectors.⁴

The traveling laborers, or *dekasegi*, who remained in the United States became *imin*, immigrants, and the community gradually changed from one of Japanese in America to one of Japanese Americans. As immigrants rather than sojourners, they began to build a more permanent life in America, looking toward a future in the United States. The choice to settle was made in the context of a deliberate and comprehensive federal immigration restriction on nationality after nationality of Asian immigrants that began with the exclusion of Chinese laborers in 1882. This was followed by the exclusion of Japanese male laborers in 1907 through the "Gentleman's Agreement," the exclusion of virtually all other Asian migrants with the exception of those living in U.S. possessions in 1917, the near total ban on all Asian immigration with the exception of Filipina/os in 1924, and the closing of the final loophole in the ban with the exclusion of Filipina/os in 1934 as part of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. The 1907 Gentleman's Agreement, however, contained a loophole. Under it, the children, wives, and parents of Japanese already resident in the United States could continue to enter. Between 1908, when the agreement became effective, and 1924, when immigration from Japan was for all purposes barred with the passage of the National Origins Act, a sizable number of Japanese emigrants, especially women, came to the United States. It was in this period that married couples became an increasingly important part of the community.⁵

Few of the men who stayed in the United States chose non-Japanese partners, most instead either finding a mate within the immigrant community or, quite commonly, sending for one from Japan. This was the major factor in the increase in the numbers of women coming from Japan from 1908 to 1921; many were so-called picture brides, coming to join men with whom they had exchanged photographs but whom

they had never met, in arranged marriages. This practice was begun in recognition of the fact that since marriages in rural Japan were for the most part arranged by the respective families, the presence of the immigrant groom during the arrangements was not required. This drastically reduced the expense involved, as the need to purchase a roundtrip trans-Pacific ticket for the groom was eliminated. As a consequence of these marriages, children began to be born, and the permanence of the community was assured. This can be seen in the community's ubiquitous usage of the terms *Issei*, or first generation, and *Nisei*, or second generation, referring to the U.S.-born children of the immigrant *Issei*.⁶

For Japanese Americans, citizenship was a crucial legal difference between the generations. In spite of decades of tenacious legal struggles, Japanese Americans, like all other Asians prior to World War II, were unsuccessful in their attempts to gain naturalization rights, and thus virtually none of the immigrant generation had access to the franchise. This meant that unlike their counterparts who came from Europe, Japanese immigrants had no voice in electoral politics, and open opposition to legal and administrative discrimination could be fought only in the courts, an expensive and usually futile process. The immigrant generation's last hopes were extinguished with the *Ozawa* case of 1922, decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the government position that no matter how assimilated, Japanese were aliens ineligible for citizenship.⁷ As aliens ineligible to become citizens, Japanese Americans were legally denied the right to own or lease land. In 1913, a so-called alien land law was passed in California, and Arizona followed suit in 1921, preventing Japanese workers from becoming owners or lessees of land.⁸ Just a few decades later, after the United States declared war against Japan, the lives of Japanese Americans would change even more dramatically as the majority of Japanese Americans in the U.S. West would be sent to relocation centers.

THE WAR AND JAPANESE AMERICANS

Immediately after the outbreak of war, German, Italian, and Japanese foreign nationals who were identified as potential security risks were swept up by the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The list of immigrants and other nationals from Japan constituted virtually all who had been leaders of any kind of organization or event having to do with Japan, Japanese culture, or Japanese national interests. The

only exception was that Christian clergy were largely exempted from the roundup. Nearly one out of ten Japanese American household heads were taken from their homes, ranging from Japanese consular employees to Buddhist priests to the heads of literary societies.⁹

Despite this comprehensive action by the agencies charged with maintaining national security, previously existing stereotypes and prejudices unfortunately were reactivated and became rampant. Japanese Americans, including even American-born citizens of Japanese descent, became perceived as “the enemy.” In the face of unanimous agreement from both military and civilian federal intelligence agencies that categorical incarceration was simply unnecessary, the Japanese Americans of the West Coast and southern Arizona were ordered from their homes and placed in detention camps under armed guard.¹⁰ As the authoritative congressional report *Personal Justice Denied* flatly stated in the early 1980s, “this was done despite the fact that not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or a resident Japanese alien on the West Coast.”¹¹

John J. DeWitt, the commanding general of the army’s Western Defense Command, advocated exclusion on the basis that it was impossible to determine the loyalty of anyone of Japanese descent. This plan was approved on February 19, 1942, with Roosevelt’s promulgation of Presidential Executive Order 9066, despite some protest from the attorney general and lawyers from the Department of Justice. It authorized the secretary of war and his subordinate commanders to designate military areas from which any person could be excluded and also allowed for restrictions on the rights to enter, leave, or remain within those areas. Although the order did not mention any specific groups or areas, it was aimed at the Japanese American population of the Pacific coast. On March 21, Congress overwhelmingly passed Public Law 503, which provided for criminal penalties for noncompliance with the executive order. Soon, the bureaucracy for removing and incarcerating Japanese Americans began its work, quickly mobilizing to create the camps needed to hold their charges in selected sites in the inland United States.¹²

General DeWitt designated the western halves of Washington, Oregon, and California and the southern portion of Arizona as “Military Area No. 1,” while the remaining areas of those states was designated as “Military Area No. 2.” Most Japanese American families and individuals in Area No. 1 and the California portion of Area No. 2 were then ordered to one of sixty-four “civil control stations” relatively close

to their homes. After processing, they were organized into groups and sent on for confinement at a temporary regional assembly center run by the army. A minority of the excluded bypassed this intermediate stop at an assembly center and went directly to one of the more permanent relocation centers where they would be confined for the indeterminate length of their detention. By the end of October 1942, the army had completed its aim of incarcerating virtually every person of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific Coast as a security risk.¹³

