Protective Patriotism and the Claiming of an American Identity; Analyzing the Memorial Landscape of Japanese American Internment in Colorado

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Protective Patriotism and the Claiming of an American Identity:
Analyzing the Memorial Landscape of Japanese American Internment in Colorado

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Table of Contents

**Introduction** ........................................................................................................................................ 1

  Background ........................................................................................................................................ 3

  Case Study: Granada Relocation Center/Camp Amache ................................................................. 9

  Historiography ................................................................................................................................... 10

**Chapter One: Patriotism and a Narrative of Advocacy and Agency** .............................................. 17

**Chapter Two: A Coopted Narrative of Patriotism** ............................................................................ 40

**Conclusion** ....................................................................................................................................... 51

**Bibliography** .................................................................................................................................... 54

**Appendix** .......................................................................................................................................... 56
Introduction

All stories are an act of persuasion, crafting a narrative through carefully picked details strung together with broad themes for an audience to take away. Public presentations of history, presentations that craft themselves to be complete narratives with a beginning and a definitive end, are no different. Memorializing history transforms it into a consumable narrative for a public audience, a narrative that despite any intentions otherwise will always be a political act that includes some details at the expense of others. What histories are memorialized, what narratives are ultimately privileged, are just as important to understand the long-term effects of history as understanding the event itself. The narratives people chose to tell about their histories provide insight not only to the events privileged in the narrative but also to the motivations for telling the story in the first place.

This thesis primarily addresses two broad topics, the history of Japanese American Internment in the state of Colorado and the process of creating historical narratives through memorialization. Japanese American Internment is undoubtedly a moral wound on the history of America, a supreme violation of the human rights of American citizens. Internment was justified by the false conception of Japanese Americans as fifth column elements biding their time to destroy America from within and supported by the explicit racism of a white dominant social group that did not recognize the citizenship of citizens of Japanese descent as wholly legitimate. What then, after internment ends, is the narrative people construct to come to terms with the historical fact of Japanese American Internment? It is not enough to understand the history of Japanese American Internment as a list of events, dates, and statistics. The articulation of that history and the way the history of internment is memorialized in the years afterwards are just as important facets of Japanese American Internment to fully understanding the significance of
internment. The activity of memorializing, whether the medium is a physical monument to an event, a curated exhibit meant for educating a public audience, or an oral history project aimed at capturing a moment of the past for the benefit of future generations, is essentially an act of identity building and identity projection. Narratives are an argument about identity and the narratives constructed around Japanese American Internment in the post-internment years are telling about an era where Japanese Americans and the American State that imprisoned them are vying to create a narrative that protects and projects their identities.

The narratives formed about Japanese American Internment in the decades after internment ends consistently build an identity for Japanese Americans centered around themes of patriotism. Internment. This thesis explores the narratives articulated about Japanese American Internment in the post-internment years, evaluating the language of patriotism and patriotic sacrifice that is nearly homogenous in the memorial landscape. It needs to be stated upfront that this paper does not argue against the patriotism of Japanese Americans. Evaluating the patriotism of individuals is not in the scope or desire of this paper and any question about the veracity of individual patriotism will not be addressed. The patriotic acts discussed or displayed in memorials of Japanese American Internment will not be analyzed for the authenticity of any sentiments being presented, the authenticity of the expression at the time is presumed in this thesis. What this paper focuses on instead is the rhetoric of patriotism that permeates the memorialization and narrative building happening after the end of Japanese American Internment and what the prominence of this rhetoric can tell historians about the post-internment years. In particular, this thesis is interested in how the rhetoric of patriotism is packaged and disseminated by different groups, with different interests, and different positions of power or authoritative capital to create historical narrative of internment that protect or legitimize certain
identities. This thesis argues that two primary actors are involved in creating and disseminating narrative histories of internment; Japanese Americans, through both collective work in community interest and activism groups and through individual expressions of historical narratives, and a second group this thesis refers to as State Actors, meaning institutions that are either direct state funded entities, receive state funding and support, or carry the appearance of state approval. Both the historical narratives of Japanese Americans and State Actors draw from similar thematic pools to articulate their narratives, touching upon the patriotism of Japanese Americans in the face of discrimination, but utilize these themes to different ends to present distinct versions of history. Japanese American narratives utilize the theme of patriotism to reaffirm the American identity of Japanese Americans, speaking to continuing anxiety of state violence and racism in the post internment years. The narrative of State Actors comes as a response to the narrative of Japanese Americans. The narrative of the state coopts the theme of patriotism to create a history that erases these continuing anxieties and offers a largely uncritical evaluation of the white dominant class that created, justified, and perpetuated the racism that led to internment.

**Background**

The scope of this thesis is primarily focused on memorialization in the post-internment years and although Japanese American history in the United State before and during internment are not directly addressed in the chapters of this thesis it is necessary to have a brief overview of these periods here. Understanding the process of historical narrative construction that happens in years after internment requires the context of Japanese American experience before internment and during internment. These experiences have a direct connection to the ways internment is memorialized in the years after internment and give a necessary context to understand the
significance of what these memorials highlight rhetorically to create their narratives. The arguments made later in this thesis about why post internment narratives take the shape they do rely upon the historical context before and during internment, starting with early Japanese immigration into the United States and ending with an overview of the history of internment.

Japanese nationals begin immigrating to the United States in a significant number during the later portion of the 19th century. The Meiji Restoration provides both the economic and political circumstances to allow and encourage the immigrations of Japanese people to the United States.¹ The Meiji Restoration, starting in 1868, consolidated the power of the Emperor and launched a sweeping plan of modernization that led to economic changes towards industrialization instead of a heavily agrarian based economy, increased urbanization, social reforms that saw the end of the shogunate, military reform, and the end of Sakoku isolationist era. Particularly the economic and political changes made during the Meiji Restoration make Japanese immigration possible with displaced agricultural workers in a rapidly industrializing nation looking for opportunities outside of Japan, something now possible with the role back of Sakoku isolationist policies and the new international relationships between Japan and the global community. Although the process of immigration begins slowly, not really picking up until the 1880s, formalized immigration between Japan and the United States begins with Japanese agricultural working immigrating into Hawaii for agricultural work and spread into the mainland localized primarily to the west coast. The two distinct locations for Japanese immigration are important in shaping the experience of the Japanese immigrants who settle there. Initially the largest community of Japanese immigrants settle in Hawaii, which would not receive formal status as a state until 1959, entering a largely non-white community which allowed Japanese

immigrants in this early period the freedom to express their heritage more freely than Japanese immigrants settling on the mainland and relieved some of the threat of racialized aggression experienced by Japanese immigrants on the mainland. Japanese immigrants settling in mainland United States on the west coast face a different cultural reality than those settling in Hawaii. Unlike Hawaii, Japanese immigrants settling in the west coast entered into a majority white sphere who came to both resent Japanese immigrants as economic competition for employment and espouse racist rhetoric against Asian people, known as Yellow Peril, that would eventually culminate in politically sanctified racism against Asian Americans.

