

The Importance of Collecting, Accessing, and Contextualizing Japanese-American Historical Materials: A California State University Collaborative

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Introduction

We're supposed to try to emphasize the home, but it's rather an idealistic thing to talk about here in Manzanar where we have to live in a little 2 x 4 with a desperate attempt of a living room, kitchenette, bedroom, and what have you. I think I shall attempt to make a model doll house so the poor kiddies will at least get the picture of what a home is supposed to look like.¹

Letter from Miriko Nagahama, Manzanar kindergarten teacher, to her friend in Glendale California, Betty Salzman, January 20, 1943

Traditionally, the archival response to historical events has rarely been proactive. This is both because of the lifecycle of records and because records are often donated to an archives decades after events happen. With the advent of the twenty-four-hour news cycle and social media that never stops churning out the latest meme, it is now incumbent upon archivists to dive into preserving the recent past (especially given the ephemeral nature of media and internet resources), but it is also essential to prevent older historical events from sinking into oblivion. Thus, the materials related to the incarceration of Japanese Americans in World War II (WWII) are ripe for the archival profession to continue to collect, digitize, make accessible, and

¹ Miriko Nagahama to Betty (Salzman), letter, January 20, 1943, Manzanar Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Robert E. Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University San Luis Obispo, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/290/rec/129>. The epigraphs in this chapter have all been obtained through the California State University Japanese American Digitization Project cited in footnote 2. When archival items from this project are cited, it will be indicated by the addition of "via CSUJAD" to the footnote to clearly designate this source.

preserve. Its importance lies in the fact that the topic is one of the prime assaults on civil liberties in the United States in the last 100 years, and that the connections to other racist outrages, both current and throughout U.S. history, are evident in other attempts at restricting immigration and snuffing out the rights of immigrants.

The infringement of the rights of Japanese Americans began easily enough. Early twentieth-century laws that prohibited Japanese Americans from owning property came about in response to older anti-Chinese laws. The bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 led to 120,000 Japanese Americans being incarcerated in purposely isolated and often environmentally extreme camps. While there was some murmur of unease among the majority population, the panic that war brought easily morphed into the fear of an immigrant group indirectly associated with war. Japanese Americans were swept up from the West Coast in a manner both efficient and illogical.

Documenting the history of the people of Japanese descent in the U.S., including not just the WWII era but both pre- and post-war experiences, has been the central goal of the California State University Japanese American Digitization (CSUJAD) project.² Once important Japanese-American archival materials within California State University (CSU) and other archival collections have been identified, it is essential to digitize and describe them at the item level. This makes them searchable, accessible, and discoverable from a centralized website that is readily available to a global community of scholars, students, and interested citizens. These project goals, in turn, have attracted an expanding group of partner institutions, stimulated a

² "California State University Japanese American Digitization Project," Collaborative Digital History Project of the California State University Libraries, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/index.html>.

number of additional donations of pertinent materials, and highlighted the urgency of procuring the passing WWII generation's documentation and remembrances, before they are lost.

In this chapter, we will explore the issues associated with the critical practice necessary to shape the development of such a collaborative archival project around a topic loaded with racism, political and social strife, and controversy. From collection development, curation, cataloging, and stewardship to outreach and contextualization, this project has provided the archival partners with many interesting challenges and opportunities.

Collecting Information about the WWII Incarceration

As we understand it, there are two main reasons back of this evacuation order: to forestall any possible subversive activities, and as a matter of protection to the Japanese themselves in case of uncontrollable anti-Japanese hysteria. To the best of our knowledge however, neither of these reasons has any sound basis in fact For the most part, these Japanese-Americans are as good or better citizens than most of us, and to say that they are potentially more dangerous than some other group is fascist in the extreme, unless well backed up by facts.³

Anonymous letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1942

Even before the Pearl Harbor bombing, the government began keeping records about people of Japanese ancestry. California State officials (to their later shame) listened to the fears of their majority constituents. Executive Order 9066 to eliminate the Japanese-American presence from the West Coast was drafted for President Roosevelt's signature. More records were created as citizens were taken to temporary assembly centers. Newspapers generated copy in favor of

³ Anonymous to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, letter, 1942, Japanese American Relocation Collection, University Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Fullerton, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/15246/rec/115>.

eliminating Japanese Americans from the West Coast. The military and an early government bureaucracy created announcements for citizens to gather for what was then called “evacuation.” Later, 120,000 people were sent to ten War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps, most of whom were American citizens. This, in turn, generated thousands of forms, including notorious questionnaires that forced Japanese Americans to answer poorly worded questions that caused confusion, consternation, anger, and even potential deportation. Photographers Dorothea Lange, Ansel Adams, and Toyo Miyatake documented forced diaspora and camp life.⁴ Journalists such as Carey McWilliams wrote about the camps.⁵ Sociologists from the University of California and elsewhere interviewed and observed prisoners in an attempt to help the government, but also to analyze them for a variety of social science purposes, which resulted in “ethical lapses” by field workers and resentment by the prisoners who felt they were exploited.⁶ After the war, only a limited number of historical works were generated, such as *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* by Roger Daniels.⁷ Throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, there was a general silence about the WWII incarceration among those who were imprisoned, but there certainly were some exceptions to that, especially in artistic expression and historical monographs. The Japanese-American community’s willingness to discuss the many controversies associated with the WWII incarceration and its aftermath has evolved over time. Inspired by the civil rights

⁴ Jasmine Alinder, *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

⁵ Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944).

⁶ “Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed May 26, 2019, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese_American_Evacuation_and_Resettlement_Study/.

⁷ Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

movement in the 1960s, many Japanese Americans began to question their WWII incarceration. A movement to address the physical, spiritual, and monetary damages caused by the incarceration experience began. This process often called “redress” eventually resulted in a governmental apology and some meager financial compensation.

The records of the government’s views of and work on incarceration were scattered throughout the U.S. National Archives and various military and institutional archives. By the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, Japanese Americans began to generate their own response to incarceration. For example, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston wrote the book *Farewell to Manzanar*.⁸ Michi Weglyn wrote her memoir, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps*, which was followed by a whole host of histories.⁹ The redress movement led to an almost universal demand that citizens receive an apology and some kind of recompense for their travails, thus generating investigations, testimony, and an extensive attempt by Japanese Americans to research, in the National Archives, the reasons behind incarceration.

Archivists at CSU campuses take a keen interest in the people and history of the communities where they are situated across the state of California, and, as a result, the collections that have been accumulated in the Libraries’ Archives and Special Collections have a highly local flavor. Throughout the last fifty years, one important focus has been on the history and progress of the people of Japanese descent. Archivists at San Jose State University preserved the records of the Japanese Americans who insisted on answers while their relatives

⁸ Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the WWII Internment* (New York: Bantam Books, 1973).

⁹ Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1976).

at Tule Lake Segregation Center were imprisoned inside the infamous stockade. A program at CSU Sacramento encouraged Japanese Americans who had been associated with the WRA camps to donate their materials. By the 1970s, the Oral History program at CSU at Fullerton began interviewing a wide range of citizens who were either in the camps, running the camps, or had some association with the WWII incarceration. Citizens often think first about giving their memorabilia or stories to local history repositories, which often are the CSU archives mentioned above, as well as CSU campuses at Dominguez Hills (CSUDH), Fresno, Northridge, Sonoma State, and others.

In the last two decades of the twentieth century, the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) in Los Angeles collected such an extensive collection that at times they couldn't accept new materials due to capacity issues.¹⁰ The Go For Broke National Education Center was founded to pay tribute to the Japanese Americans who served in the U.S. armed forces during WWII and they have collected associated archival materials and oral histories.¹¹ Other museums and several Japanese-American or other local historical societies throughout California as well as the California State Archives and the California Historical Society also have interesting collections of Japanese-American archival material.¹² West Coast repositories in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Arizona, and Arkansas, often near where the WRA camps were located, collected this material as well as individual historians and social scientists doing oral and video histories on the topic. The University of California at Berkeley as well as the Los Angeles and Santa Barbara campuses also gathered large collections. In the late 1990s, archival

¹⁰ Japanese American National Museum, 2019, www.janm.org.

¹¹ Go For Broke National Education Center, 2019, <http://www.goforbroke.org/index.php>.

¹² "California State Archives," California Secretary of State, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://www.sos.ca.gov/archives/>; California Historical Society, 2019, <https://www.californiahistoricalsociety.org/>.

digitization projects began. One of the earliest was the Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive sponsored by the Online Archive of California (OAC) as it merged into the California Digital Library (CDL).¹³

In 1996, the Densho Digital Repository was established as a grassroots community organization operating out of Seattle that made it a priority to gather oral histories from Japanese Americans who were incarcerated during WWII.¹⁴ Densho has over 2,000 oral histories online, making the name – a Japanese term meaning “to pass on to the next generation” or “to leave a legacy” – quite appropriate. As a model twenty-first-century historical society, Densho has expanded its mission to educate, preserve, collaborate, and inspire action for equity. With no physical collections (except computer servers), Densho staff digitize archival materials and encourage the collecting of historic materials. Through public support and grants from various organizations and governmental entities – such as the National Park Service (NPS) (Japanese American Confinement Sites Program), the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) – Densho has generated important resources for research, including the Densho encyclopedia (a vibrant source for almost any topic on the subject of Japanese-American history), a digital repository, a blog, a Facebook page, and more.

CSUJAD and Collaboration between Partner Archives

¹³ “Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive,” Calisphere, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://calisphere.org/exhibitions/t11/jarda/>; “Resources,” CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/links.html>.

¹⁴ Densho, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://densho.org>.

Since I was arrested and put in the stockade thirty-four days have passed. Why I was arrested I do not know; it has never been made clear to me. I have never entertained radical ideas Needless to say, life in the stockade is meaningless to me. It does not make sense besides being unpleasant.¹⁵

Letter from William J. Fujimoto from the stockade at Tule Lake Segregation Center to Tule Lake Project Director, Raymond R. Best, February 23, 1944

In 2014, the CSUJAD project commenced bringing together a unique, functional, and growing collaboration of first five, and now over twenty institutions, whose goal is to expand, make accessible, contextualize, and preserve Japanese-American archival materials through digitization. The resulting web portal provides researchers with an opportunity to study primary sources and to explore civil liberties issues, with a special emphasis on the Japanese-American incarceration during WWII (mentioned above, footnote 2). As of 2019, the CSUJAD project consists of a database with over 33,000 entries. It is neither the first nor the largest Japanese-American history digitization project, but it has focused its growth on what historian Lane Ryo Hirabayashi calls the “vernacular” to discuss unique data sets that speak directly to the experiences of Japanese Americans themselves during travails experienced during WWII.¹⁶ Therefore, database searches often result in archival materials that tell the stories of the incarceration from the perspectives of those who experienced it. While there are certainly governmental records scattered amongst the CSUJAD material, the focus of the project has primarily been to collect this type of local materials. The CSUJAD primary sources provide ample opportunities to examine the WWII incarceration from every angle. These vernacular

¹⁵ William J. Fujimoto to Raymond R. Best, letter, February 23, 1944, Schmidt Papers, Department of Special Collections and Archives, San Jose State University, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/6134/rec/3>.

¹⁶ Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, “Everyday Sources about Life in the Camps: The Value of the Vernacular,” essay written for California State University Japanese American Digitization Project, April 2015, http://www.csujad.com/images/HolisticRepresentations_Hirabayashi.pdf.

materials – letters, diaries, photos, artwork, oral histories, and other expressions of daily personal experience in camp – reveal personal struggles and the hoops both citizens and immigrants had to jump through to maintain their residency in the U.S. Digital technology is bringing these geographically disparate archival collections together in one online location, providing researchers with rich opportunities for finding and interpreting new information. Additional contextual information, extended resources, and associated activities deepen the experience when users explore the website or participate in the exhibits, symposia, film screenings, teacher workshops, or scanning days intended to involve the community and publicize the project. CSU archivists not only want to improve access to humanities collections focused on Japanese-American history, but also to develop a sustainable model for collaboration amongst various archival and library communities.