As soon as the initial construction of the civilian-run relocation centers located away from the coast was accomplished, incarcerated Japanese Americans were sent under guard to them. The ten camps, each at the center of its respective relocation project, were built in isolated parts of the interior of the United States: Gila River and Colorado River, or "Poston," in Arizona; Tule Lake and Manzanar in California; Rohwer and Jerome in Arkansas; Central Utah, or "Topaz," in Utah; Heart Mountain in Wyoming; Minidoka in Idaho; and Granada, or "Amache," in Colorado. According to figures from the War Relocation Authority, Arizona had the most evacuees with 31,162 residents in the Colorado River and Gila River center, followed by California with 28,835 at Tule Lake and Manzanar, and Arkansas with 16,972 at Jerome and Rohwer. Heart Mountain in Wyoming held the fourth highest number with 10,767, after which came Minidoka in Idaho with 9,397 and Central Utah in Utah with 8,130. The smallest center was in Colorado at Granada, with 7,318 residents. The army maintained watch over the residents around the camps' perimeters and were available to the War Relocation Authority (WRA) in the event of an emergency.¹⁴

In Arizona, Japanese Americans in the area of Phoenix were sent to the Gila River or Colorado River Relocation Centers while those from other sites were limited to restricted areas.¹⁵ Both of the Arizona facilities were located on Indian reservations. The Gila River Relocation Center was on the Pima Indian Reservation, close to Phoenix, while the Colorado River Relocation Center was located on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation about seventeen miles south of Parker, near the California border.¹⁶

This period was difficult, if not traumatic, for many Japanese Americans. As Alexander Leighton, a medical doctor and anthropologist who worked at the Colorado River Relocation Center remarked, "The future appears to them as a dark cloud of uncertain but threatening possibilities, and on all hands they perceive that others in America look on them as dangerous enemies exactly as if they were all nationals of Japan and

had started the war.” Leighton was hired to work as an anthropologist at the Colorado River Relocation Center, but he was also a member of the Naval Reserve, serving in their Medical Corps, and thus literally embodied one of the many intersections between the civilian and military spheres at the relocation centers. He himself did not perceive all Japanese Americans to be “dangerous enemies,” and upon his arrival at the center, he temporarily took on the additional task of serving as a medical doctor, helping to meet an urgent need.¹⁷

Leighton was not alone in his actions, for a few courageous individuals kept faith with their incarcerated Japanese American neighbors throughout the war. One was Clara Estelle Breed, who had met many Japanese Americans through her work at the San Diego Public Library. Breed was the children’s librarian from 1929 to 1945, and when Japanese Americans from the area left for camps, including the Colorado River Relocation Center, she gave them postcards with postage at the train station so that they could write to her about their experiences. “Miss Breed,” as her correspondents fondly referred to her, did much to keep up the spirits of those she knew through her letters. She also provided material aid, as when she provided an affidavit testifying to the good character of Chiyomatsu Hirasaki, an immigrant barber and the father of Tetsuzo “Ted” Hirasaki, with whom she was in regular correspondence throughout his incarceration in Arizona.¹⁸

While many Japanese Americans obeyed the government’s directives because they felt that they had little choice, a number of Japanese Americans directly resisted the exclusion orders in various ways. More than a dozen and perhaps even more than one hundred decided not to follow the government’s orders.¹⁹ Some of the Japanese Americans who entered the assembly centers did so under protest, and this protest continued in the relocation centers, occasionally erupting into large-scale action.²⁰

THE WAR EFFORT AND THE WEST

In moving to the Colorado River Relocation Center, Japanese Americans encountered an area and an economy that was rapidly being militarized. During World War II, Arizona, like other parts of the U.S. West, underwent dramatic transformation in the national military mobilization effort. In unprecedented developments, federal and private funding were concentrated on focusing the region on the war, especially

because of its proximity to the Pacific Theater. There were significant changes in the demographics of the region and truly massive growth in the economic sector. The West's role as a producer of raw materials and agricultural products continued, but in addition the manufacture of the tools of war increased, new bases sprang up to train and support the forces that would be sent overseas, and existing military facilities expanded. Military-related industries, including scientific research laboratories, emerged in sites around the region, requiring large-scale construction and the influx of personnel to meet the demands of these growing industries. Secondary businesses also were founded to accommodate the rapid development of new communities around these sites, including the growth of educational facilities, health-care concerns, and tourism. A special section, titled "Prelude to Victory," appeared in the August 7, 1942, edition of the *Arizona Republic*, with headlines such as "Central Arizona is Vast Training Field for Warbirds," "Goodyear Factory Makes Parts for Big Flying Dreadnaughts," "Arizona is Pilot Training Center for 11 of United Nations," and "Saving of Waste Fats for Explosives Is Every Woman's Job."²¹

As an inland area that was considered relatively remote and that was not densely populated yet was also strategically near the Pacific coast, Arizona would emerge as a key area for the national mobilization effort. For example, desert areas in Arizona and southeastern California were similar to desert conditions in northern Africa, where it was projected that warfare would take place. As a result, the army in 1942 created the Desert Training Center/California Arizona Maneuver Area, which contained about 10,000 square miles of land available for exercises. In Bellemont, the Navajo Ordnance Depot, which relied heavily on workers from the Navajo and Hopi reservations for its labor supply, became one of twenty-five throughout the country to store military ammunition, supplies, and equipment. Other facilities like those at the state prison in Florence were expanded to house prisoners of war, and some of these prisoners were also sent as workers to the Navajo Ordnance Depot. In addition, Arizona quickly became known for its importance in training pilots and maintaining aircraft. For instance, Davis-Monthan Field in Tucson emerged as a primary air force training center for bomber pilots.²²

The resulting economic growth enhanced the fortunes of businessmen like Del Webb. Webb, a prominent leader in the business com-

munity, had come from California to Arizona and built a construction business in the 1930s. With the onset of the New Deal, Webb became involved in a number of projects, ranging from schools and hospitals to homes, a precursor of the massive building boom that would take place in Arizona in the next few decades. As an indication of his importance in Arizona's development, in 1941, Webb built Luke Field, an enormous military complex that boasted 126 buildings and facilities for 2,500. Webb's company also won the contract to build the first unit of the Colorado River Relocation Center, which they had ready for the initial residents in a matter of only three weeks. This feat was no doubt instrumental in their being awarded the contracts to build the second and third units of that center as well.²³

