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STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT CAMPS IN ARKANSAS 1942-1945

by

Dori Moss

Under the Direction of Mary Stuckey

ABSTRACT

While considerable literature on wartime Japanese American internment exists, the vast majority of studies focus on the West Coast experience. With a high volume of literature devoted to this region, lesser known camps in Arkansas, like Rohwer (Desha County) and Jerome (Chicot and Drew County) have been largely overlooked. This study uses a cultural history approach to elucidate the Arkansas internment experience by way of local and camp press coverage. As one of the most segregated and impoverished states during the 1940s, Arkansas' two camps were distinctly different from the nine other internment camps used for relocation. Through analysis of local newspapers, Japanese American authored camp newspapers, documentaries, personal accounts and books, this study seeks to expose the seemingly forgotten story of internment in the South. The findings expose a level of freedom within the internment camps, as well local reaction in the context of Arkansas's economic, social and political climate.

INDEX WORDS: Internment, Japanese American, Arkansas, Relocation, Rohwer, Jerome, Newspapers

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Dori Moss

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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by

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Introduction

The Japanese attack on the U.S. Naval Base at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 forever changed the course of American history. The events following the notorious aerial bombing tell an important story of wartime democracy. Immediately after the attack, a sense of fear swept through the country, challenging every citizen's solidarity and loyalty. First-generation Japanese immigrants, *Issei*, and second-generation American-born Japanese, *Nisei*, became subject to extreme scrutiny by U.S. political and military forces. [1] *Issei* and *Niesi* were also closely examined by local civilians who became suspicious of Japanese Americans. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 as an administrative solution to secure the nation against perceived alien threats. Under Executive Order 9066, Roosevelt authorized the evacuation and internment of more than 110,000 Japanese Americans, of whom nearly two-thirds were U.S. citizens.[2]

Following the issuance of Executive Order 9066, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9102, calling for the creation of the War Relocation Authority (WRA). The WRA became the supervising power over the internment process, responsible for the "relocation, maintenance, and supervision of the Japanese American population."[3] Once internment orders began moving forward, a dynamic mixture of chaos and order erupted across the West Coast. Labeled as enemies of the nation, the government forced Japanese Americans to evacuate their homes, leaving behind their businesses, friends and families. Almost overnight, once trusted citizens became suspected of espionage and betrayal. The rights and privileges they had previously enjoyed as citizens vanished in an instant, similar to the experiences of German Jews,

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[1] Takeya Mizuno, "Journalism Under Military Guards and Searchlights," *Journalism History*, 29:3 (2003), 98.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Encyclopedia of Arkansas, Rohwer Relocation Center, http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net, 8 December 2006.

instilling fear and doubt into the minds of many loyal Japanese Americans. As internee Ruth Yonemoto recalled in the documentary *Time of Fear*, "my mother burned all of our family photos, heirlooms and letters" in fear of being labeled a traitor.[4] These injustices help to illuminate their cultural and historical internment experiences.

Japanese Americans quickly found themselves sent to the confines of internment camps following the "preliminary step" of relocation, finding temporary residence at assembly centers.[5] In terms of identifying suitable locations to build the internment camps, the government "limited [the selection of internment camp locations] to federally owned lands located a safe distance from strategic works, near railway lines for the easy transportation of prisoners, and capable of adequately holding 5,000 to 8,000 people under supervision."[6] After identifying seven states with such available land, the government erected ten relocation centers. These camps included: Poston and Gila River (Arizona), Jerome and Rohwer (Arkansas), Manzanar and Tule Lake (California), Amache (Colorado), Minidoka (Idaho), Topaz (Utah) and Heart Mountain (Wyoming). The most Southern of those camps, Jerome and Rohwer, serve as the focus of this project.

The Farm Security Administration (FSA) in 1942 acquired the Arkansas sites of Jerome, near Denson, and Rohwer, near McGehee.[7] During the relocation process, Jerome's peak population reached 8,497 residents on February 11, 1943, and Rohwer reached 8, 475 residents on March 11, 1943.[8] Inside the camps, individuals were designated to living blocks, each of

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[4] *Time of Fear*, DVD, directed by Sue Williams (Ambrica Productions, 2004)
[5] John M. Ferren, "Military curfew, race-based internment, and Mr. justice rutledge." *Journal of Supreme Court History*, 28:3 (2003), 252.
[6] Encyclopedia of Arkansas, Rohwer Relocation Center, http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net, 8 December 2006.
[7] Russell Bearden, "Life inside Arkansas's Japanese-American relocation centers." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 48(2): (1989), 170.
[8] Ruth Vickers, "Japanese-American relocation," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 10:2(1951), 173.

which contained a mess hall, laundry, bath and toilet building.[9] Each block housed 250 people and contained twelve barracks which were measured 20' X 120'.[10] The government provided each individual with a cot, mattress and three blankets and the remaining furniture in each barrack was fashioned out of scraps of lumber and waste building material.[11] The only available running water was in the mess halls and bath houses of the residence section.[12] Alongside blocks for schools, administration personnel and hospital staff were recreation fields and courts for sports.[13]

While the structural layout of the camps mirrored the other relocation centers with A-framed barracks, community mess halls, latrines, and abundant barbed wire, there were distinctive differences in the Arkansas camps. [14] The swamp-like conditions of Arkansas, infested with snakes and mosquitoes, offered an entirely different environment for internees, who found their new homes "bleak, dirty, military in nature, cold and unwelcoming."[15] While barren and inhospitable, poor economic and agricultural conditions in Arkansas added to the dreary atmosphere of the centers. The initial feelings of unrest and disorientation expressed by internees were further compounded by the political and social atmosphere of Arkansas, including issues of racial segregation and poverty. With 80 percent of Arkansans living on farms or villages, the lagging agricultural productivity of the state concerned local residents during the 1930s and 1940s.[16]

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[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Vickers, 174.
[14] Bearden, 170.
[15] C. Calvin Smith, "The Response of Arkansans to Prisoners of War and Japanese." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 53 (1994), 342.
[16] Ben Johnson, *Arkansas in Modern America 1930-1999*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 1.

As a primarily agricultural state struggling through drought conditions, Arkansans struggled to achieve economic stability. Poor white individuals, especially those residing in Georgia, Alabama and the Southwestern hills of Arkansas, became known as "hillbillys" during the start of the twentieth century. [17] The phrase made its first national debut on April 23, 1900 in *The New York Journal* in one of Homer Davenport's political cartoons entitled "hill-billies."[18] Davenport's public depictions of poor white individuals in Southern states as "hill-billies" created a label, albeit biased, for identifying such individuals. In reality, for these individuals, the economic conditions in Arkansas were dismal and many were impoverished.

The poor road system in Arkansas demonstrated the lack of progress in the state during WWII, as "paved highways were an uncommon luxury" until the 1950s.[19] Arkansas's "woeful road system was additionally burdened by the developing industrial pattern of widely dispersed factories."[20] In conjunction with the absence of paved roads, the shortage of electricity revealed the dismal situation in Arkansas, as "by the end of the 1930's, transmission lines extended to only 8 percent of Arkansas farms."[21] The absence of modern conveniences in Arkansas, such as electricity and paved roads, made it difficult for the state to achieve economic success. The lack of modernization in conjunction with poor economic conditions fueled a sense of tension in Arkansas, which spilled into other areas related to race and segregation.

While noting its culturally strained atmosphere, much of the racial tension experienced in Arkansas stemmed from the state's grave economic conditions. A 1936 document by the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union (STFU), a biracial leadership aimed at solving issues of rural poverty, alludes to this conclusion, stating: "most of the trouble arising between the races is

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[17] Anthony Harkins, *Hillbilly*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), 47.
[18] Harkins, 49.
[19] Johnson, 9.
[20] Johnson, 95.
[21] Johnson, 48.

directly rooted in the problem of bread, jobs and economic security. It is not a problem of color."[22] This relationship between poor economic conditions and racial issues provides a backdrop for Arkansas in the 1940s. Balancing these issues of economic and racial tension, Arkansas during WWII proved to be state struggling with its own identity.

In this atmosphere of poverty and destitution, relocation created more turmoil for an already unstable state. Renowned for their agricultural proficiency, the arrival of Japanese Americans ignited a sense of fear in local residents. The combination of ethnic stereotypes, economic concerns and fear of the unknown rattled Arkansas. While some individuals did not protest the arrival of internees, many others voiced their disapproval and concern regarding the impact of internment on their state. It is both this local response to internment, as well as the reaction of internees to relocation, that serve as the focus on this study.

This study explores the experience of internment in the South by asking the following questions:

1) What was the reaction, as expressed in the local press, to the arrival of Japanese Americans and the creation of local internment camps?

2) How did pre-existing racial tensions in the area shape or influence the concerns of residents?

3) How were Japanese Americans impacted by their relocation to Arkansas?

Using a cultural history approach, as exemplified by Lynn Spigel in *Make Room for TV*, this study analyzes media artifacts (primarily newspapers) within the context of the political ideology, social concerns and cultural currents of the era. Spigel's cultural history approach of examining television in postwar America serves as a model for this study, relating to her utilization of popular media of the time to gauge America's reaction to the television. The popular media sources examined in Spigel's study, such as newspapers and magazines,

[22] Johnson, 28.

expressed the "cultural anxieties and concerns of the public concerning television's place in the home" from 1948-1955.[23] Spigel's cultural history approach, using primary media sources to understand public reaction, provides as a model for this study.

In terms of a model, this study focuses predominately on primary sources, primarily newspapers, to identify major themes reported that link to internment and Arkansas society. This study investigates the relationship between internment and Arkansas society to gauge the impact of the relocation process in the South. Similar to Spigel, who divides her analysis by theme and category, this study reviews available articles from both camp newspapers (*Denson Tribune* formerly the *Communiqué* and *Rohwer Outpost*) and all three Arkansas publications (*The McGehee Times*, *The Arkansas* and *The Arkansas Gazette*) for prominent themes relating to interment. While operating under different conditions and circumstances, these newspapers served as the central source of information for both internees and local Arkansas residents. The approach of reviewing camp and local newspapers, identifying major themes, and the cultural context of the articles, provides a model for creating a cultural history of internment in Arkansas.

Using Spigel's cultural history model, media sources from September 1942 through December 1945 were examined for this project. This time period is based around the opening and closing dates of Arkansas internment camps Jerome and Rohwer. Primary sources for this project include local newspapers (*The McGehee Times*, *The Arkansas* and *The Arkansas Gazette*), internment camp newspapers (*Denson Tribune* formerly the *Communiqué*) and *Rohwer Outpost*) as well as secondary sources such as documentaries and books. The primary sources for this project, being camp and Arkansas newspapers, arrived from locations across the country in microfilm format, the points of origin which are noted in the reference section. The findings from these sources, by way of media portrayal and presentation, help illuminate the emotions and

[23] Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2.

reactions associated with internment in Arkansas and create a cultural history account of internment in the South.

Native American Relocation: A Precursor

The internment of Japanese Americans was not the first case of forced relocation in America. Prior to Executive Order 9066, many indigenous nations suffered greatly from forced relocation. The relocation of Native Americans was a salient example of America's actions against perceived cultural threats. Forced relocation, characterized as "domestic colonization" by scholar Harry Kitano, became the government's response to Native Americans in the early 1800s.[24] The initial attempts of the government to remove any power and control from Native Americans were best illustrated by the seizure of land. By "reducing Indian claims to lands [by making them] virtually tenants and no longer lords of their ancestral domains," white settlers effectively reduced Native Americans to "domestic dependant nations."[25] The Indian Removal Act of 1830 resulted in forced relocation of Native American tribes east of the Mississippi to the newly unsettled "Indian Country" west of the river. In the mid 1930s, the U.S. Military rounded up and marched Cherokee Indians West in what became known as the "Trail of Tears."[26] This forced government act resulted in the death of over 4,000 Cherokee Indians.[27] The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, and The Indian Reorganization Act in 1834 furthered government control over Native Americans through the government's management of "Indian affairs."[28]

After creating initial legislation, the government continued to exert itself in Native American affairs. A notable example was President Ulysses S. Grant's 1869 Indian Peace Policy, intended to "promote civilization among said Indians."[29] The efforts of governmental control

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[24] Harry H.L. Kitano, "The effects of the evacuation on the Japanese Americans" in Rogers (Ed.), *Japanese Americans: From relocation to redress,* (University of Utah Press, 1986), 151.
[25] Thomas J. Davis, *Race relations in America,* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 7.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] http://www.crystalinks.com/trailoftears.html, 24 November 2007.
[28] William T. Hagan, *American Indians,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 76.
[29] Davis, 10.

ranged from forced segregation, to assimilation and religious conversion to Christianity.[30] The image of "savage" Indians continued to rally support for exclusion amidst white settlers, while within tribes, Native Americans were struggling with their own identity conflicts. The solution of the government became the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act.[31] The act intended "to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes."[32] The massacre at Wounded Knee in December 1890 marked the end of the "Indian wars," and as a result, "cultural amalgamation appeared to be the Indians' future…their race relations with whites appeared to depend on the degree to which they no longer became identifiably Indian."[33] Increasingly, Indians would be confined to reservations, a form of internment that paradoxically segregates Indian populations, allows for governmental control over them, and protects Indian land and cultural integrity.

Although different from the experience of Japanese American internees, the story of Native American relocation offers insight and context in the larger discussion of internment in America. While only briefly mentioning some aspects of America's treatment of Native Americans, some overlapping themes arise relating to governmental control and fear of other cultures. Examination of primary sources for this study, such as local newspapers and internment newspapers, help expose the influence of government control in the internment process. The story of Native American removal frames issues relating to relocation through the themes of authority, power, and discrimination. Knowledge of Native American relocation serves to

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[30] Davis, 9.
[31] Davis, 10.
[32] http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~dee/NATION/DAWESACT.HTM, 27 October 2007.
[33] Davis, 10.

structure possible themes relevant to this project and gives background information and guidance to the overall concept of government involvement in relocation.

Literature Review

Japanese American internment has proved an intriguing topic for many scholars, evidenced by the volume of literature on the subject. In surveying this literature over the past 20 years, a large portion is historically driven, with many publications being pure historical accounts. After reviewing this historical research, the following three aspects emerged as prevalent: internee experiences, media portrayals, and photographic documentation. Within this framework, many details are dispensed about individual experiences, most of them from California or Western relocation centers. Current review of literature on the topic of internment reveals a lack of available resources relating to cultural accounts of internment in Arkansas. Through the foundational work of Arkansas scholar Russell E. Bearden, whose work will be reviewed in this section, his study seeks to add to the conversation of internment by illuminating the cultural experiences at Arkansas internment camps. By utilizing some of Bearden's main concepts, this project analyzes primary sources (local newspaper coverage and camp newspaper coverage) to produce a cultural history of internment in Arkansas 1942-1945.

The subject of internment in the South creates an intersection of themes including: segregation, racism, press coverage and wartime reporting. These themes help to construct the major areas of exploration for this paper: Camp Newspaper Coverage of Internment, Camp Life/ Personal Accounts and America's Reaction.

Camp Newspaper Coverage of Internment

After the enactment of Executive Order 9066, Japanese Americans relocated across seven states into new, unfamiliar communities. In each of these new relocation centers, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) established a newspaper dedicated to camp news and events. The role of censorship became a focal point for camp newspaper coverage in terms of restrictions and

regulations forced by WRA. As researcher Jay Friedlander notes, editorial freedom within these newspapers varied from overt censorship to "complete editorial autonomy."[34] The debate between scholars relates to the concept of censorship, the power of the WRA and camp authorities, and the credibility of published information.

Takeya Mizuno writes on the practice of censorship at assembly center publications, indicating that such restrictive acts occurred frequently by assembly camp authorities. He clarifies the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) sanctioned rules for assembly newspapers, including the restriction to English only publication as well as strict editorial approval by a camp representative and center director.[35] Mizuno's work focuses on California assembly center publications, *The Manzanar Free Press*, *Tanforan Totalizer*, and *The Santa Anita Pacemaker* and exposes the extreme levels of censorship exercised by camp authorities. Mizuno offers that internment newspapers served the purpose for "assembly camp authorities to disseminate information."[36] Supporting this claim of newspapers being essentially created by and for camp authorities is the confusion felt by evacuee editors and reporters caused by the "lack of clarity and consistency" of the WCCA.[37] Mizuno's claim of internment newspapers being used primarily by the WCCA to disseminate information, rather than as an outlet for internees, is an important factor to consider in terms of understanding the government's motivation for creating and maintaining internment newspapers. This point of possible government control and governance over internment press is critical to internment research, and Mizuno's assertions of censorship in California camps' press reveals the potential for censorship in internment press nationwide.

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[34] Jay Friedlander, "Journalism behind barbed wire, 1942-1944: An Arkansas relocation center newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (1985), 243.
[35] Takeya Mizuno, "Journalism under military guards and searchlights," *Journalism History* 29 (2003), 98.
[36] Mizuno, 99.
[37] Mizuno, 101.