To better understand how the CSUJAD project began, some background information is helpful. The CSU system (once called the “1,000 mile campus”) is the largest university system in the U.S.¹⁷ The CSU system has an enrollment close to 437,000 students at twenty-three university campuses throughout the state of California. Therefore, CSU archival collections scattered throughout California are too disparate to offer scholars a complete story or easy access. All of these campuses are defined by their communities and therefore take an abiding interest in the people and history of those communities. Over the last fifty years, CSU Libraries and Archives have followed the history and progress of the Japanese Americans in their communities, resulting in archival collections with remarkable depth. For this reason, the

¹⁷ “About the CSU,” California State University, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://www2.calstate.edu/csu-system/about-the-csu>.

collections that have been accumulated at CSU Libraries and Archives have a highly local flavor. For example, in 1942, an estimated 250 Japanese-American students were forced to leave the CSU campuses and relocate to WRA camps. Many other students were removed from other West Coast colleges. In September 2009, the CSU Board of Trustees unanimously voted to honor the academic intentions of these students by awarding them Special Honorary Bachelor of Humane Letters degrees.¹⁸

The CSUJAD project grew out of discussions between CSU archivists at the Society of American Archivists Annual Meeting in 2012 and at the Society of California Archivists Annual Meeting in 2013.¹⁹ The talks centered not only on the digitization of collections, but also on the desire to create an all-encompassing portal for the materials that each CSU archive possesses. CSU archivists realized the importance of digitizing their accumulation of archival materials telling “local” stories about Japanese-American history (as opposed to governmental records or interpretations). The physical collections have always been accessible on the various CSU campuses and have collection-level digital finding aids in the OAC, but most were not digitized or cataloged at the item level.²⁰ Even if some of the archival items had been digitized, the objects tended to be isolated and without standardized metadata or consistent terminology. The archivists realized that researchers now have a growing expectation that documents, in addition to photographs, must be available digitally to expanded groups of humanities scholars and decided that they needed to make each archival object more readily available. CSU

¹⁸ “CSU Nisei Diploma Project,” YouTube, updated December 20, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLC6AA4FF74AA6937C>.

¹⁹ Society of American Archivists, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://www2.archivists.org/>; Society of California Archivists, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://www.calarchivists.org/>.

²⁰ “Online Archive of California,” California Digital Library, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://oac.cdlib.org/>.

archivists are the primary players and collaborators behind this CSUJAD project. Greg Williams (co-author of this chapter), Director of Archives and Special Collections at CSUDH, took the lead by writing the grants, assuming the role of project director/principal investigator, and taking on the responsibility of being the central hub for the CSUJAD grant projects. Archivists at the various CSU partner institutions, who took the lead on their campuses, include Julie Thomas at Sacramento; Natalie Navar at Fullerton; Danelle Moon at San Jose State University and now the University of California Santa Barbara; Tammy Lau at Fresno; Stephen Kutay and Ellen Jerosz at Northridge; Lynn Prime and Julie Dinkins at Sonoma; Yoko Okunishi, Rachel Mandell, Stella Castillo, Christina Pappous, Alexandra Cauley, and staff at CSUDH; and many others at a variety of different institutions.²¹

In 2013, the CSUDH Archives and Special Collections applied for NEH funding to begin a concerted effort to digitize CSU's extensive holdings of Japanese-American historical materials and to develop a web portal to deliver the content. A Humanities Collections and Reference Resources (HCRR) planning grant was provided the following year to help with the formative stages of this initiative. The archives that were most eager to participate included the six CSU campuses with the most extensive holdings of historical materials related to Japanese-American history and the WWII incarceration.²² Before the end of this initial grant, a year later, nine additional CSU campuses took an interest and contributed digitized archival materials, even though they were not part of the original grant proposal.²³ After the pilot project was

²¹ "Participants," CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/participants.html>.

²² The following CSU campuses participated in the initial NEH grant: Dominguez Hills, Fresno, Fullerton, Northridge, Sacramento, and San Jose.

²³ The second wave of CSU campuses included Bakersfield, Channel Islands, East Bay, Long Beach, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, San Luis Obispo, and Sonoma.

completed, NEH encouraged CSU to apply for a full HCRR implementation grant. The NEH proposal was funded in 2016. Meanwhile, this demonstration of collaboration and follow-through led to a second grant from the NPS's Japanese American Confinement Sites Program to digitize more Japanese-American materials, another 10,000 archival items (textual documents, images, etc.), and 100 oral histories. The NEH implementation and the NPS grant projects commenced in 2015-2016 and continued through 2018. Funding for a variant from this standard CSUJAD grant came through in 2017 from the Haynes Foundation and the California Civil Liberties Public Education Program (CCLPEP) with the accessioning of the Ninomiya Photo Studio Collection at CSUDH.²⁴

The Ninomiya Collection was separated by social media and then brought back together by social media. That is, after years of trying to figure out what to do with the work product of a portrait and community photo studio located in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo neighborhood, family members were unable to find an institution willing to accept this collection of over 100,000 prints and negatives. Upon remodeling the building where the images were stored, a contractor saved the material. Rather than dumping the whole lot, he placed an ad on Craig's List offering the photographs from over forty years of photography. At least three separate groups took various parts of the collection. One new owner wanted to digitize the images and create a website, another wanted the images for her daughter, who was interested in photography, and the third considered selling the images or scraping off the silver each image may have contained. After five years of trying, the archivist was able to locate the Ninomiya materials

²⁴ Alexandra Arai Cauley and Christina Pappous, "The Ninomiya Photo Studio Collection," Los Angeles Archivists Collective (blog), accessed May 26, 2019, <http://www.laacollective.org/work/ninomiya-photo-studio/>; "Inventory of the Ninomiya Photography Studio Collection, 1949-1970," Online Archive of California, accessed May 26, 2019, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c84t6q6p/entire_text/.

from these three different parties and acquired the photographs for CSUDH. The collection contains two generations of family and event photos from Little Tokyo and throughout Los Angeles. There are over 100,000 negatives and prints in the Ninomiya Collection within 15,000 packets (one packet per job). Over 7,000 of these items have been digitized and are cataloged within the CSUJAD project.

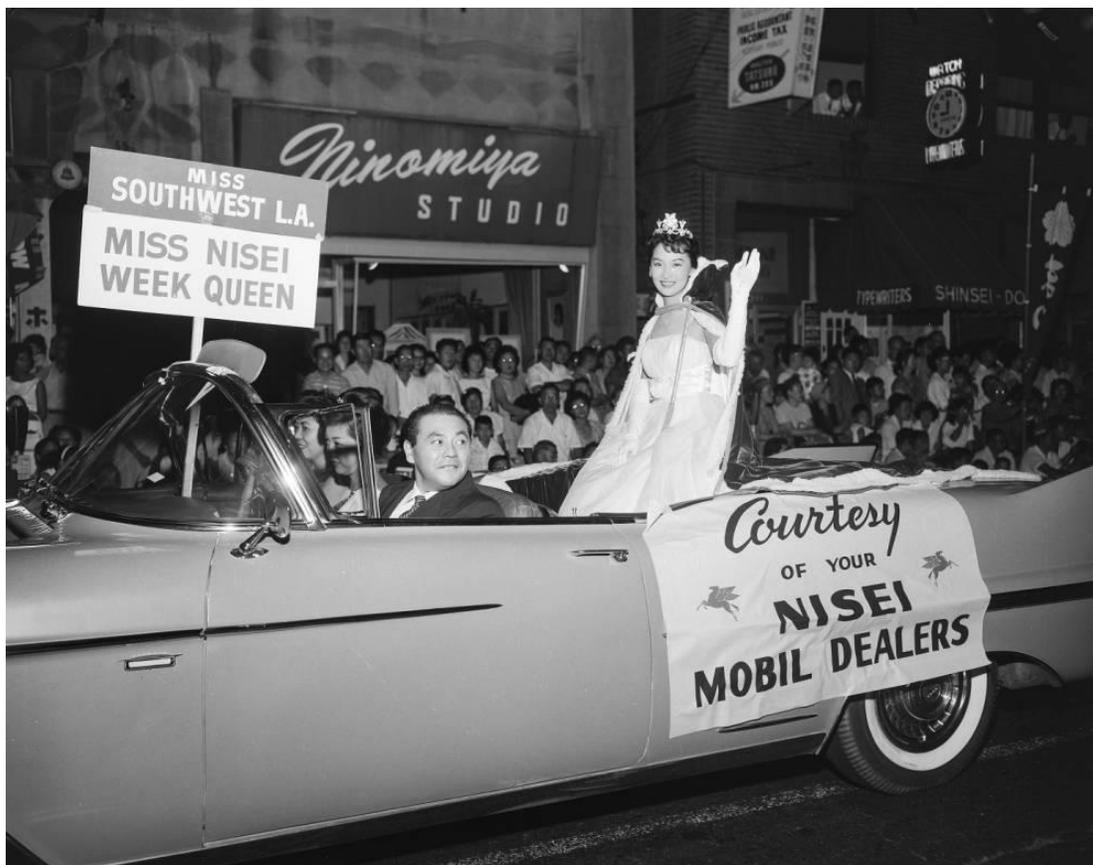


Figure 1. Nisei Week Queen being driven down Los Angeles' First Street in Little Tokyo. The Ninomiya Photo Studio is in the background, 1959.²⁵

Combining both the incarceration era materials and the Ninomiya photos, the CSUJAD project received a grant from the NHPRC in 2018, which will go through 2020. Additionally, the

²⁵ "Nisei Week, 1959," photograph, 1959, Ninomiya Studio Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/29984>.

CSUJAD project reached out to a number of non-CSU archives of various types.²⁶ This aggressive and opportunistic approach to project funding has resulted over 33,000 items being digitized and fully cataloged in five years.

To date, the CSUJAD project has been funded by three federal grants, one state grant, one private grant, and one in-house university grant. Both the NEH and NPS grants reached their goals, as did the next set of grants (Haynes and CCLPEP). The project has been rejected by one state granting agency (a second attempt from an agency that had funded the project the year before). In 2019, while the NHPRC is in progress, CSUJAD has received two additional grants and is awaiting word on another. Unlike science and education grants, which are funded in the millions of dollars, the CSUJAD humanities grants generally range from \$40,000 to \$320,000. The collaborative grant project is both an exercise in intellectual access and discovery as well as a project fraught with learning curves, deadlines (met and missed), and challenges with standards. This repeated need to apply to several different agencies is both exhausting and well worth pursuing.

With each grant, CSUJAD funds are divided up between CSUDH, the host institution, and several other partner archives. CSUDH receives funds for salaries for a project archivist to oversee the cataloging of partner records and a part-time employee to scan materials. Partner archives received anywhere from \$1,000 to \$30,000 for digitization and cataloging. The project archivist then had the job of leading training workshops for the partners, cataloging CSUDH materials, reviewing partner records, incorporating those records into the CSUJAD database,

²⁶ These non-CSU archives include: the Claremont College Libraries, the University of California at Santa Barbara, the Go For Broke Foundation, the Palos Verdes Public Library, the Historical Society of Long Beach, and the Eastern California Museum.

quality checking digital files, and cajoling partners who were lagging behind. The project director and several consultants were tasked with the administration of the project (finding new partners, hiring staff, gathering new collections, writing new grants, generating exhibitions, and adding context to the website).