The creation of the Colorado River Relocation Center in Arizona thus needs to be placed in the context of both prewar and wartime developments. From an economic standpoint, the building of the relocation center was not an anomaly but part of the rapid transformation of the region as a whole. Developing the Colorado River Relocation Center was a massive undertaking, involving the construction not only of several hundred buildings, including health and educational facilities, but also new irrigation canals and roads, as well as the creation of an administrative apparatus to run it all. "Light frame temporary construction" characterized the buildings and the barracks, materially changing the landscape of the area.²⁴ In effect, the U.S. government was creating a city overnight in a remote area where there were few of the materials and resources normally used for a construction project of this scale. It thus required an outpouring of energies, especially to locate goods, equipment, and personnel to build and staff the facilities.

From this perspective, the growth of the Colorado River Relocation Center provides us with an avenue to consider the relationship of Arizona to California in both federal and regional contexts. In the building of the Colorado River Relocation Center, California was a primary site for securing resources, again underscoring the interdependence of the economies of Arizona and California and the impact of federal intervention on the redistribution of materials across state lines. For instance, authorities from the relocation center secured equipment from Los Angeles during construction, working with the Los Angeles city engineer to meet building requirements.²⁵ On an even more direct level, the movement of thousands of California residents to the "interior"

in Arizona demonstrates the significant role of Arizona in the nation's mobilization, a role that would result in the establishment of the Colorado River Relocation Center.

LIFE IN POSTON

Upon completion, the Colorado River Relocation Center consisted of three widely separated "units," Unit I, with roughly 10,000 Japanese Americans, being twice as large as Units II and III. Unit I also contained the administrative headquarters, the hospital, and other centralized support facilities for the incarcerated, as well as staff housing. A separate area outside the Unit I fence contained the army guards' barracks and additional staff accommodations. As the Colorado River Relocation Center was located on lands administered by the Office of Indian Affairs, it was jointly run by that office from its opening on May 8, 1942, until the WRA took over full responsibility at the end of 1943.²⁶

Poston followed a basic federal plan common to all the relocation centers. The standard unit of every center was the block, designed to house roughly 250 to 300 people in twelve to fourteen military-style "theater of operations" tarpapered barracks.²⁷ Also in the block were buildings housing the communal dining, laundry, and recreational spaces in addition to two large shower/lavatories, one for men and one for women. Larger camps had a greater number of blocks and proportionally larger administrative and support facilities. One Japanese American at Colorado River, Aiko Tanamachi Endo, explained, "Each block was organized like an army camp, and there would be barracks where the people would stay. In each block there would be a mess hall and a recreation hall. The recreation hall had a block office at one end where you took your problems and picked up your mail."²⁸ Every twenty-by-one hundred-foot barrack was subdivided into around four to six compartments by partitions that stopped short of the roof. Each family was assigned to a compartment; bachelors were given space in unpartitioned barracks. The WRA provided cots, mattresses, blankets, and a stove for heating, but anything beyond these articles had to be provided by the residents themselves.²⁹

Many Japanese American residents at the Colorado River Relocation Center have vivid memories about their initial impressions of Arizona. Aiko Tanamachi Endo recalled about her journey to Poston I, "When

we arrived in Poston, it was so dusty because they had cleared this area of all the mesquite trees and the ground was still very soft and dusty where they had put up the barracks. . . . It was an all fenced-in area, where I could see the soldiers up in the sentry posts.”³⁰ Like Endo, Margie Fujiyama also had memories about the military nature of the region: “We knew maneuvers [*sic*] were being held, because we could hear the guns. I think it came from across the Colorado River—in other words, in California.”³¹

The environment was an ongoing concern among residents, especially because of the constant construction and the challenges of the desert climate. Elmer Yamamoto, a lawyer from Los Angeles who was involved in organizing the relocation center’s legal department, recalled his impressions of his new place of work: “Those were the days when Poston was still in the process of construction. High winds and dust storms hiding the rays of the sun, [and] extreme high temperatures averaging 120 degrees were daily incidents. We sometimes marvel at the temerity of our clients who trudged down to our office for conferences.” That clients were willing to do so may have been due to the tone set by Yamamoto’s supervisor, Theodore Haas, who was the project attorney at the Colorado River Relocation Center. Haas was clearly an advocate for Japanese Americans. For example, as he recounted in a December 1943 letter to Philip Glick of the WRA, he had visited the Tule Lake Center and was highly critical of racist remarks made by one of the employees he met there.³²

Much of the labor necessary to run the relocation center rested on the shoulders of the Japanese American residents. As Wade Head, project director, stated in one directive: “You have the big job before you of preparing for schools, organizing your hospitals, organizing a court system, a law and order system, and the other functions, both governmental and cultural, which form the basis for an established and systematic community life.”³³ The camps were to be run “as non-profit community enterprises,” with any profits to go to the workers. Everyone over the age of sixteen was expected to take part. The monthly pay for the incarcerated Japanese Americans was extremely low, however—nineteen dollars for professionals, sixteen dollars for “skilled” workers, and twelve dollars for “common and semi-skilled labor.”³⁴

Creating facilities and running the camp for a population that numbered in the thousands was an enormous undertaking. Because the Japanese American population was removed en masse, facilities were needed

not only for the adult working population, both male and female, but also for children, young adults, and the elderly. One of the first tasks was to establish schools, which became an immediate priority because of the disruption in education that many young people faced. However, educating the community's youth was only one challenge among many. Upon being transferred to the relocation center, families typically underwent tremendous economic loss, losing everything they had built up for decades. They then were faced with having to start all over again in a different site without their accustomed resources or networks. Furthermore, family relations themselves were also under stress, as a significant number of the household heads were held separately, in special Department of Justice camps such as the ones at Lordsburg and Santa Fe, New Mexico, where the immigrant leadership who had been incarcerated soon after the outbreak of war were imprisoned. Many private household matters became public, and social hierarchies within the community became inverted as the younger, American-born Nisei were perceived by the U.S. government as being more trustworthy and were allocated more opportunities and resources than their Issei parents.³⁵