The late 19th and early 20th century saw a slew of racist legislation targeting Asian American and Asian immigrant populations following a rise in Asian immigration into the United States during the 19th century. Although it is beyond the purview of this thesis to go over every piece of legislation targeting Asian populations living in the United States or Asian immigration into the U.S. there are a couple key pieces of legislation crucial to understanding cultural landscape surrounding Japanese Americans prior to internment. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 inflamed western anxieties of cultural, political, and military superiority over non-white nations, feeding into Yellow Peril rhetoric\(^2\) and prompting the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907. The Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 was an attempt to both address increasing racial tension in the west coast and maintain a cordial relationship between the United States and Japan, now a much more pressing consideration after Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Increasing racial tensions in the west coast, fueled by Yellow Peril rhetoric only heighted after the Russo-Japanese War, drove efforts to segregate schools in the west coast

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spearheaded by groups like the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League that culminated in the San Francisco School Board ordering the segregation of Asian students in 1906. The treatment of Japanese immigrants living in the United States was a point of international contention for the Japanese government and the United States, prompting the negotiating of the Gentlemen’s Agreement between President Roosevelt and the Japanese government. The agreement established a relationship between the U.S. and Japan where the U.S. would first quell the movement for segregation and allow for Japanese immigrants in the U.S. to both remain in the U.S. as well permit the immigration of family members of Japanese immigrants already in the U.S. while Japan would stop issuing passports to Japanese citizens looking to immigrate to the U.S. for work. Although the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907 was a tacit end to Japanese immigration to the United States, legislation fueled by Yellow Peril racism aimed at attacking the rights of Japanese immigrants and stopping Japanese immigration altogether would persist throughout the early 20th century.

The passing of the California Alien Land Law in 1913 exemplified the continued climate of Yellow Peril racism and legal persecution of Japanese immigrants in the American west. The California Alien Land Law barred people ineligible of citizenship from owning or leasing land. Similar alien land laws spread across much west, targeting Asian communities. First generation immigrants from Japan were not eligible for citizenship in the United States and through the passage of the California Alien Land Law were denied property rights. Alien land laws like the California Alien Land Law were spurred on by racist anti-Asian sentiment and specifically aimed at deterring Japanese immigrants from coming to the United States.3

Immigration of Japanese people into the United States stops in 1924 with the signing of the Immigration Act of 1924, banning most non-white people from immigrating to America. The passage of The Immigration Act of 1924, fueled by racist Yellow Peril fears of Japanese immigrants, marks an important defining point for Japanese Americans. This first generation of immigrants from Japan, people who came to the U.S. before Japanese immigration is stopped in 1924, are referred to as the Issei. The children of the Issei, born in the U.S. and so automatically citizens, are a markedly different group referred to as the Nisei. This history of suspicion and outright antagonism towards Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans is important context for the history of Japanese American Internment.

Japanese American Internment began officially with the signing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19th, 1942, with a stated purpose of removing and detaining Japanese Americans for “protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities.” The order signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt comes as a product of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941. The attack on Pearl Harbor foments almost immediate suspicion of Japanese Americans both in Hawaii and on the mainland, building off of a long history of suspicion and aggression towards Japanese Americans. The effect of Executive Order 9066 is the forced removal of thousands of Japanese Americans largely from the west coast into what are titled “relocation camps” run mainly by the

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5 There is a large discussion whether it is appropriate to use the term internment camp to describe the camps Japanese Americans were forcibly removed too. The camps fit the definition of concentration camps and many advocate for the use of term concentration camps versus the use of term internment camps. While I have not made up my mind completely on the use of the word internment camp versus concentration camp, I think the description of the camps as concentration is accurate and agree with the value in referring to them as such. The majority of the secondary sources as well as the primary sources used in this paper refer to the camps as internment camps. For the sake of clarity and continuity in this paper with the sources used, the term internment camp will be used.
War Relocation Authority (WRA). The camps dot the western United States, with camps in Arizona, Utah, Arkansas, California, Wyoming, Idaho, and Colorado. Internment lasted for the duration of WWII, with the last camp closing in 1946.

Although Japanese American Internment ends in 1946 the legacy of Japanese American Internment, particularly movements for memorialization, recognition, and redress, stretches to the modern day. The movement for redress refers to a period of activism starting in the late 1960s and culminating in signing of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 by President Ronald Regan. Through the activism work of organizations like the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) is formed in 1980 to evaluate the veracity of Japanese American Internment. The CWRIC concludes that nature of internment was not valid and instead was fueled by racial prejudice. This decision ultimately leads to the signing of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, admitting wrongdoing to Japanese Americans and providing financial recompense for internment.

This broad history of Japanese American Internment, including the history of Japanese immigration and the movement towards redress for internment, is a necessary framework for examining the historical narratives forming after internment ends. What is made of this history, in how this history is memorialized and disseminated, is a crucial piece in understanding the legacy and long reaching consequences on Japanese American identity as well as national American identity Japanese American Internment has.

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6 This list describes the location of relocation camps themselves, several other states had assembly centers or isolation centers.
Case Study: Granada Relocation Center/Camp Amache,

While the broad question of this thesis focuses on the memorialization and the narrative of patriotism of Japanese American Internment as a whole, this thesis will examine the process of memorialization and narrative building in a single camp as a case study to highlight the trend towards patriotic rhetoric seen on a broader national scale. The movement for memorialization and the process of historical narrative construction in the case of Japanese American Internment and Japanese American experience during World War II (WWII) is not an activity that fundamentally changes depending on the location of the camp. That is not to say the experience of all internees are the same or that all camps operated in the same fashion. Tule Lake, for instance, became a high security camp specifically aimed at the detention of “disloyal” internees deemed a security risk making it unique in its experience form other camps, but that in the post-internment movements for memorialization the differences in individual internees internment in a specific camp do not materialize as rhetorical schisms in the narrative being developed. There are individual efforts towards memorialization of specific internment sites but those efforts either directly tie themselves with the narrative of internment that transcends camp lines or the difference in narrative is not presented as a contradiction but a supplement to the broader narrative. Moreover, after the end of internment in 1946 a majority of the families forcibly removed with Executive Order 9066 move back to their home states meaning there are not singular pockets of Japanese Americans who were interred in a specific camp remaining in that same area to memorialize the site in the years afterwards. The non-localized nature of these

memorialization movements means that although some state specific sites do only deal with a
state/camp specific narrative, most are speaking to a broader experience or are place themselves
within the broader narrative. 10

This interconnectivity makes it appropriate to then look at a case study, to better
understand the process of historical narrative construction as a whole. The Granada Relocation
Center in Colorado, known as Camp Amache after the wife of John Prowers who is the
namesake for Prowers county where Amache is located,11 is one of the smaller internment camps
with a peak population of around 8,000.12 Despite the size of Amache and its relative absence
from broad histories of Japanese American Internment, there remains an active process of
memorialization for Amache within the state. In order to understand the rhetoric of patriotism in
the post war memorialization of Japanese American Internment this thesis will focus on Amache
as a case study, evaluating the process of memorialization in Colorado to grasp at more complete
picture of the complexity of memorialization of Japanese American Internment as a whole.