Relating to the power of the press and the potential for censorship, Catherine Luther asserts that newspapers serve as cultural media, noting media's ability to shape and define identities through "identity conflicts."[38] In terms of determining identities, Luther explains that "the analysis of media documents should allow researchers to decipher and understand how identities are molded over time."[39] By understanding the role of media to shape identities, and potentially constrain or alter them, Luther tackles the role of censorship within internment press. Luther's research explores West Coast newspapers written by Japanese Americans to better understand the cultural identity crisis expressed by internees. While quoting each of the ten newspapers in her article, the majority of the research focused on *The Poston Chronicle* (Arizona), *The Topaz Times* (Utah) and *The Heart Mountain Sentinel* (Wyoming).

Despite the anti- Japanese American sentiment advocated by the mainstream press, Luther addresses the topic of censorship in a balanced manner. Referencing memorandum from WRA officials and camp directors, Luther asserts no evidence has been found to support the assertion of blatant censorship by US authorities throughout the entire internment process.[40] Judging from writings of individuals who served as writers and editors of papers, Luther points out that overt censorship "rarely occurred on most of the camp papers."[41] Often, editors of newspapers censored themselves by specific language choices that emphasized their loyalty to America, as with the term Japanese American. Luther also mentions the use of subtle expressions of opposition, referencing editorials in both the *Rohwer Outpost* and *Denson Communiqué.* [42] Luther's findings of almost no blatant censorship within internment press add another perspective to the conversation of press censorship. While noting the lack of overt censorship,

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[38] Catherine Luther, "Reflections of cultural identities in conflict," *Journalism History* 29 (2003), 69.
[39] Luther, 69.
[40] Luther, 71.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Luther, 74.

Luther's main conclusions relate to media's ability to shape cultural identities. This claim of media's influence over identity is an important point to consider in this study, with regard to the press's influence over the identities of both internees and local Arkansans during internment.

Jay Friedlander hones in on camp newspaper coverage in Arkansas through his in depth research on the *Denson Tribune*. Friedlander makes the case that the *Tribune* "functioned with little, if any, censorship." [43] Attributing this lack of censorship to the center report officer, a former *Arkansas Gazette* reporter, Friedlander explains the initial purpose of the paper to keep evacuees informed about the center and the relocation program. Originally called the *Communiqué*, the paper's inaugural issue outlined its intentions to "make public timely information of value to center residents."[44] On December 8, 1942, after a few months of circulation, the JIHO, a Japanese language section of the paper, began publication. There were restrictions attached to this privilege of having a Japanese printed section: the material had to be an exact translation of the English section. To prevent conspiracy, individuals were told that government translators in Washington read the JIHO section. [45] Despite the government's attempt to make internees fearful of their messages, the inclusion of a JIHO section indicated a triumph for internment press.

Further deconstructing the claim of overt censorship in internment press, Friedlander notes editorials condemning the government in the *Denson Tribune*, most frequently written by Paul Yokota, who served as editor for over half of the *Tribune*'s issues.[46] Likening news coverage in the camp to a small-town newspaper, the *Tribune*'s coverage included general items

[43] Friedlander, 244.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Friedlander, 245.
[46] Friedlander, 243.

of social events, school activities, sports and WRA regulations. [47] Noting the absence of overt censorship at Jerome Relocation Center, Friedlander concludes that the *Denson Tribune* "operated at least as freely as comparable commercial Arkansas newspapers of the time."[48] In claiming that government censorship did not exist within internment press, Friedlander's findings offer another perspective for understanding the role of censorship within internment press. Friedlander's research, which contradicts Mizuno's, presents another angle of information that is necessary to understand the historical impact of the press on internment, and vice versa. By recognizing the role of censorship in internment press (being present or absent), the work of Mizuno, Luther and Friedlander provide a reference point in terms of identifying possible examples of censorship in the *Denson Tribune* and the *Rohwer Outpost*.

The various perspectives presented by these three scholars underscore the multi-dimensional role of newspapers in internment camps. Noting the diverse ability of camp newspapers to serve as cultural markers of the relocation process, sounding boards for discontent, and restrictive forms of communication, discloses the powerful function of internment press. While foundationally helpful, Mizuno presents a very one sided perspective for internment press, also limiting his research to California relocation centers. Luther and Friedlander offer more open interpretations of the role of the internment press, which will help with the examination of both the *Rohwer Outpost* and *Denson Tribune*. The findings of all three scholars expose the power of censorship in terms of its ability to alter a peoples' cultural history through the inclusion or exclusion of meaningful information. This concept of historical and cultural accounts is carried into the next section, which investigates the importance of personal recollections and interviews in the case of internment in the South.

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[47] Friedlander, 246.
[48] Friedlander, 271.

Research on Camp Life & Personal Accounts

A large amount of research rests with detailed accounts of internment and personal stories. As an important piece of internment history, these narratives shed light on the internment process and camp conditions. Gathering information on camp life and personal accounts is central to this project, which seeks to provide a cultural history of internment in Arkansas. Cultural anthropologists Edward Spicer, Asael Hansen, Katherine Luomala, and Marvin Opler present their perspectives on internment in their book *Impounded People*. While focusing largely on issues with the WRA staff and governmental proceedings, the book offers glimpses into the community structure and life of internees. Touching upon social activities, the authors emphasize the breakdown of typical family structures, in that "family could not be precisely what it had been before."[49] Underneath the overarching theme of disconnect, stories of triumph are revealed in the text, relating to the adaptability of many to adjust to their new settings. Although many individuals obediently participated in activities, there remained a constant need to prove one's loyalty to the United States, especially with the pressing rumors of internees being "Japanicized."[50] The efforts of many Japanese Americans to adapt to their new surroundings offer insight into the cultural experience of internment. Through the daily accounts of internees, including social, political and family oriented activities, these authors create a realistic impression of internment life.

Expanding upon personal accounts of internment life is John Tateishi, who offers an oral history on internment in his book *And Justice for All*. While focusing primarily on histories from the West Coast, Tateishi includes three interviews from Jerome and Rohwer. The interviews with Mary Tsukamoto (Jerome), Fred Fujikawa (Jerome) and Mizo Senzaki (Rohwer) humanize the

[49] Edward Spicer et al, *Impounded People*, (Tucson:University of Arizona Press, 1969), 105.
[50] Spicer et al, 227.

story of internment through their personal accounts. Tateishi captures the fear of the time during an interview with Mary Tsukamoto, who recalled her actions of "frantically wanting to do what was American" during the beginning stages of internment.[51] Like Mary Tsukamoto, many internees found themselves constantly fearful of making a wrong move or doing something suspicious.

Many Japanese Americans left behind personal belongings, friends and family as a result of relocation. In an attempt to maintain family ties, some rushed into marriages. An example Tateishi provides is the story of Mizo Senzaki who quickly married in order to relocate with her husband. During the time when most newlyweds rejoice over their new union, Senzaki recalled only tears and sadness as she cried for days following the separation of her family. [52] Fred Fujikawa, a medical doctor, recalls the disarray and disorganization after evacuation, noting his volunteer efforts at Santa Anita where "only six [doctors] were taking care of some eighteen thousand inmates."[53] The sentiment of all the accounts is summed up by Mary Tsukamoto: "It's not anger because I am bitter or disappointed that it happened to me. I'm disappointed for America that it happened, and I want the record to be straight."[54] Tsukamoto's comment is telling of many Japanese Americans' reaction to internment. While not outwardly conveying resentment towards the internment process, the hurt and anguish of being branded as disloyal citizens proved the most biting aspect of relocation. Sharing the actions against internees, the instances of discrimination and the compliance of Japanese Americans, are the items that Tsukamoto wants addressed. Airing these injustices and the truth about internment is the only way to truly set the record straight.

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[51] John Tateishi, *And justice for all*, (New York: Random House, 1984), 7.
[52] Tateishi, 102.
[53] Tateishi, 211.
[54] Tateishi, 15.

By capturing these recollections, Tateishi is able to share the emotional side of internment. Stories from a disappointed bride, a medical doctor, and a disheartened internee are just some of the many testimonials Tateishi explores in his book. Inclusions of diverse internment experiences underscore the various ways in which internment affected Japanese Americans. Each story expresses a different circumstance, reinforcing the reach and impact of internment. Including personal accounts is critical to a cultural history because it provides a direct link to those impacted by forced relocation and allows their experiences to be included in the story of internment

Offering an extremely personal account of internment, Paul Howard Takemoto shares his parents' experience during relocation in his book *Nisei Memories*. The story of his parents, his Hawaiian father who served at Camp Shelby in the 442nd military division in Mississippi, and his Japanese American mother, interned at Jerome in Arkansas, illustrates a contradictory image found during wartime in America.[55] The fact his father served the same country imprisoning his mother presents a unique case study for internment research. Takemoto's book provides a lengthy interview with both of his parents, who recount their experiences as a soldier and internee in the South. The reactions of his father, Ken, and mother, Alice, are described in the book. Alice's response to one of the final questions revealed her personal perspective on the internment experience: "We were in the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong faces."[56] Alice's response of acceptance is one many adopted following internment. There were also others who voiced their disappointment and dismay, as noted by Tateishi. Including stories from various individuals remains an important part of creating a cultural history, and Takemoto's account of his parent's experience adds to the creation of that history.

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[55] Paul Howard Takemoto, *Nisei Memories*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 8.
[56] Takemoto, 220.

Focusing in on the cultural impact of internment in Arkansas is Russell Bearden, who offers insight into the camps in his article *Life Inside Arkansas Relocation Centers.* Bearden's exposé on internment life reinforces the comments of the previous authors in that personal life and family practices became severely altered within the confines of internment camps.[57] Bearden's findings, accompanied by photographs, touch upon the tribulations of camp life, especially relating to education. The WRA effort to recruit qualified Arkansas teachers to instruct students at Jerome and Rohwer fueled animosity of local residents towards internees. Offering higher salaries at relocation centers, fear spread among the state that "relocation centers would drain the state of its best qualified teachers."[58] From this perspective, local residents were more concerned with Japanese Americans stealing their teachers than with their loyalty to the US.

Despite the many adversities of internment, many internees tried to focus on productive and positive ways to spend their time. Beyond social organizations and activities, many participated in philanthropic work, and as a result, Rohwer relocation center contributed $647 towards the 1943 March of Dimes campaign, the largest donation in the county. This act of generosity from individuals with extreme limitations indicated the good intentions and kind character of many interned. Their ability to raise the most money is the county also indicated the attempts of many to prove their solidarity through participating in American charities during relocation.

Examining the struggles and experiences of internees helps elucidate how internment affected those most personally affiliated with relocation. Having access to personal accounts and interviews of internment experiences, especially those relating to Rohwer and Jerome, fill in the

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[57] Russell E Bearden, "Life inside Arkansas relocation centers." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 48 (1989), 177.
[58] Bearden, 188.

gaps relating to the internment experience in Arkansas. Combining historical aspects of internment with the personal accounts and experiences of internees is a stepping stone to creating a framework for a cultural history of Arkansas internment. The next section, which details local Arkansas reaction to internment, is the final section of this project in terms of guiding themes for a cultural history. Combined with the proceeding two themes, the case for cultural exploration of Southern internment is made.

Research on Arkansas's Reaction

Understanding the response of Arkansans to relocation is a central component to this cultural historiography. A variety of literature has been written regarding reactions to internment, including work by Elena Tajima Creef, William Anderson, and Russell Bearden. Each of these writers touches upon the language used to frame Japanese Americans during internment, citing primary sources such as newspaper and historical documents as support for their claims. By utilizing newspapers and other publications of the time, society's reaction to internment can be examined.

Creef takes a unique approach to internment by focusing on the visual portrayal of Japanese Americans. Her examination of famous internment photographers Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, and Toyo Miyatake create a foundation for her visual exploration of media representations. Alongside the artistic techniques used to capture the photographs, Creef notes the circulation of photographs and the influence of those photos to shape public opinion. Creef also cites cinematic portrayals of Japanese Americans during interment, noting the two "striking phenomena: the dramatic lack of Hollywood representation (relating to internment) and the semi obsessive depiction of what literary critic Traise Yamamoto has termed the manipulation and

disciplining of the Japanese American body."[59] This idea of distorted imagery relates to filmic representations of interment and the portrayal of such stories during "three distinctive waves" in postwar America: the first wave being in 1946, the second in 1981, and the third in 1992.[60]

In keeping with the concept of media images, Creef utilizes articles from both *Life* and *Time Magazine* in her research, which instruct individuals on how to decipher between "our friends" the Chinese and "our enemies" the Japanese.[61] The comments written all over the picture dehumanize the person photographed, as the image is meant to serve as a general diagram of a what a "Jap" looks like. On December 22, 1941, *Life* issued a section entitled "How to tell your friends apart from the Japs", including visuals with blatant cultural stereotypes about both Chinese and Japanese individuals.[62] The cultural characterizations in *Time* magazine, of "Japanese being seldom fat…and Chinese, seldom growing mustaches" exposed a national effort to educate the masses on how to distinguish enemies (Japanese) from friends (Chinese).[63] The use of photographs as teaching diagrams for good and evil underscores the powerful nature of photography during wartime. These magazine articles express America's desire to safeguard its citizens by informing them of what visuals and key signs determined an enemy. The photographs revealed a general lack of respect and disregard for Japanese Americans, as the marked and dissected images reduced the individuals in the photos to mere objects. This action is important to note, as it indicates the use of media by Americans to voice their opinions and concerns against perceived enemy threats.

Focusing on Arkansas response to internment, William Anderson offers a detailed history of reaction, including those of religious figures, government officials and local residents. Citing

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[59] Elena Tajima Creef, *Imaging Japanese America*, (New York: NYU Press, 2004), 93.
[60] Creef, 93.
[61] Creef, 148.
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*

contradictory feelings about internment, Anderson notes an editorial on August 25, 1942 in the *Arkansas Gazette* calling for "tolerance" alongside a letter to the editor stating "Arkansas was being made a dumping ground for undesirables."[64] Other newspapers of the time, including *The McGeehee Times,* offered opinions from religious leaders who encouraged a "true American Christian attitude" towards the Japanese.[65] Joining the conversation were members of the education board, like the State Education Commissioner Ralph B. Jones, who also encouraged a Christian attitude towards internees. Other political officials voiced their opposition, noting the potential losses the state could incur, such as qualified school teachers.[66] This constant theme of haves and have not's is perpetuated in the media, most notably with reference to the camps' access to educators and extensive food supplies. Noting the tension over such themes helps to frame the contention of locals and account for issues of jealousy and outrage that arose during the internment period in Arkansas.

Alongside tensions over educational stratification, Anderson highlights the political opposition to internment through the main figurehead of the time in Arkansas; Governor Homer Atkins. A veteran of World War I who had entered politics as a Ku Klux Klansman, Adkins did not embrace the idea of hosting Japanese Americans.[67] Adkins's unfavorable attitude towards internees paved the way for discriminatory legislation in Arkansas. Senate Bill 11, presented by Senator Frank Williams, prohibited all Japanese and Japanese Americans from owning land in the state. An excerpt from one of the supporters of the bill is telling of the racist atmosphere of the time: "I know none of your gentlemen think Negroes…are as good as your children, and I

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[64] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 199.
[65] Anderson, 206.
[66] Anderson, 199.
[67] C. Calvin Smith, *War and wartime changes 1940-1945*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1986), 61.

don't think any member of the yellow race is as good as my children or yours."[68] Anderson is successful in noting the racial overtones in this piece, exposing one of the foundational differences in studying internment in the South. The distinct political, social and economic climate of Arkansas accounts for these differences, setting Arkansas internment apart from other relocation sites. Anderson's inclusion of specific instances of racial prejudice in Arkansas proves essential for this project as it presents the divided nature of the state prior to relocation.

Continuing the theme of local reaction, scholar Russell Bearden examines Arkansas's reaction with reference to personal letters, newspaper articles, documents, records and internee testimony. Using these resources, Bearden recounts the damaging impact of internment on the character of the Japanese American people. In Arkansas, Governor Adkins worked, as previously mentioned, to contain internees and keep them at a distance from local happenings. Enforcing this sense of segregation, Adkins forbade the entry of any Japanese Americans into state colleges, stating in a telegram that their entrance into universities would "provide an entering wedge for Negroes" to apply. [69] The deliberate action of the governor of Arkansas to bar Japanese American students from attending universities and continuing their education, is telling of the reaction in the state. Bearden also addresses Adkins's reaction in terms of allowing Japanese Americans to work within the state, citing his "implacable opposition" in a letter to Senator Chandler on January 23, 1943.[70]

The agricultural proficiency of Japanese Americans, the majority of which were successful farmers on the West Coast, presented a threat to many local Arkansans and proved another source of tension in the area. Noting the racial bias in Arkansas is imperative in terms of

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[68] Anderson, 210.
[69] Russell E Bearden, "The internment of Japanese Americans in Arkansas 1942-1945," Thesis, University of Arkansas (1986), 111.
[70] Bearden, 115.

explaining the rationale and reaction of many local Arkansans to internment. In many cases, locals having a negative predisposition towards different races, such as African Americans, exercised similar racist attitudes towards Japanese Americans. Political documents evidenced this racist behavior, creating a connection between African Americans and Japanese Americans by grouping them in a similar "troublemaker" category. These examples reflect how preexisting social conditions in Arkansas impacted local reaction to internment.

