

DIAMONDS IN THE ROUGH

BASEBALL AND JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT

Written for high schools and community colleges

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American National Museum (89.172 A); page 15 top right—Mas Masuda; page 15 bottom right—James Tomooka; page 16—Sidney Mukai; page 17 top left—Masao Iriyama; page 17 top right—Masao Iriyama;

page 17 bottom left—Nori Masuda; page 17 bottom right—Mas Masuda; page 18—Jack Matsuoka;

page 19—Setsuo Aratani's packing labels, Setsuo Aratani Collection; page 21—Toshi Yano;

page 23—Ken Hashimoto; pages 24, 25, and 26—Masao Iriyama; page 28—Arthur Shibayama;

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page 49—Frank Kamiyama; page 50 left—Cappy Harada; page 50 right—Julie Lewis.

Dedicated to all pioneer baseball players who helped pave the way

*“Without baseball, camp life would have been miserable
It was humiliating, demeaning, being incarcerated by our own country.”*

George Omachi, former *nisei* baseball player and scout for the Houston Astros

FROM THE
DIRECTOR OF THE
NISEI BASEBALL
RESEARCH PROJECT



Ichiro Suzuki of the Seattle Mariners, and Kerry Yo Nakagawa

Dear Teachers and Students:

On February 12, 2002, I was part of the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum in Cooperstown live satellite classroom that outreached to twenty million students in the United States in one day. It allowed me to share our untold stories of American ballplayers keeping the all-American pastime alive, even from behind barbed wire. Recent polls show that 70 percent of Americans are not even aware of internment. Though Japanese Americans constitute a very small minority (approximately 800,000), their history teaches us the importance of themes like tolerance, diversity, and patriotism. Teaching about the positive aspects of these themes is a major goal of our exhibit, documentary, book, and film. We must never repeat what our families and race went through during World War II, yet after 9/11, xenophobic attitudes are reappearing.

The words synergy and anointment have been very inspirational to me over the years on my journey to honor these wonderful 80- and 90-year-old baseball pioneers. It started with our exhibit on “Japanese-American Baseball History” that was displayed at the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum at Cooperstown, Japan Hall of Fame in Tokyo, and many other venues around the country. I wanted to create a significant multi-media experience so we crafted our documentary, *Diamonds in the Rough*. This gave me an opportunity to work with my hero and God papa, Pat Morita. Our metaphorical third base is our book, *Through a Diamond*. Our publication records our history and culture through the images and oral histories of the prewar golden years, internment, postwar, and legacy eras. As we head for home, *The American Pastime* motion picture is on its way to becoming a film soon. I feel we can reach diverse global audiences and transport them back to a profound time of our country. This film is about young adults having to deal with teenage angst inside a detention camp.

I feel very honored to be associated with Stanford University and the California State Library in presenting this guide. I often use Ichiro Suzuki of the Seattle Mariners in my lectures as the man that validates many Japanese-American pioneers in the 1920s and 30s. They never got an opportunity to play in major league stadiums, but were valuable and treasured assets to their communities and especially inside the barbed wire compounds of the detention camps. Baseball was their savior mentally, physically, and spiritually. Ichiro proves that regardless of ethnicity, if you have the heart, passion and tools, you can become a MVP inside and outside the lines. Through the prism of baseball . . . you can really discover our proud heritage, history, and culture. I might not be the richest, but I feel like one of the wealthiest men on earth. I hope you think and dream BIG and always follow your passion.

Health, Spirit, and Aloha,

Kerry Yo Nakagawa
Author, Filmmaker, and Historian

Dear Teachers and Students:

Reflecting on my 70 years on this planet and 40 years of motion picture and television, I have a very special passion and interest in students and their educational goals. I am a member of the Arts Council for Reading, which takes me around the country visiting schools to promote literacy. Recently I was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from the Cleveland Institute of Music.

Our documentary, *Diamonds in the Rough*, was a personal journey back to my former home on the Pima Indian reservation at Camp 2, Block 55, barrack 2B. I was 11 years young back then and I remember all the teenagers and adults would gather every weekend to watch the games. I had never seen a live baseball game before so my introduction to baseball was sitting and cheering with a couple thousand rabid fans. These internees showed that with effort and persistence, you can overcome the harshness of adversity. We created a fraternal community in the desert and baseball was our glue. Japanese Americans became the only group of United States citizens in history to be imprisoned behind barbed wire as a group solely because of race. I can recall from my youth how, during these extremely difficult times for our people, these American internees would organize themselves into leagues and even travel from camp to camp, state to state, to compete on the baseball diamond. It was a compelling dynamic of the immigrant experience of the Japanese people as seen through the prism of America's grand game of baseball.

Before I got to the Gila River concentration camp, I spent nine years with paralysis as a child with spinal tuberculosis. I was released and escorted by an F.B.I. agent into the detention camp to join my family. After the war ended, I pursued my dreams of comedy and acting. Stupidly naive, but persistent and tenacious, I ended up playing the most prestigious clubs and theaters in the country, including the Copacabana, the Apollo, and Carnegie Hall. This led to T.V. and film roles which eventually earned me a nomination for best supporting actor as Mr. Miyagi in *The Karate Kid*, and a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame.

My wish is for you to create your own legacy and get all the oral histories from your pioneering elders. They are the living monuments to your ancestral "roots." All of our immigrant forefathers brought a richness of culture and heritage to this wonderful country and you need to share all the untold stories of their cumulative experience.

Our internment world was a missing chapter in American history until recently. For my part, I share this dark chapter in my own personal history as a means to convey a profound wish that this sort of inhumane treatment never be perpetrated on others again, in our country or anywhere else on earth.



Noriyuki "Pat" Morita
Celebrated Actor of Television and Motion Pictures

FROM THE HOST AND NARRATOR OF *Diamonds in the Rough*



Noriyuki "Pat" Morita at Japanese-American Day at Candlestick Park in San Francisco, 2001

FROM THE DAUGHTER OF
JACKIE ROBINSON



Sharon Robinson

Dear Teachers and Students:

As an author and educational consultant to Major League Baseball, I travel the country and beyond spreading the message that breaking barriers, physical or conceptual, is an ongoing struggle. My father, Jackie Robinson, broke the color line in Major League Baseball in 1947. The nine values he used to be successful on and off the field are the basis for our Breaking Barriers program that is now enjoyed by millions of children across the United States and its territories, as well as Canada and Japan.

My father's entry into Major League Baseball and his distinguished career with the Brooklyn Dodgers are legendary. By the end of Dad's first official year in the majors, he led the league in stolen bases and sacrifice bunts, and was second in runs scored. Despite threats on his life, the weight of a people on his shoulders, and racist taunts, he played in 151 of the 154 games that first season, all at first base, and brought a new aggressive style to the game. By the end of the season, he was named Outstanding Rookie of the Year in honor of his hitting, running, defensive play, and value to his team. My father went on to play ten seasons as a Brooklyn Dodger. After he retired from baseball, Dad worked tirelessly for social justice until his death in 1972.

As you will see in the provocative book and film, *Through a Diamond and Diamonds in the Rough*, there are numerous parallels between my father's story and that of Japanese Americans. In the early 1900s, Japanese immigrants were excluded from purchasing land in states like California and becoming U.S. citizens until 1952. During World War II, Japanese Americans were imprisoned in their own country and denied basic constitutional rights. At the same time, their homes and businesses were confiscated.

The stories told in *Through a Diamond* remind me of an ancient Japanese saying that hangs in my mother's kitchen. It says: "Now that my house has burned to the ground, I have a better view of the moon." This optimism is what propels us through the darkest moments in our personal and collective history and reminds us to stay in the struggle.

My Best,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Sharon Robinson". The ink is dark and the signature is written in a fluid, personal style.

Sharon Robinson

Author and Educational Consultant, Major League Baseball

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INTRODUCTION

Levels

High school
Community college

Subjects

Social studies
U.S. history
World history
Ethnic studies
World War II

Key Themes

Team sports
Acculturation
Ethnicity
Discrimination
Cross-cultural conflict
Conflict management
Civil liberties
Civil rights

In his book, *Through a Diamond: 100 Years of Japanese-American Baseball*, Kerry Yo Nakagawa, Director, Nisei Baseball Research Project (NBRP), notes that Japanese Americans have been playing baseball for 100 years and even during the internment period of 1942 to 1945, they continued to play baseball behind barbed wire. For many students, there is an emotional connection to baseball and the many icons associated with the American pastime. Since the acts of terrorism on September 11, 2001, “civil liberties during times of crisis” has become a topic of many news stories and debate. Parallels have been drawn between what Arab Americans are facing today and what Japanese Americans faced following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. The purpose of this teacher’s guide is not only to introduce Japanese-American internment through the prism of baseball but also to encourage students to consider the importance of their own civil liberties.

In addition to encouraging students to consider concepts such as civil liberties, the activities in this guide also encourage students to examine concepts such as team sports, acculturation, ethnicity, discrimination, cross-cultural conflict, conflict management, civil liberties, and civil rights. The activities also engage students through their multiple intelligences and in the examination of primary source documents from the internment period. The documents all share the common bond of baseball.

Although many state and national U.S. history standards highlight the Japanese-American internment experience, more often than not it is a topic that is treated without nuance. Because of spatial considerations, many U.S. history textbooks are forced to condense this historical episode into a few pages at best. It is the hope of the NBRP and SPICE that the activities contained in this guide will add nuance to the meaning of internment.

It is suggested that activities from this activity guide be utilized as a supplement to U.S. history textbook coverage of Japanese-American internment during World War II.

Objectives

In this guide, students will

- learn about Japanese-American internment through the prism of baseball;
- learn about the challenges that faced Japanese Americans in the detention camps;
- appreciate the moral dilemmas faced by Japanese Americans in the detention camps;
- ponder questions involving civil liberties in the United States during World War II;
- consider the nature of civil liberties during times of crisis;
- work effectively in small groups;
- analyze primary source documents;
- view films and documentaries critically;
- compare and contrast different points of view; and
- practice skills of the historian, curator, artist, and poet.

Materials

Transparencies #1–3

Documentary, *Diamonds in the Rough: 100 Years of Japanese-American Baseball*

Handout #1, *Japanese-American Internment*

Handout #2, *Questions on Japanese-American Internment*

Handout #3, *World War II Detention Camps*

Handout #4, *A Century of Japanese-American Baseball*

Handout #5, *Questions on Japanese-American Baseball*

Procedures

1. Set the context for this curriculum unit by showing Transparencies #1–3 using an overhead projector. After engaging students in a discussion of each set of questions below, share the descriptions provided for each image.

Transparency #1:

What is this?

Where do you think it was used?

What might its historical significance be?

Description: This is the original wooden home plate from the Butte detention camp #2, on the Pima Indian reservation at Gila River, Arizona, 1943. This plate was used on a “field of dreams” in the middle of the desert and was the playing field of one of the biggest upsets in Arizona state baseball history. The Tucson Badgers, a three-time state championship team, were beaten by the Gila River Eagles (a Japanese-American concentration camp baseball team) by the score 11–10 in 10 innings.



Transparency #1

Transparency #2:

What might be the significance of this uniform?

Description: San Fernando camp uniform

This prewar uniform represented four generations of the San Fernando Aces. The Aces were a prewar Japanese-American powerhouse “A” team



Transparency #2



Transparency #3

and went into Manzanar concentration camp nearly intact. The team won the camp championship in 1943. They reorganized after the war and still compete today with fourth-generation players.

Transparency #3:

What do you notice in this photograph?

Where is Heart Mountain?

Description: Photograph of a Heart Mountain concentration camp baseball team.

The Heart Mountain baseball squad could travel from Heart Mountain, Wyoming, to Gila River, Arizona, on a baseball exchange. However, if a relative died outside of camp, an internee could not attend the service. This “free” travel captures some of the ironies of camp life—that is, putting on a baseball uniform gave you a free passage. Most of the ten concentration camps had built their fields outside the barbed wire fences. Japanese Americans kept the all-American pastime alive—from within and outside barbed wire.