**Historiography**

The history of Japanese American Internment is a well-studied event in American
history, with several books dedicated to the events in nearly every camp and expansive articles
on the realities of life in the camps. For the purposes of this research paper an understanding of
the discourse surrounding the history of Japanese American Internment in the state of Colorado
and the process of creating historical narratives through memorialization is important. In order to
evaluate the existing discourse on these questions three main avenues of discourse on Japanese

10 Dwyer, Owen J., and Derek H. Alderman. *Civil rights memorials and the geography of memory*. University of
American Internment needs to be addressed: the discourse surrounding the post war memorialization including movements for redress, discourse surrounding the topic of patriotism and Japanese America Internment, and the existing scholarship on Amache itself.

While the history of Japanese American Internment as it happened is an extensively studied field of discourse, the history of Japanese American Internment after the fact contains a sparser catalogue of academic work. Attention has been given to a few subjects of the post internment history of Japanese American Internment, the process of memorializing Japanese American Internment, and the process of building a historical narrative of internment in the decades after internment ends, but most of this attention is exclusively a national history of these movements and moreover serve primarily as documentation of this process rather than a pointed analysis of what the narratives that come out of this process mean. This body of work also largely excludes considerations of narratives created by non-Japanese American actors, what this thesis refers to as State Actors which represent the majority white dominant group, and how these narratives The most comprehensive secondary source on this subject is a book written by historian Alice Yang Murray from the University of California, Santa Cruz published in 2008, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*.

Murray’s book deals largely with the history of the redress movement and the narratives that begin to form around the history of Japanese American Internment. The contents of the book can be broken down into three different categories: descriptions of ideology for specific interest groups, chapters describing a more straightforward history of the movement for redress, and the last chapter constituting an analysis of representations of Japanese American Internment ranging from books and the internet to museum exhibits. *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* is by far the most comprehensive text on
memorialization and Japanese American Internment, that being said there is are still avenues left unexplored by Murray’s book. Murray’s book does little to dissect the process of memorialization as it happens within individual states or around individual camps. This gap in the discourse she presents leaves open questions about the process of states and state histories grappling to form a narrative of internment that fits into their already existing narratives of state history and state identity. When the history of Japanese American Internment is treated as an exclusively national history, the complexity of internment, particularly as it exists within a context of the American west, is diminished. Murray’s also leaves open questions on the role of patriotic rhetoric in the process of memorialization. It is not that Murray does not address the theme of patriotism, she has a chapter titled “We Pledge Our Fullest Cooperation”: A History of Loyalty and Patriotism in the Japanese American Citizens League”\(^\text{13}\) that examines the utilization of patriotic rhetoric by the JACL and how the use of patriotic rhetoric both changed anti-Japanese sentiment while simultaneously burying the suffering of internment,\(^\text{14}\) her book ends its analysis of patriotic rhetoric too early and attaches it primarily to the JACL alone. Murry’s book is a comprehensive look at the post war remembrance and redress movements, summarizing the majority consensus on the discourse surrounding this topic, but the books still largely leaves open the extend of patriotic rhetoric in constructing historical narratives and does not provide a history that is mindful of the interaction between state histories and the history of Japanese American Internment.

The discourse that surrounds patriotism and Japanese American Internment suffers from a similar lack of multiple scopes as Murray’s book. Discussions on patriotism and Japanese


\(^{14}\) Murray, Alice Yang. *Historical memories of the Japanese American internment and the struggle for redress*. 139.
American Internment generally revolve around the time period of internment itself or the more specifically focus on the history and legacy of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. One of the more direct secondary sources in addressing patriotism in connection with the post war imaginings of Japanese Americans is University of Toronto historian Takashi Fujitani’s book *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II*. Fujitani’s book analysis nationalism and racism through examining two case studies, Japanese Americans fighting in Europe for the U.S. military during WWII while Japanese American Internment is present at home, and Korean soldiers being drafted to fight for the Japanese during WWII. While most of Fujitani’s book is not directly concerned with post internment years or movements for redress and memorialization specifically, the articulation of the idea that through Japanese American enlistment into the war to fight on behalf of the U.S. acted in sorts to make Japanese Americans into Americans is important for this paper. Fujitani does at one point in the book directly speak to the effects of Japanese American troops on the process of narrative building after the war in the chapter “Go for Broke, the Movie: The Transwar Making of American Heroes”15 which connects the dissemination of images presenting Japanese American war heroes as creating a status for Japanese Americans and the Japanese nation that is “almost, but not quite white”16 but this argument is not extended into the movement for redress or efforts for memorialization happening decades after the end of internment. Fujitani’s examination of the complexities of fighting on behalf of an oppressor is crucial for this paper, which looks to extend some of Fujitani’s ideas past the confinements of the book and into the process of memorialization that happens around Amache.


16 Fujitani, Takashi. *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II*. 211.
This thesis uses Amache as a case study for understanding the ways histories of Japanese American Internment are articulated within a state and in relationship to state histories, so an understanding of the historical discourse surrounding Amache is crucial. There is a rich discourse on material histories concerning Amache, with several papers dedicated to archeology conducted at the Amache site as well as papers describing the use and significance of objects like ceramics and sake in Amache. What is most limiting in the discourse around Amache is the lack of scholarly attention given to the post internment years. Almost all the articles focused on Amache specifically focus on Amache during the war and the lives of Japanese Americans while they were interned at Amache. The most comprehensive look at the history of Amache, at least in terms of work attempting to give a complete overarching history of the camp, is found in Robert Harvey’s book Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado During World War II. It is important to note that Harvey is not a historian like Murray and Fujitani, Harvey is teacher from Douglas County, CO writing outside of a scholastic environment. While Harvey’s book is not a scholastic endeavor in the same vein as Murray or Fujitani the inclusion of Harvey’s book into an overview of the historiography of Amache is necessary as the book is the only book specifically dedicated to the history of the camp. Although Harvey’s book is the most comprehensive overview of Amache’s history, it is immediately lacking. The book presents itself as a straightforward history of events in chronological order, and by doing it fails to provide much insight or commentary on the consequences of these events. The book also ends promptly after the closing of Amache with a short chapter titled “Aftermath” the only section of the book that discusses the consequence of internment outside of the confines of the years of internment.


This section is brief and while it mentions groups in the state of Colorado working on memorialization projects these mentions are brief and offer no insight into the nature of these memorialization.