In terms of local reaction, Bearden includes the first mention of internment in Arkansas, which appeared in *The Arkansas Gazette* on June 4, 1942. Particulars of the centers, including barbed wire encampments and military guards, offered residents an initial look at internment. Despite the protective bubble around internment centers, some did travel into town for various supplies, often resulting in hostile encounters between locals and internees. Bearden includes some instances of such hostility, including the unprovoked shooting of a Japanese American solider by a local farmer. Another instance involved a Rohwer worker being shot by a farmer. These examples indicate the influence of racial prejudice in Arkansas, and reflect extreme actions of locals. While these instances were not prevalent, reported cases of assault and malice against Japanese Americans draw attention to the racially segregated atmosphere of Arkansas.

Aside from physical brutality, internees endured other forms of outward discrimination and prejudice. One example that Bearden touches upon related to the infamous questions 27 and 28 on the WRA registration program form. Question 27 read: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United State on combat duty, whenever ordered?" The next item, Question 28 read: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government,

power or organization?"[71] Being that *Issei* "were aliens ineligible for citizenship, a 'Yes Yes' response to questions 27 and 28 would leave them disenfranchised entirely, as having renounced their Japanese nationality, they would be people without a country."[72] The entire concept of a signed loyalty oath outraged many internees, and those who answered 'No' to one or both of the questions found themselves headed to Tule Lake, notorious for housing suspicious evacuees.[73] The back and forth nature of disloyalty and fear is chronicled in Bearden's accounts, offering insight into the reaction aspect of internment. Citing these types of government issued tests and challenges help to illustrate the widespread mentality of "us vs. them" that largely dictated the internment process.

The research on state and local reaction is compelling and overall helpful for this project. Creef's use of photographers/photographs as well as national publications helps to frame the epidemic of cultural stereotyping regarding internment. Her work is useful in understanding the visual rhetoric of internment, although limiting in terms of reaction research. Anderson's article is eye-opening in terms of the overt racism surrounding internment in Arkansas, and productive in terms of underscoring the political atmosphere of the time. While painting a very real and honest opinion of early reaction in Arkansas, the piece focused largely on negative political response, effectively discounting other more localized reactions. Despite this charge, Anderson's piece provided much needed insight into Arkansas's political climate during the 1940s. Lastly, Bearden paints a fairly complete picture of reactionary research and utilizes a variety of resources that are of great interest for this project. The balance of sources, personal and historical, made his case compelling and overall a very strong addition. The information gleamed

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[71] Gordon Nakawaga, "What are we doing here with all these Japanese?" *Communication Quarterly*, 38 (1990), 392.
[72] *Ibid*
[73] Bearden, 123.

from this last section, in conjunction with the previously reviewed literature, creates a foundation for this study's endeavor of a cultural history of internment in Arkansas.

Media Selection & Method

Media Selection

This project examined a variety of newspaper articles and stories within two major realms: camp newspapers and local Arkansas newspapers. This study analyzed available camp and Arkansas newspaper editions from September 1942 to December 1945. This time frame reflected the dates of internment in Arkansas, based on the opening and closing of relocation centers Jerome and Rohwer. Camp newspapers included *The Denson Tribune* (formerly the *Communiqué*) and *The Rohwer Outpost* as well as local Arkansas newspapers *The McGehee Times*, *The Arkansas* and *The Arkansas Gazette*. Through the utilization of these sources, reactions and responses to internment in Arkansas unfolded.

To access accounts of camp life, I reviewed all available newspaper editions from the camps' newspapers via microfilm, including *The Denson Tribune* from October 1942 to June 1944 and *The Rohwer Outpost* from October 1942 to July 1945. These dates included the entire run of each publication and all articles available for review. The editions ran twice and provided information on camp events. Both newspapers were written and published in English, and included a section entitled JIHO that was a purported Japanese translation of the English information. For this study, only the English stories in the newspapers were reviewed and analyzed. Although run by the WRA, both the *Denson Tribune* and the *Rohwer Outpost* were authored by a Japanese American writing staff. The Tribune's staff included editor Paul Yakota, city editor Richard Itanaga, feature editor Ellen Noguchi, business manager Roy Kawamoto and several additional staff writers.[74] The *Rohwer Outpost* included editors Barry Saiki and Bean Takeda, managing editor Kaz Cshiki, news editor Nick Honma, copy editor Mary Yamashita

[74] "Staff listing," *Denson Tribune*, 2 March 1943, 2.

and feature editor Sue Hasegawa.[75]After searching through available editions of both newspapers, I selected sample articles for review. In an effort to compile an accurate account of published information, the selected articles represented the various topics and sections of the newspapers. A total of 78 articles from *The Denson Tribune* and 75 articles from *The Rohwer Outpost* served as the data for the examination of internment press.

To accurately reflect reporting in nearby Arkansas communities during internment, I reviewed *The McGehee Times* in McGehee, (in Desha County, the location of Rohwer) and both *The Arkansas Democrat* and *The Arkansas Gazette* in the state's capital, Little Rock (in Pulaski County approximately 120 miles from Jerome and Rohwer). While the *Gazette* and *Democrat* printed daily, the *McGehee Times* printed once a week. To create a complete picture of the reporting during internment, I reviewed each of the three major newspapers from September 1942 to December 1945. This time frame reflected the dates of operation for the Jerome and Rohwer interment centers. These articles uncovered local reaction to internment and to helped frame the destitute and racially strained situation in Arkansas. The number of articles involved in this section totaled 95 articles from *The Arkansas Democrat*, 78 from *The Arkansas Gazette*, and 59 from *The McGehee Times.*

Method

After participating in a media history course, the cultural methodology approach offered by Lynn Spigel in her book *Make Room for TV*, offered a perfect platform relating to media examination and local reaction. Focused on the impact of television's introduction into the American home, Spigel addresses the concerns, reactions and responses of individuals to TV. By utilizing popular media of the time, newspapers and magazines, Spigel achieves her goal of gauging public reaction to the television. Through that foundation, this project seeks to similarly

[75] "Staff listing," *Rohwer Outpost*, 24 October 1942, 6.

create a story relating to the interaction and reaction of the public (Arkansans) to the introduction of a new entity (Japanese Americans).

For this thesis, microfilm served as the primary means of newspaper collection, which involved five months of reviewing data (articles) to identify major themes within both the internment and local Arkansas press. For internment press, I reviewed a variety of editions to gain an understanding of the paper's format, including topic selections and information. I reviewed each available edition, including content, headings, inclusion/exclusion of information, editorials, and article placement in an effort to understand the internment camp experience in Arkansas. For coverage in local Arkansas newspapers, I collected articles from all three newspapers mentioning internment. I also collected additional articles in the local newspapers relating to economics, education, military, and race issues in the state to create a backdrop of Arkansas in the 1940s. This combination of both camp newspaper articles and local Arkansas newspaper articles create the context for this study's cultural history approach to internment in Arkansas.

Voices From Within: Internment Camp Press

During the forced removal of more than110,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast, internment camps became the temporary home for thousands of dispersed people. Within these transitory centers, as history and personal memories reveal, internees adapted to difficulties and managed to create new lives. While there have been a variety of scholarly opinions about the motivation behind the papers, there is widespread agreement concerning the impact and power of the camp papers. This chapter describes and analyzes articles in both *The Denson Tribune* (formerly the *Communiqué*) and *The Rohwer Outpost* in order to gain insight into interment life. The findings from this chapter reveal a level of freedom within the camps, evidenced by the ability of many internees to leave camp for educational pursuits or employment, and editorial freedom in the press. Having access to primary source information, being camp newspaper articles, provided historical documentation of actual events within camp. The inclusion of social events, educational activities, editorials, and religious services in the press gave the impression that life continued to grow inside the camps. While many events were likely created to maintain normalcy, the papers printed stories that highlighted not only events within the camps, but individuals as well.

In reviewing the work of Jay Friedlander, Catherine Luther and Takeya Mizuno, a variety of viewpoints unfold. Included in this discussion are the topics of government censorship, cultural identity, and information dissemination. Mizuno, on one side of the discussion, presents a strong case related to the extent and nature of WRA censorship. On the opposite side, Friedlander claims the absence of censorship in internment press, and Luther recognizes the reality of censorship but notes little within internment press. As these instances indicate, the topic of internment press remains a subject of serious debate and discussion. To add new

perspective to the discussion of internment press coverage, this chapter reviews articles in *The Denson Tribune* and *The Rohwer Outpost*. Articles in the *Tribune,* running from October 1942 to June 1944, and the *Outpost,* running from October 1942 to July 1945, offer evidence of life inside internment camps. Through documented historical accounts of activities and events, these articles tell of the internment experience in Arkansas.

Both Arkansas camp newspapers captured internment life through various articles that were printed in English, with a special Japanese translated section entitled JIHO. The fact that camp papers were printed in both English and Japanese revealed the varying degrees of assimilation in the camps, in that some individuals could read English and others could not. The role of language in the camp press also indicated the various individuals relocated to Arkansas, including well educated Japanese Americans. The involvement of such individuals in the press was noted by the proficient use of the English language in both papers. The dominant inclusion of English in these papers also evidenced a degree of Americanism in the camps. Despite the papers being printed in English, many local Arkansans remained suspicious of the Japanese JIHO section of the paper.[76] This underlying fear, in terms of language used in the camp press, exemplified one of many barriers that existed between internees and locals.

As bi-weekly publications, both the *Tribune* and *Outpost* served as main information lines. Similar to the creation of the first edition of the *Communiqué,* the newspapers were "typed, mimeographed" publications.[77] The initial publication was "three columns wide with the right hand column justified by typewriter letters."[78] Being in charge of the publication, the WRA implemented specific guidelines and rules for printing certain written material. Despite these

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[76] "Papers published in Japanese," *McGehee Times,* 1 July 1943, 1.
[77] Jay Friedlander, "Freedom of press behind barbed wire," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly,* 44(1985), 308.
[78] *Ibid.*

guidelines, controversial editorials were published, exposing an element of freedom within the camps. In reviewing both publications, the theme of "internee experience" provided a guiding principle for observation. What did the internee experience involve? What occurred within the designated living quarters and activity cellblocks of the camp? And lastly, how did relocation to Arkansas impact Japanese Americans? To answer these questions, I reviewed all available editions of both *The Denson Tribune* and *The Rohwer Outpost* to identify major themes, context and information to better understand life within Arkansas's interment camps. The findings revealed a high level of outside influence on Japanese Americans, in terms of shaping their lifestyle, as well as a strong desire to maintain normalcy despite the dismal internment conditions. Despite the many adversities internees faced, review of both newspapers exposed the courage and tenacity of many interned in Arkansas.

Findings: *The Denson Tribune & The Rohwer Outpost*

The *Denson Tribune* began as the *Communiqué* and became the primary source of information relating to the Jerome relocation center. In surveying the newspaper for various themes, the month of November 1942 produced the most varied article titles, totaling 22. Other months in early 1943, including March and May, published a variety of events. The *Rohwer Outpost* debuted on October 24, 1942 and served for years as the Rohwer center's main line of information. After reviewing all available editions, October reflected the largest volume of varied article topics, totaling 15. Both newspapers operated as the main internal publication for disseminating general information about camp life and activities.[79] Many themes introduced in the inaugural editions of both newspapers remained prominent throughout the papers' existence, including: charities, editorial freedom, education, farming, health concerns, Japanese American

[79] "Activities charted: community program includes clubs entertainment, arts & crafts," *Rohwer Outpost* 24 October 1942, 1.

military enlistment, patriotism, religion, social events and visitors. These prominent themes in the press provided insight into camp life.

The first issue of the *Tribune* on October 23, 1942 included updates relating to various aspects of camp life, including general updates. One of the articles related to the health care situation and current provisions for internees.[80] Another article outlined protocol for absentee voting, as well as information about the forming of council members. [81] Lastly, an article specified the creation of a post office to enable correspondence with displaced family and friends.[82] General information and WRA updates also appeared in the *Outpost*. The WRA released housing plan information in an attempt to better accommodate internees.[83] Other releases, relating to evacuee property and goods, ran frequently in the paper in order to keep internees involved in their personal affairs.[84] Inclusion of these themes in the first edition helped to create a sense of establishment and foundation relating to camp life. As the major sources of internal communication, articles in the newspapers uncovered aspects of camp life in Jerome and Rohwer.

Religion

Along with this first wave of general information, the major theme of religion unfolded in both newspapers, evidenced by various articles and headlines relating to religion. The *Tribune* printed a variety of articles referencing religious services that encouraged camp participation.[85] Repeated urging of Bible study and attendance at religious lectures also appeared frequently in the newspapers.[86] Religious affairs connected to social events were also regularly noted in the

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[80] "Clinics announce location and hours," *Communiqué,* 23 October 1942, 1.
[81] "How to vote by absentee ballot," *Communiqué,* 23 October 1942, 1.
[82] "Denson post office opens," *Communiqué,* 23 October 1942, 2.
[83] "WRA housing plans," *Rohwer Outpost* 7 April 1943 , 1.
[84] "Evacuee property," *Rohwer Outpost* 29 November 1944, 2.
[85] "Protestants begin services,", 27 October 1942, 2.
[86] "More bible study urged by Rev. Aki," *Denson Tribune* 2 March 1943, 4.

paper, giving the impression religion was an overarching element of camp. The church's hosting of a tea party for mothers exemplified this connection of religion to daily life. [87]Christmas parties provided another example of this mixing of religion and social activity. [88] Within both papers, religious services and events appeared as a central focus for camp life.[89]

Despite the majority of internees being Buddhist, religious offerings, such as Protestant services, were advertised in the paper.[90] While Buddhist services were printed in both papers, many visitors, activities and events tied into Christianity.[91] Outside of services, the absence of Buddhist activities or events in the paper gave the impression that Buddhism was not greatly incorporated into camp life. Furthering this focus on Christianity was the press' printing of routine social gatherings after Christian lectures and sermons, which presented further opportunity for speakers to interact with internees.[92] The integration of Christianity into the press made it unclear as to whether Japanese Americans had a real interest in Christianity or if perhaps their involvement was an attempt to accentuate their Americanism. Another possibility for Christianity's prominence in the papers could have been the efforts of outside individuals to push Christianity onto Buddhists. Similar to historical attempts to "Americanize" Native Americans, the emphasis on Christianity within the camps illustrated the persistence of some individuals to impose religion on Japanese Americans.

Religious references in both the *Tribune* and *Outpost* framed camp life by offering support that religion played a foundational role during internment. Repeated articles urging attendance at religious services and other sponsored events suggested a controlled sense of

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[87] "Tea party for mothers," *Denson Tribune* 7 May 1943, 5.
[88] "Christmas celebration," *Rohwer Outpost* 23 December 1944, 1.
[89] "Sunday church services," *Rohwer Outpost* 22 May 1943, 4.
[90] "Service listing," *Communiqué*, 10 November 1942, 2.
[91] "Sunday church services, "*Rohwer Outpost* 8 April 1944, 3.
[92] "Visiting pastor speaks," *Denson Tribune* 3 August 1943, 6.

religion. The regulated visits of specific pastors and religious figures, the lack of a variety in terms of available religious worship, and the sponsoring of social events by the church unveiled the influence of religion inside the centers. Religion also appeared as a vehicle for internees to showcase their solidarity through practicing Christianity. Whether utilized as a tool for possible coercion or as a sincere outlet for spiritual observance, religion in the press appeared as a powerful force that shaped individual and community relationships.

Education

Educational activities also shaped community cohesion. Article headings and topics in the *Tribune* referenced various levels of education, ranging from elementary to adult learning opportunities.[93] The volume of articles relating to instruction and the availability of classes indicated the dominant role of education. The theme of education, featured in the first edition of the *Outpost*, related to the opening of a school within the camp.[94] While primarily geared towards youth, many articles highlighted adult courses, evidencing some of the educational opportunities available at the centers.[95] Since outside educational options did not exist, education in the camps became a focal point. Just as Governor Adkins banned Japanese Americans from working in Arkansas, he had also banned them from attending any universities within the state of Arkansas.[96] As a result, Japanese Americans had to work hard with the WRA to develop and maintain an educational presence within the camps.

Within both Jerome and Rohwer, education appeared as a main priority. The *Tribune* reported the formation of the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) and other educational committees, displaying both a valiant attempt to maintain normalcy during internment and the

[93] "School conference planned," *Communiqué,* 27 October 1942, 2.
[94] "Schools: Trice explains delay in opening of classes," *Rohwer Outpost* 24 October 1942, 1.
[95] "Night school for adults," *Communiqué,* 3 November 1942, 2.
[96] Russell E Bearden, "The internment of Japanese Americans in Arkansas 1942-1945," Thesis, University of Arkansas (1986), 111.

incredible adaptability of the internees.[97] By creating such organizations, similar to those back home in California, internees expressed their desire to continue their previous interests inside camp. At Rohwer, involvement in local schooling for children became a major area of interest for internees, exemplified through the creation of a PTA to help with schooling needs.[98] A special fieldtrip to visit local music students at McGehee high school resulted from such efforts.[99] The Arkansas state superintendent recognized the hard work and dedication of parents, students, and members of the community by giving their education system an "A" rating.[100] The establishment of a nursing school program within Rohwer exposed the collaborative actions of internees and the WRA to accommodate the specialized educational needs of many in camp.[101] Running educational programs indicated the determination of many to not let interment interrupt their lives. By adapting to camp life and encouraging educational programs, internees demonstrated their ability to move past the constraints of internment towards progress.