2. Point out that these three artifacts were selected for a travelling exhibit of the Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum called “Baseball as America.” Kerry Yo Nakagawa also recommended three other artifacts. These were a diorama of a baseball field inside a concentration camp (including barbed wire, guard tour); an original poster promoting the first inaugural game at the Butte camp site, Gila River Concentration Camp, Arizona; and a 442 baseball uniform. The 442 baseball team was comprised of troops from the Japanese-American 442nd Regimental Combat Team.
3. Inform students that they will examine Japanese-American internment through the prism of baseball. Distribute one of the three letters to teachers and students to each student. Have students read the letters and discuss the important messages and themes each writer conveys. Ask students about their prior knowledge of Japanese-American internment.
4. If the activities from this guide are being used to supplement the coverage of Japanese-American internment in U.S. history textbooks, it is recommended that students first become familiar with their textbooks’ coverage of the topic. Handout #1, *Japanese-American Internment*, can also be used to set the historical context for the activities in this guide. Because of the length of the handout, teachers may wish to utilize a traditional jigsaw approach to help their students process the information in the handout. Handout #2, *Questions on Japanese-American Internment*, can be used as well.
5. Distribute copies of Handout #3, *World War II Detention Camps*, to each student. Share the following information with students. Students can reference the map on this handout while viewing the documentary.

Military Area No. 1: The western portions of California, Oregon, Washington, and Arizona became known as Military Area No. 1 on March 2, 1942. All Japanese Americans from Military Area No. 1 were excluded

from this area and incarcerated initially into assembly centers and eventually into concentration or Department of Justice internment camps.

Military Area No. 2 (shaded area): The eastern portion of California became known as Military Area No. 2 on March 29, 1942. All Japanese Americans from Military Area No. 2 were also excluded from this area and incarcerated initially into assembly centers and eventually into concentration or Department of Justice internment camps.

Assembly Centers: Sixteen temporary detention centers that housed Japanese Americans who had been forcibly removed from the West Coast in the early months of the U.S. entry into World War II.

Concentration Camps: Ten camps for housing Japanese Americans forcibly removed from their homes on the West Coast during World War II; sometimes referred to as “relocation centers.”

Department of Justice Internment Camps: Camps administered by the Department of Justice for the detention of aliens deemed “dangerous” during World War II.

Citizen Isolation Camps: Internees from the concentration camps that the War Relocation Authority labeled as “trouble-makers” and who were U.S. citizens were sent to these camps.

6. Before showing the documentary, *Diamonds in the Rough*, discuss the following concepts with students.

Team sports: sports that require cooperation among members

Acculturation: modification of the culture of a group or individual as a result of contact with a different culture

Ethnicity: affiliation resulting from racial or cultural ties

Discrimination: unfair treatment of a person or group on the basis of prejudice

Cross-cultural conflict: conflict resulting from misunderstanding between different cultural groups

Conflict management: dealing with conflict without necessarily resolving it

Civil liberties: freedoms from arbitrary governmental interference (as with the right of free speech) specifically by denial of governmental power and in the United States especially as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights

Civil rights: an individual’s rights as a citizen to participate freely and equally in politics and public affairs in order to promote actively his/her preferred public policies



7. After the discussion, assign pairs of students to one of the concepts. While viewing the documentary, encourage each pair of students to pay particular attention to how the concept is covered in the documentary. All students should pay particular attention to the internment years.
8. Show the documentary. Debrief the documentary by having each pair of students discuss its concept. In addition, as a class, discuss each concept in the context of baseball in the camps.
9. Assign one or more of the activities on pages 14–34 to students in small groups. These activities were developed with Howard Gardner’s notion of “multiple intelligences” in mind. They are grouped according to his seven categories of multiple intelligences. It is our hope that this categorization of activities will help the teacher in assigning specific activities to students with specific strengths. Please note that most activities encourage students to draw upon more than one intelligence.
10. Allow groups to share their projects. Based on what students have learned about baseball in the detention camps, you may want to ask the following question: If you could choose three baseball artifacts (from camp) for display in a travelling Hall of Fame exhibit, what would you choose and why? Would you choose similar items to those selected for the actual travelling exhibit, i.e., home plate, uniform, photograph, shown at the outset of this lesson? Why or why not?
11. Optional: Assign Handout #4, *A Century of Japanese-American Baseball*, to students interested in the topic. Handout #5, *Questions on Japanese-American Baseball*, can be used to debrief Handout #4.



■ ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITY: SPATIAL, ARTISTIC

Using the player photos, bios, and statistics below, create baseball cards of players. A part of the card should focus on the internment experience. Information may be taken from your textbooks or from Handout #1, *Japanese-American Internment*. Creatively incorporate at least two or more of the following concepts on the cards.

Team sports
Acculturation
Ethnicity

Discrimination
Cross-cultural conflict
Conflict management

Civil liberties
Civil rights



Kay Kiyokawa—Pitcher

Ht. 4'10" Wt. 170

Bats: Left

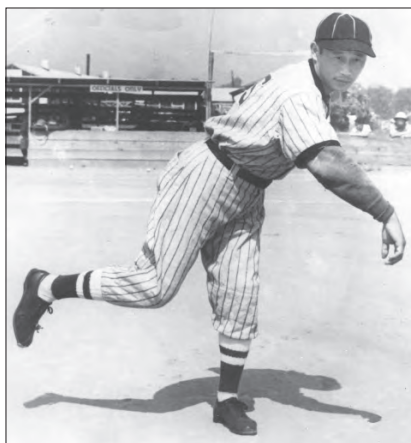
Throws: Left

Starting pitcher in 1936 for Oregon State

Interned at Tule Lake, California

Starting pitcher for the University of Connecticut in 1943

Starting running back for the University of Connecticut football team in 1943



Herb "Moon" Kurima—Pitcher

Ht. 5'9" Wt. 165

All-star player and coach for Florin Athletic Club

Pitched 21 strikeouts against Grass Valley in 1937

Interned at Jerome, Arkansas

Shut out the Arkansas A&M team 6–0 in 1943 and pitched the camp Jerome all-stars to a 3–2 win over the 442nd Infantry team



Masao Iriyama—Shortstop

Ht. 5'9" Wt. 170

All-star for the Guadalupe Young Men's Buddhist Association

Interned at Gila River, Arizona and Tule Lake, California

Champions of Gila River and Tule Lake Camps

Camp batting champion, .421 in 1943

Brother was killed in action as a pilot for Japan in 1943



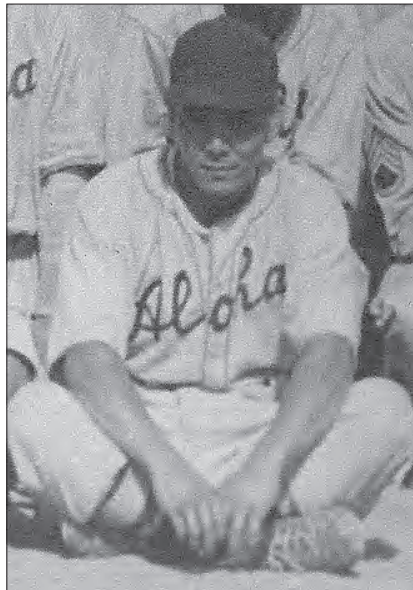
Gila River Eagles Camp Team

Camp high school players defeated the three-time state champions from Tucson, Arizona
 The Badgers lost to the Eagles 11–10 in ten innings
 With bases loaded, two outs and a 3–2 count on Harvey Zenimura, he ripped a line drive past third for the win



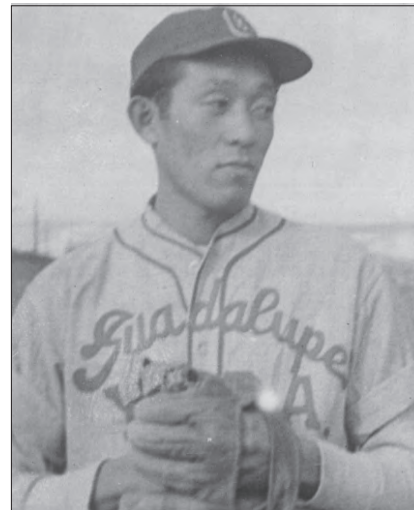
Bill Tsukamoto—Second base

Ht. 5'6" Wt. 150
 All-star for Florin Athletic Club
 Interned at Jerome, Arkansas
 Military Intelligence Service soldier at Ft. Snelling, Minnesota
 Led his all-star Nisei team to a 4–2 victory over N.Y. Yankee pitcher Spud Chandler by hitting a triple



Joe Takata—Shortstop

Ht. 5'9" Wt. 155
 All-star for the Hawaiian Asahi
 Volunteered and joined the 100th Infantry Battalion
 All-star for the 100th Infantry Battalion
 Faced the 34th Division team in North Africa and hit a walk off home run to win the game for the 100th
 The first Japanese American to be killed in action in Italy



James "Step" Tomooka—First base/Pitcher

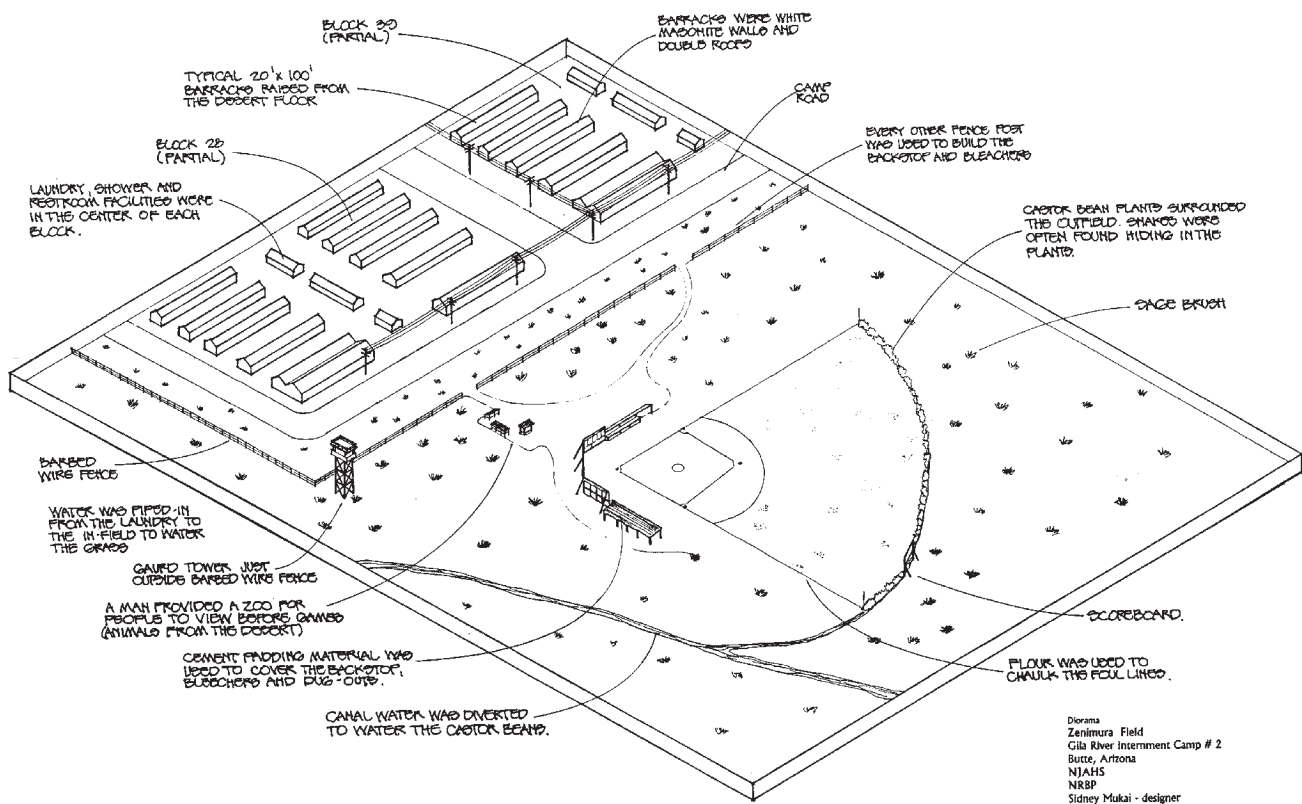
Ht. 5'10" Wt. 180
 All-star for Guadalupe Young Men's Buddhist Association
 Interned at Gila River, Arizona, and Tule Lake, California
 Forced to pitch because of team injuries
 Went on to become one the best camp pitchers at Tule Lake
 Went 7–0 with 28 strikeouts
 E.R.A. was 1.00

ACTIVITY: SPATIAL, ARTISTIC

Using the drawing below, design a 3-D representation of the barracks, guard tower, or bleachers in the drawing. The drawing includes a baseball field designed by Kenichi Zenimura in Gila River, Arizona. Kenichi Zenimura was the focus of the documentary and was known as the “Dean of the Diamond.”