While there is plenty written about Japanese American Internment, and plenty of this writing devoted to the process of memorialization and themes of patriotic rhetoric in the post war years, none of this extended to an analysis of the rhetorical themes memorials use and the way memorials construct a historical narrative for consumption by the public.

The history of Amache is not complete without an understanding of how the facts of internment in Amache are packaged and disseminated in the process of memorialization by different groups in the state. This paper argues that there exists two histories of internment in Colorado, an official history and a vernacular history of internment. These histories of internment, both official and the vernacular, largely build themselves off of the same central theme, the patriotism of Japanese American forcibly interred in Amache. But while both histories build off of the theme of patriotism, this patriotism is used to different rhetorical effect based on the group articulating it. When official histories discuss the patriotism displayed in Amache that patriotism is used as a position as an excuse of the injustice of internment shifting the narrative focus on the end product of internment, which is contextualized as the final Americanization of and acceptance of Japanese Americans. In vernacular histories this emphasis on the patriotism of expressed in Amache remains but the focus is shifted slightly, instead using the patriotism of Japanese American interred in Amache to highlight the injustice of internment and reaffirm what internment challenge, the right of Japanese Americans to be Americans. This

19 These terms are used in reference to John Bodnar’s book Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century. Bodnar describes the existence of both official and vernacular histories, with their intersection informing public memory of history.
is an important distinction to make, the process of constructing narrative histories is often discussed in the terms of official histories. Even the role of activism is not considered official history until sources of official histories acknowledge or include the work and rhetoric of activists. Examining the history of internment at Amache through the lens of both official and vernacular histories\textsuperscript{20} reveals the tensions between a state and a people vying for control and authority over the history of Japanese American Internment.

This thesis is organized around examinations of these two groups. First, this thesis examines historical narratives articulated by Japanese Americans in Chapter One by examining the physical memorials, museums, and oral histories centered around Amache. Chapter Two examines the historical narratives articulated by State Actors, primarily through analyzing museum exhibits and placards at the Amache National Historic Landmark sites. Critiquing the presentation of camp life in official histories, the focus on war participation by internees, and the presentation of Governor Ralph Carr as primary themes in State Actors’ historical narratives of Amache.

Chapter One: Patriotism and a Narrative of Advocacy and Agency

If much of the rhetoric surrounding internment during the period of internment, both to justify the denial of rights to Japanese Americans at the outset and to maintain this justification with loyalty questionnaires, concerns itself with the perceived loyalty of Japanese Americans, the post internment discourse turns to considerations of patriotism. The patriotism of Japanese Americans\(^{21}\) becomes a pervasive theme in post internment narratives, particularly in public narratives that aim to present a historical truth to the people who view it. Discussions of patriotism become a rhetorical device in the post internment years, with different actors utilizing the fact of Japanese American patriotism to create different narratives of internment and leave audiences with a particular construction of history. For Japanese Americans and Japanese American interest groups, patriotism became a tool to express agency over their own history as well as a tool of advocacy in challenging other historical narratives of Japanese American Internment. In the broad historical context, both early grassroots memorials organized by Japanese Americans and the efforts for memorialization and redress undertaken by the Japanese American Citizens League highlight the patriotism of Japanese American during internment as a way to both reclaim a degree of agency over the historical narrative, by utilizing patriotism to contrast against the injustice of internment, and to advocate for the interests of Japanese Americans in the post war years, crucially in the movement for redress. This utilization of patriotism as rhetorical theme of agency and advocacy is not exclusive to broad national movements, it is a central feature of contesting the history of specific camps as well. This thesis

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\(^{21}\) The veracity of expressions of patriotism by Japanese Americans, before, during, and after internment, are not a concern of this thesis. The thesis is not questioning the patriotism of Japanese Americans and does not seek to make claims about the expression or feeling of patriotism. The thesis is only focused on patriotism as a rhetorical theme in post war memorialization of Japanese American Internment, and how the fact of Japanese American patriotism is highlighted to different rhetorical ends when different interest groups present a narrative of the history of internment.
will examine patriotism in the construction of historical narratives done by Japanese American interest groups briefly as it exists in the broad context of national inter-camp movements but will spend more space looking at the Granada Relocation Center as a case study in how the rhetoric of patriotism is utilized as a tool of agency and advocacy.

What can be seen as national movements for memorialization look a bit different and largely come during later periods after internment that the more localized memorial movements starting really as a national pan-camp effort around the time of the movement for redress, a development that makes considering the aims of the redress movement and the collective actions it took to achieve redress. These memorial efforts initially take the form of a heightened attention given to the camp sites themselves, with the organizations formed to fund and plan pilgrimages for former internees and their families to the sites. The success of the movement for redress spurs a period of cooperation between state agencies and Japanese American interest groups in getting different camp sites designated as National Historic Sites and National Historic Landmarks, but with this designation much of the memorializing work, meaning the pieces that tell a version of history to audiences like park placards, is done primarily by the state agencies sometimes with input from Japanese American communities but with the final decision made by the state.

Early efforts of memorialization in Colorado are often small and localized if they are physical monuments, primarily aimed not to capture the attention of the public but exist as personal or community reckonings with the experience of internment. Most of these early monuments are statuary monuments, often honoring a broad group of people, and have an element of personal or communal mourning. These early memorialization efforts are less direct efforts at narrative building, they do not present a complete narrative arc of Japanese American WWII history or exist in a format that is explicitly for education in the ways a museum exhibit is
expected to have educational qualities but are still vital for understanding the process these narratives develop. The more personal nature of these early monuments does not require exclusion from analysis on the process of narrative construction, whether or not they are intended for personal audiences or public audiences these monuments exist in public spaces and whether intentional or not relay a public message. Early memorials of Amache are rare in Colorado but two funerary monuments specific to those interned at Amache are constructed in this early period, one in September of 1945 and one in 1963, through comparing these two monuments the growing prominence on the theme of patriotism in telling the history of Japanese American Internment is clear.

The first physical monument to Amache was designed by Reverend Masahiko Wada and dated to September 1945, commemorating the people who died during internment at Amache. The writing on the monument is almost entirely in Japanese, save for one of the wooden panels.
The only plank with descriptions in English is titles “Honor Roll” and lists every serviceman who died during active duty in World War II.\(^{22}\)

(Amache Monument, 1945)

The delineation between internees who died at Amache and internees from Amache who died in active service is important to recognize, providing a separate space in the monument for the men of Amache who serve and die during WWII implicitly allow their service extra rhetorical weight. Giving members of the 442nd not only a separate space but the only space that provides names in English of the people being memorialized only adds to the emphasis placed on servicemen in this monument. It is also important that this particular section is the only section in English, excluding the date, implying that while the rest of the monument seems to exist exclusively for a Japanese American audience this portion of the monument is meant for consumption by a

broader audience. Even if this message is unintentional, what the monument presents to its audience is the importance of remembering Amache but particularly the importance of remembering those from Amache that serve. Although the monument is not an explicit promotion of patriotism, the weight it provides to servicemen in the 442nd, providing them a literal place of further honor than the rest of the internees the monument commemorates, gives the impression that in memorializing Amache the service of internees requires a special elevation.