While this course of action for education worked for many, some had bigger dreams and pursued their right to attend college universities outside of Arkansas. Both the *Tribune* and *Outpost* printed this movement of students leaving the centers. The *Tribune* published updates about the number of students leaving, as well as the continued attempts of other students to pursue their higher education.[102] The *Outpost* reported on the subject, printing the stories of many young people who left camp to attend universities outside of Arkansas, often traveling across the country to continue their education.[103] The number of students able to leave the center

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[97] "PTA group planned," *Communiqué* 26 February 1943, 4.
[98] "PTA: plans for year," *Rohwer Outpost* 11 September 1943, 1
[99] "Rohwer high student visit McGehee high," *Rohwer Outpost* 22 May 1943, 4.
[100] "Rohwer high gets 'A' rating," *Rohwer Outpost* 19 June 1943.
[101] "Nursing school now open for enrollment," *Rohwer Outpost*, 3 February 1943, 2.
[102] "First student leaves for school," *Communiqué*, 3 November 1942, 2.
[103] "Five more students relocate to colleges in various states," *Rohwer Outpost* 3 February 1943, 2.

gave the distinct impression that many parents fought hard for their children to be able to continue their education despite the hardships of relocation.[104]

As parents and individuals worked hard to help their college-bound children establish themselves, a commitment to developing educational opportunities for children within camp flourished. Due to efforts of the Jerome PTA, high school graduation announcements and student updates in the press presented a strong focus on education within Jerome.[105] An annual "education week" at Rohwer, showcasing various strides and technologies in education, displayed a serious commitment to educating internees and the community at large.[106] As a camp wide affair, graduates celebrated commencement with family members and other internees. Programs and parties for graduates reinforced the significance of their accomplishments.[107] Encouraging education on all levels revealed the desire of Japanese Americans to maintain intellectual control. Through these efforts, education appeared as a fundamental part of interment life and a well supported aspect of the internment community. The level of involvement in educational pursuits demonstrated a level of discipline and resolve among internees to continue their educational endeavors despite the constraints of relocation.

Social Events

Alongside religious and educational pursuits, planned social events and activities proved an important part of camp life.[108] Jerome screened movies at the center playhouse as well as additional events to help create a sense of community.[109] Rohwer also screened movies sponsored by the Red Cross.[110] The creation of a gala variety show at Rohwer, involving a

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[104] "Fourteen residents leave on student relocation," *Communiqué*, 26 February 1943, 5.
[105] "Class of 1943 to be graduated at exercises tomorrow night," *Denson Tribune* 7 May 1943, 1.
[106] "Programs make education week," *Rohwer Outpost* 8 November 1944, 1.
[107] "To hold commencement Friday," *Rohwer Outpost* 23 May 1945, 1.
[108] "Recreation plan is center wide," *Communiqué*, 30 October 1942, 1.
[109] "Four night movies open at playhouse," *Denson Tribune* 18 April 1944, 1.
[110] "Movies given by red cross," *Rohwer Outpost* 2 February 1944, 1.

celebration of Japanese dances and popular Japanese melodies, also offered a positive way for individuals to get involved and meet one another.[111] Activities, like sports, provided a form of community involvement. Sports teams encouraged individuals to interact and get acclimated with one another. [112] Similarly, at Jerome, interactive activities appeared to be a major attraction at camp, noted by their creation of a sports section in the newspaper. [113]

The *Outpost* listed other social events, including a four-day New Year's gala program.[114] Holiday themed parties indicated another form of celebration and community involvement, including a special Valentines Day party.[115] Other events, such as 4th of July celebrations, granted an opportunity for internees to showcase their allegiance to America through openly displaying their affinity for the US.[116] The annual 4th of July cover page, complete with patriotic words and images supportive of America, captured such pro-American sentiments.[117] These efforts to convey solidarity align with the work of cultural anthropologists Edward Spicer, Asael Hansen, Katherine Luomala and Marvin Opler who expose the attempts of internees to prove their loyalty in order to escape rumors of being "Japanicized".[118] Their investigation focused on the adaptability of internees, and in particular their involvement with specific activities. The presence of detailed articles on internment events and programs support their findings, indicating the struggle many faced in terms of adapting to camp life.

The fact that planned social events were well-attended and widespread can be explained in two different but not mutually exclusive ways: 1) activities and events distracted Japanese Americans from their interned situation or 2) internees wanted to create a sense of community

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[111] "Gala variety show," *Rohwer Outpost* 1 January 1943, 1.
[112] "Tentative sports plans formulated," *Rohwer Outpost* 24 October 1942, 5.
[113] "Tribune sports," *Denson Tribune* 2 March 1943, 5.
[114] "Rohwer celebrates new year," *Rohwer Outpost* 1 January 1944, 1.
[115] "YPCG prepares for Valentine party," *Rohwer Outpost* 2 February 1944, 3.
[116] "4th of July show," *Rohwer Outpost* 3 July 1943, 1.
[117] "Coronation ball," *Rohwer Outpost* 5 July 1944, 1.
[118] Spicer et al, 227.

and normalcy through regular social activities and events. Perhaps some sought solace in social activities with others, and others wanted to maintain previous traditions. Overall, it appeared that the establishment of social events created certain opportunities for internees to engage in social activities, although limited and controlled, during internment.

Farming

Agriculture and farming in camp involved individuals at both Jerome and Rohwer.[119] Having been heavily involved with farming on the West Coast, many Japanese Americans had used agricultural techniques that enabled them to grow crops in the arid conditions of Arkansas. Published results of monthly production of crops and hogs in the *Tribune* kept the camp updated on their status of food production.[120] The raising and producing of poultry also proved a successful endeavor for internees at Rohwer, as they hit record numbers through their dedicated work.[121] The *Outpost* printed the center's success of growing vegetables and produce. The community also established a farming program to stabilize certain foods and avoid rationing.[122] Rohwer relocation center even hosted a well-known agriculturalist for a period of six weeks to hold workshops and lectures for the community.[123]

While agriculturally successful, internees remained unable to work outside campgrounds. Governor Homer Adkins's order that no Japanese Americans could work in Arkansas ensured that none worked in the state. Although restricted from their immediate outside surroundings, many other states sought Japanese American labor through ads in the camp newspapers.[124] Frequent articles in the *Tribune* referencing outside employment opportunities gave the

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[119] "Farming program underway," *Communiqué*, 26 February 1942, 1.
[120] "Monthly production of vegetable crops and hogs," *Denson Tribune* 11 January 1944, 3.
[121] "Poultry farm hits record, call for more manpower," *Rohwer Outpost* 4 July 1944, 1.
[122] "Center to grow own vegetables," *Rohwer Outpost* 24 October 1942, 4.
[123] "Murai, noted agriculturalist to deliver lectures here," *Rohwer Outpost* 2 February 1944, 1.
[124] "Beet toppers wanted," *Denson Tribune* 24 September 1943, 1

impression that internees had some options, and while certain permits had to be obtained to leave the premises, many succeeded in leaving to pursue farming.[125] The *Outpost* also regularly listed these job postings for outside work.[126] At Jerome, periodic articles surfaced asking for help with farming efforts, in an attempt to avoid rationing and produce enough food for the camp.[127] As a whole, farming appeared in the press as a positive outlet for many internees. Agriculture and farming also proved a viable way out for some, by way of leaving camp to work outside of Arkansas.

The agricultural success printed in both newspapers defined a major accomplishment by Japanese Americans. The fact that some internees left camp to pursue agricultural employment, and as previously mentioned, higher education, also revealed a level of freedom within the context of internment. While many remained within inside relocation centers, the departure of numerous Japanese Americans to other states evidenced the fact that internment was not as restricted as previously expected. As reported by both the *Tribune* and *Outpost*, the ability for internees to leave camp for employment and educational reasons separated the internment experience from that of a prison or concentration camp.

Luther and Cultural Identities

With the knowledge that the themes of religion, education, social events, and agriculture guided the majority of articles in both the *Tribune* and *Outpost*, Catherine Luther's assertion of newspapers serving as reflections of cultural identities comes into play. Luther's claims logically connect to the situation of internment, in terms of utilizing camp newspapers to understand the cultural impact of internment on Japanese Americans. Luther previously asserted that in order to successfully gauge cultural identity, "the analysis of media documents should allow researchers

[125] "Employment offered in Montana," *Denson Tribune* 6 April 1943, 1
[126] "Holly sugar co. needs 70 men for beetwork," *Rohwer Outpost* 12 May 1943, 3.
[127] "Help needed: center farming project," *Denson Tribune* 6 April 1943, 2

to decipher and understand how identities are molded over time."[128] This type of media observation and analysis accounts for how identities are created, altered, and established within specific cultural settings. Luther's practice of analyzing media to gain cultural understanding connects to this study, exemplified through the noted themes in the internment press.

Health Concerns

The *Outpost* printed numerous articles related to health conditions and health assistance, including updates as to healthcare and the hospital situation.[129] A health lecture series, led by chief medical officer Dr. W.T. Carstarphen, accentuated the camp's effort to "aid residents with their health."[130] Such programs uncovered the actions of the WRA to provide internees with access to health information. Being able to attend lecture series on health not only granted individuals the opportunity to improve their health, but promoted a healthy lifestyle. The establishment of healthcare and treatment facilities, while slow to begin, presented a sense of support for internment residents.[131] Having healthcare as a priority disclosed internees desire to maintain a healthy lifestyle despite their living conditions. Their actions to not submit and work to better conditions showed internees' dedication to creating a healthy environment.

The extreme heat and swamp-like conditions of Arkansas compounded relocation. Snakes bites presented a realistic threat due to the location of blocks and housing by wooded areas. Articles in the paper addressed this health hazard and provided assistance for handling such situations.[132] The inclusion of health related topics and themes indicated a level of education and awareness in the newspaper. Printed warnings and facts about potential threats helped to safeguard individuals from possible danger. The attention paid to health conditions and

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[128] Luther, 69.
[129] "New hospital visiting hours," *Rohwer Outpost* 29 July 1944, 3.
[130] "Lecture series on health," *Rohwer Outpost* 3 February 1943, 2.
[131] "Infirmary for old men soon," *Rohwer Outpost* 3 February 1943, 2.
[132] "Snake bite rules," *Rohwer Outpost* 7 April 1943, 5.

assistance in the newspaper signified a level of concern relating to the internees' well-being, and demonstrated a sincere attempt to maintain a healthy lifestyle at camp.

Charities and Visitors

The *Outpost* reported instances where internees focused on health issues by donating to local charities. Their participation in the March of Dimes campaign exemplified their generous nature and involvement in a greater cause.[133] This fundraising effort put them first in the county with $647 in the 1943 March of Dimes campaign. Equally impressive, Rohwer relocation center raised over $2,888 in donations for the Red Cross.[134] The care and attention paid to their own healthcare needs, and equally to those of others, displayed a remarkable level of generosity; not only in the amount of money collected, but in terms of circumstance. To have individuals donate money and fundraise for charity is admirable, but to do so under the conditions of relocation, where many families had little money, if any, showed a great level of human compassion. These examples evidenced the charitable and generous spirit of many internees, and their desire to prove their allegiance by supporting American organizations.

While giving to outside charities, some local charitable organizations and guests offered their services to better internment living. Organization representatives would stop by, such as the YMCA secretary, to help institute new programming for Japanese Americans.[135] These gestures of goodwill and kindness reinforced that not all local residents begrudged internees. Other visitors were special guests, such as agriculturist Murai and Pulitzer Prize winning poet John Gould Fletcher.[136] These visitors provided a link to the outside world, and stimulated discussions

[133] "Center to participate in march of dimes campaign," *Rohwer Outpost* 27 January 1943, 1.
[134] "Red cross results," *Rohwer Outpost* 31 March 1943, 1.
[135] "YMCA secretary on visit plan leadership institute," *Rohwer Outpost* 10 November 1943, 1.
[136] "Pulitzer prize winner speaks to rohwerites," *Rohwer Outpost* 8 April 1944, 3.

and forums. Other visitors included local WRA officials or WAC officials.[137] Both newspapers reported on the visits of such officials, with the headlines often bolded and capitalized across the newspaper sections. This appeared to be a tactic to catch internees' attention and grant a level of importance to the upcoming visit. These individuals primarily visited to disseminate information and enlist interested men in the military.[138] Other visitors offered opportunities for individuals to leave camp.[139]

Printed notification of such visits provided the camp with information related to upcoming programs and special guests. Whether for pleasure or for business, the cycle of visitors through both relocation centers indicated that the camps generated an outside interest. Having visitors confirmed internment as a visible and recognized aspect of the war and gave prominent figures the ability to probe and observe internment life. The visits also provided some political figures the opportunity to dispel negative accusations of internment and Japanese Americans. The many visitors who came to both Jerome and Rohwer served as witnesses to camp events, and their presence provided another link in the chain for understanding internment.

Japanese American Military Enlistment & Patriotism

Many articles in both papers referenced the enlisting of internees in the military.[140] There were many who wanted the chance to prove their loyalty and dedication to the U.S., reflected in the high number of men from Jerome and Rohwer who enlisted in the military.[141] Many articles in the *Outpost* reported Japanese American involvement in the military and enlistment opportunities. An article about the awarding of citizenship to aliens serving in armed forces

[137] "Army, WRA leaders visit camp," *Denson Tribune,* 5 March 1943, 1.
[138] "Wac recruiting officer will again visit center," *Rohwer Outpost* 11 September 1943, 1.
[139] "Choate to visit here," *Rohwer Outpost* 23 October 1943, 1.
[140] "Nisei given chance to enlist in U.S. army," *Communiqué,* 6 November 1942, 1.
[141] "Many local Nisei enlist," *Communiqué,* 13 October 1942, 1.

revealed another positive outcome of enlistment.[142] Other articles highlighted farewell socials for soldiers, which provided support and encouragement for those entering the armed forces. [143] The awarding of the Purple Heart to many soldiers furthered this claim of pride and support for *Nisei* troops.[144]

Author Paul Howard Takemoto addresses the story of *Nisei* involvement in the military through the experiences of his father, who served in the 442nd military force. Takemoto describes his father's involvement in the military, and the love story that arose between his father and mother, an internee in Jerome. The cooperative attitude of his father Ken, a Hawaiian soldier fighting for American freedom, personified the true character of many internees. Having the courage and drive to serve an army that has forcefully detained you or your loved ones revealed an inner courage and strength. Takemoto's work serves as a salient example of the tenacity of Japanese Americans and their willingness to show their solidarity. The combination of articles detailing *Niesi* military involvement and Takemoto's research demonstrates the attempts of many to prove their devotion to America. While enlisting out of sincere desire to help America, or out of desperation to prove their loyalty, the involvement of Japanese Americans in the military ties into the reoccurring theme of patriotism in the press.

The *Tribune* featured another potential reason for the rise of enlistments - the underlying fear of being labeled as disloyal.[145] Many articles in the *Tribune* mentioned this fear of removal to Tule Lake, a detention center for all untrustworthy and potentially dangerous Japanese Americans.[146] This pervasive fear of being deemed treacherous may have created motivation for many to enlist. Press coverage of relocation to Tule Lake provided information on the

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[142] "Citizenship for aliens in armed forces," *Rohwer Outpost* 10 November 1943, 1.
[143] "Farewell social: 22 inductees to be honored," *Rohwer Outpost* 22 March 1944, 1.
[144] "Many Nisei soldiers awarded the order of the purple heart," *Rohwer Outpost* 2 February 1944, 3.
[145] "New WRA regulations explained," *Denson Tribune* 6 April 1943, 1.
[146] "Segregation details disclosed at joint meeting," *Denson Tribune* 3 August 1943, 1.

segregation process and issued a possible warning for remaining internees. [147] This may or may not have impacted the high level of interest in military enlistment, but overall, the presence of *Nisei* involvement with the military in the newspaper served as a key element of camp life. While the element of fear likely impacted some enlistments, the number of internees willing to give their life for their country, cited in both newspapers, supported the idea of Japanese Americans cooperation during relocation.

Those individuals not involved with the military also worked to exhibit their patriotism. John Tateishi notes the many attempts of internees to display their fidelity through a series of interviews with individuals from Jerome and Rohwer. The sentiment of the time is best captured by Jerome internee Mary Tsukamoto, who recalled "frantically wanting to do what was American" during the beginning stages of internment.[148] Tateishi captures the emotional and very real elements rarely discussed in internment research. While personal interviews and newspaper articles differ in terms of credibility, Tateishi's work ties into the internment press by offering possible motivation for acts of patriotism during internment.