In addition to designing a 3-D representation of the barracks, guard tower, or bleachers, write a poem that focuses on watching baseball from the perspective of an internee sitting on barrack steps, a guard in the guard tower, or a fan in the bleachers.

The drawing was done by designer Sidney Mukai, Fresno, California.



ACTIVITY: SPATIAL, ARTISTIC

Baseball was played at all 16 assembly centers, 10 concentration camps, and the four Department of Justice internment camps. Below are some baseball photographs from some of these camps. Discuss the following:

The baseball field
The players

The action
The dugout

The surroundings, e.g., barracks,
fences, guard tower, landscape
The fans



Imagine that you are placed in a camp and decide to form a baseball team. Design your team's logo or mascot. Develop two cartoons that depict your team in a camp. You may want to create captions as well. Two examples are below. These were drawn by Jack Matsuoka, author and artist of the book, *Poston: Camp II, Block 211*, San Mateo, CA: Asian American Curriculum Project, Inc., 2003.



ACTIVITY: SPATIAL, ARTISTIC

The packing labels below were designed as produce labels for Japanese-American farmers before World War II. Discuss why baseball might have been included in these labels.

Design an image that reflects the wartime employment of Japanese Americans in the camps. Think of the types of jobs they held (referencing Handout #1, *Japanese-American Internment*) and make sure that baseball is somehow incorporated into the image.



ACTIVITY: LINGUISTIC

Below are some important quotes from the documentary, *Diamonds in the Rough*. Imagine that you are a writer for a concentration camp newspaper. Write an editorial for the sports section based on one or more of these quotes.

“Through the prism of baseball, theirs is a story of culture, of history, and a proud heritage that will last for generations.”

“Putting on a baseball uniform was like wearing the American flag.”

“One irony was that these so-called enemy aliens could put on a baseball uniform and then travel from Gila River, Arizona, to Heart Mountain, Wyoming. If they were in civilian clothes, they would be arrested.” [Gila River and Heart Mountain were the sites of two concentration camps.]

“America imprisons Americans.”

“From sagebrush and sand to the ‘field of dreams,’ now it’s an olive orchard.”

“Americans keeping the all-American pastime alive, even behind barbed wire.”

“Baseball represented normalcy in the most abnormal conditions.”

ACTIVITY: LINGUISTIC

Kerry Yo Nakagawa, producer of the documentary, *Diamonds in the Rough*, has referred to baseball as a metaphor for life. He has also drawn parallels between playing baseball within the confines of detention camps and playing baseball in its traditional settings. For example, he has drawn comparisons between sandstorms and rainouts, barbed wire and homerun fences, and inter-camp and inter-league play.

Read and discuss the poem below by Lawson Inada.

“A Boy Among Men”

by Lawson Inada (perspective of batboy)

Don't be deceived
By the smiles.
These are tough,
Strong men
Wise to the ways
Of strategies
And survival

Don't be deceived
By the smiles.
These are the men
Who could handle
Crates and shovels,
Who could handle
Heat.

Don't be deceived
By the smiles.
These are the men

Who could shoulder
History,
Who could shoulder
Responsibility

Don't be deceived
By the smiles.
These are the men
Of serious
Spirit,
Of serious
Dignity.

Don't be deceived
By the smiles.
These are the men
Who could give
And take
As good as any,
On a level field.

Don't be deceived
By the smiles.
These are the men
Of grace
And skill,
Of power
And will,
Who could stride
From the shadows
Of barracks
And guardtowers
Just to play
A little ball—
Smiling!



Batboy Lawson Inada (first row, second from left)

For Discussion

- Discuss the feelings of Inada expressed in this poem.
- How does the fact that this poem was written by a Japanese-American batboy in camp affect your interpretation of the poem? How might you have interpreted the poem differently if you did not know that this poem was written by Japanese-American batboy in camp?
- Discuss what the words “history” and “responsibility” (in the third stanza) signify in this context.
- Discuss why Inada emphasizes “smiles” in the poem.

Haiku and tanka are two forms of Japanese poetry. Haiku poems consist of three lines of 5, 7, and 5 syllables and tanka poems consist of five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, and 7 syllables in Japanese. Haiku and tanka have become so popular outside of Japan that people write haiku and tanka in many different languages today. Below are some examples of haiku and tanka by Shiki Masaoka, translated by Ryoichi Suzuki. Please note that due to translation, the tanka and haiku poems are not written in the patterns listed above. Develop two haiku and two tanka focusing on baseball in the detention camps. Try to incorporate metaphors in your poems.

Tanka

Watching a baseball game
Which was initiated in America
A country so far away, it is no bore.

Now those three bases
Are filled with players,
While my heart is beating
Fast with excitement.

The batter swings, the ball whisks
Into the catcher’s mitt; the runner
Is kept stuck on the base.

Haiku

A field aglow
With young grasses
Children are playing ball

A dandelion
Rolled off a ball
Past the yellow flower

Cozy spring breeze
Over the grassy ground
How I want to play ball!

ACTIVITY: LINGUISTIC

You are news reporters during World War II. Using the film clip accessed through the following web site and referencing excerpts from the Fresno Assembly Center newspaper, *Grapevine*, below, write a 3-minute news broadcast on life in the assembly centers. Some suggested roles are: camp news reporter, sports news reporter, weather reporter. Do your best and remember that scribes and mike-men can also enter the Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum.

Nisei Baseball Research Project

<<http://www.niseibaseball.com/movies5.htm%20>>

ALL AN ACTIVE CENTER RESIDENT VOTE!

FRESNO Grapevine

SERVICE DIVISION
 HOLIDAY DAYS
 FRIDAY
 SATURDAY

VOL. II, No. 4
Fresno Assembly Center, California
August 12, 1942

RESIDENTS TO ELECT PANEL OF 21


* * * * *

HOG PRODUCING CLASS TO BE STARTED SOON

"New courses in hog production and leadership are being offered for boys of high school age by the Agriculture Department education division. Textbooks have been loaned to the department by a local high school for use in livestock classes. Classes are now divided with separate sessions for adults and high school boys. Hog production classes to be held twice weekly will be led by Takashi Mori."

ISSEI, NISEI 16 AND OVER MAY PARTICIPATE

A panel of 21 persons to form an advisory council will be elected by the residents, both issei and nisei who are 16 years and older, on August 19 under the W.C.C.A.'s new election program. From this panel, seven persons will be selected by Center Manager E.P. Pulliam to form the advisory committee. Deadline for the nomination of persons to appear on the ballot is 4:30 p.m. Saturday, August 15. Nomination blanks are available at either the Center Manager's Office or the information centers. All persons over 16 years of age, either issei or nisei may become candidates (Cont'd on pg. 4 col. 1)



F. H. H. - K.

'VOCATIONAL READJUSTMENT' FORUM TOPIC

Vocational Readjustment of the Nisei will be the Adult Forum discussion topic tomorrow evening in Recreation Hall 2 at 8 o'clock with Howard Renge, Boalt Hall law student and Associate Editor of the GRAPEVINE serving as moderator. Kay Mano, Tomie Matsuda, Kiyoshi Hamanaka and Walter Pollock will speak on different aspects of the subject followed by open discussion from the floor. Miss Mano will present pro-evacuation vocational statistics of Japanese in America followed by a discussion of readjustment within Centers by Miss Matsuda. Hamanaka will touch on vocational education and Pollock will explain

APPLICATIONS FOR ABSENTEE VOTERS AVAILABLE HERE

All Center residents from Fresno County who are eligible to vote may get their applications for absentee ballots from Seiichi Mikami in the Welfare Office in Women's Shower Annex C or Johnson Kebo, I-15-1. Sacramento County citizens may get their forms from Hugh Kiino, K-16-1. Marked ballots can be notarized by contacting either Mikami or Kobo.

TURN IN SUGAR RATION BOOKS

Are you one of the 75 per cent of the Center residents who still possess a sugar ration book? If so, please comply

LIKE CARVING? DON'T PRACTICE ON FIG TREES

"Defacing or carving on the trees, maltreatment of equipment and damaging of other government property is a misdemeanor and a violation is subject to severe punishment," announced W. W. Vaughan, Chief of the interior police. A list of all lost and found articles will be posted at each Mess Hall bulletin board weekly. Residents should check the list each week since many

ACTIVITY: QUANTITATIVE

Read the article, "The Battle of the Center Title," from the 1944 *Baseball Tule Lake Center* publication below. The Tule Lake Class A championship of 1944 was played between Guadalupe, the Taiseiyo league winner, and T.L. Nippons, the Taiheiyo league winner. Imagine that you are a record keeper. Referencing the records on the following pages, write a short article describing how the games were played.

THE BATTLE FOR THE CENTER TITLE

Guadalupe, titlist of the Taiseiyo circuit and winner of the mid-summer July tournament, distinguished itself as the mightiest of all center baseball nines, climaxing their five-month unmatched campaign by taking three straight in the September playoffs against the T.L. Nippons, Taiheiyo flag winners, to easily claim the 1944 Tule Lake Class A baseball championship.

GUADALUPE - 12, T.L. Nippons - 11

Equipped with a neatly arranged array of horsehide performers, the 1944 champions carved out a hard-earned 12 to 11 triumph in the opener after encountering surprisingly stiff opposition from their opponents to take a 1 to 0 lead in the series and a foothold on the flag,

GUADALUPE - 15, T.L. NIPPONS - 0

The second game of the lopsided series featured a wild goose chase by the T.L. Nippons. They were credited with nine goose eggs while Guadalupe went through the motions to post its second consecutive victory, 15 to 0.

GUADALUPE - 8, T.L. NIPPONS - 3

Guadalupe grabbed the finale and the championship, downing the Taiheiyo permant winners, 8 to 3.

The momentous title series was paralleled by the Poston-Mahzanar tilt which saw the squads engage in a dramatic 14-inning thriller, a struggle by far the most feverish and the longest record. The lengthy battle was clocked at over three and a half hours. It was played for the purpose of breaking a second-place Taiseiyo League deadlock. Poston earned the coveted position by outlasting Lanza-



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nar, 8 to 5.

True rabidness of the local diamond fandom was unveiled during this colorful brawl which saw differences in opinion voiced by the spectators and fists fly between a few of the more rabid baseball followers. This incident gained center-wide recognition as well as the attention of out-of-town newspapers.

Jerome, runnerup in the Taiheiyō League and Poston dropped out of the playoffs in favor of the two league champions, Guadalupe and the T.L. Nippons.

Guadalupe's efforts in the championship series were recognized with the presentation of two banners by the Community Activities Section and the Newell Star.

BATTING, PITCHING RECORDS OF SERIES...

(Compiled by Newell Star)

GUADALUPE'S BATTING AND FIELDING AVERAGES

| | G | AB | R | H | 2B | 3B | HR | TB | RBI | Pct. | PO | A | E | Pct. |
|------------------|-----|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|-----|------|----|---|---|-------|
| H. Tomooka, lf | 3 | 12 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | .250 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Y. Tomooka, rf | 3 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | .364 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Nishino, 2b | 3 | 15 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 5 | .400 | 7 | 9 | 1 | .941 |
| Iriyama, ss | 3 | 17 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 | .235 | 8 | 8 | 3 | .842 |
| J. Tomooka, lb,p | 3 | 16 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 12 | 6 | .500 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| I. Tomooka, cf | 3 | 11 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 | .272 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Sorakubo, c | 3 | 11 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | .182 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Nishimura, p,lb | 3 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | .429 | 8 | 3 | 1 | .917 |
| Sakamoto, 3b | 3 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 2 | .385 | 2 | 6 | 1 | .889 |
| Koyanagi, p | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 4 | .750 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Murakami, rf | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 |
| TOTAL | 118 | 35 | | | | | | | | .347 | | | | .948 |

T.L. NIPPONS' BATTING AND FIELDING AVERAGES

| | G | AB | R | H | 2B | 3B | HR | TB | RBI | Pct. | PO | A | E | Pct. |
|----------------|---|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|-----|------|----|----|---|-------|
| Kawano, cf | 3 | 14 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | .286 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Yamasaki, 2b | 3 | 11 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | .455 | 6 | 11 | 2 | .895 |
| J. Shimada, ss | 3 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | .083 | 7 | 8 | 3 | .833 |
| Negi, lb | 3 | 12 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 3 | .417 | 24 | 1 | 0 | 1.000 |

(continued on page 54)

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HITTING, HURLING FIGURES OF THE SERIES