Generally, the partners with more funding were able to catalog more records. Initially, to include as many CSU archives as possible, it didn't matter how much material the archive had to add to the project, so one partner added one record, another partner added twenty records, while other partners generated thousands of records. It was clear during the early grants that each new partner needed an overview of the CSUJAD technical and metadata standards as well as to be made aware of the deadlines.²⁷ Each grant had a set number of records for the project that needed to be completed from specific collections, both in total and for individual partners. All partners, to varying degrees, were able to meet the goals and stick to the original collections they intended to catalog. Partners were found at archival conferences and through regular CSU archives communications. The NPS grant required the CSUJAD project to catalog 10,000 records. The NEH grant required 7,000 records. The administration of the CSUJAD project evolved into a race to complete a certain number of records for each grant. Both the NEH and NPS grants reached their goals, as did the next set of grants (Haynes and CCLPEP; the NHPRC is still in progress). The new collections for the latter grants were the result of community outreach and invitations to new partners beyond just CSU archives. Granting agencies appear to be attracted to collaborative grants as well as to the topic of Japanese-American history (especially the WWII incarceration). It's also possible that some agencies are

²⁷ "CSUJAD Best Practices," CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/practices.html>.

favorable to projects that are similar to others that have received funding. This type of aggressive grant writing is reliant on consistent project staffing, the need to jump when a grant opportunity is announced, an understanding of the grant outlook for archives, and the ability to customize proposals to the values of granting agencies.

CSU faculty and students are the primary users of the archival and digital materials collected and produced for the CSUJAD project. These collections are among the most used materials in each CSU campus archive, not only for faculty research and instruction, but also by students in their research and learning experiences. Both the actual archival objects and the digitized surrogates are used for undergraduate and graduate CSU courses to provide an introduction to the WWII incarceration and life in the WRA camps, as well as for teaching Japanese-American and other areas of history. All of the archives in this project make these materials part of their introduction to archives presentations as well as available for research in undergraduate or graduate courses. They serve as tools for instruction about primary sources, demonstrating how to use these types of archival materials to discover new information. The collections are used by teaching faculty and are embraced by students because the material is personal, local, relates to seminal events in U.S. history, and focuses on the struggles of a diverse population (CSU has one of the most diverse student populations in the U.S.). The CSUJAD project allows a new generation of scholars to re-analyze what has already been discovered, attend to what may have been missed, and to access hidden collections that have never been accessible before.

Several distinguished scholars, who are specialists in Japanese-American history, are involved in the CSUJAD project.²⁸ Among them, the late Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, an independent researcher who was instrumental in the redress movement, stated, “Making this collection available online is a good step toward informing more people about what happened.” Recounting her own experience, she noted, “I was only a senior in high school when I was taken away ... it was just so arbitrary.” She was held for three and a half years in several camps, including Manzanar, before she and her family were released. Herzig-Yoshinaga said that, in the years following WWII, she did not think too much about the “traumatic experience” that had befallen her until she was well into her fifties. “My family and I were raised to respect authority, but eventually I started to feel that my rights had been deprived by having been picked up simply because of my ancestry,” she said. “It has bothered me a lot ... It didn’t dawn on me until later that the government had really done us wrong.”²⁹ This group of faculty and community activists believed it was essential that future researchers have digital access to CSU archival materials in order to weave a more nuanced record of the incarceration and how it challenged the constitutional rights of all Americans. Roger Daniels, an expert on immigration and the plight of Japanese Americans during WWII, suggested “Uniting these unique archives that illuminate the wartime incarceration is long overdue.”³⁰

²⁸ The CSUJAD advisory group of scholars includes: Roger Daniels, emeritus history professor from the University of Cincinnati; Donald Hata, emeritus professor of history at CSU Dominguez Hills; Rita Takahashi, professor of social work at San Francisco State University; Art Hansen, emeritus professor of history at CSU Fullerton; Cherstin Lyon, professor of history at CSU San Bernardino; Tom Ikeda, executive director of Densho; Martha Nakagawa, journalist and researcher; and the late Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga.

²⁹ Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga to Gregory Williams, letter, October 7, 2014, in the author’s possession. These quotes were retrieved from unpublished letters written in support of the CSUJAD project.

³⁰ Roger Daniels to Gregory Williams, letter, July 10, 2015, in the author’s possession. This quote was retrieved from unpublished letters written in support of the CSUJAD project.

The CSU Japanese-American archival collections represent approximately 400 linear feet of archival materials that focus on some of the most striking events related to the treatment of minorities in U.S. history. The topics cover an enormous range of subjects central to Japanese-American life before, during, and after WWII, including immigration, the California Alien Land Acts of 1913 and 1920, the WRA, redress, Japanese Peruvians, hostage exchanges on the *S.S. Gripsholm*, and the U.S. Army's 442nd Regimental Combat Team. Camps represented include Jerome, Gila River, Rohwer, Manzanar, Tanforan, Poston, Amache/Granada, Heart Mountain, Crystal City, and more. The archival materials digitized for the CSUJAD project are primary historical sources, which include letters, photographs, oral histories (audio and video), transcriptions of those oral histories, camp publications, papers of camp administrators and counselors, poetry, artwork, leases, birth certificates and other documents used to prove citizenship, school yearbooks, applications, bulletins, checks, forms, guidebooks, leases, letters, maps, paintings, pamphlets, postcards, etc.

It is not serendipity that these CSU archives have a great deal of material focused on this issue. Immigration patterns that determined where Japanese Americans (Nikkei) settled also relate to where CSU campuses are located. Sacramento, San Jose, and Fresno had early Japanese-American agricultural populations. The Nikkei populations of Little Tokyo, Terminal Island, Gardena, and Palos Verdes in Los Angeles County are directly connected to the materials that CSUDH, Fullerton, and Northridge have collected. Collections at Sacramento have mostly come from citizens of the Florin neighborhood and others throughout northern California. CSU Fullerton's Japanese-American oral histories were generated by residents of Orange County and other areas of southern California. San Jose's Flaherty Collection consists of materials from

Colonel Hugh T. Fullerton of the Western Defense Command. Materials from CSU Fresno and elsewhere document Japanese Americans in the agricultural areas of the San Joaquin Valley. Highlights from other collections include Sonoma's focus on life north of the San Francisco Bay Area and their partnership with the local Japanese American Citizens League; Long Beach's oral histories dealing with life on Terminal Island and in the South Bay Area of Los Angeles; yearbook excerpts from San Diego State University and San Francisco State University documenting the lives of students prior to incarceration; and San Luis Obispo's important Manzanar letters.

The collections at CSUDH originate mostly from the South Bay Area of Los Angeles County, where some of the largest concentrations of Japanese Americans reside. Anti-Japanese land laws prevented Japanese Americans from owning land and therefore they had to lease farm lands. Large agricultural landowners, such as those who owned the Rancho Dominguez, were required to keep extensive records including birth certificates, passports, and proof of residency for their Japanese-American tenants. Close to 2,000 of those tenant records are part of the CSUJAD project. The records contain scores of leases and letters, both business-like and heartbreaking, that document everything from a tenant farmer's removal by the federal government to the pleading of a tenant to his former landlord to vouch for a relative's loyalty to the U.S. The attempts of businesses to work within the policies of the Alien Land Acts of the early twentieth century are integral to understanding how immigration clashed with prejudice and commercial interests, leading to the WWII incarceration. Strikingly, a 1930s Gardena High School yearbook includes a photograph of a group of Japanese-American students who were

the majority of the students in the Spanish Club, which focuses in on a time when integration into the mainstream was assumed.

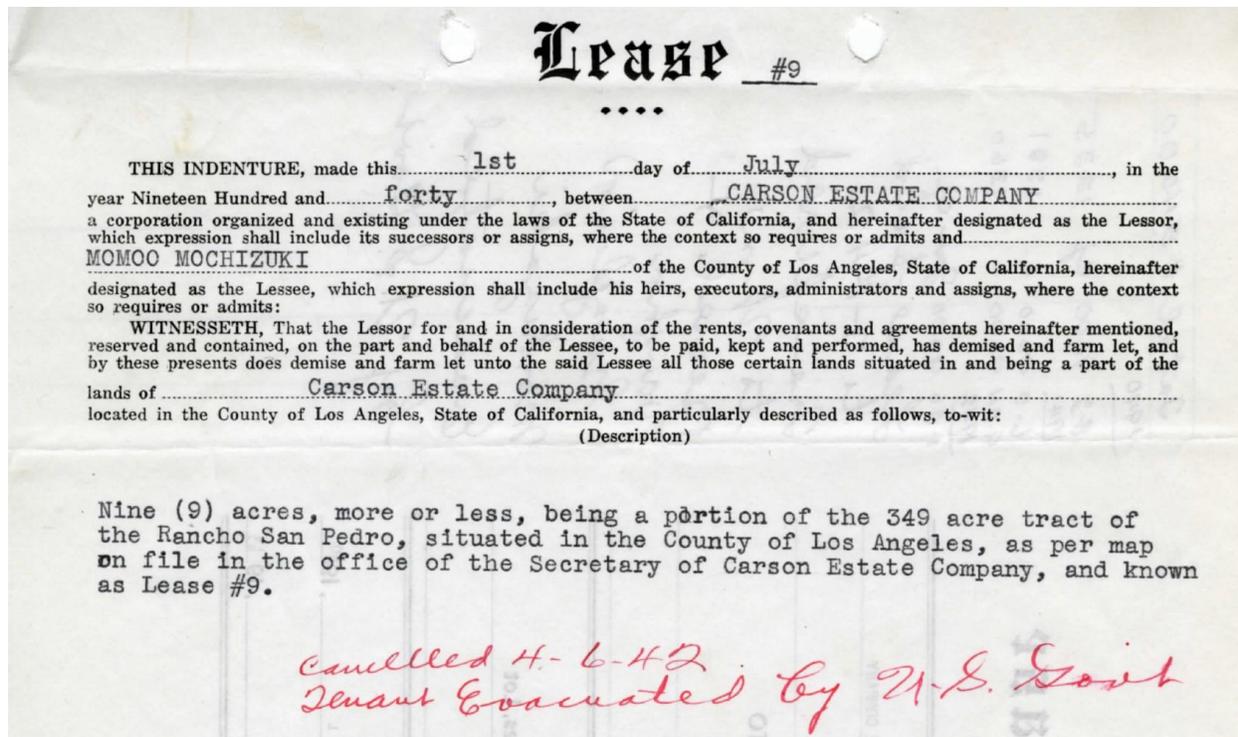


Figure 2. Land lease between the Carson Estate Company and Momoo Mochizuki with the post-Pearl Harbor cancelation and tenant “evacuation” mentioned, April 6, 1942.³¹

At CSUDH, headquarters for CSUJAD, the principal investigator is the only permanent employee. The project staff fluctuates depending on the extent of the grant, but the combination of an aggressive collection development policy and an opportunistic grants program ensures several more years of collecting and cataloging. This multi-year seat-of-your-pants project approach also results in a wide variety of projects that bring about work beyond the basic scanning and metadata creation. They include public programing, classroom work,

³¹ Carson Estate Company and Momoo Mochizuki, land lease, canceled in 1942, Rancho San Pedro Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/4331/rec/45>.

exhibitions, lesson plans, art workshops, and instruction on how to use the CSUJAD database.

This contextual work is often a result of instructions from the granting agencies and adds to the workload.

It is the experience of the CSUJAD team that online access and word of mouth can lead to new collections. Community organizations (gardener's associations, photo studios, prefecture organizations, and social groups) have not only donated their materials, but also assisted CSUJAD with locating additional materials destined for the dump. While the generation that survived the camps as teenagers and young adults is largely deceased, there is the occasional nonagenarian who donates materials. Collections these folks have contributed include photographs and documents from the Jerome Camp, Manzanar, Tule Lake, Heart Mountain, Terminal Island, and elsewhere. While it should be noted that large collections of Japanese-American materials are located at other institutions, as mentioned above, the focus for CSUJAD has been to collect community materials that will connect people and documents. That is, those incarcerated in specific camps did not always return to the home towns they came from, which meant that materials became scattered among many CSUJAD partners. After the WRA camps were closed and time passed, those who were incarcerated started to return to these sites for reunions and then for pilgrimages (pilgrimages are organized annual visits to the WRA camp sites by Japanese Americans, starting in the late 1960s, which have expanded to include participation by many communities confronting civil rights violations). Some donated materials to nearby museums (like the case of the Eastern California Museum near Manzanar). The creation of the Heart Mountain Foundation allowed Heart Mountain materials to mostly end up at the incarceration site. Now that the majority of the WRA camps are National Historic

Landmarks, Monuments, or Sites run by the NPS, archival materials can be donated to them directly.