Acts of loyalty also extended to internee's involvement in various events celebrating America.[149] Through shows and galas, the camps paid tribute to traditional American holidays and events, making efforts to include images honoring American holidays. At Rohwer, events such as 4th of July celebrations provided an opportunity for many to confirm their solidarity with America through openly displaying their affinity for the US.[150] The *Outpost* printed decorative cover pages on each 4th of July issue, perhaps in an attempt homage and tribute to America.[151]

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[147] "Tuleans to arrive today or tomorrow," *Denson Tribune* 24 September 1943, 1
[148] John Tateishi, *And justice for all*, New York: Random House (1984), 7.
[149] "Vargettes featured in two-night stand patriotic grand finale climaxes weekend show," *Denson Tribune*, 2 March 1943, 8.
[150] "4th of July show," *Rohwer Outpost* 3 July 1943, 1.
[151] "Coronation ball," *Rohwer Outpost* 5 July 1944, 1.

The inclusion of patriotic images and capitalized headlines in these editions assigned importance to pro-American celebrations.

The specific language used in these articles may have been an indication of allegiance, or as Luther asserts, as aspect of internal censorship, as editors of newspapers sometimes censored themselves by making specific rhetorical choices that emphasized their commitment to America. An example of Luther's claim would be the repeated inclusion of the term "Japanese American," often printed in both the *Tribune* and *Outpost.*[152] While the reasoning behind the specific language included in the articles remains unclear, Luther's reasoning draws attention to the challenge many internees faced in terms of proving their commitment to America. The themes of Japanese American enlistment and Patriotism provided examples of internees' efforts to act and appear as loyal citizens.

Editorial Freedom

While motivation behind certain articles may have varied, the overall presentation of both the *Tribune* and *Outpost* appeared similar in terms of traditional layouts with editorial sections. For the *Tribune*, the editorial section included a small response area with editorial comments and news updates, and a major side section entitled "At Random" written by Paul Yokota, who served as the editor for over half the paper's editions.[153] Yokota, a 1941 honors journalism graduate from University of Southern California, contributed more than 100 of the 174 *Communiqué/ Tribune* issues.[154] One particular editorial, entitled "Uninvited Too," exemplifies Yokota's writing style. The article reads at the end: "May we remind the Legionnaires that we did not invite ourselves into this state of our own free will in the first place." [155] This article

[152] Catherine Luther, "Reflections of cultural identities in conflict," *Journalism History* 29 (2003), 74.
[153] "At random," *Denson Tribune* 5 March 1943, 2.
[154] Jay Friedlander, "Freedom of press behind barbed wire,"*Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 44(1985), 307.
[155] "At Random," *Denson Tribune* 3 August 1943, 2

supported Jay Friedlander's claim that Arkansas camp newspapers operated with "little, if any censorship."[156] As Friedlander explains, the *Tribune* likely operated with little to no censorship due to the enlightened camp administration, or the reports officer, former *Arkansas Gazette* reporter Charles Lynn.[157] The possible influence or impact of these factors resulted in the virtually uncensored publication of the *Denson Tribune*.[158]

The inclusion of such challenging editorials in the newspaper signified a degree of freedom, with regard to editorial writing, granted to internee staffers. While individuals such as Paul Yokota generally authored such pieces, internee involvement in producing such literature indicated a minimal level of censorship associated with the *Tribune* and *Outpost.* Inclusion of such editorials offered a level of openness in terms of publication restrictions, a sense of freedom with regards to opinion writing, and little evidence for overt censorship. While noting the apparent editorial freedom within both papers, the possibility for self-censorship unraveled, making it difficult to know what material the internment staff potentially withheld. Perhaps more condemning articles or editorials of the internment situation never made it to press, or certain stories never published. Despite the lack of overt censorship, the fact that the WRA had full control over the newspapers indicated the potential for censorship in any or all available newspaper editions. The underlying possibility of censorship, although minimally noted in the *Tribune* or *Outpost*, must be noted and taken into account with regard to this chapter.

Whether or not information in the *Outpost* intended to showcase American solidarity, the paper did present a platform for discussion and opinion through editorials In terms of placement, the editorials in the *Outpost* always printed on the last page in the section with a column entitled

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[156] Jay Friedlander, "Journalism behind barbed wire, 1942-1944: An Arkansas relocation center newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly*, 62(1985), 244.
[157] Friedlander, "Freedom of press," 307.
[158] *Ibid*, 306.

"Passing By" next to it. The sample of editorials selected covered a variety of topics, an example being the editorial entitled "Now We Are One" which urged for community unity and harmonious living during relocation.[159] Subsequent editorials saluted the Navy and gave advice on speeding.[160] In between the editorials on community living and speeding, very few challenging and eye opening pieces printed in the internment newspapers.

One editorial, "Disloyalty or Confusion," focused on the subject of Japanese American loyalty and the general level of American allegiance in Rohwer.[161] Two other major editorials, on December 1943 and January 1944, both tied into the theme of holiday spirit, and above all hope. The writers recognized the pain and anguish of internment, ending their editorials by encouraging internees to persevere and move forward.[162] As internment articles indicate, many exhibited this persistent and hopeful attitude during interment. The overall response to forced relocation accentuated the quiet strength of many Japanese Americans, in terms of their ability to overcome accusations of traitorous behavior and deceit through acts of cooperation and compliance.

Many editions of both papers included editorials and letters to the editor, along with editorial cartoons, which exemplified internees' freedom to voice their concerns and feelings about relocation in the paper.[163] The *Tribune* also printed a special Japanese translated section in the paper for *Issei* who did not understand English, entitled JIHO. In addition to the JIHO section, other columns, like "Passing By" and "Smoke Signals" (which published information from other camps), added diversity in the internment press.[164] Relating to the inclusion of JIHO,

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[159] "Passing by," *Rohwer Outpost* 24 October 1942, 6.
[160] "Salute the Navy" & "Speeding," *Rohwer Outpost* 28 October 1942, 6.
[161] "Disloyalty or Confusion," *Rohwer Outpost* 20 March 1945, 6.
[162] "Hope of a new yeat," *Rohwer Outpost* 10 January 1944, 6.
[163] "Letters to the editor," *Denson Tribune* 7 May 1943, 3.
[164] "Smoke Signals," *Rohwer Outpost* 20 March 1945, 6.

the WRA permitted this section to be printed with the understanding that the government closely monitored the information.[165] Considering the stringent WRA regulations, the printing of the JIHO section revealed the flexible nature of WRA censorship, furthering Friedlander's claim of editorial freedom in camp press. The presence of editorials in both papers, and especially articles critical of US policy in the *Tribune*, signified a low level of blatant censorship.

Conclusion

Review of the *Denson Tribune* and the *Rohwer Outpost* uncovered a variety of articles relating to charities, editorial freedom, education, farming, health concerns, Japanese American military enlistment, patriotism, religion, social events and visitors. By their presence in the paper, these themes guided the overall understanding of camp life for this study. The use of religion as a tool of enlightenment, and possible form of coercion, illuminated the powerful impact of religion on internment. Articles mentioning the role of education framed one of the primary activities in camp, as well as the efforts of many internees to be involved in educational programs. The noting of various social events to occupy time and build connections, as well as and agricultural endeavors, offered a glimpse into daily activities that both guided camp life and gave purpose to many internees.

Other forms of involvement in camp life related to the enlisting of many Japanese Americans in the military, illustrating a way for many to prove their solidarity with and allegiance to America. Published editorials in both papers conveyed a level of freedom and created a sounding board for frustration and anger about internment. The presence of health care stories warned of possible dangers and issued educational information for the protection of camp residents. Routine visits from outsiders offered a glimpse of the outside world, and many broke the monotony of daily life by discussing subject matter unrelated to the war. All of these themes

[165] JIHO, *Denson Jiho*, 5 March 1943, 1.

aligned to underscore internment life at Jerome and Rohwer, and aided in creating a picture of internment in Arkansas.

By examining the articles in both the *Denson Tribune* and the *Rohwer Outpost*, in conjunction with the research of Friedlander, Luther, and Mizuno, the contribution of each author's work to this study became clear. Luther's work, relating to cultural identities through media, applied to the story of internment through the central themes specified in the camp newspapers. Using those concepts to formulate an idea of camp life, and how those experiences shaped the identities of internees, proved insightful and useful. The findings in this chapter did not support Mizuno's work, related to heavy censorship by the WRA and disconnect of Japanese Americans to internment press. Mizuno's additional claim of camp newspapers existing solely as a vehicle for "assembly camp authorities to disseminate information" appeared limiting in terms of this project.[166] Centered on censorship's minimal role in Arkansas internment press, Friedlander's argument aligned best with this study's findings. Through his textual analysis of the *Tribune*, Friedlander's findings connected with the major themes identified in chapter and helped to create a case for freedom of expression in both the *Denson Tribune* and *Rohwer Outpost*.

[166] Mizuno, 99.

The Arkansas Experience: Arkansas newspaper coverage during internment

Similar to themes identified in internment camp newspapers, the articles printed in local Arkansas newspapers illuminated reactions and responses to internment. In the case of local Arkansans press coverage, the focus turns towards understanding the atmosphere in Arkansas during the early 1940s. Articles in this chapter reflect the political, social and economic situation in Arkansas from September 1942 to December 1945. These articles provided insight into local Arkansas society during internment and evidenced local reaction to internment.

Included in this chapter are articles from the three major newspapers in Arkansas during the time of internment from 1942-1945: *The Arkansas Democrat* and *The Arkansas Gazette*, being daily publications, and *The McGehee Times* being a weekly publication. Selected for their close location to Jerome and Rohwer, and their coverage of internment in Arkansas, these newspapers provide data for this chapter's analysis of local reaction to internment. Since newspapers served as authorized sources, Arkansans learned about Japanese Americans by what the Government told them and introduced through the press. The ability of the Government to control the press emphasized the power of wartime propaganda and its presence during relocation. Examination the three Arkansas newspapers uncovered the following major themes surfaced: anti-Japanese American legislation, camp visitors, education, farming, general information, health concerns, Japanese American employment, Japanese American military involvement, military control, negative coverage of Japanese Americans, positive coverage of Japanese Americans, poverty, racism, religion, and road conditions. These identified themes in the Arkansas press work to expose local reaction to internment.

The utilization of newspapers to gauge public reaction proves a familiar topic for authors Elena Tajima Creef, William Anderson and Russell Bearden. Honing in on the power of visual

rhetoric, Creef examines various images of Japanese Americans taken at the time of internment. The use and dissemination of these photographs in mainstream press serve as the subject of her argument and lend insight into the influential nature of photographs during wartime reporting. Anderson offers a more local perspective relating to the political arm of the press in Arkansas. Noting Anti-Japanese legislation (printed in local press) as well as racist language within the government, Anderson brings to light the underlying opposition to internment in Arkansas. Lastly, leading Arkansas internment scholar Bearden traces the trail of interment coverage in the press to uncover sentiments of mistrust, suspicion and segregation. The work of these authors creates a framework for this chapter's examination of local Arkansas newspaper coverage during internment.

Findings: *The Arkansas Democrat, The Arkansas Gazette and The McGehee Times*

Serving as major publications of the time in Arkansas, *The Arkansas Democrat, The Arkansas Gazette* and *The McGehee Times* disseminated local and national news to residents, including coverage of the war and internment. While varying in terms of frequency, with *The McGehee Times* printing twice a week and *The Arkansas Democrat* and *The Arkansas Gazette* printing daily, the overall content within all papers proved similar. The length of each newspaper ranged from 12 to18 pages, with longer editions on Sundays, and included sections on sports, social events, politics, local and national news. The repeated themes in all three newspapers unveiled the local reaction to internment by way of similar articles and stories appearing in each publication.

The findings in this chapter help to answer two primary questions guiding this thesis: How did locals react to the arrival of Japanese Americans? How did pre-existing racial tensions shape the opinion of residents? The major themes identified in all three Arkansas newspapers

shape the argument that while some were supportive of the arrival of Japanese Americans into Arkansas, a majority of press coverage indicated a negative reaction to relocation. The major themes identified through these articles elucidate local Arkansas reaction to internment as being generally negative, due in large part to the state's disjointed economic, political and social atmosphere.

Education

The theme of education exemplified one negative factor circling internment, relating to the utilization of Arkansas teachers at relocation centers. The efforts of the WRA to actively recruit Arkansas teachers to work inside relocation centers ignited local animosity towards internees. Articles in *The Arkansas Gazette* detailed this shift of teachers from local schools into camps, noting salary increases as a motivating factor.[167] All three newspapers documented this search for qualified teachers and expressed that such actions fostered anti-Japanese American sentiments.[168] The press exposed the underlying issue for local resentment over education, being the perception that Japanese Americans were *taking away* Arkansas's educators. This dichotomy of the haves and have-nots tied into many of the themes found in the local newspapers and offered reasoning behind local resentment.

The local papers disclosed this fear of losing viable teachers, adding to the unrest of internment.[169] The newspapers published articles that appeared to equate the influx of teachers to the dwindling of school attendance at local schools, creating a cause and effect relationship that negatively framed the internees.[170] By having an increase of teachers and resources inside the camps, it appeared as if relocation centers limited opportunities for residents. Repeated headlines

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[167] "High teacher salaries at jap colony," *Arkansas Gazette,*23 September 1942, 2.
[168] "General extension to teach Japanese, " *McGehee Times,* 31 December 1942, 1.
[169] "Danger in teacher shortage feared," *Arkansas Gazette,* 1 February 1944, 6.
[170] "Many rural schools may close doors,"*Arkansas Democrat,*15 October 1942, 2.

related to the closing of schools and drop in attendance indicated a lack of involvement in local education, and with the efforts of the WRA to help build the education system at the centers, the language in the articles conveyed a sense of animosity and angst from locals.[171]

Local enmity spanned beyond internal camp education to include Japanese Americans attending out of state universities. An article in *The Arkansas Democrat* expressed the objection of the Arkansas House to permitting individuals to leave internment centers to attend college. This article focused on the idea of favoritism being shown towards internees able to attend school "while the same privilege is denied to loyal American young men called into military service."[172] The article additionally addressed a call for the return of internees sent out to colleges, and for their patriotism to be demonstrated through their enlistment in the war.

While the majority of the articles indicated a hostile attitude towards Japanese Americans and their access to education, the newspapers reported a few instances of support for educational programs at the camps. An article in *The Arkansas Democrat* provided a supportive response from Ralph B. Jones, commissioner of the State Department of Education, to the charges of unfair salary increases for teachers. [173] The article captured Jones's reaction to the issue of Arkansas educators in camps, stating: "for a long time, teachers who are capable have sought to establish themselves securely in Arkansas, but when no encouragement was given…other than starvation wages…they left to obtain teaching jobs where salaries are adequate." [174] Jones's response emphasized the fact many teachers left their positions strictly for economic reasons. Speaking before almost fifty teachers at the camps, Jones urged a Christian attitude towards Japanese: "we want these children to have the same treatment and advantages we would want for

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[171] "Lower school attendance, " *McGehee Times,* 26 November 1942, 1.
[172] "House attacks WRA policy on Jap internees, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 18 February 1943, 1.
[173] "Education official defends teachers who take positions which offer higher salaries," *Arkansas Democrat,*23 September 1942, 1.
[174] *Ibid*

our own children if they were forced to live under similar conditions."[175] This idea of acceptance and empathy urged by Jones did not resonate with many residents, noted by the prevalence of negative articles relating to internees and education. The theme of education revealed a point of contention in the story of internment in Arkansas, in that education came to be viewed as another resource being taken away from residents and given to Japanese Americans. Noting education as an inaccessible resource for many residents provided reasoning behind local reaction to internment.

Anti-Japanese American Legislation

The reach of political figures extended to local legislation in Arkansas, exemplified by the theme of anti-Japanese American legislation in the newspapers. Senate Bill 11, a prominent piece of anti- Japanese American legislation introduced by Senator Frank Williams, called for the prohibition of all Japanese and Japanese Americans to own land in the state.[176] Williams received great attention in the press regarding his bill, including coverage in all three local newspapers.[177] Mention of such injustices reinforced a sense of inferiority.[178]

Continuing with the theme of restricting the rights of Japanese Americans to own land, an article in the *Arkansas Democrat* recounted the attempts of the Arkansas House of Representatives to impede Japanese Americans from owning property. The article outlines the guidelines of House Bill number 25 by Representative Lee Baker, similar to bill number 11, which called for "prohibit these persons from owning, leasing or dwelling upon property in Arkansas except at relocation centers during the war and for 25 years thereafter." [179] Baker

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[175] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 199.
[176] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 208.
[177] "Japs refused right to buy Arkansas land," *Arkansas Democrat*, 14 February 1943, 7.
[178] "Would prevent Japanese from buying land, " *McGehee Times*, 21 January 1943, 1.
[179] "Assembly gets fourth bill to restrict Japs, " *Arkansas Democrat*, 20 Janurary 1943, 2.

explained the motivation behind the bill's call to action, including his belief that such legislation would pacify local plantation owners who "feared the evacuees would remain in the state after the war to compete with their farming operations."[180] Baker's action to win over constituents through unconstitutional legislation evidenced the deceitful actions of many political figures in Arkansas during internment.