Nevertheless, Japanese Americans struggled to make sense of these catastrophic events which had so altered their lives. In a 1942 report on the early phases of the relocation center, anthropologist Conrad M. Arensberg provided his evaluation of community formation: "By no means all of the evacuees are ready yet to take an active part; by no means all of them, or even most of them, think of the place as home, or as anything more than a place of indefinite detention. But they will, in time, because the ties of adaptation to a new environment are already being laid down."³⁶ In fact, Japanese Americans had a range of reactions to imprisonment, ranging from defiant resistance, as in the case of the six-day political demonstrations in November 1942 over issues including self-government and labor concerns, to more informal and localized levels of resistance, such as the writing of satirical poems criticizing their treatment by the government.³⁷

In general, many tried to make the best of a difficult situation. Residents worked hard to create a better living environment for themselves, through such strategies as building furniture for their compartments and making food, such as tofu, that was part of the accustomed diet for many Japanese Americans. In a January 1943 letter to Clara Breed, Louise Ogawa wrote that she and her parents enjoyed special New Year's rice cakes, stating that "no one ever dreamed of eating them again." Japanese Americans adapted to their surroundings in other ways too,

by creating parks, going fishing in the canals, and renting horses from Native Americans.³⁸

Along with their everyday strategies for making life more bearable within the relocation center, Japanese Americans formed the majority of workers that changed the surrounding land.³⁹ Agriculture-related labor was a central aspect of the economy of the relocation center, especially because so many Japanese Americans had a background in farming. In general, Japanese American workers were instrumental in making the area more hospitable, and played a pivotal role in both the irrigation and agricultural development of the land, along with their other duties.⁴⁰ Shizu Kamei, for instance, recalled “a lot of work like clearing land and bringing in canals for irrigation and working with the mess halls.”⁴¹

At Poston, as at other sites around the country, Japanese Americans directly contributed to the war effort. Although they were initially barred from doing so on the basis of race, beginning in 1943, young men were allowed to volunteer for service, and later some were drafted into the U.S. armed forces, many fighting in the segregated 442nd Regimental Combat Team. This unit sustained extraordinarily high losses, and throughout the latter half of the war, residents received regular casualty listings for husbands, sons, brothers, and other family members, as well as for friends and fellow community members. Some young Japanese American women served in the Women’s Army Corps or helped the war effort in civilian sectors, such as in factories. Within the Colorado River Relocation Center, workers also engaged in other “home front” activities, such as making camouflage nets under contract.⁴²

HOME AND WAY STATION

As a “city,” the Colorado River Relocation Center was both home and way station. Beginning in the first year of the camp’s existence, the government mobilized to prepare people to move to other sites, when that became possible. As Kuni Takahashi noted in a June 1943 editorial, even as residents were building new lives for themselves at the Colorado River Relocation Center, they were soon confronted with the issue of resettlement.⁴³ The population at the Colorado River Relocation Center was continuously in flux because of changes in government policies, migration of residents to other states for educational or labor opportunities, enlistment of community members into the U.S. military, or transfer of residents to other camps. In March 1943, for instance,

the federal government removed parts of central Arizona, including the Colorado River and Gila River Relocation Centers as well as Phoenix, from Western Defense Command Military Area No. 1. As a result, 214 Japanese Americans at the Colorado River Relocation Center had the option of returning to Phoenix. Furthermore, a leave clearance program, in which Japanese Americans could apply for jobs outside the camp, was organized, ensuring that a substantial number of Poston residents would move to other employment or educational opportunities. Significant numbers of Japanese Americans were recruited to fill vital gaps in the labor pool, such as when sugar beet companies offered harvesting work in Nebraska, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming at wages of five dollars to ten dollars a day, in sharp contrast to the nineteen dollars per month paid to professionals within the camps. In addition, residents left to reunite with family members at other camps, because they were being repatriated to Japan, or because they were considered more "suspect" and thus transferred to detention centers like Tule Lake.⁴⁴

In December 1944, the government rescinded the categorical exclusion of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast, replacing it with a vastly more selective policy of excluding the very small number of individuals whom the government felt it had reason to keep out of the coastal states. The announcement, made on Sunday, December 17, was followed the next day by the Supreme Court's *Endo* decision, in which all nine Justices found the continued incarceration of those whom the government's own procedures had found loyal, a group which constituted the overwhelming majority of those in captivity, to be unconstitutional.⁴⁵ Then, in 1945, as U.S. victories increased and the expenses of the camps mounted, the federal government began phasing out the relocation camps, leaving residents who had been displaced from their former lives with an uncertain future. Many opted to return to California, while others moved to new locations, such as Chicago, Illinois, and Seabrook, New Jersey.⁴⁶

In 1946, responsibility for the buildings which made up the Colorado River Relocation Center was transferred from the War Assets Administration to the Department of the Interior. With the departure of Japanese Americans from the camp, Native Americans received the facilities. Under the original 1942 memorandum, improvements and the benefits that resulted from the land's development for the relocation center would belong to the Native Americans following the war. In 1946, the physical plant and structures were estimated at twelve million dollars, requiring about \$20,000 per month for upkeep. The changes

in the land also included widespread development of the region. The irrigation system for the Colorado River Relocation Center had been built at an estimated cost of more than \$670,000, and its main canal was nearly seventeen miles long. Roads and bridges also had been constructed at an estimated expense of more than \$900,000, including the main road from Parker to Camp III, which was more than twenty-one miles long.⁴⁷