Yet, the experience of the CSUJAD project is that community contacts sometimes bring in long-lost material one step away from the dumpster. A photo album full of Heart Mountain documentation was given to a CSUJAD donor just after the album's original owner had died. This donor, the head of a dwindling professional organization who donated his own materials, is an active community contact who will now be able to tell others about CSUJAD so similar materials won't be lost. Photo albums from Manzanar, Amache, Poston, and Minidoka have found their way to CSUJAD in a similar word-of-mouth manner. The purpose of this active collection development is to build physical collections and add new and diverse digital materials for CSUJAD. The results are rich new collections, as well as content for the next grant. The success of this collection development work has come about less from planning and more from community contact: archival staff in the community; publicity in local newspapers; scanning days; exhibitions; archival open houses; and the evidence of past work that has resulted in the CSUJAD portal. CSUJAD staff, in most instances, are able to connect with potential donors in either Japanese, with traditional formality, or English, with twenty-first-century informality. Another tactic, most often with the children of those incarcerated, is to offer them a home for the physical materials and/or offer to scan the materials if they want to keep them in the family. Some donors recognized that CSUJAD will preserve the digitized materials and that the physical items will be readily accessible to family members if donated. For donors who do not want to donate the physical materials, the archives will scan and return the items. This extra work, of course, leads to a backlog and sometimes a rush to get materials scanned and back to

their owners, but generally CSUJAD's backlogs are much smaller than those at larger institutions. This is also a selling point.



Figure 3. Ishibashi family party the day before the Pearl Harbor attack, December 6, 1941.³²



³² "Ishibashi family party the day before the Pearl Harbor attack," photograph, December 6, 1941, Ishibashi Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/3134/rec/2>.

Figure 4. Ishibashi family and friends in front of the Buddhist Hall in the Poston WRA Camp, circa 1942.³³

The story of Japanese Americans in the twentieth century – their migration to the U.S.; the Alien Land Acts, under which they lived; their incarceration during WWII; and the redress movement – is a complex local, state, and national one, as well as being of great historical importance for students, scholars, and wider international audiences. It is a subject ripe for further exploration and scholarly interpretation by a new generation of students, scholars, and others, with the hope that a more nuanced record of the incarceration and how it challenged the civil liberties of all Americans can be written.

Temporal Change in Perspectives

I am writing to you from “Fresno Assembly Center.” The life out here is pretty fair, at least, better than I expected. In camp we have no tree nor green grass around; so it is very hot here, beside that we have to be in a line waiting for a mess hall in the hot heat. Here in camp there is no work to do just eat and sleep; but I lose [an obscured number of] pounds since I came here. I rock my baby morning until night because it is so noisy here.³⁴

Letter from Minnie Umeda at the Fresno Assembly Center to Mrs. Waegell, June 8, 1942

The first wave of Japanese immigration to the U.S. around the late 1800s and the early 1900s was mostly to the West Coast, and they were greeted with the same hostility with which other ethnic groups have been greeted, as well as with laws dealing with property rights and

³³ “Ishibashi family and friends in front of the Buddhist Hall in the Poston WRA Camp,” photograph, circa 1942, Ishibashi Collection, Gerth of Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/3137/rec/2>.

³⁴ Minnie Umeda to Mrs. Waegell, letter, June 8, 1942, Japanese American Archival Collection, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, California State University, Sacramento, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/7358/rec/1>.

attempts to limit citizenship. For a while, Japanese-American property owners could deed their property to their underage, but American citizen, children. Japanese Americans initially landed in agricultural areas and then moved to the cities. While hostility toward them in the 1920s and 1930s did not lessen, they established community through churches, language schools, and a variety of commercial establishments. At the same time that they were paying taxes and sending their children to public schools, they were required to submit additional government identification upon signing leases and other bureaucratic forms. Pictures of Japanese-American children in school yearbooks indicate how prevalent these students were in urban areas and that they were largely an accepted part of school culture. For example, the 1935 Gardena, California high school yearbook used Japanese art and graphics throughout to inspire “the Spirit of World Friendship” and there appear to be about fifty-seven students in the Japanese Club.³⁵ In the 1930s, as Japan continued its aggression in China, the racism and hostility in the U.S. against Japanese Americans escalated. Throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s, law enforcement agencies mimicked this hostility by collecting information on Japanese-American community leaders. The bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 led to the immediate arrest of those community leaders, along with a wide variety of other life-changing events.

In the months that followed the attack on Pearl Harbor, a wave of hysteria merged with anti-Asian xenophobia enveloped the West Coast. The ensuing fear opened the door for an attack on the civil and political rights of Japanese Americans, not only by local, state, and national politicians, but also by the military brass and commercial interests. President Roosevelt

³⁵ El Arador, Gardena High School yearbook, 1935, Greaton Gardena Collection, Gerth Special Collections and Archives, California State University, Dominguez Hills, 6.

signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, the result of which was the incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans, who were then banned from coastal regions, sent to assembly centers, and then sent to inland incarceration camps operated by the WRA.

During WWII, there were a variety of reactions and philosophical perspectives within the Japanese community – full compliance with the government, military service to prove loyalty, dissidence, draft resistance, nationalism, and renunciation – that create much complexity when studying this period. There were also generational differences that are best summarized using the Japanese terminology outlined in the table below.

TERMINOLOGY	DEFINITION
Nikkei	Overall term to describe Japanese emigrants and their descendants who reside in foreign countries.
Issei	The first generation of Japanese immigrants to the U.S., most of whom were prohibited from obtaining citizenship due to naturalization laws.
Nisei	The generation of people of Japanese descent born outside of Japan to at least one Issei or one non-immigrant Japanese parent.
Kibei	The second generation of Japanese Americans and American-born children of Issei educated in Japan (often stigmatized as “un-American” because of this).
Sansei	The third generation, American-born children of Nisei.
Renunciants	Nikkei who gave up their U.S. citizenship and were described as “enemy aliens.”

Table 1. Terminology differentiating people of Japanese ancestry and citizenship status.³⁶

By October of 1942, the WRA developed leave clearance procedures to enable about 17,000 Japanese-American citizens (the majority of whom were between eighteen and thirty years of age) to re-enter civilian life as students and workers (about 7% of the total number of Japanese-American incarcerated).³⁷ The WRA reviewed their loyalty, prospects for self-support, and the reception of the community where they intended to move; the majority went to Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City, and New York, far from their West Coast birthplaces. There were a myriad of ways to get out of the WRA camps, from volunteering for military service to even more extreme responses. For example, those incarcerated at the Tule Lake camp were caught in a situation where Japanese nationalism offered an alternative, further dividing the camp's population. Many immigrants and citizens determined that it was possibly safer to be "repatriated" to Japan rather than to stay in the U.S. The concept of giving up U.S. citizenship, though shocking to some, was a viable option, though one with serious implications.³⁸ Many feared for their safety in hostile white communities if they were released from the camps before the war was over and so thought Japan would be safer than the U.S. Others were outraged by their imprisonment, and were disillusioned. Renunciation was made easier by an Act of Congress, the so-called Denaturalization Act of 1944. Initially, fewer than two dozen Tule Lake incarcerated applied to renounce their citizenship, but when the WRA announced that the camp would close in a year, panic and confusion ensued resulting in 7,222 (one-third of Tule

³⁶ This table was informed by the definitions in the Densho Encyclopedia, accessed June 10, 2018, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/>.

³⁷ Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada in World War II* (Malabar, FL: R.E. Krieger, 1981), 110.

³⁸ Barbara Takei and Judy M. Tachibana, *Tule Lake Revisited: A Brief History and Guide to the Tule Lake Concentration Camp Site*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Tule Lake Committee, 2012), 14-15.

Lake's incarcerated) Nisei and Kibei renouncing, 65% of whom were American-born.³⁹ In contrast, only 128 people from the other nine WRA camps renounced their American citizenship. Ultimately, many were repatriated to Japan, while others who signed up to go to Japan realized it was a mistake. Wayne Mortimer Collins, a civil liberties attorney, prevented the Department of Justice from deporting en masse the people of Japanese descent who renounced their U.S. citizenship. But the effort to restore citizenship took twenty-two years – eventually nearly all, except about forty to fifty people, had their citizenship restored.⁴⁰

The WWII generation rarely discussed their camp experiences with their children and were initially reluctant to talk about the incarceration; yet, at the same time, there were activists who did not want the incarceration to be forgotten. As Japanese Americans moved through the 1950s and established a renewed sense of community, there was also a sense of isolation and distrust. That sense of community is evident in the CSUJAD Ninomiya photographs of weddings, funerals, graduations, births, and other events. With the exception of a few activists, the silence of the WWII incarcerated was not broken until the late 1960s as a result of inspiration from the anti-war and civil rights movements. At that point, much of the community still believed the government's rationale of "military necessity" for their incarceration during the war. The archival recovery of government documents in the National Archives by two former incarcerated, Michi Weglyn and Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, dramatically affected political events.⁴¹ The former is known as the "mother of redress" for her 1976 book, *Years of Infamy*, in which she used an array of government documents to prove that the rhetoric about "military

³⁹ Daniels, *Concentration Camps North America*, 116-17.

⁴⁰ Takei and Tachibana, *Tule Lake Revisited*, 16.

⁴¹ Mira Shimabukuro, *Relocating Authority: Japanese Americans Writing to Redress Mass Incarceration* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015), 40-47.

necessity” was a lie.⁴² Herzig-Yoshinaga followed by finding proof that the government had actively sought to cover up the fact that it knew that the “military necessity” rationale was a lie; she found the original draft (with editorial deletions suggested) of what would eventually become the government’s final report on the mass incarceration, along with instructions to destroy the original documents. As Mira Shimabukuro stated, “This proof would be instrumental in more than one redress case that would soon be reargued in front of the US Supreme Court. But no one would have known the significance of the marked-up copy of the final report sitting on the archivist’s table without the elaborate web of documents Herzig-Yoshinaga had not only reCollected, but had organized, and cross-referenced, rhetorically attending the National Archives to help set right what she could now prove the government knew was wrong.”⁴³

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the redress movement was dedicated to getting the U.S. government to acknowledge the damage of the incarceration experience. This movement eventually led to a governmental apology and some financial compensation. As Shimabukuro pointed out, “The community’s effort to garner an official apology, as well as a token monetary payment for rights violated and injuries sustained, from the federal government resulted in a new climate where ordinary people could openly testify about what had happened to them and

⁴² Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 1976.

⁴³ Shimabukuro, *Relocating Authority*, 46-47. The author coins the phrase “rhetorically attended” and develops this idea in the book stating (the emphases are hers), “Given the ‘strict attention’ such a time-consuming process entails, I would argue that Herzig-Yoshinaga *rhetorically attended* the National Archives, first becoming *present at*, then *taking charge of*, and then *applying herself to* the archives as she *stretched her mind toward* what was not readily obvious, all with the intent of helping facilitate social change.” She is pointing out that Herzig-Yoshinaga had the right combination of clerical experience to create a “massive intertextual web of information” and political savvy from her activism, to allow her to develop “a sensitivity to implicit meanings.”

their families, neighbors, and ethnic communities, many of which were broken economically and demographically by mass removal and postwar dispersal.”⁴⁴

The earliest scholarly research and institutional projects focused on the WWII incarceration used official sources, like the WRA’s own records, since the government collected, analyzed, and published copious amounts of demographic and statistical information. This served a useful purpose, but provides the “official” perspective of the people who ran the WRA camps rather than “vernacular” of the people incarcerated in them, where new kinds of critical cultural analysis could have taken place. Shimabukuro looks at how Japanese Americans used writing to resist and redress the WWII mass incarceration, during and after the war, by mining diverse texts and examining literary practices through the use of community archives; she suggests that official accounts must be questioned and that the vernacular – produced during times of stress and travail – should be consulted to see that the “writing-to-redress” was occurring in the WRA camps. “That is, much writing from camp can be seen as the codification of a desire to set right what is wrong or to relieve one’s suffering from the psychological and physical imposition of forced ‘relocation’ and incarceration.”⁴⁵ In this way, we can obtain a more balanced understanding of the WWII incarceration events and a variety of perspectives. Shimabukuro’s research benefited from the democratization of the available information through the mass digitization of a wide variety of archival materials and ready access through

⁴⁴ Shimabukuro, *Relocating Authority*, viii.