The elevation of servicemen in the monument landscape is furthered in the Nisei War Memorial located in the Fairmount Cemetery in Denver, commemorated in 1963. The Nisei War Memorial is a similar type of monument as the Amache Monument, a funerary monument dedicated at least in part to those who die during WWII, but here the emphasis is not at all on the experience of Amache or internment but on military service. The monument is dedicated to the Nisei men of the rocky mountain region who serve in both WWII and the Korean War, with the names of those who have died listed on the monument and panels of the monument explaining the purpose and message of the monument explicitly. The elevation of service men in the monument is directly tied with themes of patriotic expression in a fashion that is largely indicative of the ways patriotism as both a historical truth and narrative rhetoric becomes a way to express agency over the history of internment and engage in advocacy over this history. Although, like the Amache Monument, the Nisei War Memorial’s positioning of service men as a group of special distinction inherently implies a degree of value in recognizing patriotism and service in the telling of internment history, the Nisei War Memorial is distinct from the Amache Monument in that it is purposefully dedicated to service men and not internees and so the elevation of servicemen, while still an important element in evaluating the message of the
monument, is not as telling as the dedications and explanatory text included in the monument. The text on the monument draws a clear connection between service, particularly service in the face of discrimination, and legitimacy. “It is to those who made the supreme sacrifice in demonstrating that Americanism is not a matter of race or ancestry that this monument is dedicated,” and “That we the beneficiaries of their sacrifice might enjoy without restriction our heritage as Americans.”23 Although these types of statements about military service are not wholly unique to this monument, the monument exists in a historical context that adds a different weight to the statements. The dedication made in the monument insinuates to some extent that the service and sacrifice of these men is the ultimate expression of American identity, an identity that demands inclusion and recognition. Through this, the monument points out the inherent injustice of internment and any continued acts of discrimination. Although the monument does not name internment, the legacy of internment permeates the monument. All the men who would have served during WWII would have decided to do so from within an internment camp and the men who serve in the Korean War only four years later are just as likely to have experienced internment themselves. The monument explicitly dedicates itself to “those who made the supreme sacrifice in demonstrating that Americanism is not a matter of race or ancestry,” a statement that points to a time when Americanism was in question over a matter of race and challenges anyone who might justify that. The monument never names Amache but through the context it exists in implicitly challenges the conceptions of American identity that allowed internment to happen. Patriotism, in this monument, is a public affirmation of Japanese American identity as Americans, and therefore an implicit critique on the actions of a government that would deny them that identity.

Both the Amache Memorial and the Nisei War Memorial constitute early examples of a monument tradition of Japanese American experience of WWII in Colorado, and both make it clear that in these early flirtations with articulating a narrative of the WWII experience, particularly the ways in which these narratives contend with the history of internment, the fact of Japanese American patriotism during the war is a pivotal rhetorical development in defining what the history of internment means after the fact of it. These two monuments present a narrative of Japanese American experience during WWII that leverages the experience of patriotic expression in the face of suffering and degradation to reaffirm the legitimacy of Japanese Americans as Americans, essentially proposing a narrative of internment and the interwar experience that explicitly combats any retelling that justifies internment.

The narrative of patriotism expressed in these early monuments articulating a historical narrative of Japanese American Internment that extends to later efforts at memorialization. These efforts are often broader in the group they represent. The Amache Monument and the Nisei War Memorial come from the work of smaller community groups and represent either those who had died at Amache or died in military service to the United States, and more explicitly aimed at an educational message. For Amache, this largely takes place around the site of the camp itself through organized pilgrimages and efforts to maintain the site of the camp. Although the process of narrative building within Colorado based around Amache are not directly connected to the movement for redress they are in part responses to this movement. These later memorials come in a post-redress period and informed by a period of time where more attention was given to activities at the camp sites themselves and focused on community building movements like the pilgrimages. Even in a context after redress, to some extent a culmination of the broad movement
to express agency over the discourse around internment and a success in the advocacy for reparations, the rhetoric of patriotism persists.

It is important to note that memorialization at Amache itself is complicated as an example of a representation of Japanese American expressions of historical narrative building. The work done at Amache that is not a product of the National Parks Service has been spearheaded by the principle at Granada High School, John Hopper, and the museum at Amache was created and is maintained by John Hopper and his students at Granada High School. Despite John Hopper not belonging to the Japanese American community, the group he runs with his students, The Amache Preservation Society, receive a significant portion of their funding from The Amache Historical Society which is a group of former internees at Amache now living in California. The work at the site is often done in conjunction with Japanese American groups like The Amache Preservation Society of the Denver Central Optimist Society, and both incorporates Japanese American work in their memorialization and specifically aims to support the Japanese American community. This thesis will focus its primary attention on the work done at Amache that is done with a connection to members of the Japanese American community, the pilgrimages to Amache, and speak briefly to types of memorialization in the Amache Museum itself although less attention will be given to this as a representation of Japanese American narrative building.

A pamphlet published by the Amache Historical Society for pilgrimage in 1998 exemplifies the continued prominence of patriotism and military service being utilized in historical narrative constructions. The document is also emblematic of a shift in rhetoric largely in response to the 1980s redress movement. The emphasis on patriotism and military service as acts to be elevated in the history of internment is still there in a significant way, the scope of the
document is expansive and addresses draft resistors in the history of internment, but the theme of patriotism in the face of discrimination is still persistent throughout.

What is striking about the document is that it provides an explicit statement of purpose for the reunion, the first of which is to reconnect with former internees and the second, and the document stresses the most important, purpose is to “keep the memory of Amache alive for generation to come.”

It is clear from the express purposes of reunion that the process of keeping a narrative of Japanese American Internment alive is paramount to the activities of the Amache Historical Society, and by doing so the group is inherently involved in the process of narrative building. With this in mind it is important to analyze the themes this pamphlet brings forward about the history of Amache, telling the reader essentially what needs to be remembered above all else.

The precise themes of internment this pamphlet is drawing on are clear from the beginning portions of the document. When the pamphlet describes its first purpose, to bring together former internees, it contextualizes their experience as bond forged not by the physical struggle and hardship of internment but with the accusation of “disloyalty in time of war.”

The wording here is interesting, placing the bond not on the land or the sight of internment but on the experience of distrust. This focus on the accusation of disloyalty to the nation above the physical suffering of internment itself speaks to the rhetorical power of patriotism with this group utilizing the patriotism of those interred at Amache as evidence of what is identified as the central horror of Amache, the injustice of the accusation of disloyalty and in part the inferred denial of their identity as Americans through this accusation.