(continued from page 22)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|-----|---|----|---|---|---|----|---|------|----|---|---|-------|
| Kimoto, c | 3 | 12 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 5 | .500 | 12 | 4 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Miyamoto, rf | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Komura, lf | 3 | 11 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 1 | .545 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Domen, 3b | 3 | 12 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | .083 | 6 | 5 | 1 | .917 |
| S. Tsujita, rf,p | 3 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | .111 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Sakuma, p | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | .333 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Tsuda, p | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | .250 | 0 | 3 | 1 | .750 |
| Y. Shimada, p,lf | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Takimoto, ss | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1.000 |
| T. Tsujita, c | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Kuroda, 2b | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 2 | 0 | 1 | .667 |
| Okamura, 1b | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 |
| Higashi, 3b | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 |
| TOTAL | | 115 | | 31 | | | | | | .270 | | | | .936 |

GUADALUPE'S PITCHING RECORDS

| | G | CG | IP | R | H | BB | SO | WP | HB | W | L | Pct. |
|------------|---|----|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|-------|
| Nishimura | 2 | 1 | 16 1/3 | 14 | 24 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1.000 |
| Koyanagi | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1.000 |
| J. Tomooka | 2 | 0 | 3 2/3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1.000 |

T.L. NIPPONS' PITCHING RECORDS

| | G | CG | IP | R | H | BB | SO | WP | HB | W | L | Pct. |
|------------|---|----|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|------|
| Tsuda | 2 | 0 | 11 | 10 | 17 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | .000 |
| Y. Shimada | 2 | 0 | 6 2/3 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | .000 |
| Sakuma | 2 | 0 | 6 | 19 | 15 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 |
| S. Tsujita | 1 | 0 | 2 1/3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .000 |



ACTIVITY: BODILY-KINESTHETIC

Imagine that you are in the stands cheering for a baseball team in camp. Choreograph a cheer that not only inspires the team and enlivens the audiences but also sends out a message about life in the detention camps. Incorporate one or more of the concepts below.

Team sports

Acculturation

Ethnicity

Discrimination

Cross-cultural conflict

Conflict management

Civil liberties

Civil rights

ACTIVITY: BODILY-KINESTHETIC

Japanese Latin Americans

During World War II, 2,264 members of the Japanese community in Latin America (*issei*, *nisei*, and some Latin American women married to Japanese) were deported to and interned in the United States. Many of the Japanese Latin Americans (1,799 of the total) were from Peru. The U.S. government forced their migration over international borders and their internment in the U.S. Department of Justice internment camps. Most of the Japanese Latin Americans were interned in a former migrant labor camp at Crystal City, Texas. They were interned for several reasons: their race; their influential roles as community leaders, farmers, or businesspeople; anti-immigrant sentiments; and their perceived threat to Allied interests. This was all done without indictments or hearings.

Over 800 Japanese Latin Americans were included in prisoner-of-war exchanges with Japan that took place in 1942 and 1943. The remaining Japanese Latin Americans were interned until the end of the war. Because their passports were confiscated en route to the United States, these internees were declared “illegal aliens,” and during the war they were told that they would be deported to Japan or to Japan-occupied territories. Over 350 Japanese Peruvians remained in the United States and fought deportation in the courts with hopes of returning to their homes in Peru. At first, the Peruvian government refused to re-admit any Japanese Peruvians, even those who were Peruvian citizens or married to Peruvian citizens. As a result, between November 1945 and June 1946, over 900 Japanese Peruvians were deported to war-devastated Japan. Eventually, about 100 Japanese Peruvians were able to return to Peru. It was not until June 1952 that the Japanese Peruvians who stayed in the United States were allowed to begin the process of becoming permanent residents. Later, many became U.S. citizens.

Below is a photograph of a baseball team from Crystal City Internment Camp, Texas. Most of the boys in the photograph are Japanese Peruvians. Arthur Shibayama (front row, third from the left) was 13 when he was forced to leave Peru with his family. The Shibayamas had owned a thriving business in Lima, Peru, and lost everything including their business, home, and car. Develop a five-minute role play set in Crystal City Internment Camp. The role play should capture a conversation between Arthur and other Japanese Peruvians.



Crystal City Internment Camp baseball team.



Arthur Shibayama in the U.S. Army.

■ ACTIVITY: MUSICAL

“Take Me Out to the Ballgame” is traditionally sung during the seventh inning stretch of many U.S. baseball games. Rewrite the song lyrics for “Take Me Out to the Ballgame”—capturing the playing of baseball in the detention camps. Prepare to sing the song to the rest of the class.

Original lyrics:

*Take me out to the ball game,
Take me out with the crowd.
Buy me some peanuts and Cracker Jacks,
I don't care if I never get back,
For it's root, root, root for the home team,
If they don't win it's a shame.
For it's one, two, three strikes, you're out,
At the old ball game.*

ACTIVITY: MUSICAL

The Question of Loyalty

In February 1943, after the internment of Japanese Americans from the West Coast had been completed, the War Department and the War Relocation Authority required all of those incarcerated, 17 years of age and older, to answer a questionnaire, which presumably tested their “loyalty” to the United States. Two questions proved to be particularly troubling.

Question #27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question #28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

As a group, debate whether the government had the right to ask Japanese Americans in detention camps to serve in the military. Also, discuss the specific wording of both questions. Would you have volunteered to fight for the U.S. Army had you been in the camps? How would you have answered these questions?

Over 2,300 *nisei* volunteered to join the U.S. Army from detention camps. Others answered “no-no” on both questions. There were also several hundred “draft resisters of conscience,” a name later given to those Japanese Americans who answered “yes-yes” (or provided qualified responses) to questions #27 and #28 but refused to serve in the U.S. military. Many felt it hypocritical that the U.S. government was asking them to serve their country when it had denied them their rights as citizens.

On special occasions, the U.S. national anthem was sung before ballgames in camp. Read the U.S. national anthem lyrics below. Discuss the singing of the anthem in the confines of a detention camp. Keeping in mind the perspectives of *nisei* who volunteered to serve in the U.S. Army and those who resisted, reenact a scene from the beginning of a baseball game in camp. Incorporate the anthem as well.

*Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming.
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say, does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?*

ACTIVITY: INTERPERSONAL

Have your teacher make copies of the section in Kerry Yo Nakagawa's book, *Through a Diamond: 100 Years of Japanese American Baseball*, titled "Nisei Soldier-Ballplayers," pages 93–95. Read the section and discuss the role of Japanese Americans in the U.S. military during World War II. Discuss the question: how does Ted Williams' last at bat compare to the last at bat of Joe Takata?

Using some of the people mentioned on pages 93–95, e.g., Joe Takata, John Murakami, Milton Eisenhower, General Ryder, create a three- to four-minute script of these people talking. You can choose a setting. Prepare to read this script in front of the class.



ACTIVITIES: INTERPERSONAL

Below is a letter from Kenichi Zenimura to Coach Hanley Slagle of Tucson. Kenichi Zenimura was the focus of the documentary and was known as the “Dean of the Diamond.” Read the letter and write a response on behalf of Coach Hanley Slagle.

April 26, 1945

To the Members of Tuscon B.B. Team:

It was a great disappointment to myself and to the members of the Butte baseball team when we learned of the cancellation of our return game.

We know the circumstances which necessitated the cancellation and understand your position in the decision you had to take.

This war has created many unpleasant incidents and I am sorry to have put you and yours in this spot in your district. I can only hope that in due time the difference in opinion can be overcome and that we may be able to resume our athletic rivalry.

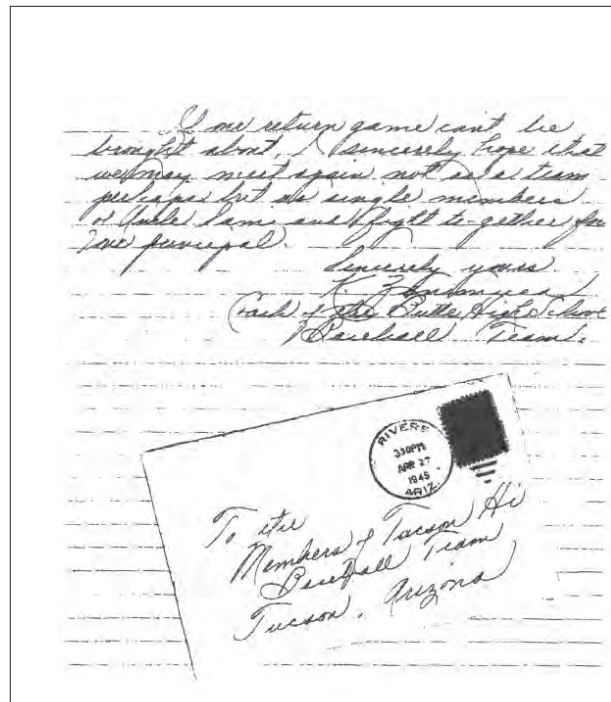
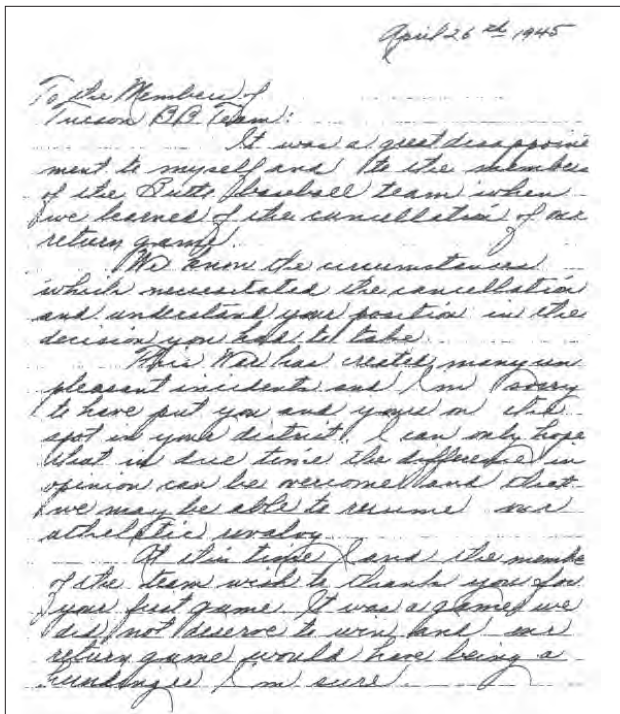
At this time I and the members of the team wish to thank you for your first game. It was a game we did not deserve to win and our return game would have being [sic] a humdinger I'm sure.

If our return game can't be brought about, I sincerely hope that we may meet again not as a team perhaps but as single members of Uncle Sam and fight together for one principal.

Sincerely yours,

K. Zenimura

Coach of the Butte High School Baseball Team



ACTIVITIES: INTRAPERSONAL

Below are photos of fans watching baseball games played in camps. What do you see in the photos? Describe the age range of the fans. How are they dressed? Describe their facial expressions.



Read the following perspectives of former fans of baseball in the camps. Using these perspectives, create a dialog of fans either discussing their excitement before going to a baseball game or during the game, or their reflections after the game.

Quotes from former fans

1. Toshi Yano (Poston, Arizona) “I knew all the boys on the team. We used to follow them all over. They were all single guys. Baseball was the thing to do. Once you started going, you didn’t want to miss any games. It is really exciting watching baseball. We had that baseball fever. My brother got fired from his job because he would rather play baseball than show up for work.”
2. Sox Kitashima (Topaz, Utah) “My brothers were players and one was a baseball announcer; one brother was a shortstop. Baseball was a way to keep our sanity. We were a baseball family. I even have a baseball jersey that was made in camp.”
3. Margerie Imaizumi Fletcher (Santa Anita Assembly Center, California) “I remember the San Diego Falcons playing baseball. They showed one movie in the two months that we were there, so baseball was the main attraction for us fans.”
4. Dr. Minol Ota (Heart Mountain, Wyoming) “Baseball was very entertaining because there was nothing to do. The San Jose Zebras had a good camp team. Every Sunday, the *issei* provided chicken soup for the players.”
5. Fumie Margerie Ota (Jerome, Arkansas) “It was like a lifeline. It was very important to the communities and especially for my parents. We cannot forget the pioneers that helped pave the way for all these pro players. My brother George was on the Jerome, Arkansas camp team that beat Arkansas A&M six to zero.”
6. Nori Masuda (Jerome, Arkansas) “It was the only outdoor entertainment that everyone understood. All ages could enjoy watching. Internees looked forward to attending games; baseball provided something that they could look forward to.”
7. Babe Utsumi (Stockton Yamato ballplayer, California) “My father was one of those enthusiastic *issei*, even on hot days they’d be so proper, sitting out there watching the game in their suits and neckties.”
8. Alice Hinaga (star *nisei* ballplayer of the Women’s Night League) “If it was baseball, my father would drop anything to see it. Baseball was ‘it’ for the *issei*. That was their *tanoshimi* (something to look forward to).”
9. Sayo Kubo (Fresno Assembly Center, California) “My mom and dad would say tomorrow is BBC (Baseball Crazy) day, and would be so excited.”
10. Matsuko Iriyama (Gila River, Arizona and Tule Lake, California) “I enjoyed the baseball games. Kobe was my home town in Japan where I first watched baseball. I used to watch my future husband play ball at Gila River and Tule Lake.”
11. Aya Muto Mitsui (Manzanar, California) “I was the *yakamashi* (noisy) type. I really whooped it up and clapped so hard my hands hurt. I got many stares from the opposing team.”