Following suit, Senator Ragsdale introduced bill number 15, similar in nature to bill number 11. After introducing the bill, he said: "I don't believe anybody wants a Japanese person in Arkansas. If I had my way, we'd put them all on a ship and have the ship torpedoed."[181] The words of Senator Ragsdale, while filled with hatred and discrimination, reflected the mentality of many members of Arkansas political leadership. Despite the efforts of many Arkansas politicians to bar Japanese Americans from owning land, Attorney General J.B. Bunn ruled Act 47 of 1943 unconstitutional. [182] As Bunn explained, "section 20 of Article Two of the Arkansas Constitution states that 'no distinction shall ever be made by law between resident aliens and citizens in regard to the possession, enjoyment or descent of property." [183] Such attempts to pass unlawful legislation indicated the resolve of some political figures to ostracize Japanese Americans.

Senator Richard K. Mason's proposed legislation to prohibit Japanese children from attending white schools presented additional restrictions over Japanese American rights.[184] While this bill did pass through both the House and Senate, the courts found it unconstitutional and had it voided. The protest against the rights of Japanese youth to attend universities provided another

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[180] "Assembly gets fourth bill to restrict Japs," *Arkansas Democrat*, 20 Janurary 1943, 2.
[181] William Anderson, "Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 200.
[182] "Ban on land purchase by Japs held void," *Arkansas Democrat*, 4 May 1943, 2.
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] William Anderson, "Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 210.

example of proposed anti-Japanese American action.[185] These examples of anti- Japanese American legislation embodied the vengeful actions of many political figures to assert authority over internees and withhold their basic rights. With many political figures in support of anti-Japanese American legislation, the potential reach of those political figures to residents unfolded to offer another possible influencing factor on local reaction.

Japanese American Employment & Farming

While attempts to bar Japanese Americans from owning and buying land failed, authorities in Arkansas succeeded in restricting any and all Japanese from working within in state. Governor Homer Adkins headed this movement against Japanese American employment in Arkansas. Russell Bearden speaks to Adkins's caustic opinion of internees, and their employment within the state, citing the Governor's "implacable opposition" to such measures in a letter to Senator Chandler on January 23, 1943.[186] An article in the *Democrat* highlighted Adkins's disdain underscoring his unwavering position on the subject.[187] The *Gazette* cited a possible reason for Adkins's contempt for internees, being the previous agricultural success of Japanese Americans in California.[188] This threat of being outdone agriculturally by "alien citizens" or "enemies of the state" provided enough reason, according to Bearden, for Adkins to discount the idea of allowing Japanese Americans to work within the state of Arkansas.

Ironically, as reported in the press, labor shortages existed in the areas surrounding internment camps.[189] Even with the many warnings concerning the impact of labor shortages, Japanese Americans remained unable to work in Arkansas.[190] Despite the willingness of

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[185] *Ibid.*
[186] Bearden, 115.
[187] "Adkins rejects appeal for jap workmen," *Arkansas Democrat,* 13 December 1942, 1.
[188] "Essential jobs being taken by Jap- Americans, " *Arkansas Gazette,*12 May 1943, 5.
[189] "Shortage of farm labor in county,"*Arkansas Gazette,* 16 March 1943, 7.
[190] "Man power shortage to be felt here," *McGehee Times,* 5 November 1942, 16.

Japanese Americans to work in Arkansas, the ban ordered by Governor Adkins prevented them from working in the state.[191] By taking such a definitive stand against Japanese American labor and employment, Adkins added further injury to the state's dwindling economy, while indirectly contributing to the prosperity of surrounding states that accepted Japanese American labor.[192] This action to boycott Japanese American labor in Arkansas illustrated the power of racism to override economic self-interest.

Since other states accepted Japanese American labor, many internees received permission by the WRA to leave camp to pursue agricultural jobs.[193] The desire to utilize their time and skills elsewhere revealed a sense of tenacity in many internees, as they worked to free themselves through any means possible.[194] The frequency of articles in all three papers related to Japanese American employment in Arkansas evidenced yet another opportunity withheld from internees.[195] The small victory of obtaining outside work framed the ambitious and persistent nature of some internees, and offered another example of an obstacle they overcame during internment in Arkansas.

Racism

While several internees were fortunate enough to leave camp, many of the remaining individuals felt the impact of the racially charged atmosphere of Arkansas. As indicated by Anderson and Bearden, the environment in Arkansas during the 1940s exemplified the racial tensions being felt across the country and the racial divide among Americans. The local newspapers captured this strained relationship in Arkansas through articles featuring racist

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[191] "Jap colonists will work if labor needed," *Arkansas Gazette,* 23 October 1942, 15.
[192] " Need workers, war plants, agriculture," *McGehee Times,* 1 October 1942, 1.
[193] "200 Japs in camps freed to resume jobs," *Arkansas Democrat,*18 December 1942, 6.
[194] "To resettle 20,000 evacuees in agriculture, " *McGehee Times,* 25 March 1943, 1.
[195] "Japanese labor is in demand," *Arkansas Democrat,* 14 October 1942, 8.

language and legislation.[196] While use of the word 'Negro' was commonplace during the 1940s, its appearance in headlines of the *Democrat, Gazette* and *Times* accentuated the pre-existing division between local residents.[197] Other articles, such as a separate obituary section in the *Gazette* entitled 'Death of Negros,' further reinforced a separation in the communities.[198]

Racist language found its way into Arkansas legislation, exposing the pervasive nature of racism in Arkansas during the 1940s.[199] Examples of this racist attitude stemmed from the power and influence of political figures and players in Arkansas. Some of the legislation proposed by local senators revealed the racist overtones associated with internment, such as Senator Mason's bill prohibiting Japanese children from attending school with white children. A supporter of Mason's bill added to this racially segregated atmosphere, by asserting: 'I know none of you gentlemen think Negroes…are as good as your children, and I don't think any member of the yellow race is as good as my children or yours."[200] Governor Adkins supported this stance, ultimately forbidding the entry of any Japanese Americans into state colleges, stating in a telegram that entrance of internees into universities would "provide an entering wedge for Negroes" to apply. [201] These various instances of discrimination exposed the pre-existing conditions of racism in Arkansas during internment. The negative disposition of Adkins and other leaders towards individuals of color can be viewed as an indicator in terms of Arkansas's reaction of Japanese Americans.

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[196] Thinks negroes can't vote for state officers," *Arkansas Gazette*, 5 April 1944, 1.
[197] "Negro woman kills husband with knife, " *McGehee Times*, 6 July 1944, 1.
[198] "Death of negroes," *Arkansas Gazette*, 5 June 1943, 11.
[199] "Thinks negroes can't vote for state officers," *Arkansas Gazette*, 5 April 1944, 1.
[200] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 210.
[201] Russell E Bearden, "The internment of Japanese Americans in Arkansas 1942-1945," Thesis, University of Arkansas (1986), 111.

The presence of Jim Crow laws in the newspaper further emphasized this level of racial separation.[202] With support for controlling internees, articles in the press presented new restrictive provisions as measures to secure the safety of white Arkansans.[203] While examples of oppression primarily targeted African Americans, the extension of such racist attitudes towards Japanese Americans appeared in a July 1944 *Gazette* article. The story recounted the refusal of the county clerk to issue a marriage license to a Japanese man and white woman.[204] The clerk offered the reasoning that: "since Pulaski juvenile court has refused the right to allow young girls involved with Japanese soldiers at Camp Robinson to marry members of the yellow race, it would be inconsistent for us to issue a license in this case."[205] Accounting for the pre-existing racial tensions and barriers in Arkansas proves central to understanding the reaction of residents to Japanese Americans. The various examples of racist language and legislation in the newspapers frame the atmosphere in Arkansas during internment, and offer reasoning as to why local residents appeared unwilling to accept Japanese Americans into their town.

Poverty & Road Conditions

Documentation of poverty in the local press provided background to the impoverished atmosphere of Arkansas during the 1940s. As author Anthony Harkins noted, many Arkansans became known as 'hillbillies' due to their poor economic standing and lack of resources. [206] This aspect of Arkansas, being the sheer destitute of the state, separated the Arkansas internment experience from all other interment cases. On the West Coast of the country, Japanese Americans encountered acts of discrimination due to issues of loyalty, while in Arkansas, the level of local prejudice reflected jealousy in terms of access to resources. The various articles on

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[202] "'Jim Crow' measure endorsed, " *Arkansas Gazette,*10 February 1943, 10.
[203] "Senate passes bill revising 'Jim Crow' law, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 4 March 1943, 1.
[204] "No license to white woman and japanese, " *Arkansas Gazette,* 9 July 1944, 3.
[205] *Ibid.*
[206] Anthony Harkins, *Hillbilly*, Oxford University Press (2004), 47.

anti-Japanese legislation evidenced the influence of poverty on internment reaction, and its role as a catalyst for discrimination towards internees.

As previously mentioned, the unstable weather and drought conditions in Arkansas impacted local agricultural success in the state. The ability of internees to achieve agricultural success created feelings of animosity towards Japanese Americans.[207] Newspapers depicted Arkansas's bleak economic state, emphasizing high levels of unemployment.[208] The lack of resources and economic instability in Arkansas greatly impacted residents, especially those among the most impoverished in the state.[209] Articles offering rationing recipes and tips made the impact of poverty apparent.[210] Despite gradual upswings in agriculture, food supplies remained low and many items that were once plentiful became scarce. [211] Repeated articles mentioning the implementation of food stamps also indicated the high level of economic concern, in terms of the lack of stability within Arkansas.[212]

With constant suggestions in both the *Democrat* and *Gazette* about rationing and thrifty spending, the economy appeared dismal.[213] Given such limited economic opportunity, rumors began that relocation centers were overflowing with food supplies. These accusations created a suspicion that internment camps received special treatment. Political figures like Representative F. Leroy Johnson reported receiving "numerous reports and rumors" that huge shipments of scarce foods-like eggs, butter, sugar, and coffee" were inside internment camps.[214] Probes by the government and political figures resulted as a response to local paranoia about center

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[207] Ben Johnson, *Arkansas in Modern America 1930-1999*, University of Arkansas Press: Fayetteville (2000), 1.
[208] "Unemployment peak due soon for Arkansas, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 2 October 1945, 2.
[209] "Sad conditions seen in county welfare units, " *Arkansas Gazette,* 19 November 1945, 1.
[210] "Recipes that will save ration points," *Arkansas Gazette,* 20 January 1944, 15.
[211] "Several food items doomed to scarcity, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 8 August 1943, 4.
[212] "Food stamp plan to be revived," *Arkansas Gazette,* 6 February 1944, 11.
[213] "Rationing quickens your sense of food values: doesn't coffee taste better?" *Arkansas Democrat,* 4 March 1943, 12.
[214] "Congressmen demand probe of Jap camps," *Arkansas Democrat,*10 Janurary 1943, 6.

resources.[215] Through investigations, the WRA revealed such rumors to be "groundless," noting that only necessary supplies were sent to the camps.[216]

While suspicions regarding excess food supplies in camp dissipated, other actions raised concern among local residents. As discussed in the education section, many locals harbored ill feeling towards the government for their role in removing valuable teachers from their school systems. Many teachers accepted positions from the WRA due to the financial benefit of working inside the camps. While some individuals, like the commissioner of the State Department of Education Ralph B. Jones, did support the effort of educators to take those more lucrative jobs, many locals perceived the move as a sign of betrayal, which created a feeling of locals being disadvantaged.[217]

Education represented one of the many aspects of Arkansas society suffering from state's the poor economic situation. The meager economic state of Arkansas made it difficult to move forward with needed public works. For example, until the 1950s, "paved highways were an uncommon luxury."[218] One article in the *Times* printed at the beginning of internment, with promises of updated and improved road systems.[219] This much needed road system would enable better mobility in terms of travel in and out of Arkansas, including the buying and selling of goods. The paper followed the story of road conditions, with actual progress printed years after initial claims emerged.[220] The lack of tangible progress in terms of road improvements served as another reminder of the bleak economic conditions limiting Arkansans.[221] This combination of

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[215] "To probe complaints about japs," *Arkansas Gazette*, 22 October 1942, 7.
[216] "Denies story of disorder at Jerome," *Arkansas Gazette,* 3 January 1943, 12.
[217] "Danger in teacher shortage feared," *Arkansas Gazette,* 1 February 1944, 6.
[218] Johnson, 9.
[219] "Improvement of roads assured, " *McGehee Times,* 1 October 1942, 1.
[220] "2 major advances made in program for better roads, " *McGehee Times,* 18 October 1945, 1.
[221] "Road program will open at once," *Arkansas Gazette,* 3 October 1945, 1.

factors contributed to the overall sense of poverty in Arkansas, and supported how the situation at the centers, compared to local conditions, could have appeared unfair to residents.

The economic shortcomings of Arkansas in the 1940s shaped the local reaction to internment. Having deficient supplies, food, and employment, that state struggled greatly during the time of relocation. By evidencing the economic backdrop of Arkansas, an understanding of location reaction unfolded. This theme of poverty distinguished Arkansas internment from other cases, as pre-existing economic conditions in the state directly impacted local reaction to internees.

Religion

Despite the poverty in Arkansas during the 1940s, the state remained rich in religious convictions. Located in the "Bible Belt," articles and historical documents revealed the religious influence in the state. During internment, many Arkansas religious figures encouraged fair treatment and acceptance of internees for religious reasons. State Education Commissioner Ralph B. Jones, for instance, embodied this idea through the urging of a "Christian attitude towards internees."[222] While non-religious figures like Ralph Jones did come forward to offer ideas about tolerance, religious figures headed the movement of spreading acceptance of Japanese Americans. By way of religious services and sermons within both Jerome and Rohwer, Christian ministers actively worked to bring religion to relocation centers.[223] Within this effort, underlying intentions of religious conversion unfolded. As Anderson noted, "many ministers in the state did not regard evacuees as the enemy, except in a theological sense."[224] Since a majority of individuals at Jerome and Rohwer were Buddhist, the mission of many religious figures

[222] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 199.
[223] "Services for Japanese at Jerome," *Arkansas Gazette*,19 December 1942.
[224] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 206.

appeared to be the act of connecting with and converting the thousands of internees in the camps. *The McGehee Times* published an article "by the McGehee Ministerial Alliance in which they urged a true 'American Christian' attitude towards Japanese."[225] These instances of outreach resonated in the press through articles urging the help of churches to work with Japanese.[226]

T.L Harris, President of the Executive Board of Arkansas Southern Baptists, presented his blatant plans for conversion of Japanese Americans: "Here is our own state we have had literally thrust upon us the greatest opportunity for winning to Christ those of pagan faith we have ever witnessed."[227] Harris went on to explain his mission to assert the power of salvation, ultimately encouraging the 'saving' of all internees. With this ongoing attempt to spread Christian salvation, stories mentioning Japanese involvement with Christianity were frequently mentioned in the press. *The McGehee Times* included stories of holiday celebrations, such as Christmas, on the front pages of its newspaper.[228] Similar stories ran on the second page of the *Democrat*, with its position in the paper indicating a sense of importance and noteworthiness.[229]

The visits of ministers revealed another way for religious figures to access internees. One specific visit from Rev. William B. Oglesby made the news in both the *Democrat* and the *Times*.[230] During his visit, Rev. Oglesby commented on the relatively calm atmosphere and sense of cooperation, attributing the result "largely to the influence of Christian leadership among them."[231] An article in the *Democrat* expanded upon the influence of Christian leadership in camp, referring to Reverend Yamazaki "as a product of the Episcopal foreign mission work in

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[225] *Ibid.*
[226] "Says churches must help evacuees," *Arkansas Gazette*,8 October 1942, 6.
[227] William Anderson, " Early reaction in Arkansas to the relocation of Japanese in the state," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 23, 207.
[228] "Christmas is celebrated by Japanese, " *McGehee Times*, 31 December 1942, 1.
[229] "Santa Claus to visit Japanese children in relocation camps at Jerome and Rohwer, " *Arkansas Democrat*,13 December 1942, 2.
[230] "Finds Japanese at Rohwer colony accept situation well, " *McGehee Times*, 5 November 1942, 1.
[231] "Finds Japanese at internment camp accept situation," *Arkansas Democrat*, 1 November 1942, 6.

Japan."[232] Right Reverend R. Bland Mitchell, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Arkansas, outwardly praised Yamazaki for his work with Christian outreach.[233] As the press reported, religion had a powerful presence in terms of outreach to internees. The inclusion of religious celebrations and services indicated a level of religious observance, as well as the attempts of some religious figures to impose their faith on internees. This attempt to bring salvation underscored the influence of religion in Arkansas during the time of internment, and exposed the powerful nature of Christianity in the South.

Camp Visitors

Alongside religious figures, many other members of the Arkansas community visited both Jerome and Rohwer during internment. Camp visitors included many political figures, as well as other general guests, some even from different countries. The large volume of visitors illuminated the fact that information about internment camps circulated in the press, garnering the attention of officials and that outside members of society had an interest in exploring interment camp life. Motivated by complaints that internees were receiving special treatment and extra rations, many Congressmen visited both Rohwer and Jerome. Senator John McClellan, one of the first political visitors to the camp in December 1942, wanted to "get first hand information concerning the operation of the two projects."[234] Even Senators from other states visited, such as Senator A.B. Chandler from Kentucky and Senator James W. Murray from Montana.[235] The visits of Senator Chandler and Senator Murray emphasized the reach of Arkansas internment in the news and signified the presence of interment coverage on a local and national scale. Political visitors obtained access to the camp through special permission of the WRA, frequently to

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[232] "Leads worship in Jap colony," *Arkansas Democrat,* 30 January 1943, 5.
[233] *Ibid.*
[234] "McClellan visits Japanese centers, " *McGehee Times,* 3 December 1942, 1.
[235] "Two senators will visit jap colonies," *Arkansas Gazette,*13 March 1943, 5.

conduct probes concerning rumors of special treatment inside the centers. The WRA also invited additional guests to visit camp, such as writers and speakers.