⁴⁵ Shimabukuro, *Relocating Authority*, 26.

the internet. The vernacular is at the heart of the CSUJAD project, although official documents are also being digitized to capture every viewpoint. CSUJAD is among the resources mentioned in Shimabukuro's book, along with Densho and the archival work of the JANM.⁴⁶

Terminology Issues

But, when you come into camp and you see all the military there, the fences, barbwire now [laughs] you know you're coming into – they call it a relocation camp. That's a bunch of baloney to me. How can anybody mention it that way? It's a concentration camp. You're detained until they make their decision. It wasn't right, all along. You know, eventually you start seeing things. Before you're just a kid playing and trying to survive. Now, this is becoming emotional. We're getting thrown in camp, and I did not feel hurt too much for myself because I didn't lose anything. But these other people, when I hear they lost their whole house, all their goodies and everything, you know, personal belongings, kimonos, and all kinds of stuff. You know? You can't buy that every day. So, I know they must have been really hurt, and I felt for them, more than myself. I had nothing to lose.⁴⁷

Oral history with Takeshi Isozaki, resident of the Children's Village for orphans at Manzanar, March 13, 1993

The terminology and controlled vocabulary used by libraries and archives for subjects relating to Native Americans, African Americans, and LGBTQIA2+ people are often evolving and open to debate. Describing wartime Japanese-American history is controversial and evolving in a similar manner. Often, before delving deeply into the history of the treatment of Japanese Americans during WWII, the public tends to associate the term "internment" or "internees" with the WRA camps and the people living in them. This is so ingrained in contemporary society that some scholars continue to use this terminology for its immediacy. It is intriguing how the old

⁴⁶ Shimabukuro, *Relocating Authority*, ix, 31-32.

⁴⁷ Takeshi Isozaki, oral history, March 13, 1993, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/7974/rec/1>.

terminology maintains its power in the current political landscape. Activists have maintained that “evacuation,” “internment,” and “relocation center” should be replaced with “mass removal,” “incarceration,” and “concentration camp.” Historical documents provide evidence that President Franklin D. Roosevelt referred to the camps as “concentration camps.” Some would go as far as referring to the network of WRA camps as a “gulag.” When the Trump administration began separating immigrant and refugee children from their parents and imprisoning them in 2018, the political opposition to this practice used the term “Japanese-American internment” to equate the situations and bring an immediate response as well as an understanding of the associated civil and human rights issues. In this case, the use of the older euphemistic terminology allowed the public to understand that the term “tender-age shelters,” in reality, referred to child prison camps. Though child separation policies were in the headlines for a month in the middle of 2018, the Trump administration has continued to “incarcerate,” “jail,” or “house” several thousand children in tents, temporary shelters, and homes operated by contractors through the end of 2018. The debate over the use of the term “concentration camp” was highlighted again when a congresswoman was accused of overreach by referring to the prisons for migrants on the Texas border as “concentration camps” in the summer of 2019.⁴⁸ These terminology debates are not new to those interested in WWII Japanese-American incarceration.

During WWII, government officials, politicians, and journalists used euphemistic language to refer to the incarceration of Japanese-American citizens – mild expressions for

⁴⁸ John McWhorter, “AOC’s Critics Are Pretending Not to Know How Language Works: A great deal of communication is based on metaphor,” *The Atlantic* (June 20, 2019), <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/06/defense-ocasio-cortez-concentration-camp-comment/592180/>.

harsh realities. While two generations of social justice activists have maintained that government euphemisms attempt to lessen the impact of the WWII incarceration, questions continue to be raised. Densho explains the issue as follows: “Should euphemistic language from an earlier era be used today? This is an important question for students, teachers, and all people concerned with historical accuracy. Many Japanese Americans, some scholars, and other credible sources use the terminology of the past, which they believe is true to that era and unlikely to invite controversy. In contrast, many Japanese Americans, historians, educators, and others use terminology that they feel more accurately represents the historical events.”⁴⁹

The work of Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga described in “Words Can Lie or Clarify” and Roger Daniels’ “Words Do Matter” provides a legal and historical perspective on the use of these terms.⁵⁰ In the former, Herzig-Yoshinaga tells the story of her 1980s work as a research staff member employed by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) and how she drew this group’s attention to the terminology issues by compiling a list of problematic terms from primary sources in the National Archives and other repositories. “During the course of my work as a CWRIC researcher I learned that ‘relocation center,’ ‘nonaliens,’ and ‘evacuation’ were only a few of many euphemisms that were deliberately used to obscure and conceal what was done to American citizens under the fraudulent rationale of ‘military necessity.’ In fact, it was not lost on me that the extremely problematic word

⁴⁹ “Terminology,” Densho, <https://densho.org/terminology/>.

⁵⁰ Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, “Words Can Lie or Clarify: Terminology of the World War II Incarceration of Japanese Americans,” *Discover Nikkei*, February 2, 2010, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2010/02/02/terminology-incarceration-japanese-americans/>; Roger Daniels, “Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of the Japanese Americans,” in *Nikei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Louis Fiset and Gail Nomura (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 183-207, https://www.nps.gov/tule/learn/education/upload/RDaniels_euphemisms.pdf.

‘internment’ was in the very title of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.”⁵¹ Herzig-Yoshinaga also mentions other euphemistic words, such as “relocation,” “relocation centers,” “assembly centers,” and “internment.” She then suggests preferred terminology, such as “forced removal,” “expulsion,” “uprooting,” “American concentration camps,” “incarceration,” “imprisonment,” “prisoner,” “inmates,” “incarcerees,” “temporary concentration camps,” and “confinement.”

Both Daniels and Herzig-Yoshinaga persuasively argue that “incarceration,” and by extension “incarceree” are the appropriate terms to use for the 80,000 American citizens of Japanese ancestry, and 40,000 Japanese nationals barred from naturalization by race, imprisoned under the authority of Executive Order 9066 in WRA camps. There were approximately 11,000 people who were actually interned following a recognized legal procedure. They were Japanese citizens, the nation with which the U.S. was at war, seized for reasons supposedly based on their behavior, and entitled to individual hearings before a board, whereas the 120,000 Japanese-American men, women, and children in the WRA camps had no due process of law; the violation of their civil and human rights was justified on the grounds of military necessity.⁵² The CWRIC concluded that Executive Order 9066 and the policy decisions that followed were not driven by an analysis of military conditions; “The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident nationals of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them,

⁵¹ Herzig-Yoshinaga, “Words Can Lie or Clarify,” 2.

⁵² Daniels, “Words Do Matter,” 11.

were excluded, removed and detained by the United States during World War II.”⁵³ This legal differentiation was the basis for the redress movement, which led to the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, involving an apology and \$20,000 payment to more than 80,000 camp survivors.

Connie Chiang starts her book, *Nature Behind Barbed Wire*, with a note clarifying her terminology choices. She points out that all of the choices have problems, but she uses “incarceration,” “confinement,” and “detention,” rather than “internment.” Similarly, “forced removal,” “mass removal,” and “expulsion” are used, rather than the milder government terms of “evacuation” and “relocation.”⁵⁴ Scholars writing on the subject continue to need to clarify their use of terminology. The Tule Lake unit of the NPS provides links to the key readings related to the terminology controversy.⁵⁵ As previously mentioned, Densho has an extensive discussion of the terminology issue as well as a thorough glossary of terms and a comprehensive online encyclopedia. These resources outline the many different types of camps used for incarceration during WWII; they are summarized in the table below to clarify the categories of people who were detained in them. It is easy to see why “internment” is appropriate when referring to Department of Justice and U.S. Army camps, where detainees experienced the due process of law; those detainees lived a different experience than did those confined in the WRA and other camps.

⁵³ Daniels, “Words Do Matter,” 5.

⁵⁴ Connie Y. Chiang, *Nature Behind Barbed Wire: An Environmental History of the Japanese American Incarceration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), xiii-xv.

⁵⁵ “Suggested Reading,” Tule Lake Unit National Park Service, March 1, 2015, <https://www.nps.gov/tule/learn/education/suggestedreading.htm>.

Temporary Assembly Center (Santa Anita, Fresno, etc.)	People of Japanese ancestry born in Japan, immigrants to the U.S., and Japanese-American citizens
WRA (Manzanar, Rohwer, Granada, etc.)	People of Japanese ancestry born in Japan, immigrants to the U.S., and Japanese-American citizens
Segregation Center (Tule Lake)	People of Japanese ancestry born in Japan, immigrants to the U.S., and Japanese-American citizens – especially those considered to be disloyal or troublemakers
Immigration Detention Facility (Honolulu, Seattle, San Francisco, etc.)	Japanese nationals arrested by the FBI
Department of Justice Internment Camp (Crystal City, etc.)	German and Italian nationals, Japanese Latin Americans, and enemy aliens
U.S. Army Internment Camp (Camp Lordsburg, etc.)	Prisoners of war
U.S. Federal Prison	Draft resisters

Table 2. Different types of camps and the categories of people detained in them.

For the CSUJAD project, archivists, scholars, and technical experts gathered for two days at the commencement of the project in 2014 to work their way through historical, philosophical, and practical issues. One of the first orders of business was to discuss the controversial topic of terminology as it applies to the Japanese-American experience during WWII. The CSUJAD scholarly advisory group was in attendance, with a range of expertise – from people who were in WRA camps during WWII to distinguished scholars and community activists – which led to some lively debate. In the end, the consensus was on “incarceration” over

“internment” – not surprising, given that Herzig-Yoshinaga and Daniels were at the table. By extension, the people in the WRA camps should therefore be referred to as “incarcerees” and the camps themselves as “incarceration camps.” The use of “incarceration” was a relatively easy initial determination, although there were some who preferred the term “concentration camp” for the WRA camps. Donald Hata still uses “gulag,” having been in the WWII camps with his family, and Densho uses “concentration camp,” but these terms have inextricable associations with Soviet forced-labor camps and Nazi death camps respectively, so the consensus was to not use them for the CSUJAD project. It is worth noting though that the use of terms such as “gulag” and “concentration camp” dramatically broadens the meaning of the wartime imprisonment of civilians in the U.S. and reflects on the problems and the impotence of the word “internment.”

In addition to assistance with the terminology, the CSUJAD scholars shared information about their specific research interests and general trends in the scholarship on Japanese-American history, especially as it relates to the WWII era and incarceration events. They provided guidance on gaps in the available documentation and valuable feedback on how the CSU collections might fill those lacunae. An inclusive approach was suggested that has led to not only many more CSU archival collections being added, but those from other institutions with Japanese-American collections, from small rural museums, historical societies, public libraries, and other research institutions. Scholars continue to support the CSUJAD project in an advisory capacity providing letters for grant applications, constructive feedback about the project, and participation in educational programming and outreach.