HANDOUT #1:

JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT

For many *nisei* (or second-generation Japanese Americans), December 7, 1941 was like a nightmare come true. On that Sunday morning, naval and air forces of the Japanese empire attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The following day, the United States, the *nisei*'s land of birth, officially declared war upon Japan, the *nisei*'s land of ancestry. How would Americans at large perceive the *nisei*? Would Americans distinguish between *nisei* and the Japanese enemy? For the *nisei*, these questions were very real. The situation was even more uncertain for many *issei*, whose inability to naturalize deprived them of any real political voice. What would be their fates? In the end, the U.S. media would often make no distinction between Japanese Americans and Japanese imperial soldiers. One *Los Angeles Times* editorial noted:

A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched . . . So, a Japanese American born of Japanese parents, nurtured upon Japanese traditions, living in a transplanted Japanese atmosphere and thoroughly inoculated with Japanese . . . ideals, notwithstanding his nominal brand of accidental citizenship almost inevitably and with the rarest exceptions grows up to be a Japanese, and not an American . . .¹

This racial fear and prejudice combined with other forces—desire for economic gain, hysteria generated by yellow journalism, political opportunism, and a sincere concern for national safety—and resulted in a complex mixture of motives that impelled the U.S. government to forcibly intern over 110,000 people of Japanese descent, two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, from the West Coast in concentration camps located in isolated regions of the United States. Some have referred to this episode as “one of America’s worst civil liberties disasters.”

Yellow Peril and Yellow Journalism

Fear of Japanese-American subversion stemmed in large part from notions of the “yellow peril,” a term used to describe the dangers of the United States being “over-



whelmed by waves of yellow [i.e., Asian] soldiers aided by alien enemies within the gates.”² In 1881 and 1882, for example, California publicists produced works that described the successful invasion and conquest of the United States by hordes of Chinese. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act banned immigration to the United States from China. By the turn of the century, Japan appeared to be the new threat and Japanese immigrants inherited American beliefs about “Orientals” with representations of Chinese. For example, the notion that Chinese immigrants were supposedly “inassimilable” was often applied to the Japanese immigrants as well. Although Japan was an isolated and technologically unadvanced nation as late as the 1850s, by 1894 it had won its first modern naval battle against China. In 1905, Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. This was the first Asian victory over a Western power in the modern era.

In the West, Japan’s victory over Russia sparked fears of Asian world domination. Shortly after the Russo-Japanese War, newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst adopted “yellow peril” notions and widely disseminated them through his newspaper, the *San Francisco Examiner*. In 1907, a two-part Sunday supplement entitled “Japan May Seize the Pacific Coast” noted that, “the Yellow Peril is here.” Notions of the “yellow peril,” however, were not confined to the pages of newspapers. Popular literature, too, contained similar motifs. Existing notions of racial and

¹Quoted in Brian Niiya, *Japanese American History* (New York: Facts on File, 1993) p. 54.

²Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) p. 29.

ethnic superiority, made popular during the early part of the 20th century, may also have fueled anti-Japanese sentiments in the United States.

Furthermore, by applying the dehumanizing term “Jap” to any ethnically Japanese person, the front pages of daily newspapers blurred the distinction between Japanese Americans and imperial Japanese troops. For instance, one edition of the *San Francisco Examiner*, published around the time of evacuation, declared in a boldfaced headline, “OUSTER OF ALL JAPS IN CALIFORNIA NEAR!” That same front page contained an article on the battles that were being waged in Indonesia. The title of the latter article read “Thousands of Allies Face Japs in Java.” Representations such as these perpetuated public confusion and the spread of misinformation.

In addition to these forms of propaganda, more practical concerns helped to create wide public support for the removal of Japanese Americans from their homes. Economically speaking, the evacuation and internment represented an opportunity for working class interests—particularly farming interests—to eliminate competition. Efforts to inhibit Japanese upward mobility had been made in the past. Anti-Japanese propagandists argued that Japanese farmers displaced white farmers. Not surprisingly, then, farming organizations joined with other groups to form a powerful coalition in support of the evacuation.

What Happened?

The Differing Visions of the Department of Justice and the Military

How exactly did anti-Japanese sentiments on the West Coast turn into a federally-approved mass internment, involving national-level institutions? While many locally-elected politicians supported the evacuation, within bureaucratic circles at the federal level, the push toward mass evacuation came not from civil leaders, but rather from military ones. This tension between civil and military bureaucrats is perhaps best evidenced in the clash between the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the U.S. Army over the presumed wisest course with respect to the West Coast “Japanese problem.” Whereas the DOJ was content to leave people of Japanese descent on the West Coast unmolested and advocated only a moderate crackdown on alien activity, the Army pressed for wholesale evacuation.

In the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, the DOJ, under the direction of Attorney General Francis Biddle, directed the FBI to round up a predetermined number of “dangerous” enemy aliens including Germans and Italians. This initial roundup involved several thousands per-

sons, about half of whom were *issei*. These *issei* were mostly leaders of various Japanese organizations and Japanese religious groups, which the government perceived as potential threats to national security.

Two military figures played key roles in turning this relatively contained, civil internment of aliens into a mass military internment of all ethnic Japanese persons (both aliens and U.S. citizens). Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, believed that internment would prevent any “Pearl Harbors” from happening on the West Coast. Provost Marshal General Allen W. Gullion was the top military police officer responsible for maintaining civil order in military-controlled areas. Gullion, a legal intellectual of sorts, was interested in the legalities pertaining to military control over civilian populations during times of war. He argued that the military could not legally interfere with civilian lives unless, as in the state of martial law, it was approved by civilian leaders. Although martial law was never declared on the West Coast, it was declared a “Theater of Operations” on December 11, 1941. Although this declaration was not made with Japanese Americans in mind, it ultimately provided the U.S. Army and the courts with the legal legitimization necessary to place civilians under military control.

On January 25, 1942, the Roberts Commission, a body that investigated the bombing of Pearl Harbor, issued its findings. The commission did not blame the resident Japanese population in Hawaii for the success of the attack, but neither did it go out of its way to pardon them. The publication of the report was a sensation and stimulated many false rumors regarding Japanese fifth-column activity in Hawaii. The “fifth column” refers to people within national borders who engage in espionage or sabotage for an enemy country.

Despite their resolve to evacuate and intern aliens, DeWitt and Gullion were military men, not publicly elected officials, which meant that they could not formulate the domestic policy necessary to carry out their plan. Moreover, since the DOJ, in particular Attorney General Biddle, did not support the idea of mass evacuation or any interference with civilians, the War Department began a lobbying effort among local politicians to gain the support they needed.

Over the course of the next three weeks, DeWitt and Gullion approached various West Coast politicians to convince them of the need to evacuate. While members of the War Department argued with members of the DOJ

over the perceived necessity of evacuation, these local politicians continued to fan the flames of war hysteria.

On February 11, Secretary of War Stimson called President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Shortly thereafter, Stimson's assistant telephoned Gullion's assistant to inform him of the "good news":

we talked to the President and the President . . . says go ahead and do anything you think necessary . . . if it involves citizens, we will take care of them too. He says there will probably be some repercussions, but it has got to be dictated by military necessity, but as he puts it, "Be as reasonable as you can."³

Despite the objections of a few policymakers, including Attorney General Biddle, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. Citing the need to protect against espionage and sabotage, Executive Order 9066 granted the Army, through the Secretary of War, the authority that Gullion had so long sought. The words "Japanese" or "Japanese Americans" did not appear in the order, but it was they, and they alone, who felt its sting.⁴ In the entire course of war, 10 people were convicted of spying for Japan. All of them were Caucasian.

Japanese-American Responses

The response of the Japanese-American community to the evacuation and internment was mixed. While some viewed them as opportunities to contribute to the war effort and demonstrate loyalty to the United States, others objected to the process as a violation of civil rights. Many Japanese Americans fell into the former category, led by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), an influential Japanese-American political organization. As an organization, the JACL believed in the integrity of the U.S. government, and thus encouraged the Japanese-American community to fully cooperate with evacuation and internment. Some of its leaders, for example, acted as informants for federal intelligence agencies by turning over the names of Japanese (both alien and U.S. citizens) they felt were potentially subversive.

The Japanese Americans who objected were relatively weaker in voice. One notable individual who argued against acceptance and cooperation was James Omura, a journalist from San Francisco, who testified before Congress that, "I am strongly opposed to mass evacuation of American-born Japanese. It is my honest belief that such

an action would not solve the question of *nisei* loyalty."⁵ Omura's opposition sprang from his sense of its injustice and of the ignoble motives behind the evacuation. Omura and other Japanese Americans who objected to internment also objected to the Japanese Americans who accepted internment, creating a divide in the Japanese-American community itself.

Other Japanese Americans expressed their objections to the evacuation by deliberately violating one or more of the evacuation orders. These violations were attempts to test the legality of the evacuation in the courts. Four notable Japanese Americans had their cases taken to the Supreme Court. Minoru Yasui, an attorney from Portland, violated a military curfew order which required that all persons of Japanese ancestry be indoors between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. Gordon Hirabayashi, a student at the University of Washington, challenged evacuation orders by refusing to register himself with federal authorities. Fred Korematsu, a welder from the Oakland area, was arrested for failing to report to Tanforan assembly center—one of 16 temporary camps that detained Japanese Americans before they were transferred to concentration camps. All three men were convicted for their violations and in each case, the Supreme Court upheld their convictions. The fourth legal case that tested the constitutionality of the mass internment of Japanese Americans was brought under the name of Mitsuye Endo, an employee at the California Department of Motor Vehicles. Endo's attorneys argued that it was illegal for the government to detain her without trial while martial law was not declared. Although the Supreme Court, on December 18, 1944, ruled unanimously that Mitsuye Endo should be given her liberty, it failed to address the larger constitutional issues underlying the case. Thus, although Endo resulted in a technical "victory" for Japanese Americans, the legality of the internment remained unresolved.

Despite the anti-Japanese hysteria that existed on the West Coast, not all policymakers were persuaded of the need to intern Japanese Americans. Most of the debate regarding this issue existed between the military and the DOJ, the military being for internment and the DOJ being against it. Similarly, a debate existed within the Japanese-American community itself, between those who accepted internment and those who did not. In the end, however, the objections were overruled in favor of mass internment and the process of evacuation began.

³Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, 65.

⁴Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, 70–71.

⁵Hearings Before the Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Part 29, February 21 and 23, 1942 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1942) p. 11229.

The Internment Years

Despite intelligence reports that claimed only a fraction of the Japanese-American population on the West Coast could be considered dangerous, the FBI took in over 5,000 *issei* and *nisei* in the months after Pearl Harbor. Those picked up in the initial roundup were largely *issei* who held special positions in the Japanese-American community. Many were sent directly to Department of Justice internment camps where they were held anywhere from a few months to the duration of the war. In the wake of Pearl Harbor, the government also froze Japanese branch bank assets, seized “contraband” items (including cameras, weapons, and radio transmitters), and imposed travel restrictions and curfews on the Japanese-American population on the West Coast.

During this period, close to 1,000 Japanese-American “suspects” in Hawaii were also rounded up, placed in a detention center in Hawaii, and later removed to special camps run by the Department of Justice. However, a wholesale evacuation of the Japanese-American population in Hawaii was never completed, although it was initially proposed by the military. Such a policy would have meant the removal of over one-third of the state’s population and the bulk of its skilled labor force. Thus, U.S. Army and Navy authorities rejected internment in Hawaii as being too costly and logistically complex.