The comments and reactions of visitors in the press offered outside opinion on relocation in Arkansas. The response of Congressman Oren Harris and Congressman W.F. Norrell to the camps indicated their shock and "surprise of finding conditions so good at the center…[especially] the progress made in drainage work, clearing and farming."[236] The feedback from these two Congressmen revealed the work of the WRA and internees to maintain the centers. Other feedback from Senator Chandler's visit expressed his support for abolishing the current internment centers, letting loyal Japanese serve in the military and creating internment centers specifically for disloyal Japanese.[237] Printing opposition to internment helped bring additional outside perspective to the Arkansas relocation situation. Including these articles in the press created a more balanced view on internment in the South and outlined support of Japanese American rights by political figures.

Aside from political figures, other individuals visited both Jerome and Rohwer. In March of 1945, the *Democrat* reported on a visit from a Chinese delegation, headed by the director of Chinese Department of Welfare, R.K. Cheng. The nature of their visited related to a year long study of various American programs of a "social or economic nature."[238] The fact that Chinese government employees included a trip to Arkansas internment camps on their list of locations to visit showcased the global reach of US internment. Local individuals also wanted to visit the centers, such as 75 McGehee Rotarians. After being greeted by WRA officials, the local visitors enjoyed dinner and entertainment provided by internees.[239] The visit of the Rotarians, as well as

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[236] "Congressmen pleased with Jap centers," *Arkansas Democrat*, 8 August 1943, 8.
[237] "Chandler body for abolishing jap camp plan, " *Arkansas Gazette*,8 May 1943, 16.
[238] "Chinese visit Jap colony at Rohwer, "*Arkansas Democrat*, 14 March 1945, 1.
[239] "Rotarians are guests of Rohwer camp," *McGehee Times*, 24 December 1942, 1.

all visits to the internment camps, created an opportunity for outsiders to get an inside view of internment in Arkansas. Including stories of visitors in the press framed the issue of internment in a larger context than just the state of Arkansas. Local, national and international visitors indicated the span of internment in the press, and offered a diversity of opinions on the topic of internment. While Arkansas may have been the most Eastern camp, it certainly garnered attention from all corners of the country, exemplified by the visitors reported in the Arkansas press.

Military Control

In order to make camp visitors and locals near Jerome and Rohwer feel safe, the WRA and government had to ensure total control over the center, including a curfew. While certain individuals left camp with special permission to pursue work or education, the majority of internees remained under the watchful eyes of rifled guards. The printing of military language in the press emphasized government control over interment. While many stories detailed general information, certain headlines stood out through their inclusion of words such as "Army" and "Troops". By mentioning specific words in the press, like "Army", the military's reach became more apparent in an effort to create a greater sense of security.[240]

Both the *Gazette* and *Democrat* incorporated military language in their articles, including terms related to military action in controlling center disturbances.[241] With a large volume of articles negatively framing Japanese Americans, the military language in the press indicated the government's attempts to reassure local residents of their safety and address the "trouble" at the camps.[242] The implementation of a curfew for internees exemplified the actions of the WRA to

[240] "Army control proposed for jap colonies," *Arkansas Gazette,*16 January 1943, 7.
[241] "Troops break up gathering at jap camp," *Arkansas Gazette,* 6 November 1943, 6.
[242] "Army troops and tanks take over strife-torn Jap segregation center," *Arkansas Democrat,* 5 November 1943, 1.

monitor camp activity.[243] The banning of short wave radio sets reflected another example of forced restrictions on internees.[244] Articles on enforced curfews and bans on radio sets created the impression that internees were untrustworthy.

While behavior within camp appeared under control, a few isolated incidents in town exposed the continuing struggle to between internees and locals. Such events reinforced a desire for more restrictions over the relocation centers, exemplified by an article in the *Gazette* calling for additional Army involvement.[245] This desire for increased military control coincided with segregation of disloyal internees to Tule Lake. During this process, the government identified treacherous Japanese Americans through a loyalty test. Two questions (# 27 and #28) determined the faithfulness of Japanese Americans in terms of their allegiance to America. The WRA relocated those who responded "No" to questions 27 and 28, indicating their commitment to Japan and not America, to Tule Lake. Published accounts of such actions revealed the lengths the government and military went to in order to identify traitorous Japanese Americans.[246]

The combined examples of military control articles reinforced the work of the WRA and local government officials to uphold their promise to keep citizens safe. The implication of these military articles proved two-fold: 1) they served to create security among residents and 2) dramatized events surrounding internment camps. As previously mentioned in the Camp Visitors section, not all rumors and stories about disorder inside internment camps were true.
As such, the inclusion of articles mentioning military control sensationalized incidents inside the camps, further perpetuating a divide within Arkansas.

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[243] "Jap curfew on west coast constitutional, " *Arkansas Democrat*, 21 June 1943, 5.
[244] "Short wave sets barred at Jap center, " *Arkansas Democrat*, 23 June 1943, 4.
[245] "Army control of Japanese camps urged," *Arkansas Gazette*, 27 June 1943, 18.
[246] "WRA again controls japs at Tule Lake, " *Arkansas Gazette*, 18 January 1944, 6.

Japanese American Military Involvement

Despite the unstable and tense atmosphere surrounding both Jerome and Rohwer, Japanese Americans worked to show their loyalty to America. Many internees demonstrated their dedication to America by enlisting in the US military. [247] After receiving approval from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a surge of interest to enlist in the military began, and a special Japanese combat force formed. [248] The involvement of Japanese Americans in the U.S. military received wide attention in the press, noted by the many articles on the formation of a new all Japanese American 442nd combat division.

While not all available men in the camps enlisted in the US military, the level of response, especially those in Rohwer, revealed a high level of involvement.[249] The enlisting of Japanese Americans in the military conveyed the actions of internees to express their commitment America.[250] This expression of commitment to America also extended to American political figures. After Roosevelt's death, many *Nisei* soldiers took part in honoring the fallen president to show their solidarity.[251] These efforts, as well as other heroic actions of Japanese American military personnel, helped soften the negative image of internment usually printed in the press.[252]

An article in the *Democrat* reported another attempt to mitigate divisive accounts of internees in the press through a story on the celebration of the new soldiers by military veterans

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[247] "Nisei enlist in US forces," *McGehee Times,* 19 November 1942, 1.
[248] "FDR approves Jap combat team plan; registration at Jerome center will begin," *Arkansas Democrat,* 7 February 1943, 6.
[249] "Rohwer relocation center contributed 866 men to serve in the US armed forces, " *McGehee Times,* 15 March 1942,22.
[250] "Jap-Americans at relocation centers approved as volunteers for new army combat team, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 17 March 1943, 2.
[251] "Jap-Americans to honor Roosevelt," *Arkansas Gazette,* 5 July 1945, 18.
[252] "Japanese-American's heroism described," *Arkansas Gazette,* 12 November 1944, 14.

of 1918.[253] The pride and sense of connection shared between these two military groups revealed a level of respect and camaraderie, and painted the actions of internees in a positive light. An article describing the award of a military medal by Pfc. Thomas Higa, a Hawaiian born Japanese, added additional credibility to the involvement of Japanese Americans in the military.[254] Designated by the WRA, Higa returned to Little Rock to tour all Japanese relocation centers "to tell them of the advantages of democracy, and of his experiences." [255] Another story in the *Democrat* shared of the final words of a Japanese American military volunteer, who uttered "America is a good county" before giving his life to serve America.[256]

These articles on Japanese American military involvement added perspective to the story of internment by exposing the actions of many to enlist in the US armed forces. By fighting to be part of America, and participating in the military, internees showed commitment and sacrifice. Through the inclusion of such stories, the press circling Japanese American military involvement offered a more multi-dimensional image of internees than previously noted. The articles in all three major Arkansas newspapers exposed a variety of topics related to internment. While the exact impact of these articles on residents cannot be known, the printing of such articles offered evidence that local newspapers did attempt to distribute diverse news coverage on interment.

Positive Coverage of Japanese Americans

The theme of positive coverage of Japanese Americans stemmed to include articles detailing positive events within the camps, noteworthy achievements of internees, and anti-internment statements by officials. These articles accentuated the strides of many Japanese

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[253] "Jap volunteers to army feted by vets of '18, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 14 April 1943, 2.
[254] "Jap- American wins medal," *Arkansas Democrat,* 22 November 1944, 4.
[255] *Ibid*
[256] "American is a good county, Jap-American tells father just before giving life for it," *Arkansas Democrat,* 13 November 1944, 4.

Americans, as well as the support of Japanese American rights by a few members of the Arkansas community. Positive coverage of Japanese Americans also included an attempt by the press to print upbeat stories amidst the many negative articles about internment. While negative coverage dominated all three newspapers, the existence of anti-internment and pro-Japanese American articles demonstrated some level of diversity in reporting in the Arkansas press.

The publishing of events, including celebrations and social activities, exemplified positive coverage of Japanese Americans in the press.[257] Printed stories on parties and social affairs expressed the efforts of many in camp to maintain normalcy.[258] The newspapers also printed individual accomplishments of internees, such as the previously mentioned story of a Japanese American receiving a military award. Another article in the *Democrat* highlighted the winning of an art award by an internee.[259] Recognizing the positive actions and actions of Japanese Americans in the press, albeit minimal, signified an attempt to print balanced reporting.

Accounts of public officials speaking out against internment exemplified positive coverage of Japanese Americans in the press. In all three newspapers, many articles mentioned visits of Congressmen and other public officials. A handful of these articles, like one about Democratic congressional candidate Brooks Hays, helped to dispel rumors of favoritism towards internees. After visiting Jerome, Hays reported the camp to be "satisfactory…and the food favorable to an Army Class B diet."[260] Hays's testimony disclosed the fact that relocation centers received only necessary provisions, and as a congressional candidate, his words appeared credible.

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[257] "Social season opens at Rohwer camp, " *McGehee Times,* 22 October 1942, 1.
[258] "Birthday party well attended, " *McGehee Times,* 4 February 1943, 1.
[259] "Jap-American wins art award, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 13 October 1944, 4.
[260] "Hays finds jap colony 'satisfactory'," *Arkansas Gazette,* 3 November 1942.

Other public officials like Senator A.B. Chandler visited internment camps to see first hand the conditions of the centers. After his visit to Rohwer relocation center, Chandler reported that "the attitude of the people of this locality and the state is no different than any where else."[261] Chandler became more vocal about his objections to the internment process after his initial visit to Rohwer. In *Gazette* article, Chandler called for the abolition of the relocation centers "to prevent the creation of another Indian problem."[262] To Chandler, the relocation process provided a new historical account of cultural persecution in America, including the unjust branding of all Japanese Americans as "disloyal." Two separate articles describing Chandler's desire to abolish internment centers supported his strong aversion to forced relocation.[263] Chandler's reactions, printed first in the *Gazette* and later in the *Times*, underscored his outwards efforts to condemn the WRA internment process.[264] Through his actions to present Congress with factual information regarding his findings, Chandler became a champion for fighting internment.[265]

While heading the charge for abolishing internment camps, other prominent figures from across the country stepped in to voice their dismay with the process. A *Gazette* article captured Interior Secretary Harold Ickes's outspoken response to internment.[266] The article captured Ickes's response to Mayor La Guardia, Governor John W. Bricker and Governor Walter E. Edge, in terms of their support of Japanese American relocation. Noting the actions to strip Japanese Americans of privileges as "a strange fife and drum corps to be playing the discordant anthem of racial discrimination," Ickes proclaimed his anti-internment stance. [267] Continuing on, Ickes

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[261] "Senators find disloyalty low in Rohwer, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 14 March 1943, 1.
[262] "Fear creation of new 'Indian problem, " *Arkansas Gazette*,8 May 1943, 16.
[263] "For eventual abolition of jap centers, " *Arkansas Gazette*,3 April 1943, 1.
[264] "Chandler for abolition of Jap centers, " *McGehee Times,* 8 April 1943,1.
[265] "Chandler says Jap 'problem' not imminent, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 15 March 1943, 1.
[266] "Ickes demands privileges for jap-americans, " *Arkansas Gazette,* 28 April 1944, 3.
[267] *Ibid..*

indicated Governor Edge's disregard for the Constitution, noting recent discriminatory actions against Japanese Americans and adding "if Governor Edge can condone this sort of lawlessness [internment]…then to him the Constitution is nothing but a dust rag."[268] Ickes's decision to speak out against relocation helped to build the case for anti-internment ideas and reactions in the press, creating a foundation for debate and disagreement on internment.

Even city officials, such as City Marshal Varnell Lee, helped dismiss rumors of trouble at Rohwer in an article in the *Times.*[269] Actions of officials to discount claims of unrest and chaos revealed a sense of sympathy for the treatment of internees, and documented objections to internment. WRA officials also went on record defending such rumors, cited in the *Democrat.*[270] The actions of the WRA to present internees as decent individuals added credence to the notion that perhaps not all Japanese Americans were enemies of the state.

The inclusion of positive coverage of Japanese Americans in the press exemplified constructive aspects of internment life, Japanese American accomplishments, and the work of local and national officials to condemn relocation. The volume of articles supporting Japanese Americans and denouncing internment signified the fight against the injustice of relocation, and the many efforts to educate the country about the realities of internment. Covering both national and local viewpoints, the inclusion of positive coverage of Japanese Americans in Arkansas newspapers confirmed the availability of diverse opinions on interment in the local press.

Negative Coverage of Japanese Americans

While a fair amount of positive coverage of Japanese Americans existed in Arkansas newspapers, the volume of negative coverage overshadowed such findings. Many of the articles in all three Arkansas publications reflected a deep level of discrimination and outward bigotry

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[268] *Ibid.*
[269] "Trouble rumor is unfounded," *McGehee Times,* 27 April 1944, 1.
[270] "WRA defends loyalty of freed japs," *Arkansas Democrat,* 1 June 1943, 10.

related to internment. Negative coverage of Japanese Americans included repeated articles on unrest and chaos at the centers, official probes into camp disturbances, confrontations between internees and locals, and stories illuminating racist sentiments. Newspapers also incorporated visual rhetoric, tying into the work of Elena Creef. Combined, these various articles offered the opinion that as a culture, Japanese Americans experienced extensive scrutiny and judgment.

Mention of poor behavior or unrest at Jerome and Rohwer were frequent in all three newspapers.[271] Many reports of outlandish behavior and incidents made their way to the front page of papers. An article in the *Democrat* recounted one incident relating to an internee's attempts to run down a camp guard.[272] The continual printing of negative stories in the press framed Japanese Americans as volatile and dangerous people.[273] An article in the *Gazette* gave the impression that all locals should be watchful of Japanese Americans due to their potential to harm Americans.[274] The option of having internees freely enter town and possibly harm locals did not prove appealing for many Arkansas residents.[275] Internment camp probes became the response to apparent offenses committed by internees at the centers.

Articles highlighting various internment camp probes created a sense of urgency to uncover potential threats inside relocation centers. [276] The government spearheaded such probes, adding authority to the investigations.[277] Taking action against the many complaints of unruly behavior revealed the government's involvement in the relocation process and confirmed their authority over matters concerning internment.[278] In addition to WRA and government officials

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[271] "Described bold jap rebellion at WRA center," *Arkansas Gazette*, 9 November 1943, 7.
[272] "Internees seize cars, attempt to run down guards," *Arkansas Democrat*, 5 October 1943, 1.
[273] "2 in hospital, 6 are jailed in Rohwer riot, " *McGehee Times*, 15 April 1943, 1.
[274] "Japanese single out Americans on whom to vent their hatred," *Arkansas Gazette*, 20 February 1944, 11.
[275] "Citizens fear uprising by disloyal japs, " *Arkansas Gazette*, 3 November 1943, 5.
[276] "Uprising at jap camp probed," *Arkansas Gazette*, 8 November 1943, 7.
[277] "FBI probes Jap center disturbance, " *Arkansas Democrat*, 11 November 1943, 14.
[278] "To probe complaints about japs," *Arkansas Gazette*, 22 October 1942, 7.

conducting probes, many Congressmen and Senators also demanded their own investigations.[279] By visiting the camps first hand, the leaders had the ability to report back to their communities and share their experiences.[280] The printing of such probes and visits emphasized the role of political power relating to internment in Arkansas.