Rather than starting from scratch, the planners and catalogers for the CSUJAD project relied heavily on the Densho glossary and encyclopedia, as well as Densho's "Digitization and Preservation Manual" for the terminology employed. Tom Ikeda, Densho's executive director, is a member of the scholarly advisory group, so he and all the Densho project staff have generously provided technical support and shared their extensive experience and work on terminology, as well as included the CSUJAD team members in their expanded thesaurus work. Densho was open to sharing the most current version and allowing CSU to build upon it. A University of California Los Angeles librarian, who later became the CSUJAD digital archivist at CSUDH, Yoko Okunishi, was hired to synthesize this information and determine the project's initial terminology choices. She enhanced the Densho list of controlled terms with Library of Congress subject terms. Other metadata consultants and project catalogers used this information as the starting point for the development of a CSUJAD project-specific data dictionary with an associated Excel template, extended cataloging guidelines, and a list of controlled vocabulary with subject terms that the CSUJAD project can use.⁵⁶ Okunishi continues to update these guiding documents.

Realizing the power of language, the CSUJAD partners carefully developed a controlled vocabulary for the subject fields associated with the archival objects. Although this effort commenced with Densho's terminology, the advice of the advisory scholars and the iterative work of multiple catalogers have differentiated the CSUJAD controlled vocabulary and influenced its growth. These guiding documents have been updated, discussed, and disseminated to all of the participating CSUJAD partners. The goal is to have each archive use

⁵⁶ "CSUJAD Best Practices," CSUJAD, May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/practices.html>.

this information to develop its cataloging records more extensively at the campus level, while a central CSUDH cataloger provides quality control and any final enhancements for the records. Because of the different nature of each archive and the varying amount of materials coming into the project, an extended group of catalogers was hired at the participating CSUJAD partner institutions to strive for the consistent handling of the project documentation. Catalogers continue to expand the controlled vocabulary, enhance the metadata guidelines based on the iterative process of the actual cataloging, provide necessary descriptive metadata, and manage the materials in the collection management system. The CSUJAD resolution of terminology issues has been summarized and posted to the project website to explain to users the reasoning behind these decisions. The example below shows how descriptive metadata can objectify even the most startling images.



14 DPA Series RELOCATION OF JAPANESE-AMERICANS — Although the WRA began to open the camp gates as early as 1943, many internees remained until their safety could be assured, for hate and hysteria awaited their return. Vigilantes threatened anyone with violence or death who would encourage or hire a Japanese-American. Groups like the American Legion, the Americanism Educational League, the California Council of Los Angeles, and many others, had worked hard to permanently banish them from the coastal states. General Stillwell, Commander of the China-Burma-India Theatre, had only the highest praise for the Nisei fighting under his command and pledged himself to fight any "barbaric commandos" who discriminated against them. But the West Coast racists felt their actions were justified because they were sure their government would never incarcerate American citizens unless they were disloyal and undesirable. G. S. Hunt, a barber of Kent, Washington, was one of those who opposed the return of the internees to their homes after the war. March 2, 1944.

DOCUMENTARY PHOTO AIDS®
Box 956, Mount Dora, Florida 32757

Figure 5. Sample of CSUJAD archival object and descriptive metadata, including controlled subject terms.⁵⁷ Title: G.S. Hantf, a barber in Kent, Washington. Description: G.S. Hantf, a barber in Kent, Washington, who opposed the return of the incarcerated to their homes after the war, March 2, 1944. Photo shows him pointing to a sign “We don’t want any Japs back here -- ever!” Subjects: Race and racism – Discrimination; WWII – Pearl Harbor and aftermath – Responses of non-Japanese.

However, these practical and educational efforts to standardize terminology are not without challenges. The CSUJAD team had to consider that a complete avoidance of the term “internment” in the database would be inaccurate in the case of the Department of Justice and U.S. Army camps and could cause search and discovery problems that might make it more difficult for researchers to find the content they need. A technological solution was suggested, which could allow for a search term to link to multiple terms, but the current system doesn’t support this feature. The possibilities are still being explored so, when a user types in “internment,” it will also turn up items tagged with “incarceration.” CSUJAD started with six institutional partners and now has twenty-five; ensuring that this extended network of catalogers attends to the project’s current metadata standards is a challenge. Terminology determinations are sometimes overlooked by CSUJAD partners and it is not always possible to delete this information from titles once centralized. Therefore, “internment” has not been completely eliminated from the CSUJAD database, but regular updates and ongoing communication about the project standards generally has worked to focus on the use of “incarceration” over “internment.”

⁵⁷ “G.S. Hantf, a barber in Kent, Washington,” photograph, March 2, 1944, Japanese Americans in World War II Collection, California State University, Fresno, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/11493/rec/5>.

In this way, the CSUJAD project has taken controversial terminology into consideration, consulted with the experts, and found a functional solution based on current scholarship to allow an extended group of partners to aggregate archival collections of Japanese-American history and consistently describe them while also raising awareness about the terminology issues. Of course, the scholarly terminology debate continues and a mix of terms can be found in the actual CSUJAD archival objects, which are not altered in any way for historical accuracy. This CSUJAD terminology determination can be a contested point. Newspaper style guides still use “internment.” The attempt to eliminate sexist, euphemistic, or racist language commonplace 100 or even twenty-five years ago is an appropriate goal for cataloging, but re-writing history is not. History, warts and all, should be quoted as its contemporaries described it. Indeed, imperialist euphemisms can be instructive, if only to alert students to a worn out worldview. The CSUJAD project balances controlled vocabulary for online discoverability with respect for history and individual choice.

Contextualizing Archival Materials

There sprung a rumor that all aliens will be deported and with it, there occurred a possibility our family being separated. I was utterly confused as to what I should do. But my bitterness towards my country for depriving us of our Constitutional rights made my citizenship seem unimportant compared to separating from our parents. Then and there I renounced my citizenship. That was my great mistake but the pressure we were living under at that time was tremendous. I guess my father’s bitterness towards this country in losing all his life’s work had a great deal of influence on me too.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Masaru Teshiba to Virginia B. Lowers, letter, January 24, 1946, Virginia B. Lowers Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/7042/rec/1>.

Masaru Teshiba, Fort Lincoln Internment Camp, Bismarck, North Dakota to his former high school teacher, Virginia Lowers, requesting a character reference to help avoid deportation to Japan, January 24, 1946

The CSUJAD primary sources provide ample opportunities to examine the WWII incarceration from every angle. Vernacular materials – letters, diaries, photos, artwork, oral histories, and other expressions of daily personal experience in camps – reveal personal struggles and the hoops both citizens and immigrants had to jump through to maintain their residency in the U.S. In an article written specifically to illuminate the value of the project, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi explains through multiple examples the importance of making vernacular materials more widely accessible online.⁵⁹ The examples he provides vividly demonstrate how artwork, personal letters, and diaries have already been used to effectively generate first-hand, personal, and historical accounts of the Japanese-American incarceration experience. Hirabayashi posits that a new generation of scholarship, one that bases its work on sources distinctive from the previous WRA-generated and -influenced work will result. He suggests that this newfound access to primary, vernacular materials donated by “ordinary” men and women to their local university libraries will greatly expand our knowledge of what happened to Japanese Americans in the 1940s and how it felt to go through this painful experience. The scholars involved in the project provided links to important aspects of their work, helped build a select bibliography for the CSUJAD project, and provided critical feedback for improvements.

Although it is primarily up to the users of the CSUJAD database – students, educators, researchers, and the interested public – to interpret the archival objects, the scholar advisory

⁵⁹ Hirabayashi, “Everyday Sources about Life in the Camps,” http://www.csujad.com/images/HolisticRepresentations_Hirabayashi.pdf.

group and archivists agreed that some curation and ongoing contextualization is important. A web portal – where access to the centralized database is combined with contextual information that can be compiled in an ongoing fashion and made available to a global audience – was the vision from the start. The web designer, Sean Smith, a historian teaching at CSU Long Beach, developed an aesthetically pleasing, user-friendly look and feel for the project’s website, which is the face of the CSUJAD project. Every page has a button that links users to the project-generated search page that contains the primary sources, while providing project information and topically associated resources. It is visually compelling with scrolling images of the archival materials and rotating featured collections. The director and consultants wrote and developed the text, providing all the necessary information for a substantive web presence, while the designer organized and linked everything.

The website includes the following additional information: acknowledgment of the grant funding received to date as well as CSU and other institutional partner support; statements about the CSUJAD mission and goals; CSU archival collection information with links to finding aids (in case researchers want to know where they can access the primary analog materials); an interactive map; educational guides; scholarly contributions and bibliographies; resource links; exhibitions; and additional information about project best practices, citations, the participants, collections, and contacts. The Google map offers researchers access to content relating specifically to pertinent geographical sites, and clicking on the flags provides immediate access to the archival materials in the project that can be associated with a given location – especially useful for the WRA and other types of WWII camps.⁶⁰ The educational guides that are included

⁶⁰ “Site Distribution Map,” CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/distribution.html>.

to date are a user's guide to help with database searches, an extensive lesson plan, and a statement about the CSUJAD project's terminology decisions.⁶¹ Links to key digital resources focused on the Japanese-American experience are provided along with information about the WRA sites, for those who might want to visit or obtain more information.⁶² An online exhibition is available through the last tab (discussed more below), providing a place to document current and past physical exhibits. Links to current versions of the project's data dictionary, cataloging guidelines, and controlled vocabulary are provided for information professionals.⁶³ Citation recommendations for the archival materials, using the most popular style guides for this area of study, are also provided for students and researchers.⁶⁴

To expand the reach of the CSUJAD project and bring it to key audiences, CSU archivists are collaborating with the CDL to have the CSUJAD digital objects added or ingested into the CDL's archival service and delivery projects. All of the CSUJAD archive partners have created or are in the process of creating finding aids for each of the Japanese-American collections in the OAC to help researchers locate the physical archival items (mentioned above, footnote 20). These guides provide collection-level descriptions of the archival materials, but also link to the item-level digitized material on the CSUJAD project website. In addition, the digital objects are being harvested into Calisphere, CDL's gateway to primary sources.⁶⁵ This additional level of item-level access expands the reach of the project to all Calisphere users, who are already familiar with the existing Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive available there

⁶¹ "Education Guides and Resources," CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/edguides.html>.

⁶² "Japanese American Resources," CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/links.html>.

⁶³ "CSUJAD Best Practices," CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/practices.html>.

⁶⁴ "How to Cite Our Sources," CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/cite.html>.

⁶⁵ "Calisphere," California Digital Library, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://calisphere.org/>.

(mentioned above, footnote 13). Themed collections that support the California History-Social Science Framework for K-12 schools provide another search entry point to these materials, making these primary sources easier for teachers, students, and the public to find in relation to the other content featured in Calisphere.⁶⁶ Since the CDL is a content hub for the Digital Public Library of America, the CSUJAD collection is exposed through that project too.⁶⁷ Preservation quality digital objects and metadata are also sent to Densho, where they will be sustained into the future.⁶⁸ With a combination of in-kind contributions and project support, Densho is ingesting the CSUJAD materials to reach wider audiences. In this way, the CSU content is made accessible to more people in the primary target audiences of higher education students, scholars, and researchers of Japanese-American history, but also K-12 education and the Japanese-American community.

Often the granting agencies that have provided aid for the CSUJAD project require educational components or request community outreach as well. Therefore, the CSUJAD team has planned, developed, and implemented a variety of physical and online exhibits, a lesson plan, professional development, and educational workshops using the archival materials acquired and digitized for this project. Community events such as scanning days and presentations to historical societies have involved the local community in project activities to allow for contributions to the archival descriptive information and encourage additional donations. These activities are intended to contextualize, interpret, and publicize the CSUJAD project and to enhance the CSUJAD user experience.

⁶⁶ "History-Social Science Framework," California Department of Education, accessed June 23, 2019, <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/hs/cf/hssframework.asp>.

⁶⁷ Digital Public Library of America, accessed June 19, 2019, <https://dp.la/>.

⁶⁸ "Densho Digital Repository," Densho, <https://ddr.densho.org/>.