These same arguments did not seem to apply to the mainland Japanese-American population, however. With the urging of military authorities and despite the protests of some Department of Justice officials, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. This order allowed the Secretary of War to designate military areas in which unauthorized people could not enter or remain. Individuals without permission to be in these designated areas, that is, Japanese Americans, would be evacuated.

Early Implementation of Evacuation

The military first exercised its new authority on the residents of Terminal Island. The military considered this island, located 25 miles south of downtown Los Angeles, California, a “strategic” location. On February 26, 1942, the Japanese-American residents of Terminal Island were given 48 hours to leave. These “evacuees,” a term often used to refer to those affected by the evacuation, were temporarily placed in churches and community centers before being sent off to assembly centers and concentration camps. The Terminal Island incident was simply a precursor of the impending mass evacuation.

On March 2, 1942, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, issued Public Proclamation No. 1 which classified most of the West Coast states as Military Area No. 1 (see Handout #3, *World War II Detention Camps*). The proclamation called for the military to evict Japanese, German, and Italian aliens. However, DeWitt stated that German and Italian aliens would only be evicted after the completion of a Japanese evacuation. In the end, the only group of citizens affected by the proclamation was U.S.-born Japanese. Although a program of voluntary evacuation was briefly attempted, it was ultimately unsuccessful.

Evacuation

By late March, the government decided that both mandatory evacuation and relocation were necessary, but could not be done simultaneously. The government also began looking for sites for both temporary assembly centers and permanent concentration camps to facilitate the two-step removal process. The military controlled the process of evacuation and the construction of the assembly centers while the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA), a civilian agency, oversaw the administration of the assembly centers. Another civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), coordinated the relocation of the Japanese Americans after they left the assembly centers.

On March 24, the military began its full-scale evacuation program when it issued its first exclusion order on Bainbridge Island, Washington. After Bainbridge, exclusion orders were sent to Japanese Americans living in 98 other exclusion zones within Military Area No. 1. Evacuees were given between seven and ten days to move out. Posted notices informed the evacuees that they had to register at the Civil Control Office; could only bring what they could carry; and should bring the following for their evacuation:

- (a) Bedding and linens (no mattresses) for each member of the family;
- (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
- (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
- (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls, and cups for each member of the family;
- (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family⁶

⁶John L. DeWitt, “Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast,” 1943, pp. 99–100, quoted from the Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher’s Inc., 1976) p. 111.

Families were also informed through these posted notices that there would be no shipping services available, and any storage of their property by the government would be at the owner's risk. The military gave no information about the evacuees' final destination, only that transportation would be provided. Once registered, each family was given a number and told when and where to assemble on evacuation day.

The suddenness of the evacuation gave evacuees little time to prepare for their removal. Many had to abandon, give away, or sell all of their belongings. Some evacuees trusted friends to watch over their property, sometimes with the power of attorney mandate. Junk dealers and bargain hunters sought out evacuee homes to get good deals on items the evacuees were forced to sell.

On assigned days, Japanese Americans, tagged with their family numbers and carrying all of their belongings, gathered at designated spots in groups of about 500. They were loaded onto buses and trains to be transported to one of 16 hastily constructed assembly centers. The ride was often hours long and although food was supposed to be provided, some evacuees recall not being fed for the entire journey. Armed military guards accompanied the buses and trains, and the windows were closed and blacked out. By June 6, 1942, all Japanese Americans—approximately 92,000 people—had been removed from Military Area No. 1.



Assembly Centers

The government planned to send all Japanese Americans to concentration camps in the interior of the country, away from the coast and other areas deemed “strategic.” However, these camps had not yet been constructed when evacuation was complete, so the Japanese-American evacuees spent about three months in “assembly centers” that were located in Military Area No. 1. These assembly centers held the evacuees until the inland concentration camps were finished.

Upon reaching their destinations, evacuees were led by cordons of armed guards into the assembly centers, which were operated under maximum-level security conditions. The assembly centers were surrounded by barbed wire, watched from guard towers, and patrolled by soldiers. It was only upon arrival at these centers that many evacuees fully understood that they were being held as prisoners and enemies of the United States.

Thirteen assembly centers were constructed in California and one each in Washington, Oregon, and Arizona. At their peak, most centers housed between 3,000 and 7,000 evacuees. The largest center at Santa Anita housed over 18,000 people. Generally, the centers were nothing more than modified race tracks, fairgrounds, and livestock pavilions. These places were selected because they had built-in infrastructure for water, electricity, and sewage. The cost to administer the centers was between 25 cents and 73 cents per day per evacuee.⁷

After arriving at the assembly centers, each family was assigned to an “apartment.” As a result of the short timeline and pressure to keep costs low during construction, the apartments were often windowless rooms with gaps in the walls and low ceilings. Housing constructed from pre-existing livestock stalls often retained the odors of its previous animal residents. Partitions between apartments did not reach the ceilings, ostensibly for “ventilation purposes.” This decreased the privacy of the evacuees, since they could hear everything going on in the next room. Each family apartment consisted of one room that was supposed to be provided with cots, blankets, mattresses, a bare light bulb, and a stove. However, there were often not enough of these supplies for everyone.

The U.S. Army stated that “for the preservation of the family unit” they would house grandparents, parents, and children together. In many cases, though, small families had to share apartments, and large dormitories were built for single men and women. At Tanforan Race Track in Burlingame, California, one “dormitory” was home to 400 bachelors. Eight-person families were assigned to 20 ft. by 25 ft. rooms, six-person families to 12 ft. by 20 ft. rooms, and four-person families to 8 ft. by 20 ft. rooms.

The average stay at the assembly centers was 100 days. Most evacuees arrived sometime between March and May of 1942. This meant that they spent a long, hot summer

⁷Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1976) p. 79.

in the centers. The cramped wooden apartments did nothing to relieve the stifling heat of those centers located in inland California.

Meals became the focal point of an evacuee's day. At every meal, evacuees waited in lines for hours outside the mess halls. The diet of Vienna sausages and bread differed greatly from their traditional menu of rice, vegetables, and fish. On average, the WCCA spent 45 cents per day feeding each evacuee. Evacuees felt the need to eat quickly since they knew their family and friends were waiting outside. The mess hall atmosphere made it difficult for families to spend mealtimes together. Children often ate with their friends, and the hurried pace left little time for families to talk even if they did eat together. As a result, many families began to lose their cohesion.

Life in the assembly centers was communal. Eating, showering, and using the toilet were all done with the other evacuees. Until evacuees protested, the outhouse facilities had no partitions, only one long bench with holes. Despite this environment, evacuees tried to make the best of their situation. They established schools, hospitals, churches, sports teams, and other organizations. These groups worked with limited funds and supplies but were a source of distraction and stability for the evacuees, who were still unsure of what the future held for them.

Internment

While the evacuees tried to adjust to life in the assembly centers, more permanent concentration camps were being built for the final stage of removal. A total of 10 concentration camps, four Department of Justice internment camps, and two citizen isolation camps were built. The Department of Justice internment camps held enemy aliens individually deemed dangerous by the government, many of them *issei* who were arrested immediately after Pearl Harbor. The Department of Justice also administered the citizen isolation camps, which held *issei* arrested during the initial roundup, their families, some German and Italian enemy aliens, and a group of Japanese Latin Americans (described later in this reading). The majority of Japanese Americans were transported to the concentration camps.

As early as May 1942, the U.S. Army began moving evacuees from the assembly centers to concentration camps. By November 3, all Japanese Americans from the West Coast were housed in concentration camps under the control of the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the governmental agency charged with administering the concentration camps. The WRA was given wide discretion

in its powers, including the right to “[p]rovide, insofar as feasible and desirable, for the employment of such persons [Japanese Americans] at useful work in industry, commerce, agriculture, on public projects, prescribe the terms and positions of such public employment, and safeguard the public interest in the private employment of such persons.”⁸

In more than 125 groups of 500 each, evacuees rode trains and buses to the remote camp locations. The rides were long and difficult. Only infants and the physically disabled were provided with sleeping berths. The government promised the evacuees that the concentration camps would be more accommodating and less restrictive than the assembly centers.

The camp sites were selected by the U.S. Army to be “at a safe distance” from any locations perceived to be strategic. The environments of the camps ranged from the swamplands of Arkansas to the deserts of Arizona. The land was generally barren, isolated, and harsh. In the desert camps, temperatures ranged from below freezing in winter to above 110 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer.

These camps were home mainly for the young and the old. Of the 110,000 people incarcerated, 77.4 percent were 25 years old or younger. More than half of the *issei* generation was over 50 years old.⁹ The age disparity within the camps increased when young and middle-aged adults were pulled out of the camps through temporary leave given to college students, seasonal agricultural workers, and military draftees.

Some administrators who ran the camps were biased, and distanced themselves from camp life. Some did treat the “internees” (a term often used to refer to those living in the camps) with compassion, but most shared the view that the internees were just enemies. Many of the military guards who patrolled the camp borders shared the same attitude, and stories of incidents in which potshots were taken at internees abound.

The administrative and military accommodations were fairly roomy and comfortable. Some were painted or furnished with cooling systems, refrigerators, or indoor plumbing. Other areas of the camps were built

⁸Executive Order 9102, quoted from the Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment, *Personal Justice Denied* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher's Inc., 1982) p. 107.

⁹Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) p. 104.

to standard specifications. The borders of the camps were patrolled by guards and surrounded with barbed wire fences. Camps were divided into “blocks” consisting of 12 to 14 barracks, a mess hall, bathroom facilities, a laundry, and a recreation hall. Each barrack was divided into four rooms, either 20 ft. by 16 ft., or 20 ft. by 25 ft. Generally, one room housed one family, but in some cases, two small families shared one 20 ft. by 25 ft. room. These structures were built of wooden boards covered with tarpaper, which provided little protection from the harsh weather. Later, some internee construction crews added ceilings and inside walls to the barracks. Each room was provided with cots, mattresses, a stove, a light bulb, and blankets. Water was only accessible at the laundry or bathroom facilities.

Life in the Camps

As in the assembly centers, the internees attempted to make their lives as normal as possible. Families foraged and saved for supplies to build or buy “extras,” such as chairs, tables, curtains, and sheets. In areas where the climate permitted, victory gardens sprang up and landscaping efforts appeared. The internees tried to make homes out of their Spartan surroundings, but simply enduring these harsh conditions from day to day proved to be a challenge.

Employment

When Japanese Americans entered the concentration camps, the government and the WRA decided that the internees would be used to some extent as a source of labor. The government did not want the internees to become wards of the state, dependent upon it for all their needs. However, the evacuation and internment had stripped Japanese Americans of their ability to earn a living. The WRA therefore adopted an employment policy that provided food, shelter, medical care, and education for the internees, and paid minimal wages for work and some unemployment benefits. The wage scale was \$12 a month for unskilled labor, \$16 a month for skilled labor, and \$19 a month for professional work.¹⁰ The public and some members of Congress attacked this wage scale, arguing that it was too high. The internees, however, found that they were usually unable to meet minimal needs on these salaries. New clothing, shoes, and other consumer goods were mostly out of reach for the internees, let alone any outside financial obligations such as mortgages.

Most of the employed internees worked inside the camps. They performed duties ranging from janitorial services to some camp administration. The WRA also established work projects supporting the war effort in the camps. At Manzanar, Poston, and Gila River, hundreds of internees made camouflage nets for use in the war. Other internees worked outside of the camps as contract laborers in local farms. Over 10,000 Japanese Americans worked on such farms during the internment.

Food

Food was a major issue throughout the life of the camps. Mess halls were generally overcrowded, particularly in the early months of internment when construction had not been completed. The internees’ diets did not change much from the assembly centers to the concentration camps. Their meals consisted mostly of hot dogs, dried fish, rice, macaroni, and pickled vegetables. Shortages of meat and milk occurred frequently. Several administrators were accused of stealing camp food supplies and selling them for personal profit. The cost to feed internees averaged 45 cents per day. Their diets began to improve only after internees later began growing some of their own food.

Health Care

Health care within the camps was severely limited. The WRA relied mainly on Japanese-American doctors and nurses to staff the camp hospitals. Therefore, the hospitals were always understaffed, and the doctors and nurses were overworked. In October 1942, at the Jerome, Arkansas camp, there were seven doctors for 10,000 people.¹¹ Because of their close living quarters and communal lifestyle, camp populations were particularly susceptible to outbreaks of disease. Within the camps, there were reports of chicken pox, malaria, dysentery, and typhoid epidemics as well as cases of polio and tuberculosis.