With the end of World War II, the government debated what to do with the relocation center. In December 1946, for example, Superintendent C. H. Gensler wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs about the difficulty of contracting California companies to demolish the buildings and to salvage materials. Another major plan was to convert the buildings into family apartments for use by Native American "colonists." By July 1947, Gensler inquired whether twenty-five barracks could be sold for \$75.00 per building to Native American veterans. Even more controversial, given that the area was considered Mohave and Chemehuevi land, was the federal government's decision to move other Native Americans to the reservation. The first group of Native Americans from outside of the reservation consisted of a number of Hopi families relocated there in September 1945.⁴⁸ By August 1954, the acting area director reported that 112 Navajo families, 31 Hopi families, 3 Havasupai families, 3 Fort Mohave families, and 4 Chemehuevi families were residing on land in the Southern Reserve, and 138 Mohave-Chemehuevi families were located in the Northern Reserve.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Today, although many of the original buildings are longer used and have either been demolished or fallen into disrepair, the memory of the Colorado River Relocation Center continues. The Poston Memorial Monument was built in 1992, with key support from the Colorado River Indian Tribes, upon whose land the memorial stands. Another legacy of this experience has been the widespread cultural production of different materials about the Poston experience by Japanese American community members. In her film *History and Memory*, for instance, Rea Tajiri traces her family's relationship to this history, including the way many Japanese Americans chose not to discuss the camps after the end of the war. The film documents Tajiri's own reclamation of this piece of her family history and movingly shows the journey to the site of the

camp, accompanied by a narrative from family members recounting their memories.⁵⁰ A number of organizations in Southern California, such as the Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego and the Japanese American Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, continue to produce oral histories, articles, and other materials about the experiences of Japanese Americans and others at the Colorado River Relocation Center. In 1997, the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles opened an exhibition entitled, "Dear Miss Breed: Letters from Camp," which is available at <http://www.janm.org/exhibits/breed/title.htm>. It features some of the museum's more than 250 pieces of correspondence sent by young Japanese Americans to the previously mentioned Clara Breed, an employee at the San Diego Public Library.⁵¹

This history thus helps to give us new perspective on the relationship of Japanese Americans to Arizona. Typically, the significance of an ethnic community to a particular site is measured by how long members of that community have been in a certain place and their pioneering efforts to establish a long-term residence there. With the case of Japanese Americans at the Colorado River Relocation Center, although their stay was relatively brief, their searing memories of incarceration would not only last through their lifetimes, but would also be passed down to other generations within the Japanese American community and be discussed within national culture as a whole.⁵²

Viewing the significance of the Colorado River Relocation Center from the Japanese American standpoint also enables us to view Arizona history in another way, by underscoring the economic implications of Arizona's participation in the mobilization for World War II. Tracing the experience of Japanese Americans at the Colorado River Relocation Center in Arizona provides us with an avenue to analyze the development of Arizona during this era. The building of a massive city by the federal government demonstrates the emergence of Arizona as a national participant in the war effort. Wartime changes would include the growth of Arizona's agricultural economy and the introduction of different crops, the creation of a massive irrigation system and physical infrastructure, and the transformation and consolidation of links between Arizona and California as the U.S. West as a whole was mobilized for the war effort. The lifetime of the Colorado River Relocation Center may have been relatively short, from 1942 to 1945; however, it leaves us with a valuable tool for more fully considering the relationship of Japanese Americans to Arizona and offers a legacy which continues today. ❖

NOTES

Research for this article was conducted at the Pollak Library, California State University, Fullerton; the Carl A. Kroch Library, Division of Rare & Manuscript Collections, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California; and in particular, the National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region branch in Laguna Niguel, California. I would like to thank the staff of all of these collections for their help and guidance in my research.

1. For further sources about Asian Americans in Arizona and the U.S. West, see the extensive listing in John P. Rosa and Melody M. Miyamoto, *East of West: A Bibliography of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Arizona and the West* (Tempe: Arizona State University, College of Public Programs, 2003). For the early migration and settlement of Asian Americans in Arizona, see Susie Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History* 14, no. 4 (1973): 317–34; Eric Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County: Development and Persistence in the Valley of the Sun, 1900–1940," *Journal of Arizona History* 38, no. 1 (1997): 1–22; Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *The Chinese of Early Tucson: Historic Archaeology from the Tucson Urban Renewal Project* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989) and "Chinese Sojourners in Territorial Prescott," *Journal of the Southwest* 31, no. 1 (1989): 1–111; Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860–1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), especially chapters 4–6; and Lawrence Michael Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona," *Journal of Arizona History* 21 (Autumn 1980): 1–30. Karen Leonard's *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) mentions the existence of a small South Asian American community in Arizona as well.

2. Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard B. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Tucson: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Parks Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1999), 216.

3. See table 3, "Japanese American Population in Selected States, Regions, and Continental United States, 1880–1940, and by Nativity and Sex, 1900–1940," in Dorothy Swaine Thomas, with the assistance of Charles Kikuchi and James Sakoda, *The Salvage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 575–77; Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 320.

4. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 37–42.

5. *Ibid.*, 194–96; Thomas, Kikuchi, and Sakoda, *The Salvage*, 3–15.

6. See Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 126–32; Emma Gee, "Issei Women," in Emma Gee, ed., *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976), 359–64.

7. *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922) and Yuji Ichioka, *Issei: The World of the First-Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 214–26. See also, Chan, *Asian Americans*, 47.

8. Sato, “Before Pearl Harbor,” 320–22. Some acts of vigilante terrorism also occurred; see Brad Melton, “Prelude to War” 3–4, in Brad Melton and Dean Smith, eds., *Arizona Goes to War: The Home Front and the Front Lines during World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003). The alien land statute was upheld by the Arizona Supreme Court in *Takiguchi v. State of Arizona*, 47 Ariz. 302 (1936), some fourteen years after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld similar laws in California and Washington.

9. Bob Kumamoto, “The Search for Spies: American Counterintelligence and the Japanese American Community, 1931–1942,” *Amerasia Journal* 6, no. 2 (1979), 58–72; Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 19–24. For an overview of German and Italian as well as Japanese enemy alien internment during World War II, see John Christgau, *“Enemies”: World War II Alien Internment* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1985).

10. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), *Personal Justice Denied: The Report of the CWRIC*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1982–1983; reprint, with a new foreword by Tetsuden Kashima, Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund and University of Washington Press, 1997), 51–60 and 471–77. Hereafter abbreviated as CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*.

11. CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 3. This statement was verified at trial in *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 627 F. Supp. 1445 (W.D. Wash. 1986).

12. “National Reclamation Association Bulletin, Special to Our Members: Re: Establishment of Japanese American Relocation Areas,” May 1942, Folder 4.5.2.11, Box 10, RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix Area Office, Indian Irrigation Service, Irrigation Projects, 1935–1961 (hereafter RG 75); National Archives and Records Administration Pacific Region (Laguna Niguel), 1–2 (hereafter NA-LN). CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 47–99, 286–90; see Folder “140 National Defense General,” Box 16, RG 75 and Central Classified files, 1937–1974, NA-LN, for detailed correspondence assessing different Native American reservations for wartime mobilization.

13. CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 93–116; Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard Nishimoto with contributions by Rosalie A. Hankey, James M. Sakoda, Morton Grodzins, and Frank Miyamoto, *The Spoilage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 13–30.

14. Population numbers calculated from table 1 in War Relocation Authority, *WRA: A Story of Human Conservation* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1946), 197; Thomas and Nishimoto, *The Spoilage*, 26–27; CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 149–84.

15. For further information about the Gila River Relocation Center, see Folder 4.13.1.7, “Japanese Relocation, Pima Resn.,” Box 11, RG 75 Irrigation Projects, 1935–61, NA-LN; and Folder 4.13.1.8, “W.R.A. 1946 Claim for Adjustments, Rentals on the Gila River Reservation,” Box 11, RG 75, Irrigation

Projects, 1935–61, NA-LN; Folder “120 W.R.A. Rivers, 6/27/46–10/8/47,” Box 16, RG 75, Central Classified Files, 1937–1974, NA-LN; Samuel T. Caruso, “After Pearl Harbor: Arizona’s Response to the Gila River Relocation Center,” *Journal of Arizona History* 14, no. 4 (1973): 335–46; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 111–12.

16. Memorandum, Lt. A. H. Leighton, MC (v) USNR, War Relocation Authority, Poston, Arizona, to Admiral Ross T. McIntire, surgeon general, United States Navy, Washington, D.C.; Leighton, “Monthly Report on Colorado River War Relocation Center for Evacuated Japanese—No. 1,” Box 2, #3830, Carl A. Kroch Library, Division of Rare & Manuscript Collections, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 2. (Hereafter, the Carl A. Kroch Library Division of Rare & Manuscript Collections will be abbreviated as KL-CU.) See also “Memorandum of Understanding between the Director of the War Relocation Authority and the Secretary of the Interior,” Folder “Colorado River Relocation Ctrn Poston, AZ Disposal Data,” Box 9, RG 270 War Assets Administration, NA-LN (hereafter abbreviated as RG 270). For more on the Native American reaction to the building of the camps, see Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 82–85.

17. Leighton, “Monthly Report,” 1.

18. Clara E. Breed, “All But Blind,” *Library Journal*, 1 February 1943, 93.75.22A, Clara Breed Papers, Japanese American National Museum Archives (hereafter abbreviated as JANM); Clara E. Breed to William Fleet Palmer, United States Attorney, 7 August 1942, 93.75.31 FF, Clara Breed Papers, JANM.

19. Irons gives the lower figure in *Justice at War*, 75; John Tateishi, *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (New York: Random House, 1984), xx; and National Committee for Redress of the Japanese American Citizens League, *The Japanese American Incarceration: A Case for Redress* (San Francisco: National Committee on Redress of the Japanese American Citizens League, June 1978), 18–19, give the higher figure.

20. See, for example, Tamie Tsuchiyama to Dr. Lowie, 8 July 1942, in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, *The Politics of Fieldwork: Research in an American Concentration Camp*, (Tucson: University of Arizona- Press, 1999), 39–40; and discussion of “The Poston Incident” and “The Manzanar Incident” in “Quarterly Report, October 1 to December 31, 1942,” Folder “Third Quarterly Report—WRA Oct 1, to Dec 31, 1942,” Box 1 (Quarterly Reports 1942), RG 210 War Relocation Authority, Entry 3 (Washington Office Records Documentary Files), National Archives, Washington, D.C., 31–41. From this point on, the National Archives, Washington, DC, will be abbreviated as NA-WDC, and RG 210 War Relocation Authority will be abbreviated as RG 210.

21. Gerald D. Nash, *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 1–9, 218–19; Nash, “Reshaping Arizona’s Economy: A Century of Change,” 128, in Beth Luey and Noel J. Stowe, *Arizona at Seventy-Five: The Next Twenty-Five Years* (Tempe: Arizona State University Public History Program and the Arizona Historical Society, 1987), 132–34; Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern*

Metropolis (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 136–43. Special section, “Prelude to Victory,” *Arizona Republic*, 7 August 1942, n.p. The section also includes a small article entitled, “Japanese ‘Hunting Licenses’ Are Issued.”

22. George W. Howard, “The Desert Training Center/California-Arizona Maneuver Area,” *Journal of Arizona History* 26, no. 3 (1985): 273–78; John S. Westerlund, “Bombs from Bellemont: Navajo Ordnance Depot in World War II,” *Journal of Arizona History* 42, no. 3 (2001): 321–26; Thomas E. Sheridan, “The Other Arizona,” *Journal of the Southwest* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 264; Jeré Franco, “Beyond Reservation Boundaries: Native American Laborers in World War II,” *Journal of the Southwest* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 242–54; John S. Westerlund, “Rommel’s Afrika Korps in Northern Arizona: Austrian Prisoners of War at Navajo Ordnance Depot,” *Journal of Arizona History* 39, no. 4 (1993): 405–8; Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 83.