To prepare for the development of these resources and activities, site visits were made to most of the CSUJAD partners to assist with curating the archival collections, to learn more about the specific materials that would be added to the CSUJAD project, and to answer any project questions. Similarly, site visits to the two California WRA camps, Manzanar and Tule Lake, were made to touch base with the NPS staff about potential collaborations. A stop at the Eastern California Museum in Independence (a few miles from Manzanar) led to their active participation in the project.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Executive Order 9066 authorizing the mass incarceration of Japanese-American citizens during WWII was commemorated in February 2017, and the CSUJAD project had progressed enough for this occasion to be a great opportunity to showcase it. CSUDH had a major exhibition of the primary sources, photographs, artwork, and other artifacts related to Japanese-American history entitled “And Then They Came For Us”⁶⁹ Associated with the exhibit were a full-day symposium, film screenings, and panel discussions. A historical timeline and associated posters were created to provide historical information to contextualize the archival objects. These posters were made available to the other CSUJAD partners who developed ten CSU and five community college campus exhibitions. They are now downloadable for anyone to use.

To extend the efforts made on the physical exhibitions to an online environment, Stephen Kutay, the Digital Services librarian at CSU Northridge, who has provided technical support for the CSUJAD project from its inception, developed an online exhibition using the

⁶⁹ Mary-Michelle Moore, “And Then They Came For Us,” CSUDH University Library, February 23, 2017, <https://torolink.csudh.edu/news/107759>.

Scalar tools.⁷⁰ It presents a documentary narrative of Japanese-American history – from before WWII through the incarceration experience to resettlement and redress – using the posters mentioned above and a variety of textual and visual archival materials from the CSUJAD project to tell the story as an engaging visual experience.

Since the California state standards for teaching history recommend teaching the WWII incarceration in the eleventh grade and it is a topic also frequently taught in higher education, a teaching guide with suggested lesson plans was developed to assist secondary- and college-level teachers in using the CSUJAD primary sources in the classroom. The guide focuses on the consternation caused by the questionnaire that was used to determine the loyalty of the Japanese and Japanese Americans incarcerated in the WRA camps and the subsequent removal of “disloyals” to the Tule Lake Segregation Center. Exploring the question of what loyalty meant to the people of Japanese ancestry incarcerated during WWII, the lesson provides activities and guiding questions to encourage students to search for and analyze archival documents that might shed light on the issues and controversies that arose during WWII. For an example of the ways that archival objects are being used in the lesson plan and online exhibit, the following is one suggested activity:

Activity 6

Look at the three photographs below showing life at Tule Lake. Notice the dates that the pictures were taken and look at the timeline. Consider the transition of Tule Lake from a WRA camp to a segregation center.

Guiding Questions

⁷⁰ “About Scalar,” The Alliance for Networking Visual Culture, accessed June 19, 2019, <https://scalar.me/anvc/scalar/>; “California State University Japanese American Digitization Project: An Exhibit,” accessed June 19, 2019, <http://scalar.usc.edu/works/csujad-exhibit/index>.

*What did the photographer want you to see in these images?
What can you learn about daily life at Tule Lake from these photographs?
What do they tell us about the changes to the camp over time?*



“A fashion show was one of the many exhibits held at this relocation center on Labor Day. Great skill was shown in dressmaking and tailoring, and was thoroughly appreciated by the large audience which witnessed this display.” Francis Stewart, WRA photographer, 1942⁷¹



⁷¹ Francis Stewart, “Tule Lake fashion show,” photograph, September 7, 1942, John M. Flaherty Collection of Japanese Internment Records, Department of Special Collections and Archives, San Jose State University, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/8887/rec/1>.

*Two soldiers holding guns “standing by for possible difficulty” at Tule Lake.
Owen M. Sylvester, photographer, circa 1943⁷²*



Photograph of the policemen at Tule Lake Segregation Center, August 30, 1943⁷³

Figure 6. Activity 6 from the CSUJAD teaching guide.⁷⁴

A user’s guide was also developed to provide information about the CSUJAD collection management software and tips for the search and discovery of the digitized archival materials.⁷⁵ To spread the word about these educational resources, two professional development workshops for elementary and high school teachers took place at CSUDH in 2018. Members of the scholar advisory group who were children in the WRA camps shared their

⁷² “Soldiers and Incarcerates,” photograph, circa 1943, Owen Sylvester Tule Lake Photo Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/7054/rec/93>.

⁷³ “Policemen at Tule Lake Segregation Center,” photograph, August 30, 1943, John M. Flaherty Collection of Japanese Internment Records, Department of Special Collections and Archives, San Jose State University, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/12108/rec/1>.

⁷⁴ “Educational Guides and Resources,” CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/edguides.html>.

⁷⁵ “Educational Guides and Resources,” CSUJAD, updated May 9, 2018, <http://www.csujad.com/edguides.html>.

WWII experiences, and the teachers were introduced to the CSUJAD project and the various teaching resources associated with it, which are linked from both the project website and the online exhibit. A new type of creative workshop took place in the spring of 2019 targeting high school and college students. Alan Nakagawa, an interdisciplinary artist consultant, spent four days at CSUDH teaching different groups of students about art making and the Japanese-American WWII incarceration. These students also visited the CSUDH Library Archives and Special Collections Department to experience handling the archival materials and to learn more from the archivists about the CSUJAD online project, which provided the resources for the art project. These workshops are part of the CSUDH Praxis Studio, which brings together students to explore their history, social conditions, neighborhoods, and storylines through art.⁷⁶ Using methodologies from the CSUDH arts curriculum and those developed by Praxis, students created drawings, watercolor paintings, and collages based on the collected stories that emerged from the CSUJAD archival materials and brought them together in an art zine publication and campus exhibition.⁷⁷ Students' reactions to the WWII incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry are being shared with the community in this way and the zines are being distributed to local and national archives, Japanese-American organizations, schools, and arts organizations in both hard copy and electronic versions. These activities extended the reach of the CSUJAD project through the workshop products and associated activities.

Other historical, cultural, and professional organizations are being informed about this project through community events, publicity, conference presentations, and publications. For

⁷⁶ "Mission," Praxis, accessed June 20, 2019, <http://www.csudhpraxis.org/about/>.

⁷⁷ "Unfinished Proof Ninomiya," CSUDH University Art Gallery, May 8 through September 18, 2019, <https://gallery.csudh.edu/>.

example, in fall 2018, a CSUDH scanning day was held at the Gardena Valley Japanese Cultural Institute; attendees brought in applicable archival materials for scanning, learned about the CSUJAD collection from archivists, viewed and discussed these archival objects, and toured the website and online exhibit. The CSUDH scanning day was successful because of publicity in the local Japanese-American press. New images were acquired for the CSUJAD project and new family collections were donated to the archives at CSUDH. As the WWII generation passes, it is not only those who were in the WRA camps who donate materials, but also their children and grandchildren. Throughout 2017 and 2018, CSUDH received close to twenty-five new accessions of family materials relating to the Japanese-American incarceration. This was because of the existence of the CSUJAD project, reaching out to the community (through news outlets), and partially because of community contacts. Williams also presented the project to the Little Tokyo Historical Society in Los Angeles and is planning a follow-up scanning day activity with this group. Having acquired the Ninomiya Photo Studio Collection, the next event will have an added crowd-sourcing component to help build the descriptive information for this remarkable collection of portraiture and community events documenting post-war resettlement and daily life in Los Angeles. The plan is to leverage the knowledge and family interest of online volunteers and encourage them to search the CSUJAD project. They will be asked to enhance the descriptive metadata and add value through tagging and commenting on the digitized photographs directly in the online system.

This chapter grew out of a 2016 presentation we gave at the Art Libraries of North of America and Visual Resources Association Conference in Seattle, where the CSUJAD project was presented in a session entitled “Connecting the Past to the Present: Promoting Cultural

Understanding through Collections and Exhibitions.” Numerous similar presentations at local and national archival (such as the Society of American Archivists and the Society of California Archivists) and library professional organizations have taken place and are planned for the future, where the CSUJAD project is publicized and project experiences are shared. Press releases, blog postings, and other social media outlets are being used to further the reach to regional, national, and global audiences.

The above is not a comprehensive list of activities, but it is representative of the efforts that are being made to contextualize the CSUJAD project, encourage usage, and enhance the experience of the community of users and interpreters connected to this subject. The CSUJAD archival materials deepen the user experience when searching the database, exploring the website, or experiencing exhibits, symposia, film screenings, teacher workshops, or scanning days, which involve the community and publicize the project. The compounding connections between digitization, accurate description, contextualization, and expanding collecting opportunities allows for not only a broader historical interpretation, but also for a focus on the building blocks of community-based collection development. This is important for new scholarship, public interpretation, and for allowing the Japanese-American community to delve deeply into its history.

Currency Today

As you might know, since the war ended some kind of pressure came to us Japanese. The immigration officers are investigating every issei's past records. It goes back to 1929. In January of that year I had a pass from the Calexico port, Imperial Valley, California, to cross the boarder to Mexico to visit a Mexican school and came back the same afternoon. The pass is usable for one year or over without any visa. The immigration

office did not [stamp the] visa as it was not required. But, today, the government says I came in illegally.⁷⁸

Letter from Toske Hoshimiya from Ann Arbor, Michigan to Ralph McFarling,
November 1, 1945

Japanese Americans who were in camps or in the military during WWII have found a variety of ways to commemorate their wartime experiences. After the 1960s, there were reunions both at the incarceration camps and in major cities when the camps were too far away to visit. Later, activists in the Japanese-American community used what they learned about incarceration to memorialize its role in U.S. history. This resulted in the establishment of the WRA camps as National Parks (Manzanar and Tule Lake) or sites of historical importance (Heart Mountain and Amache). Generations of Japanese Americans continue to have annual “days of remembrance.” Each year, Manzanar, Tule Lake, and other sites hold annual pilgrimages. Hundreds of Japanese Americans are joined by supporters to commemorate their relatives who endured the WWII incarceration. These events have also resulted in archival documentation that is of historical importance. The CSUJAD project has digitized many reunion and other commemorative booklets.

⁷⁸ Toske Hoshimiya to Ralph McFarling, letter, November 1, 1945, J. Ralph McFarling Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/316/rec/9>.

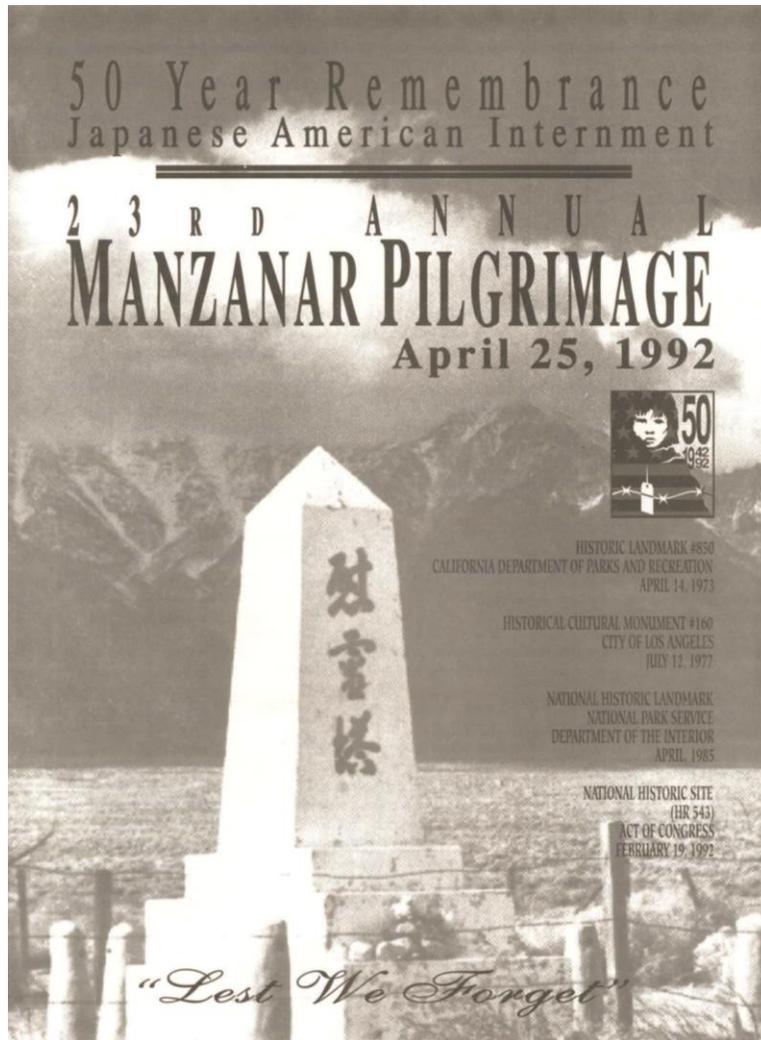


Figure 7. 23rd Annual Manzanar Pilgrimage program, April 25, 1992.⁷⁹

The community of Japanese-American activists has long been involved in a variety of causes relating to redress, the commemoration of sites, and civil liberties issues. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, a good number of Japanese Americans supported Muslim Americans who faced discrimination because of the attacks. The connection between December 7, 1941 and September 11, 2001 was evident not only to the public, but also to

⁷⁹ "23rd Annual Manzanar Pilgrimage," program, April 25, 1992, Japanese American Relocation Collection, University Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Fullerton, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/15093/rec/3>.