Education

Schools were not in the original plans for the concentration camps. When it became clear that the internment was not going to be brief, the internees demanded that schools be built. Education was divided into four levels: nursery school, elementary school, high school, and adult education.

The curriculum emphasized Americanization. Special classes were created for *issei* internees to learn English and

¹⁰Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher’s Inc., 1982) p. 166.

¹¹Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Del Mar, CA: Publisher’s Inc., 1982) p. 164.

become “Americanized.” Classes were held in recreation halls or other buildings, and supplies were limited. Washrooms served as science labs; lettered pieces of paper served as typewriter keyboards; and textbooks were rare. Recruiting teachers from the outside was difficult because no one wanted to live in the camps and there were only a few qualified Japanese-American teachers. These schools became more established over time, and later, all camp schools (except those in Tule Lake, California) were accredited by their respective states.

Recreation

To cope with the monotony of everyday life, internees formed clubs and groups in the camps. School-aged internees formed Boy and Girl Scout troops, service organizations, social clubs, honor clubs, sports teams, and music groups. Similarly, the older internees formed groups to alleviate boredom. Ikebana (Japanese flower arranging) classes, music groups, YMCA, YWCA, and baseball teams were among the most popular groups for adults. In some camps, as many as 100 baseball teams actively competed. Other forms of entertainment included dances, movie nights, and talent shows.



Religion

Internees also used religion to handle the stress of the internment experience. Church served as both a spiritual comfort and a place for community gathering. On Sundays, Buddhist and Christian services and Sunday schools were held in the recreation halls. State Shintoism was another popular religion within the Japanese-American community but was banned by the government on the grounds that it included “Emperor worship.” Church services were given initially in both Japanese and English, but the WRA later banned the use of Japanese at all group gatherings (although translation into Japanese was later permitted at some religious services).

Government

Community governments were created to mediate communication between the camp administration and the internees. The camp governments were usually in the form of block councils. These councils could create ordinances and policies on internal affairs, but the WRA had ultimate veto power over any activity or policy made by the councils. The WRA also held tight control over the council leadership. A WRA policy barred the *issei* from holding any elected office. This policy, along with the language restriction on Japanese, severely limited the autonomy and authority of the *issei*.

Dissent Within the Camps

As the internment wore on, tensions within the internee population increased. Discontent over living standards caused the internees to turn their criticism against the camp administration. Rumors of corrupt camp administrators stealing supplies and funds were pervasive. The WRA had promised that jobs would be available for all internees; that household goods shipped to internees would be delivered as soon as they arrived; and that school supplies, wages, and clothing would be provided promptly. All of these promises fell short, and the internees logically blamed the failings on the camp administration. Negative feelings toward the camp authorities increased as time went by, and daily life reminded the Japanese Americans that they were being held prisoners for no specific crime and on no legal grounds. Strikes by the camp workers were common but had little overall effect on work or life conditions.

Tensions existed not only between the internees and the administration, but also among the internees themselves. Some internees supported cooperation with the camp administrators. These were largely *nisei*, typified by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)—an organization founded in 1929 that encouraged loyalty, patriotism, and Americanization among Japanese Americans. This group had encouraged compliance during the initial evacuation and accommodation within the camps. They saw accommodation as the most patriotic and safest way to express the feelings of the Japanese-American community. JACL leaders often became the spokespeople for the entire internee community, but their leadership role was not accepted by all Japanese Americans. To many outside the JACL, it appeared as though the JACL’s cooperative stance resulted in favoritism for the JACL leaders from camp administrators.

Animosity between those who helped camp administrators and their opponents boiled over in Poston, Arizona,

on November 1, 1942, when an unidentified group of men beat up a suspected “informer” (that is, one who was thought to have informed authorities about supposedly suspicious individuals in the Japanese-American community). After two “suspicious individuals” were arrested and interrogated by the FBI, about 1,000 internees gathered in protest and surrounded the camp jail. Community leaders agreed to try to stop further beatings, and the two individuals were released. There was a similar incident in the Manzanar camp on December 5, 1942, when six masked men beat a suspected informer. More than 2,000 internees gathered to protest the arrest of three “suspicious individuals.” Military police who were called in for added security threw tear gas as the crowd became more aggressive. Then, for unknown reasons, the police opened fire on the crowd. Two internees were killed and nine were wounded. The internees believed to be responsible for the uprising were rounded up and jailed or sent to Department of Justice isolation camps.

The End of Internment

At the end of 1943, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt and Colonel Karl Bendetsen, two of the strongest supporters of internment, left their posts as the heads of the Western Defense Command. The Western Defense Command began to reexamine the internment with a critical eye. It was clear by 1944 that all threats of a Japanese attack on the West Coast were gone. By this time, the War Department had already determined that exclusion was not necessary but kept these opinions from the public and the President until much later.

President Roosevelt ended martial law in Hawaii on October 24, 1944. In early December, knowing that the Supreme Court would be releasing its decision on the *Ex Parte Endo* case (legal case testing the mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II) soon, Secretary of War Henry Stimson sent a secret message to the President saying that “mass exclusion from the West Coast of persons of Japanese ancestry is no longer a matter of military necessity.”¹² On December 17, the military issued Public Proclamation No. 21, which rescinded the mass exclusion orders and stated that the concentration camps would be closed within a year. The next day, the Supreme Court handed down its decision on *Endo*, finding that the government could not detain “concededly loyal” persons against their will. On January 2, 1945, most restrictions preventing resettlement on the West Coast

¹²Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) p. 157.

for Japanese Americans were removed. By January 1946, all of the concentration camps except Tule Lake were closed.

Resettlement¹³

By 1944, several thousand Japanese Americans had resettled permanently or temporarily outside of the camps through contract labor work. These people were allowed to leave the camps based on affirmative answers to loyalty questionnaires and the labor needs of the nation. Chicago, Salt Lake City, and Denver were common destinations for the internees who were granted leave. By the end of the internment, approximately 35,000 internees had resettled outside of the areas where they had lived before the evacuation. Among these were 5,500 young Japanese Americans who left the concentration camps to attend college outside the West Coast exclusion zone.¹⁴

Public reaction to the end of the internment was largely negative, particularly on the West Coast. The *Los Angeles Times* called the ending of the exclusion “a grave mistake” and said that the best way for Japanese Americans to show their loyalty was to “find homes elsewhere than on the Pacific Coast.” In rural areas, the anti-Japanese sentiment was particularly strong. Upon returning to the West Coast, many Japanese Americans faced racism, physical attacks, and destruction of property. Many urban politicians and officials, however, attempted to make the resettlement process as smooth as possible. Despite the negative public sentiment, no returning Japanese American was killed.

The resettlement process was almost as traumatic for Japanese Americans as the internment. After three years of detention, they were simply told to leave. Most had lost everything they had owned before the war through theft, destruction, or inability to pay taxes. Additionally, the low wages within the camps had not allowed them to save anything for the future. The government provided transportation back to the West Coast and a \$25 allowance for each internee. At the prospect of leaving the camps, many internees felt fear of interacting in society at-large again, and bore shame of their experience and hopelessness for recovering what they had lost. Several suicides were reported after the internees were told to leave.

¹³Information in this section was summarized from Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, USA* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) pp. 158–169.

¹⁴See Gary Y. Okihiro, *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999) for a detailed account of this experience.

After returning to the West Coast, internees found housing and employment difficult to obtain because of post-war shortages and anti-Japanese-American sentiment.

With little or no governmental aid, Japanese Americans began the process of rebuilding their lives. In July 1948, President Harry S. Truman signed the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act. Through this act, Congress appropriated \$38 million to settle all property claims of former internees. The claims could only compensate for “damage to or loss of real or personal property.” This meant only items which the internees could prove they had owned and did not include lost income or profits. An independent analysis by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco put a conservative estimate for internee losses at \$400 million. Around 23,000 claims were filed under the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, requesting around \$131 million in damages. In the whole year of 1950, only 210 claims were cleared and 73 people actually received compensation.

Although the internment was never found unconstitutional, it has subsequently been condemned by presidents and Congress. On February 19, 1976, President Gerald Ford rescinded Executive Order 9066. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 formally apologized to the Japanese-American community and provided camp survivors with monetary compensation. Upon signing the Civil Liberties Act, President Ronald Reagan said, “Here we admit a wrong. Here we affirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law.”

Others in the Internment Camps

Japanese Latin Americans

During World War II, 2,264 members of the Japanese community in Latin America (*issei*, *nisei*, and some Latin American women married to Japanese) were deported to and interned in the United States. A large percentage of the Japanese Latin Americans (1,799 of the total) were from Peru. The U.S. government forced their migration over international borders and their detention in the U.S. Department of Justice internment camps. Most of the Japanese Latin Americans were interned in a former migrant labor camp at Crystal City, Texas. They were interned for several reasons: their race; their influential roles as community leaders, farmers, or businesspeople; anti-immigrant sentiments; and their perceived threat to Allied interests. This was all done without indictments or hearings.

Over 800 Japanese Latin Americans were included in prisoner-of-war exchanges with Japan that took place

in 1942 and 1943. The remaining Japanese Latin Americans were interned until the end of the war. Because their passports were confiscated en route to the United States, these internees were declared “illegal aliens,” and during the war they were told that they would be deported to Japan-occupied territories.

Over 350 Japanese Peruvians remained in the United States and fought deportation in the courts with hopes of returning to their homes in Peru. At first, the Peruvian government refused to readmit any Japanese Peruvians, even those who were Peruvian citizens or married to Peruvian citizens. As a result, between November 1945 and June 1946, over 900 Japanese Peruvians were deported to war-devastated Japan. Eventually, about 100 Japanese Peruvians were able to return to Peru. It was not until June 1952 that the Japanese Peruvians who stayed in the United States were allowed to begin the process of becoming permanent residents. Later, many became U.S. citizens.

Ralph Lazo, Concentration Camp Protester (1924–1992)
Born in 1924 in Los Angeles, California, to parents of Spanish and Irish ancestry, Ralph Lazo grew up and attended grammar school, junior high, and a few years of high school in Los Angeles. At the age of 17, Lazo chose to join his Japanese-American friends in Manzanar concentration camp in May 1942. Lazo graduated from Manzanar High School. He remained in Manzanar until 1944, at which time he was drafted into the U.S. Army. He is believed to be the only person of non-Japanese descent without a Japanese-American spouse to voluntarily enter camp during World War II. Until 1946, he served in the military in the Philippines.

After the war, Lazo graduated from college and pursued a career in teaching. Throughout his life, Lazo remained a loyal friend and supporter of those Japanese Americans with whom he was interned. Lazo spoke out against the internment and was a supporter of the redress movement to compensate Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II. He died in 1992.

HANDOUT #2: QUESTIONS ON JAPANESE-AMERICAN INTERNMENT

- Describe the historical event that took place on December 7, 1941 in Hawaii.
- What was the action taken by the U.S. government towards people of Japanese descent living in the West Coast as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor?
- Why do you think some people recall the internment of Japanese Americans as “one of America’s worst civil liberties disasters”?
- Describe what the term “yellow peril” signified in the late 19th century.
- What role did the media play in disseminating anti-Japanese sentiments in the United States?
- The farming organizations particularly supported the evacuation of Japanese Americans. Why?
- What was Executive Order 9066?
- Explain the processes that led to the federally-approved mass internment of Japanese Americans.
- How did the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) react to the government’s order of evacuation and internment?
- How did James Omura, a Japanese-American journalist from San Francisco, react to the government’s order of evacuation and internment?
- Give two examples of challenges taken by Japanese Americans to express their objection to the evacuation orders.
- Which group of people was first sent to Department of Justice internment camps? Why do you think the government chose them over others?
- Explain some of the things that the government imposed on the Japanese-American population on the West Coast in the wake of Pearl Harbor?
- Although Hawaii had a large Japanese-American population, a wholesale evacuation of Japanese Americans did not take place. Explain possible reasons why this was the case.
- What was Public Proclamation No. 1? When and by whom was it issued?
- Who else was involved in the process of evacuation other than the military? What were their tasks?
- Describe the conditions of Japanese-American evacuation.
- Describe the condition of assembly centers.
- How did internment affect family cohesion?
- Explain some of the activities the evacuees established to make the best of their tough environment.
- How many Department of Justice internment camps were built? Who was put into these camps?
- How were the lands for concentration camps selected by the U.S. Army?
- How were the internees viewed by the administration of the camps?
- Describe the conditions of concentration camps.
- How did the internees make their living in concentration camps?
- What kind of difficulties do you think the internees experienced regarding food in concentration camps?
- What health care problems did the internees face?
- Describe the schooling in the camps.
- What was the main focus of the curriculum? Why do you think it was chosen as an emphasis?