23. Luckingham, *Phoenix*, 107, 137; Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 215–16.

24. WRA, Conference notes, 14 April 1942, and “Memorandum of Understanding between the Director of the War Relocation Authority and the Secretary of the Interior,” Folder “010. Organization,” Box 104, RG 210, Entry 48 (Subject-Classified General Files, 1942–1946), NA-WDC; “General Construction Features of Typical Buildings at Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Arizona,” Folder, “Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, AZ, Appraisal Data Vol. 1 1/2,” Box #8, RG 270, Arizona, Real Property Disposal Case Files, From: Claiborne Flight Academy, To: Colorado River Relocation Center,” NA-LN.

25. John Collier, commissioner, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs to W. W. Head, administrator, War Relocation Project, Colorado River Agency, Parker, Arizona (stamped with date April 29, 1942) and Commissioner to Los Angeles City Council (stamped with date April 29, 1942), Folder “Equipment,” Box 42, RG 75, Irrigation District Number Four, Colorado River Irrigation Project, Records of R. H. Rupkey, project engineer, 1938–1945, From: Accidents To: Equipment, NA-LN.

26. Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 215–28. For an early general history of the Colorado River Relocation Center, see Paul Bailey, *City in the Sun: The Japanese Concentration Camp at Poston, Arizona* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1971).

27. CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 158–59; Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), 55.

28. Aiko Tanamachi Endo, interview with Marsha Bode, O.H. 1750, Honorable Stephen K. Tamura Orange County Japanese American Oral History Project, Historical and Cultural Foundation of Orange County Japanese American Council and California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, 15 November 1983, Pollak Library, California State University, Fullerton, 30. (Hereafter the Honorable Stephen K. Tamura Orange County Japanese

American Oral History Project, Historical and Cultural Foundation of Orange County Japanese American Council will be abbreviated as HSKTOCJAOHP, the California State University, Fullerton Oral History Program as CSUF-OHP, and the Pollak Library, California State University Fullerton as PL-CSUF.)

29. Thomas and Nishimoto, *The Spoilage*, 29–30.

30. Aiko Tanamachi Endo interview with Marsha Bode, 15 November 1983, 28.

31. Margie Fujiyama, interview with Sue Fowler, O.H. 1383, CSUF-OHP, 11 and 12 January 1973, PL-CSUF, 4.

32. “Legal Department, May 1942–October 1943,” Folder “040.3 Operations,” Box 108, RG 210, Entry 48 (Subject-Classified General Files 1942–1946), NA-WDC. Theodore H. Haas, project attorney, to Philip M. Glick, solicitor, 6 December 1943, Folder “65.430#1 Tule Lake Jan 1943–March 1944,” Box 397 (65.430), RG 210, Entry 16 (Headquarters S-CGF), NA-WDC. For more on the history of the legal department, see “Legal Department, May 1942–October 1943,” and the accompanying memorandum from Theodore H. Haas, project attorney, to Mr. W. Wade Head, Project Director, Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Arizona, 28 October 1943 in Folder “040.3 Operations,” Box 108, RG 210, Entry 48 (Subject-Classified General Files, 1942–1946), NA-WDC.

33. W. Wade Head, project director, “TO ALL RESIDENTS OF POSTON,” 1 August 1942, Folder “010.Organization,” Box 104, RG 210, Entry 48 (Subject-Classified General Files, 1942–1946), NA-WDC, 1–2.

34. W. Wade Head, project director, “Circular No. 5, ANNOUNCEMENT TO ENLISTEES OF THE COLORADO RIVER RELOCATION PROJECT,” n.d., Folder “060.1 Project Circulars” 1 of 3, Box 110 (Colorado River 060 to 060.3), RG 210, Entry 48 (Subject-Classified General Files, 1942–1946), NA-WDC.

35. See “Ground Breaking Ceremonies for New School Building Planned,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 1 January 1943; John J. Culley, “The Santa Fe Internment Camp and the Justice Department Program for Enemy Aliens” in Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, rev. ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 57–71. For economic losses sustained by Japanese Americans, see Shizu Kamei, interviewed by Toni Rimel and Masako Hanada, O.H. 1755, HSKTOCJAOHP, CSUF-OHP, 23 January 1984, PL-CSUF, 71, 77–78, 82; for a discussion of some changes in family dynamics, see Aiko Tanamachi Endo interview, 29–30; for the imprisonment of adult men, see Yukiko Furuta, interview with Arthur A. Hansen and Yasko Gamo, O.H. 1752, HSKTOCJAOHP, CSUF-OHP, 17 June and 6 July 1982, PL-CSUF, 114–17; and for the limited labor options for Issei, see Furuta interview, 135.

36. Conrad M. Arensberg, “Report on a Developing Community: Poston, Arizona,” Folder “Record Studies” Box 124, RG 210, Entry 48 (Subject-Classified General Files), NA-WDC 13.

37. See speech to Unit II, Poston, in wake of strike, Nagai Nakaji and Reverend Mitani, 6 December 1942, Folder “470 Community Government,” 1 of 2, Box 118 (Colorado River 420.3 to 470), RG 210, E48 (S-C GF 1942–

46), NA-WDC, and Leighton, *Governing of Men*, 162–210. “That Dammed Fence,” reproduced in Andrew B. Russell, “Arizona Divided,” in Melton and Smith, *Arizona Goes to War*, 52.

38. Yukiko Furuta interview, 124; Shizu Kamei interview, 75; Louise Ogawa to Clara Breed, 6 January 1942 (letter dated 1942 but postmarked 1943), 93.75.31 AC, Clara Breed Papers, JANM Archives; Louise Ogawa to Clara Breed, 27 January 1943, 93.75.31 D, Clara Breed Papers, JANM Archives; Arensberg, “Report of a Developing Community,” 13–14, 25–28.

39. Richard Nishimoto, “Firebreak Gang,” *Inside an American Concentration Camp*, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 40–85.