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This theme of patriotism is furthered in the last portion of the pamphlet, “A Profile of People Incarcerated at Amache” written by Thomas Shigekuni that ends the pamphlet. The section is introduced as a diverse profile of different internees aimed at dismissing the trend of casual onlookers to generalize the lives of those interned at Amache. The profiles are fairly expansive, covering professors, soldiers, and draft resisters, but what emerges as a common thread throughout the profile is the theme of patriotism and admiration for the soldiers of the 442nd. The first profile presented is that of Sargent who volunteers for the 442nd, and another of the five profiles is of another volunteer for the 442nd. Even the portion of the profile dedicated to draft resisters as a group is careful to keep them out of opposition with the 442nd, framing draft resisters as wholly understanding of the decisions of those who do volunteer and in a way expressing their own form of patriotism. The section on draft resisters even ends with a man who had resisted the draft when he was interned but when drafted into the Korean War thought it his duty as a free man to now fight for the U.S.

The 1998 pamphlet on the Amache pilgrimage is striking in its persistence in the portrayal of patriotism as a fundamental aspect of the historical narrative of internment and how that patriotism has a specific purpose within the document, to both rail against the injustice of incarceration and to reaffirm the American identity of the Japanese Americans interred at Amache. Like the physical monuments that come before it, the pamphlet elevates the fact of Japanese American patriotism as a way of calling out the injustices of internment in a way that inherently posits that internment is most wounding as an attack on Japanese Americans’ legitimate American identity.

28 The Amache Historical Society, and Thomas N. Shigekuni. Return to Amache. 7.
The museum at Amache offers an interesting look into the reach of this patriotic narrative in spaces that seem to aim at subverting it. Although the museum is not a perfect representation of historical narrative building coming from Japanese Americans and Japanese American community groups, it is not the direct product of Japanese American activism or organization, the project is funded partially by Japanese American activism groups and actively encourages Japanese American participation in its educational aims. That is not to say this articulation of internment requires the same weight given to more direct expressions of Japanese American activism, but the legitimacy lent to the Amache Museum by the support of the Amache Historical Society as well as the Amache Museum’s presentation of itself as a grassroots memorialization existing in opposition to the inaction of state actors requires analysis of the narrative being presented through the exhibits in the museum.

The Amache Museum is a small local museum in the downtown strip of Granada, with all of the exhibits and the research area taking up a single room. The exhibit is designed for visitors to walk around the perimeter of the room taking visitors chronologically through the history of internment, with more themed educational markers peppered in between. While the museum presents its exhibits in a neutral way, a presentation of historical facts, what the museum gives attention to reveals the reach of patriotism as a central rhetorical tool in this historical narrative building as well as the continued emphasis on centering presentations that reaffirm traditional American identity.

While the Amache Museum makes it clear from the start that the emphasis of the exhibit is showing Japanese Americans as Americans, the first thing viewers see when they start a walkthrough is a stack of suitcases belonging to former internees some of which have University of Colorado Boulder stickers still on them, there is a key portion in the early part of the
museum’s exhibit that spells out this emphasis on traditional presentations of American identity the museum engages with clearly. The museum dedicates two placards to the donation of goods to internees by Emperor Hirohito through the Red Cross, one as a descriptive placard about the donation and another dedicated to a response from Thomas Shigekuni, a former internee recalling the event. The response Thomas Shigekuni gives fits with central message of the museum and more broadly to message of the other memorials already discussed in this thesis, stating:

“I said, ‘You know President Roosevelt put us in this place and this guy, the enemy, is sending us soy sauce. I don’t get what the purpose is. We can’t help him, we don’t want to help him. We’re not Japanese, we’re Americans.’ And it really bothered me… at that moment, when I saw the soy sauce, about how President Roosevelt had treated us, and this enemy guy, Emperor Hirohito, was sending us soy sauce. It really bothered me.”

Through the inclusion of this event, a relatively small footnote in the practical history of internment, and Thomas Shigekuni’s response to the event, the museum brings up the anxieties of challenged identity and answers them in a way consistent with other narratives that elevate military service and patriotism. The inclusion of these placards brings up the inherent challenge of internment, an attack on the legitimacy of Japanese Americans as Americans and reaffirms the legitimacy of their American identity. Although the museum’s focus on presenting instances of Japanese Americans expressing explicitly their American identity does not deny them their Japanese heritage, the museum has sections focusing on the continuation of Japanese art and culinary practices, the repetition of a fact that should not be in question towards their audience highlights the themes of projecting the aspects of internment that fit in a traditional American

29 Object label, Amache Museum, Granada, Colorado.
identity to both solidify that identity for the audience and call the audience’s attention to the failures of the state that interred its own American citizens.

The Amache Museum really hits this theme of projecting a traditional American identity hard with a large placard dedicated to a football team for young men and boys interred at Amache, The Amache Boys Club.\textsuperscript{30} The framing of the team plays into themes expressed previously in the exhibit. The placard is titled “More American than Football?”\textsuperscript{31} making the message of the placard, and really the museum in general, crystal clear. The people interred at Amache were Americans and furthermore exemplified American ideals in a way that makes their internment that much more of a blight on the history of America and deserves recognition. The Japanese Americans interned at Amache continually expresses values considered integral to American identity and participate in cultural touchstones of American culture. This placard compounds on the image of patriotic Japanese Americans serving in the military and playing football back at home, asking audiences to consider what could be more American. This placard challenges audiences to recognize themselves in the internees, making the injustice of internment that much clearer to the audience.

\textsuperscript{30} Wall text, More American than Football?, Amache Museum, Granada, Colorado.

\textsuperscript{31} Wall text, More American than Football?, Amache Museum, Granada, Colorado.
The process of memorializing internment is unique in its preponderance of oral history records, gathered intentionally for the purpose of memorializing the stories of individual internees for the benefit and education of future generations. The content found in these oral histories is telling both about the existence of patriotism as a prime rhetorical framing for telling historical narratives about internment but also about the deeply personal effects of internment and how focusing on patriotism is a response in part to the threat of oppression and physical harm. These oral histories also provide a perspective of historical narrative construction that is more individualized and personal to the specific internee than the other examples analyzed in this thesis. These constructions of history are not a pure telling of history as it happened. The years separating the accounts from the events leaves room for these retellings to be influenced by the types of public narrative constructions analyzed earlier in this thesis but also on a more personal level for the internees to have had time to make sense of their experiences and think about how
and what they want to tell an audience about them. Although these are personal constructions of history, they articulate directly with the public narratives examined earlier in this thesis and show that these patriotic narratives do not just exist when memorials are created by larger interest groups with an organized and purposeful message but also exist within personal narratives. To fully examine the number of oral histories pertaining to Amache would be beyond the scope this thesis, instead this thesis will include a close examination of the oral histories given by Toshiko Aiboshi, a former internee at Amache.