Camp investigations attempted to delineate loyal internees from disloyal ones, and preempted the segregation of potentially dangerous Japanese Americans.[281] As a result, treacherous Japanese Americans relocated to the Tule Lake internment center in California.[282] The repeated printing of this segregation process in the press disclosed the swift actions against traitorous Japanese Americans and the immediate response of the government to the public's concern.[283] Moving these volatile individuals back to the West Coast, where many believed they should remain, evidenced the government's actions to segregate and isolate Japanese Americans.[284] Even with the new relocation process to Tule Lake, the press continued to print camp disturbances. [285] These articles reported isolated infractions and typecast internees as perpetual deviants.[286]

Articles detailing the interaction between internees and residents in town exposed apparent disconnect in Arkansas. As a *Gazette* articles documented, one such visit resulted in a violent confrontation with a local farmer.[287] While mistaking the three Japanese Americans for escapees, the farmer opened fire, wounding two of the men. The farmer's instinctive actions and his lack of remorse epitomized the divided Arkansas community. The printing of the same story

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[279] "Congressmen demand probe of Jap camps," *Arkansas Democrat,*10 Janurary 1943, 6.
[280] "McClellan has own probe of Jap centers," *Arkansas Democrat,* 14 Janurary 1943, 18.
[281] "Segregation of 'disloyal' Japs favored, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 4 July 1943, 9.
[282] "Camp japs to be divided on loyalty basis," *Arkansas Gazette,*18 May 1943, 6.
[283] "Disloyal japs to be placed in one camp," *Arkansas Gazette,* 16 July 1943, 1.
[284] "WRA to move hostile Japs to west coast, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 13 September 1943, 10.
[285] " New flare-up at disloyal Jap center in California followed by martial law, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 14 November 1943, 1.
[286] "Japs at Tule Lake had whiskey still, " *Arkansas Gazette,* 1 December 1943, 1.
[287] "Farmer fires on jap near rohwer," *Arkansas Gazette,*17 November 1942.

in the *Times* indicated the incident to be newsworthy.[288] The *Democrat* printed another conflict with locals relating to the destruction of property. [289] Arkansans condemned such actions and urged repercussions for internees' reckless behavior.[290] Another article expressed a severe response by locals, stating that Japanese Americans were not wanted in Arkansas.[291]

The test of internees' allegiance to America typified the overwhelming anti-Japanese American sentiment in the country. Negative articles reinforced an anti-Japanese American agenda in Arkansas, making it more and more difficult for Japanese Americans to prove their loyalty.[292] The continual printing of such articles discouraged hopes of local acceptance.[293] The *Gazette* added to this theme of divide through the incorporation of visual rhetoric in the press. A war loan drive article entitled "It costs plenty to kill a Jap" included an exaggerated cartoon image of a Japanese man.[294] This racist depiction, including embellished features of eyes and teeth, tied into the work of Creef in terms of utilizing visual imagery to construct opinion. Creef's work with *Time* and *Life* magazine exposed demoralizing depictions, printed to help Americans distinguish between "our friends" the Chinese and "our enemies" the Japanese.[295] Other photographs in the *Gazette*, which showcased happy internees at Rohwer, provided additional examples of visual rhetoric and carry with them the potential for influencing public opinion.[296] Including such images in the press, being real photographs and exaggerated cartoon

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[288] "Farmer fires on Japanese near Rohwer, " *McGehee Times*, 19 November 1942, 1.
[289] "Free-roaming jap evacuees may have wrecked train witness tells dies probers," *Arkansas Democrat*, 13 June 1943, 1.
[290] "Shocked Arkansans demand Japanese be dealt with severely," *Arkansas Gazette*, 1 February 1944, 2.
[291] "Says japs not wanted in Arkansas, " *Arkansas Gazette*, 27 April 1944, 10.
[292] "American-born jap can't deny his allegiance," *Arkansas Gazette*, 27 October 1944, 3.
[293] "Jap-Americans to remain as a big problem, " *Arkansas Gazette*, 20 December 1944, 4.
[294] "It costs plenty to kill a jap, "*Arkansas Gazette*, 24 November 1944, 10. **PICTURE**
[295] Creef, 148.
[296] " Rohwer center well liked by jap evacuees," *Arkansas Gazette*, 20 September 1942, 14.- **PICTURE**

depictions, revealed a creative way for newspapers to convey anti-Japanese American sentiment.[297]

The overall contributing factors to negative coverage of Japanese Americans in all three publications presented a very realistic side of internment. The stories offered national and local reaction to interment, and exemplified the work of Anderson and Creef through the inclusion of specific language. The presence of probes, allegations, and actions against Japanese Americans called attention to the many measures created to control relocation centers. These racially prejudiced actions underscored the disconnection between Arkansas residents and internees.

General Information

Amidst all of the many themes relating to internment, newspapers dedicated a large portion of coverage to general information about the relocation process. This information included periodic updates about the number of people moving in and out of camp.[298] With many articles driven by numbers, in terms of the entrance and exit of internees, the disseminated information appeared technical and unemotional.[299] Despite the lack of emotion in delivery, the press circulated information about internment, evidencing the fact that relocation updates were accessible to residents.[300]

While primarily focused on updates as to the number of internees entering or exiting the state, some articles reported activities and events.[301] As previously noted in this chapter, camps held coordinated events and activities, and from time to time those announcements made it into

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[297] "Japanese evacuees from west coast move into south Arkansas camp," *Arkansas Democrat,* 20 September 1942, 6.- **PICTURE**
[298] "Second Japanese contingent due," *Arkansas Democrat,*23 September 1942, 9.
[299] "About 1,600 Japs transferred from Arkansas Centers," *Arkansas Gazette,* 6 November 1943, 6.
[300] "Japs headed for Rohwer, " *McGehee Times,* 17 September 1942, 1.
[301] "Election is held by Japanese, " *McGehee Times,* 26 November 1942, 1.

the press. Some examples included articles featuring social activities or camp visitors.[302] Printing general information about the camps offered a glimpse into the reactions of internees to relocation. Being a completely different environment from the West Coast, one article elaborated on the reactions to the new living conditions at Rohwer.[303] While printing the feedback, the headings of some articles proved a bit deceiving in terms of content. An example of this is an article from the *Democrat* entitled "Jap evacuees don't want to live in South". The article described the response a member of the Rohwer council to the idea of internees living in Arkansas, stating "the South already has a great racial and economic problem…it would be impractical for the Japanese to stay here."[304] This article expressed the unfeasible nature of Japanese Americans residing in Arkansas, evidenced by the unstable economic and social conditions in the state.

Aside from stories detailing camp events, many articles served as book ends for internment in terms of articles detailing opening and closing events surrounding interment.[305] Across the board, the general information updates in the newspapers came to be a type of countdown for local residents.[306] These updates, while perhaps lacking in emotional delivery, served the purpose of keeping residents in Arkansas informed on internment issues. Having a large quantity of articles related to internment in all three publications indicated the presence of relocation information in the local Arkansas press. While coverage waned during some months in each publication, *The Arkansas Democrat*, *The Arkansas Gazette* and *The McGehee Times* provided ample coverage of interment in Arkansas.

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[302] "WRA is host to writers to rohwer camp," *Arkansas Democrat,* 1 July 1943, 3.
[303] "Japanese surprised to find that Rohwer camp sire is not overrun by snakes and bears," *Arkansas Democrat,* 20 September 1942,6.
[304] "Jap evacuees don't want to live in south, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 16 July 1943, 14.
[305] "425 Japs will leave Rohwer, " *Arkansas Democrat,* 22 July 1945, 2A.
[306] "368 Japanese last of colony leave rohwer," *Arkansas Gazette,* 2 December 1945, 4A.

Conclusion

The themes of anti-Japanese American legislation, camp visitors, education, farming, health concerns, Japanese American employment, Japanese American military involvement, military control, negative coverage of Japanese Americans, positive coverage of Japanese Americans, poverty, racism, religion, and road conditions exemplified the findings in the Arkansas press relating to internment coverage. While varied in topic, all of the reviewed themes underscored the turbulent social, economic and political atmosphere of Arkansas in the 1940s. These themes and articles in the Arkansas press exposed ideas of tolerance, acceptance, bigotry, racism, and patriotism that shaped internment in Arkansas. The presence of such themes in the press also underscored the role of Government to regulate information during relocation. The Government's control spanned to newspapers across the country, including Arkansas, which furthered the likelihood of wartime propaganda in Arkansas newspapers.

The work of Elena Tajima Creef, William Anderson and Russell Bearden added additional perspective and evidence to this chapter. Accounting for the power of visual rhetoric, Creef's examples of biased photographs of Japanese Americans in national publications offered insight into the photographs of internees published in Arkansas newspapers. Anderson's research uncovered segregated policies and anti-Japanese American legislation, which tied into frequent themes in the press. Bearden's analysis on camp life, especially related to internee efforts to maintain normalcy in camp, connected to many articles in all three publications. The works of these authors provided a framework for understanding the situation in Arkansas during internment, and in combination with the findings in the press, created an accessible approach for gauging local reaction to internment in Arkansas.

Conclusion

The forced relocation of Japanese Americans proved a salient example of persecution and discrimination in America. As one of the most racially and economically divided states in the country, the introduction of Japanese into Arkansas created a culture shock for both internees and locals alike. Analyzing these reactions through major themes in internment camp press and local Arkansas press elucidated the internment experience in Arkansas. Through this cultural history examination, a level of freedom within the camps unfolded as well as mixed reactions from local press. The stories of Jerome and Rohwer served to revive the history of internment in Arkansas.

Having worked with the topic of Japanese American internment for almost ten years, I had a level of expectation when undertaking this thesis. While being familiar with the topic, I limited my previous research to the West Coast. As an economically and racially strained state, Arkansas greatly differed from other states involved in relocation. Reviewing three years of coverage (September 1942 through December 1945) for three different Arkansas newspapers (*The Arkansas Democrat, The Arkansas Gazette* and *The McGehee Times)* and two different internment newspapers (*The Denson Tribune/Communiqué* and *The Rohwer Outpost*) produced astounding examples of internment life. Having access to these resources changed my understanding of internment and gave me the opportunity to explore the existence of an innately racist program (internment) within a widely racist state.

The major themes identified in the internment press brought to light the many personal accounts, stories and testimonials from Jerome and Rohwer internees. Unexpected findings in the camp press included articles outlining social activities and editorial freedom. The amount of activity and life within the camps underscored the adaptability of internees and their efforts to

maintain normalcy during relocation. The themes of editorial freedom, education, visitors, and religion offered insight into the actual events taking place in camp, and served to dispel assumptions of internment being completely restricted. Backed by testimonials and stories, the experiences at Jerome and Rohwer revealed a degree of freedom inside camp, despite the barriers of internment.

The Arkansas newspapers also uncovered unanticipated themes and stories related to internment. Through the incorporation of such themes as military control, education, religious influence, racism, and Japanese American employment, Arkansas's political, social, and economic influence on the internment experience unfolded. While many across the country ostracized Japanese Americans for being traitors, Arkansans reviled internees for their access to food and education. This discrepancy exposed a primary consideration setting the Arkansas experience apart from all other internment cases. Among the numerous articles negatively framing internment, the identification of anti-internment articles in all three publications revealed the fact that some individuals did speak out against forced relocation. The printing of articles citing dignitaries and political figures encouraging freedom and equal rights evidenced that not all individuals were in favor of relocation, even in Arkansas.

The utilization of newspapers as a medium for understanding historical events carried with it the potential of biased reporting. Steven Classen, author of *Watching Jim Crow,* speaks to this challenge of using popular media as a viable source in a section in his book entitled "Freedom from the [segregationist] press."[307] While honing in on televisions' framing of integration, Classen touches upon the influence of the press with integration, noting the propensity for "readers of such publications…to have [sic] every reason to be cautious and

[307] Steven D. Classen, *Watching Jim Crow,* Duke University Press (2004), 78.

frightened."[308] This same sentiment connected to local readership in Arkansas, in terms of having the potential to influence readers to fear internees. As well, the Government's efforts to control the media during the war increased the likelihood of igniting fear in locals, specifically through its insertion of propaganda in the press. Recognition of media's ability to shape public opinion and potentially sway readers proved central to this study.

While taking place over 60 years ago, the injustices forced upon Japanese Americans, the majority of whom were US citizens, remains a stark reminder of what cultural profiling and racism can amount to. The newest debates centered on Mexicans and Arabs in America resemble acts of discrimination and undertones of fear reminiscent to those of relocation. Moreover the topic of internment itself is again making its way into media headlines. On December 21, 2006, President George W. Bush signed H.R. 1492, "a bill to establish a new grant program to preserve the 10 camps and other sites where 120,000 Japanese Americans were confined during World War II."[309] Designating $38 million for the grant program, the actions of the Bush administration through bill H.R. 1492 evidenced the first act of a President to acknowledge internment since Reagan's 1988 formal apology and reparations.[310] Such legislation indicates that national efforts are being made to acknowledge the forced relocation of Japanese Americans.

In recent years, the story of Japanese American internment has also made an impression through mainstream entertainment media. In September of 1995, author David Guterson released his novel *Snow Falling on Cedars.* Set in 1954, the novel tells of the suspicious murder of a local fisherman in San Piedro Island, and the Japanese American man charged with committing the crime.[311] In the novel, Guterson exposes a story of prejudice, forbidden love, and humanity in

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[308] Classen, 79.
[309] http://www.nationaltrust.org/Magazine/archives/arc_news_2007/010307.htm, 24 October 2007.
[310] *Ibid.*
[311] http://www.randomhouse.com/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9780679764021, 30 October 2007.

the trial of the accused Kabuo Miyamoto. Later made into a film in 2000, *Snow Falling on Cedars* illustrates the deep anti-Japanese American sentiments during the trial, including references to internment and Japanese American military involvement in the war.

This past summer in May 2007, Warner Brothers released the independent film *American Pastime* which focused on a Japanese American family relocated to Topaz in Utah. Centered on internee Lyle Nomura and his passion for baseball, the movie takes viewers inside camp and follows the forbidden romance of Lyle to one the American guards' daughters, Katie.[312] Examples of fear, discrimination, courage, and triumph arise from the film, offering viewers an inside look at internment through the lens of baseball, America's favorite pastime. Having the story of internment appear at festivals nationwide indicates the power of the particular film's message, as well as the widespread efforts to educate audiences of the story of internment.

The presence of internment in current politics, as well as entertainment media, is an indication that the historical act of internment has yet to fade into the background of our history. As apart of our past, the relocation of 120,000 Japanese Americans in the United States is a reminder of the formidable outcomes of forced military action against citizens. Within the context of other oppressed subcultures in history, the Japanese American experience has yet to be fully disclosed. This project's work to uncover internee and resident reactions in Arkansas provides one way to understand the implications of internment in America. Utilizing primary sources through a cultural history approach created a viable way to access the historic event of internment. Furthermore, by reintroducing and reviewing the events of internment in today's society, the lessons of relocation could aid in the creation of more tolerant and just policies in America.

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[312] *American Pastime.* DVD. Directed by Desmond Nakano. Warner Brothers, 2007.

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RECORD OF ILL MICROFILM ORDERS

Date rec'd	Arkansas Democrat Dates received	No. Reels	Lending Library
1/30/07	Jan – Sept 1942	5	Hendrix College, Conway, AR
2/21/07	Oct – Dec 1942	3	University of Texas at Austin
3/8/07	Jan – Jun 1943	3	Hendrix College, Conway, AR
5/4/07	July 1943 – April 1944	5	Hendrix College, Conway, AR
6/5/07	May – Dec 1944	4	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
6/22/07	Jan – June 1945	3	Hendrix College, Conway, AR
7/5/07	July – Dec 1945	3	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Date rec'd	Arkansas Gazette Dates received	No. Reels	Lending Library
2/2/07	Jan – May 1942	5	University of Missouri, Columbia
2/14/07	Sept – Dec 1942, Jan 1943	5	University of Missouri, Columbia
3/9/07	Feb – May 1943	4	University of Memphis, TN
3/12/07	June – Sept 1943	4	University of Memphis, TN
3/28/07	Oct 1943 – Jan 1944	4	University of Memphis, TN
4/9/07	Feb – May 1944	4	University of Memphis, TN
6/13/07	Jun – Aug 1944	3	University of Memphis, TN
6/29/07	Sept – Dec 1944	4	University of Memphis, TN
7/17/07	Jan – Mar, May 1945	4	University of Memphis, TN
7/25/07	April, June – Sept 1945	5	Hendrix College, Conway, AR
8/1/07	Oct – Dec. 1945	3	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Date rec'd	McGehee Times Dates received	No. Reels	Lending Library
1/23/07	1940-1947	3	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Date rec'd	Rohwer Outpost Dates received	No. Reels	Lending Library
1/26/07	Oct 24, 1942 – Dec 29, 1943 Jan 1, 1944 – July 21, 1945	2	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC

Date rec'd	Denson Communique/Tribune Dates received	No. Reels	Lending Library
1/24/07	Oct 23, 1942 – Feb 26, 1943 (as Denson Communique) March 2, 1943 – June 6, 1944 (as Denson Tribune)	1	Rutgers University New Brunswick, NJ

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"Employment offered in Montana," *Denson Tribune* 6 April 1943, 1
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Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives- http://jarda.cdlib.org/

University of Arkansas - http://www.ualr.edu/relocation/

Life Interrupted Conference/Program in AK- www.lifeinterrupted.org (collaboration between UALR (University of Arkansas at Little Rock) and the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles)

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