40. For more on irrigation, see Bureau of Sociological Research, “We Came to the Beginning of the Year (A Brief History of Unit One in Poston—May through December 1942,” Box 2, #3830, KL-CU, 8.

41. Shizu Kamei interview, 75. See also “Graveling of Road Started by Engineers on Unit 2–3 Highway,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 27 December 1942 and “Over 40 Miles of Canals Constructed by Evacuees,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 9 May 1943.

42. “U.S. Army to Form Nisei Division,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 29 January 1943; “900 in Armed Forces from This Center,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 12 December 1944; “Semi-Annual Report, January 1 to June 30, 1944,” Department of the Interior, WRA, Folder, “Semi-Annual Reports—WRA January 1 to June 30, 1944,” Box 3 (Semi-Annual Reports 1943 & 1944 . . .), RG 210, Entry 3 (Washington Office Records Documentary files), NA-WDC, 14; “Net Workers to Meet with Contractor Sat.,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 6 February 1943; and “Chronicle Reporter Tours Unit III Camouflage Factory,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 11 April 1943.

43. “Semi-Annual Report, January 1 to June 30, 1943,” WRA, Folder “Semi-annual Report Jan. 1 to June 30, 1943,” Box 2 (History-Engineering Section June 30, 1943/Semi-annual Reports, 1943), RG 210, Entry 3 (Washington Office Records Documents by Files), NA-WDC, 1–20; Kuni Takahashi, “Educational System,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 13 June 1943.

44. Bureau of Sociological Research, “We Came to the Beginning of the Year,” 14; “Second Quarterly Report of the War Relocation Authority, July 1 to September 30 1942,” Box 1, #3830, KL-CU, 13; “Nine Families Leave for Crystal City,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 20 January 1944.

45. “Mass Exclusion Terminated,” *The Poston Chronicle*, 19 December 1944; CWRIC, *Personal Justice Denied*, 235–36; *Ex parte Mitsuye Endo*, 323 U.S. 283.

46. Memorandum from Minoru Okamoto, city manager, to Duncan Mills, project director, Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Arizona, 22 January 1945, Folder “470 Community Government,” 2 of 2, Box 118 (Colorado River 420.3 to 470), RG 210, E48 (S-CGF 1942–46), NA-WDC; and Mills’ reply, 1 February 1945, Memorandum from Duncan Mills to Minoru Okamoto on “Your Memorandum of January 22, 1945 Re: Closing of Centers,” Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Arizona, Folder “470 Community Government,”

2 of 2, Box 118 (Colorado River 420.3 to 470), RG 210, E48 (S-CGF), NA-WDC; "Seabrook Farm's Employment Manager Recruiting Workers on Project," *The Poston Chronicle*, 20 January 1944; Mitziko Sawada, "After the Camps: Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, and the Resettlement of Japanese Americans, 1944-47," *Amerasia Journal* 13, no. 2 (1986-87): 117-36; Jacalyn D. Harden, *Double Cross: Japanese Americans in Black and White Chicago* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

47. "Administrator to the Honorable [J. A. Krug], The Secretary of the Interior," 21 October 1946, Folder "Colorado River Relocation—Poston—AZ.," Box 8, RG 270, NA-LN Archives; "Memorandum of Understanding," NA-WDC, 5; Robert C. Davenport to Mr. Paul C. Williams, 15 October 1946, Folder "Colorado River Relocation—Poston—AZ.," Box 8, RG 270, NA-LN; "Drainage and Irrigation, Account No. 38," Folder, "Colorado River Relocation, Poston, AZ, Appraisal Data Vol. II," Box 9, RG 270, NA-LN; "Colorado River Relocation Center, Poston, Arizona, Fixed Asset Inventory, August 31, 1945, Roads and Bridges, Account No. 37," Folder, "Colorado River Relocation Poston, AZ, Appraisal Data Vol. II," Box 9, RG 270, NA-LN.

48. C. H. Gensler, superintendent, to commissioner of Indian affairs, 16 December 1946, 31 December 1946, and 10 July 1947, all in Folder "120 W.R.A.-Poston (Disposition of Buildings)," Box 64, RG 75, NA-LN; Document by R. H. Rupkey, 21 June 1954, Folder 4.5.2.10, Colorado River Gravity Project, Colonization & Planning—General [1 of 2], Box 10, RG 75, Phoenix Area Office, Irrigation Projects, 1935-61, NA-LN; Dwight Lomayesva, "The Adaptation of Hopi and Navajo Colonists on the Colorado River Indian Reservation," M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1980, 52-53. Lomayesva's thesis provides a general history of these developments. See also Sheridan, "The Other Arizona," 257-58.

49. See L. L. Nelson, acting area director, to commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 16 August 1954, Folder, "4.5.2.10 Colorado River Gravity Project, Colonization & Planning—General [1 of 2]," Box 10, RG 75, Irrigation Projects, 1935-61, NA-LN. For an insightful work about the relationship of Japanese American and Native American history in regard to the Colorado River Relocation Center, see Ruth Y. Okimoto, *Sharing a Desert Home: Life on the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Poston, Arizona, 1942-1945*, A Special Report from *News from Native California* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2001).

50. Frank Iritani, "Internment Camps Revisited, in *Nikkei Heritage: National Japanese American Historical Society* XV, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2003): 16; *History and Memory*, written and directed by Rea Tajiri, 32 min., Akiko Productions (Video Data Bank), 1991, videocassette. For another important example, see Chizu Omori, "The Life and Times of 'Rabbit in the Moon,'" in Erica Harth, ed., *Last Witnesses: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans* (New York: Palgrave, St. Martin's Press, 2001), 215-28.

51. For more on the Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego, see its website, www.jahssd.org. The Japanese American Oral History Project, part of the Oral History Program at California State University Fullerton, has made several interviews relevant to the Colorado River Relocation Center accessible

on the web as well, at ohp.fullerton.edu. The Breed exhibition website is www.janm.org/exhibits/breed/title.htm.

52. See, for example, Harth, *Last Witnesses*, which presents a wide range of essays commenting on the internment experience.