Toshiko Aiboshi’s recount of her time in Amache gives a deeply personal view into the anxieties of living in America as a Japanese American during the time of internment and afterwards, as well as an insight into very early expressions of patriotism as a way to combat against the discrimination facing Japanese Americans and articulate an American identity so in line with the identity of the very people oppressing them as to be unquestionable. Three points in Toshiko Aiboshi’s account are particularly interesting in the ways they speak to this patriotic rhetoric: sections speaking to a sort of communal backing to expressions of patriotism, a segment describing the rhetoric espoused by a teacher at Amache and Toshiko’s response to that rhetoric, and finally Toshiko’s descriptions of post-internment life.

Toshiko’s narrative account of her time at Amache is filled with references to patriotic expression and references to presentation of a traditionally American identity, coming from both Toshiko and from observations of other internees she experienced. What comes out of her observations is a distinct sense that during the period of internment, at least as Toshiko retells it in her narrative, there is a sense of a need to project an American identity throughout much of the

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population of Amache. Toshiko describes the cook at Amache and his four sons, three of which die in military service.\textsuperscript{33} It is interesting Toshiko brings him up in her retelling, unprompted by the interviewer who is talking to Toshiko about the food at Amache, she does not make the distinction that she had a close relationship to any of these men so the importance of them in her narrative is not her personal relationship with them but their actions and lives outside of her. Toshiko specifically quotes the fourth son in an argument with as saying “I must go because I want to prove my patriotism,”\textsuperscript{34} likely not a an exactly remembered quote but Toshiko’s emphasis on it makes it stand out as a statement of importance in the way she is constructing her narrative. The importance of their service in Toshiko’s narrative comes up again later on when she is prompted to recall the loyalty questionnaires, which Toshiko discusses in a communal sense bringing up again the cook’s sons who die while serving in the military. When asked about the loyalty questionnaires Toshiko answers the following:

“TA: Amache, it got to be a great debate about the questionnaire because of the wording of the questionnaire. And the people in our block ended up saying, "Alright, even if it says we have, when we say yes, we're loyal to the United States and put aside any allegiance to the emperor," which we had none, "in the same wording we will just say that yes, we are loyal to the United States and that will be the response." And 8-K was that, that they were going to be 'yes-yes.' I do not know anybody who answered "no-no" in the 8-K situation.

RP: So that was a, that was an issue --

TA: But it was probably the most discussed situation in that whole camp experience. It was the thing, you know. And my recollection is that those people who said they were "no-no" were really ostracized. They, as I say, in our block we had the family that lost four boys, and he had said, and there was a letter that he wrote, and he said, "If I die," he says, "it will have been worth it." So yeah, we had a lot...

RP: So the entire block came together and made this decision?

\textsuperscript{33} Aiboshi, Toshiko, Toshiko Aiboshi Interview, January 20, 2011.
\textsuperscript{34} Aiboshi, Toshiko, Toshiko Aiboshi Interview, January 20, 2011.
TA: No, I don't know whether they had discussions, but certainly there were a lot of small groups talking. And you were just aware that this was going on.”

Toshiko speaks to the concern over projecting a sense of patriotism and through it Americanism, the policing of “no-no” responses to the loyalty questionnaire in Toshiko’s retelling do not come off as result of suspicion of those that respond “no-no” rather the part of collective decision making that “yes-yes” is the only acceptable response to ensure safety in a horrible situation. Toshiko does say that the decision was not a formal result of anything like a community forum but it is important to note both the passage of time and Toshiko’s age during the events she describes, Toshiko was school aged during this time meaning she might not have been privy to adult discussion about the loyalty questionnaire. Toshiko description also assumes smaller scale discussions cannot equate to larger community decision making, describing smaller scale discussions among adult members of the community about the loyalty questionnaires but then dismissing those discussions from being representative of collective discussions in Amache. The inclusions of these portions in Toshiko’s narrative point again to the anxiety over expressing patriotism as a protection against state violence, not only at the time of internment but continuing in Toshiko’s recollections decades later.

Toshiko also spends a significant amount of time in her interview discussing her schooling experience at Amache and the way she responds to the rhetoric of one of her teachers in particular, Mr. George, is interesting. During an exchange about her experience in school the following conversation comes up:

“TA: Well, yeah, I think that he really wanted to see what was happening, and he was telling us during class time that a lot of this would not have happened, our being put in

35 Aiboshi, Toshiko, Toshiko Aiboshi Interview, January 20, 2011.
camp, had we been more part of the community that we lived in, meaning not all Japanese. Because that was really our main social outlet, we just associated with Japanese. We saw kids at school, but we didn't go to their homes. We, if we went to a home at all it would've been to a Japanese home. And he said that, "You really, if you are going to live in the United States, you are going to have to become more like the rest of America. You are going to have to be part of the community and just be an American, which means that everybody is not just a certain race." And so he said, "When this war is over and you get -- we know that you are not going to be kept here -- you are going to have to change your culture and you are going to have to assimilate." "Assimilate" was a big word in camp toward the end. And so at that point he was trying to say that, "You are going to have to broaden your horizons." So I think in that respect that was very helpful advice.

RP: Which the camp experience was providing that framework, in your opinion.

TA: Yes.

RP: That it was, had broadened your horizons.

TA: Yes. But it, I mean, it narrowed it, certainly, during the war, but we saw the result of that, which kept us so isolated. Had we been so different, because I know that there were Chinese people before the war who were, had little badges that said, "I'm not Japanese," or something of that sort. And so we could see the danger of being ostracized because of race or something, and so even today, I think when certain races are targeted you will find many Japanese who say, "That is not patriotic. That is not the correct thing to do."\[36\]

Toshiko in some ways concedes with arguments Mr. George is making in the first portion of this exchange, that the answer to internment is to assimilate to traditional expressions of American identity. What Mr. George is most definitely implying in this sentiment is that Japanese Americans have to bend to white American culture in order reach a legitimate American identity. I do not think Toshiko’s comment that this was helpful advice implies any sort of rejection of her Japanese heritage, the last portion of her comment both validates honoring Japanese heritage and critiques racist bias as inherently unpatriotic, but her comment is instead an acknowledgement that projecting a white American identity to white audiences is a way to protect against the type

\[36\] Aiboshi, Toshiko, Toshiko Aiboshi Interview, January 20, 2011.
of racism and discrimination culminating in internment. It is not enough to have the legal status of being an American citizen. The long history of legal discrimination against Japanese Americans culminating in internment had proved that legal status and a desire to assimilate into American culture was not enough to protect Japanese Americans from discrimination. Projecting an American identity that aligned with values espoused by the white dominant class, particularly through expressions of patriotism, became a way to assert an American identity that went beyond being legally protected. Expressions of patriotism create an American identity on similar foundations that white audiences construct their own American identity. Through these expressions of patriotism, the Japanese American historical narrative challenges white audiences to recognize Japanese Americans as Americans fully deserving the protections of American identity and with this recognition face the violations of that identity committed against Japanese American by the white dominant society.