Japanese-American activists who understood how a momentous event can lead to harsh, violent, and prejudicial treatment of innocent people just because of race or religion. Today, Muslim Americans attend events such as the annual Manzanar Pilgrimage to support civil liberties, and Japanese Americans continue to support Muslim Americans facing discrimination in a variety of ways.

In his 1993 book, *Prisoners Without Trial*, Roger Daniels asks the question whether something like the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII could happen again. He cites a number of post-WWII events that came close, such as the Cold War's Emergency Detention Act of 1950. He notes that, despite great improvement in American race relations, these incidents demonstrate "an American propensity to react against 'foreigners' in the United States during times of external crisis."⁸⁰ Sadly, he anticipated current events. In a foreword to a book focused on Karl Bendetsen and Perry Saito, Daniels discusses a government response that occurred after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which triggered a reaction from the Japanese-American community. The Muslim community, with foreign roots, came under suspicion, and 762 immigrants were arrested by the FBI and held for many months, deprived of the right to counsel, verbally and physically abused, tried, and in some cases deported, all in secret.⁸¹ He indicates that many were discovered to be in the country illegally (visa overstayers) and were deported, but not one of them was charged with anything in connection to the events of September 11, 2001 or any other terrorist activity. "It was a shocking revelation of the Department of Justice's violations of its own rules." And, it "indicates just how thin a shield our

⁸⁰ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 113.

⁸¹ Klancy Clark de Nevers, *The Colonel and the Pacifist: Karl Bendetsen, Perry Saito, and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans During World War II* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004), x-xi.

Bill of Rights can be in times of crisis.”⁸² The similarity of the government’s response to the Pearl Harbor bombing was not lost on the Japanese-American community, especially since it received the overwhelming support of the vast majority of Americans. One major difference that Daniels points out is that, in the case of WWII, this happened to American citizens of Japanese descent, rather than un-naturalized Muslim foreigners. “But in each instance, the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution has been violated.”⁸³

Through its blog, Densho provides historical information, clarifies parallels, and denounces many current U.S. government actions that affect the Muslim community⁸⁴ – for example, decrying Donald Trump’s Executive Order suspending or clocking entry of Muslims into the U.S. (January 28, 2017), denouncing using the Japanese-American incarceration as a precedent for a Muslim registry (November 23, 2016), publicizing the problems with conflating internment camps with concentration camps when discussing incarcerating Muslims after the European terrorist attacks (June 8, 2017), and condemning the racial profiling associated with the Muslim travel ban (September 22, 2017). The blog writers have also spoken out about the “troubling similarities” between the Japanese-American and Latino experiences in family detention (August 9, 2016) and have drawn parallels with early Issei immigrants (December 15, 2017) and Japanese-American repatriation and deportation during and after WWII (October 27, 2016). These same activists noted with alarm the arrest and separation of children near the U.S. border in 2018.

⁸² Clark de Nevers, *The Colonel and the Pacifist*, xi.

⁸³ Clark de Nevers, *The Colonel and the Pacifist*, xi.

⁸⁴ “Densho Blog,” Densho, accessed June 20, 2019, <https://densho.org/blog/>.

In 2018, a *National Geographic* article, entitled “I AM AN AMERICAN: Scenes from the Japanese Internment Resonate Today,” juxtaposes photographs of Japanese Americans taken during WWII with images of the same people photographed recently by Paul Kitagaki, Jr. to document their resilience and courage.⁸⁵ It provides some historical information and discusses the issues surrounding the WWII incarceration. The author, Ann Curry, suggests that the answer to the questions of how American citizens were locked up without due process during the war “lies not just in fear and prejudice but in the power of politics to exacerbate both.” Curry points out that “The incarceration is cited in today’s immigration debates, including over the detention of migrant children and families crossing the southern border in June and the current ban on people from several Muslim-majority countries entering the United States.”⁸⁶ Curry also points out that many Japanese Americans who were incarcerated during WWII and their children are now speaking up and taking a stand against the Trump administration’s policies. Kitagaki’s photographs, which are the focus of Curry’s article, are currently on display in an exhibition entitled, “Gambatte! Legacy of an Enduring Spirit” at the JANM in Los Angeles.⁸⁷ Compounded by the 2001 and subsequent global terrorist attacks and the difficulties along the border with refugee children, the topic of Japanese-American incarceration continues to resonate.

Conclusion

I had been living in Compton, California with my sister and was attending school when the war broke out In Poston I wanted to apply for relocation and some of my friends

⁸⁵ Ann Curry, “I AM AN AMERICAN: Scenes from the Japanese Internment Resonate Today,” *National Geographic* (October 2018): 124-38.

⁸⁶ Curry, “I AM AN AMERICAN,” 126.

⁸⁷ “Gambatte! Legacy of an Enduring Spirit,” Japanese American National Museum, accessed June 20, 2019, <http://www.janm.org/exhibits/gambatte/>.

were going to leave to relocate but my father and whole family objected to my leaving as they were very fearful that I might be harmed by Caucasians who hated us because of our race It was either relocate to some hostile area where we would have a difficult time and risk being harmed and never seeing our parents again or requesting repatriation to stay with them and be sent to Japan.⁸⁸

Tsugitada Kanamori, affidavit regarding his life in camps and deportation to Japan, which lasted until 1956

The archival materials in the CSUJAD project relating to the lives of Atsushi (Art) Ishida and George Naohara document personal and community history, but also the extent to which the WWII government-imposed imprisonment led to personal hardship and a tireless resilience in the face of an intense violation of civil rights. The physical papers of Ishida's and Naohara's families are housed at the CSUDH Archives and consist of the contents of four photo albums and scrapbooks. Within the CSUJAD project, this covers close to 1,000 items never before accessible.

Naohara and Ishida, friends in their early twenties, were first generation Japanese Americans from the Los Angeles area. They spent the summer of 1941 farming near Long Beach, California, until the Japanese government attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7th, and the lives of 120,000 Japanese Americans were irrevocably changed. Ishida ended up in horse stalls at the Santa Anita Race Track, which served as a temporary assembly center. Ishida kept his meal tickets at Santa Anita and his timesheet for work done at a Santa Anita dining hall as mementos. Naohara went out to Manzanar to help build the incarceration camp. After that, he got agricultural work in Utah and Idaho.

⁸⁸ "Attached Answers to Affidavit Questions," official document, circa 1945, Tsugitada Kanamori Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/7060/rec/3>.

Eventually, both Ishida and Naohara landed in the Jerome Camp in Denson, Arkansas, where Ishida initially worked as a lumberjack in and around the camp area. It was here that Ishida used a camera he had bought through the Sears catalog while in camp. The CSUJAD project now has several hundred of Ishida's images from the Arkansas camp. The papers that both Naohara and Ishida retained document their lives in Jerome, including their responses to the WRA survey that asked whether they forswore loyalty to the Japanese Emperor and whether they would serve in the U.S. military. Some first generation Japanese Americans didn't care much about the Emperor, but they did wonder why they should fight in the U.S. military, given that their families were imprisoned. By answering "no" to each of the questions in the survey, they became known as "no-no boys." Ishida answered "no-yes" and Naohara answered "no-no." Ishida and then later Naohara were transferred to Tule Lake Segregation Center, where the no-no boys and their families were sent for eventual deportation to Japan – American-born citizens deported to a country in which they had never resided.

In late 1944, at Tule Lake, Ishida was interviewed by camp officials; he told them that he wanted out. They let him out, suggesting either the unequal treatment of some prisoners or selective bureaucratic rules gone haywire. Ishida then visited a friend at the Minidoka Camp in Hunt, Idaho. Eventually he arrived in Chicago. Naohara ended up in Chicago, too, followed by his fiancé Mitzi Masukawa (after she spent four years in the Poston, Arizona camp as a pre-school teacher). When the war ended, Naohara volunteered for and Ishida was drafted into the U.S. military. When the Korean War broke out, both Naohara and Ishida were assigned to Japan. They both had relatives in Hiroshima. Eventually both Naohara and Ishida settled in Gardena, California. Naohara and Masukawa became local barbers and Ishida went into

landscaping. In 2017, ninety-seven-year-old Ishida donated his photographs and papers to the CSUJAD project. Also in 2017, Naohara's widow and daughter, Eileen Yoshimura, donated their family's papers to the CSUJAD project.



Figure 8. Photograph of Atsushi Ishida (center), George Naohara (right), and an unidentified man posing at the entrance to a mess hall in Jerome, Arkansas, 1944.⁸⁹

Ishida's and Naohara's stories are only a fraction of what is now available in the CSUJAD project. The myriad of stories scattered throughout the CSUJAD website are rich with human strength in the face of adversity, bureaucratic befuddlement, and administrative irritation, and

⁸⁹ "Atsushi Ishida, George Naohara, and Man," photograph, 1944, Atsushi Ishida Collection, Gerth Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Dominguez Hills, via CSUJAD, <http://digitalcollections.archives.csudh.edu/digital/collection/p16855coll4/id/27346/rec/11>.

they provide an in-depth look at the violations of civil liberties in the U.S. They are told through primary sources – official documents, personal letters, photographs, ephemera, oral histories, etc. – focused on thousands of people. These stories, borne of racism and war, are now available on the CSUJAD website.

The purpose of a collaborative project such as the CSUJAD project is to bring together once hidden and dispersed archival materials, to connect the experience of these individuals, and to bring their stories to light. Additionally, the building of a database on the topic of Japanese-American incarceration, on the face of it, is to create evidence and documentation for students, scholars, and the interested public to interpret and create a more nuanced history of the period. This includes materials from the WWII years, but also from both the pre- and post-war periods, in order to create a more holistic picture of events in the twentieth century. The database was also created to provide evidence and documentation that backs up facts and sheds light on outdated interpretations. The project has stimulated a number of additional donations of pertinent materials and the goal is for it to continue to do so, especially due to the urgency of procuring the passing WWII generation's remembrances before they are lost.

The compounding connections between digitization, accurate description, contextualization, and expanding collecting opportunities allows for not only a broader historical interpretation, but also for a focus on the building blocks of community-based collection development. The careful consideration of terminology to increase public awareness of misleading language is an important step in eliminating governmental and institutional bias in archival description. Our ability to readily find and examine personal documents online democratizes the historical record, humanizes past experiences, and transforms interpretation.

The CSUJAD project is important for enriching new scholarship and encouraging those interested in Japanese-American history to delve more deeply into the WWII incarceration, as well as the events that led up to and followed it. Current immigration controversies and other threats to civil rights ironically increase the value of such archival projects by allowing for community-based or activist viewpoints, thus deepening our understanding of recent history.

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