- What were some deficiencies schools in concentration camps faced?
- Discuss what significance recreation had in internees' lives.
- Why do you think baseball was one of the most popular forms of recreation in camps?
- What was the camp government? Why was it created?
- Which group of people was denied access to the community government by the WRA? Why?
- Describe the various tensions that existed in the camps.
- Explain the processes that led to the closure of the concentration camps.
- What was Public Proclamation No. 21, which was issued on December 17, 1944?
- How were internees able to gain permanent or temporary leave outside of the camps?
- What was the general public reaction to the end of the internment?
- Describe the resettlement period. What difficulties did Japanese Americans face upon returning to the West Coast?
- What did the government provide to Japanese Americans upon their returning to the West Coast?
- What was the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, which was signed by President Harry S. Truman in July 1948?
- What was the Civil Liberties Act of 1988?
- Over two thousands Japanese living in Latin America were interned in the U.S. Department of Justice internment camps during the World War II. How and why did this happen?
- What problems did Japanese Latin Americans face due to their non-U.S. citizenship status?
- Describe the story of Ralph Lazo. What is significant about his story in the history of Japanese-American internment?
- The terms, citizenship, civil liberties, and ethnicity, are important ones to consider when studying Japanese-American internment. Describe how they are related in the context of Japanese-American internment.
- Compare the experiences of Japanese Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor and those of Arab Americans living in the United States after September 11, 2001.

HANDOUT #3: WORLD WAR II DETENTION CAMPS



○ **Assembly Centers**

- Puyallup, Wash.
- Portland, Ore.
- Marysville, Calif.
- Sacramento, Calif.
- Stockton, Calif.
- Tanforan, Calif.
- Turlock, Calif.
- Merced, Calif.
- Salinas, Calif.
- Pinedale, Calif.
- Fresno, Calif.
- Tulare, Calif.
- Santa Anita, Calif.
- Pomona, Calif.
- Mayer, Ariz.

■ **Concentration Camps**

- Manzanar, Calif.
- Tule Lake, Calif.
- Poston, Ariz.
- Gila River, Ariz.
- Minidoka, Ida.
- Heart Mountain, Wyo.
- Granada (Amache), Colo.
- Topaz, Utah
- Rohwer, Ark.
- Jerome, Ark.

● **Department of Justice Internment Camps**

- Santa Fe, N. Mex.
- Bismarck, N. Dak.
- Crystal City, Tex.
- Missoula, Mont.

▲ **Citizen Isolation Camps**

- Moab, Utah
- Leupp, Ariz.

■ **Military Area No. 2**

"Free Zone" until
March 29, 1942

HANDOUT #4:

A CENTURY OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN BASEBALL

by Gary T. Otake

Introduction

Baseball, it is said, is the sport which mirrors our nation's soul. It is our hallowed "national pastime," the game which represents the best that America has to offer: democracy, fair play, and equal opportunity. In fact, baseball and America are so intertwined that many believe we cannot know one without the other. "Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America," so the saying goes, "had better learn baseball."

For many who have taken the challenge to understand the "heart and mind of America," baseball has indeed proven to be fertile ground. Within the microcosm of baseball, we discover stories far more compelling than the box scores reveal. We can see into the far corners of our nation's past and witness the deeds of heroes, villains, and everyday people. We learn of the struggles of war and building a nation, and of the extremes of economic depression and fabulous wealth. Through baseball, we learn of our aspirations and triumphs, our shortcomings and fears, our hopes and our dreams.



First Japanese-American baseball team.

Baseball is the game which gave us Babe Ruth, the quintessential 'rags to riches' hero who embodies the enduring myth that baseball—and by extension, America—gives all who try the chance to succeed. The legend of Babe Ruth, we are told, proves that in America, it doesn't mat-

ter where you're from or what you look like or how much money you have, as long as you can play the game.

But no matter how compelling the myth, America is, and has always been, a complex place where success is not guaranteed to all who play by the rules. After all, as Ken Burns observes, "the story of baseball is also the story of race in America." Despite its promise, baseball (and America) do take into account where you're from and what you look like.

Japanese-American baseball, therefore, is more than a story full of great players and epic games. It has a history that encompasses the cycles of discrimination and acceptance that have defined the Japanese experience in America. At its core, Japanese-American baseball makes an eloquent statement of pride and possibility and is truly a reflection of the "heart and mind" of a community which has sought to fulfill the promise of America for one hundred years.

Origins and Development

When Japanese immigrants made the voyage across the Pacific to America during the last decades of the nineteenth century, they not only brought with them dreams of success, they brought a knowledge and appreciation for baseball back to the land of its origins. This knowledge made them stand out among other immigrants at the time, as most countries in the world had no prior exposure to America's national game.

Japan, in contrast, had adopted baseball in the 1870s during the ambitious years of the Meiji era, when the Japanese were recreating a national identity to fit the needs of the modern times. Baseball was seen as a bridge between two cultures, as it embodied Japanese values such as harmony, perseverance, and self-restraint while simultaneously reflecting the ideals and spirit of the rising West.

Coming from a country with such a strong interest in baseball, it is not surprising that the *issei* (Japanese immigrants) started their own teams shortly after

settling in the United States. In 1899, the first known Japanese-American team—the Excelsiors—was organized in Honolulu. Within a decade, many more teams were formed across the islands and highly competitive leagues developed. Mirroring the ethnic divisions in Hawaiian society, these leagues formed along ethnic lines, with Japanese American teams competing against Chinese-American, Portuguese, Hawaiian, and Caucasian teams.

The earliest known mainland Japanese-American baseball team is the San Francisco Fujii club, a team of *issei* players which formed in 1903, the first year of the modern World Series. Other cities across the United States with large Japanese-American populations also developed *issei* teams around this time. Seattle, Los Angeles, and Honolulu, for instance, all had teams by 1905 and organized leagues by 1910.

These first teams were primarily organized for the enjoyment of the players wishing for some much needed recreation. But there were other motives as well. Many *issei* were aware that baseball could provide a common bond between the Japanese immigrant community and the dominant white society. Through a shared love of baseball, it was hoped communication and perhaps even respect could be established.

However, except in isolated instances, these diplomatic goals were not always achieved through baseball. Despite playing baseball with All-American fervor and ability, Japanese immigrants continued to face hostility from the general public that could not readily be overcome.

The Golden Years, 1920 to 1941

The 1920s and 1930s were the heyday of Japanese-American baseball. With the rise of the America-born *nisei* generation, baseball activities grew to new heights, reflecting a renewed optimism in finding a place in America. Every community with enough players had a baseball team, and segregated ethnic leagues flourished in Japanese-American settlements all over the West. From San Diego to Seattle, San Jose to Salt Lake City, people were going baseball crazy.

Naturally, top notch teams developed in cities with large Japanese-American populations. But many small towns, boasting home grown talent, also fielded powerhouse teams which were the communities' pride and joy. Friends and fans packed the grandstands on Sunday afternoons, and crowds often numbered in the thousands for the "big games." No other social event could match the power of baseball in bringing people together.



Lou Gehrig and Babe Ruth with nisei teammates.

But more than just recreation, baseball played an important role in the development of social and cultural concepts like "ethnic identity" and "community" for a rapidly growing Japanese-American population. As former sports writer Fred Oshima recalls, "Japanese-American baseball served a meaningful socio-economic role and entertainment lifestyle for this closely knit ethnic group on the wrong side of the tracks."

Baseball Behind Barbed Wire: 1942 to 1945

With the entry of the United States into World War II, the federal government in 1942 ordered 112,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast to be forcibly removed from their homes and relocated to 10 concentration camps in desolate areas of America.

In every camp, internees attempted to counter the boredom and harsh conditions of internment life by developing thriving sports activities. Baseball, in particular, provided a much needed diversion for players and fans alike. Internees at Gila River, for instance, developed a year round baseball league with 32 teams and championship games drawing crowds into the thousands. As George Omachi recalls, "It was demeaning and humiliating to be incarcerated in your own country. Without baseball, camp life would have been miserable."

Post War

Japanese American baseball did manage to continue through the difficult resettlement period after the conclusion of World War II. In fact, some areas saw a resurgence of *nisei* baseball in the 1950s that continued through the 1960s into the 1970s.



Joe DiMaggio in Tokyo, 1950.

Yet, social conditions after the war forever altered the dynamics of baseball in Japanese-American communities. The passing of the *issei*, who were baseball's most passionate fans, severely altered the composition of community support and baseball lost the function and meaning it had prior to the war. In addition, more opportunities in mainstream culture for the younger *nisei* and *sansei* eroded the social need for baseball as they found interests in areas previously denied to them. Although many fine teams and players developed during this era, *nisei* baseball eventually faded to the background as the younger generation left the ethnic communities in record numbers.

Legends and Legacies

Though the heyday of Japanese-American baseball may have passed, it still has the remarkable power to bring people together. With the resurgence of interest in base-

ball history, families are looking again at the old scrapbooks with renewed interest, and the stories of grandparents are being told to curious grandchildren. For a people whose history has often been so painful to recall, it is with pleasure that memories of those distant Sunday afternoons are relived.

Nowadays, baseball may not be the only game in town, but a new generation of Japanese-American youngsters still get together to play baseball, forming teams and friendships based on a shared ethnic and cultural background. Significantly, these baseball teams are one of the few ties to the Japanese-American community for many youth. As a reflection of the times, these teams are increasingly diverse, with hapa [bi-racial] children and girls commonly participating.

Although the future of Japanese-American baseball is uncertain, its legacy will continue. After all, more than any other activity, baseball reflects the pattern of inclusion and exclusion from mainstream American life that Japanese Americans have experienced in the United States. By keeping this history alive, we not only acknowledge the Japanese-American baseball pioneers, but we enrich our understanding of one community's resilience, pride, and contributions to the diverse cultural heritage of this country.



Nisei pioneer tribute at National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, 1998.

HANDOUT #5:

QUESTIONS ON JAPANESE-AMERICAN BASEBALL

- Baseball is said to “mirror our nation’s soul.” Do you agree?
- Has baseball always guaranteed success to all who play by the rules?
- Discuss the meaning of “The story of baseball is also the story of race in America.”
- What did baseball mean to Japanese Americans over time?
- When did the first Japanese immigrants come to the United States?
- What made them different from other immigrant groups?
- Why did Japan adopt baseball?
- Why was baseball seen as a bridge between two cultures in the Meiji era in Japan?
- What were some motives for the *issei* to organize the first baseball teams?
- Were their hopes easily met?
- When was the golden age of Japanese-American baseball? Why?
- Aside from recreation, what other roles did baseball play in Japanese-American communities?
- Why was baseball important for Japanese Americans when they were put into detention camps?
- What kind of changes took place after the war with regard to baseball and Japanese Americans? What were some factors that affected these changes? Think in terms of *issei*, *nisei*, and *sansei*.
- Describe the role baseball is playing in Japanese-American communities today.
- What kind of understanding does Japanese-American baseball history provide us?
- Why do you think *issei* thought that baseball could provide a common bond between the Japanese immigrant community and U.S. society? If it were not baseball, what could have been an alternative?
- Research other immigrant groups to see if they have used baseball as a bridge between U.S. society and their immigrant communities.
- Provide examples of baseball supporting and not supporting democracy, fair play, and equal opportunity.



RESOURCES

List of suggested films

The Jackie Robinson Story, MGM, 1950

The story of the first African American to join the Major Leagues.

Mr. Baseball, Universal Studios, 1992

An American baseball player is traded to Japan.

Baseball: A Film by Ken Burns, PBS, 1994

Epic-length documentary celebration of baseball; 9 tape set.

An American Pastime (forthcoming film on baseball in the Japanese-American detention camps), Shadow Catcher Entertainment.

Internment-related films:

Day of Independence; Come See the Paradise; Farewell to Manzanar; Snow Falling on Cedars; Go for Broke

Suggested children's book

Mochizuki, Ken. *Baseball Saved Us*.

Lee and Low Books, Inc.: New York, NY, 1993.

Suggested web sites

Nisei Baseball Research Project

<http://www.niseibaseball.com>

Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education

<http://spice.stanford.edu>

Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project

<http://www.densho.org>

Japanese glossary

issei—first-generation Japanese immigrants

nisei—second-generation Japanese American

sansei—third-generation Japanese American