This projection of a tailored identity as a protection against violence and disenfranchisement is clear in the final portions of Toshiko Aiboshi’s interview. When asked about the war Toshiko makes a clear distinction of prewar and postwar mindset and sense of anxiety over safety in new communities, stating:

“RP: Like we were talking about earlier, that the war really defines --

TA: Yes, because for all of us, everything is prewar or war or postwar, and we are talking about World War II. We are not talking about any other war because that was the defining point of a change in our life totally…We also, another change that... I remember another question, that was, "Is that a safe place to live? Is a house up for sale?" Okay, "Is that a good place to go?" That meant, "Are they going to accept Japanese in that community? Do you know that?" That was that question. Because we knew that, okay, if you were on this side of Crenshaw before, it was okay, but if you were trying to get on the other side they wouldn't sell to you, and so we thought maybe, the question is, "Is that a safe place to go?" or, "Is that a good place?" That meant, "Are they, can Japanese be, buy a house there?" Now people don't think about that too much, except there are some
communities where if you were "different" you probably would stand out and might feel ostracized or looked upon as different."  

While Toshiko’s response does not explicitly reference patriotism in this passage, her response suggests the need to express patriotism as form of protection from harm. This is what all the focus on patriotism and projecting an American identity that fits in with the ideas of the white dominant society is speaking too, the fear of safety when integrating back into communities that were, if not entirely responsible, then complicit with internment. Toshiko and other internees sharing her experience had to navigate an America that had just proved how far it would go to discriminate against Japanese Americans based wholly on racist Yellow Peril rhetoric and when constructing narrative histories of internment in the decades afterwards the focus continually turns to rhetorical themes of patriotism as a protection against that violence. Toshiko’s responses make it clear that in the post internment years it was not enough to be legally an American citizen. American identity had to be projected to white audiences as a protective measure against displacement and violence. Patriotism became a rhetorical shield to protect Japanese Americans from state violence and reaffirm Japanese Americans’ identity as Americans in a way white audiences could not ignore.

The common line of patriotism, used as a rhetorical tool for advocacy and agency, is consistent in public works of historical narrative building coming from Japanese Americans. This through line of patriotic language exists consistently regardless of whether the memorial is intended to be explicitly education or is rather a communal monument meant primarily to excise grief or honor members of a community from within the community and exists regardless of the medium the memorialization is being done through. This emphasis on patriotism largely

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37 Aiboshi, Toshiko, Toshiko Aiboshi Interview, January 20, 2011.
constitutes a continuation of pre-war concerns expressed by Japanese Americans rhetorically recontextualized in the post-war, post-internment years. This common feed through is clear in comparing the rhetoric of patriotism already discussed in this section to documents explicitly discussing public projections of Japanese American identity meant to create a self-defensive narrative in the face of discrimination and violence.

A proposed constitution for the JACL put forward in 1938 gives a clear view of both the anxieties of the Japanese American experience in the pre-war years and the rhetorical ideas being considered to combat these anxieties. The document has a strong emphasis on expressing Americanism outwardly, with the dedication of the constitution is particularly illuminating in just how strong the emphasis on expressing traditional American identity is:

“We dedicate ourselves too:

1. Uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.
2. Foster and spread the real sense and spirit of Americanism.
3. Build the character of our young people morally and spiritually on American ideals in the real of social, economic and political activities.
4. Strive for the security of our welfare through unity.
5. Sponsor projects to aid in the development and welfare of the Americans of Japanese ancestry.”

The first three points made in the dedication all concern themselves with cultivating and projecting perceived traditional American values, an inclusion that implies an anxiety over the perception of Japanese Americans as legitimate Americans by the white dominant society that largely dictates access to this identity. A different clause in the 1938 constitution makes it clear that membership in JACL at this time requires American citizenship, a distinction that cuts out a large portion of Japanese Americans denied American citizenship and only strengthens the

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40 Issei were not able to attain citizenship at this time.
emphasis on Americanizing in a way fundamentally responsive to the white dominant class that controls access to this identity. The anxiety to Americanize expressed in the dedication is clear, so is the source of that anxiety. The last two points of the dedication contextualize the anxiety over Americanization expressed in the first three, anxiety not over the veracity of Japanese Americans’ American identity but over the projection to and reception of that identity by the white dominant society with the physical safety and future welfare of Japanese Americans at stake. This document shows a need to project a version of American identity to a white dominant society that both controls the narrative of what legitimate American identity looks like and is also the source of discriminatory legislation and rhetoric that puts the veracity of Japanese American identity into question in the first place. The continued harm of yellow peril racist rhetoric, the anxiety over navigating a space where legitimate American identity is always in question based on race, is clearly evident in pre-internment documents contending with purposeful attempts to create and project a public identity to the white dominant society from Japanese American groups. Anxiety over discrimination is only heightened with internment, a brutal display of the concerns already present in Japanese American communities. The fears expressed in the 1938 Constitution are not isolated to 1938. Toshiko’s narrative of her time in Amache shows the anxieties of 1938 realized in internment and constantly present in the aftermath. The historical narrative articulated by Japanese Americans in the decades after internment is in direct conversation with these anxieties, a response and solution to the fears of racism and state violence.

Looking at the process of historical narrative building done by Japanese Americans in the years after internment, both at the broad national scale and at the smaller case study of Camp Amache, the rhetorical use of patriotism as context to frame the history of internment is nearly
omnipresent. The focus on patriotism as a primary lens to tell the story of internment is a direct answer to the anxieties present in the 1938 JACL Constitution proposal, utilizing the fact of patriotism in the face of extreme discrimination as citizens of a country that prides itself in a national historic narrative of freedom and democracy against tyranny to project a narrative of Americanism that the white dominant society cannot legitimately deny. In articulating this narrative, Japanese Americans are able to exercise control over their own history and advocate for their own agency in the post internment years in a way that directly addresses the anxieties of being a minority in America. Patriotism becomes a rhetorical thread that allows Japanese Americans to reaffirm an American identity, not for themselves but for the society that has oppressed them, in a way that is an implicit critique of their treatment and a call for better treatment.
Chapter Two: A Coopted Narrative of Patriotism

The history of internment presented by sources of “official” history give a telling look into the process of narrative construction after the end of internment. The historical narratives of internment produced by state actors generally comes after the process of narrative building begins within Japanese American communities, in part as a response to the advocacy and attention being demanded from the state by Japanese American narratives. The narratives put forward by state actors often give an amount of deference to the narratives already in circulation by Japanese Americans, borrowing their rhetorical themes heavily to construct their own narratives of internment, but crucially includes a new emphasis on white participation in this history that alleviates some of the critical reflection for white audiences. Narratives of internment produced by state actors, expressed through memorialization, offer a different sense of why patriotic rhetoric is elevated in their histories. Instead of a logical measure of protections against harm and disenfranchisement, a tool that protects as much as it allows for advocacy and agency, patriotism becomes a bulwark against deeper critical analysis within state narratives, serving to ease the discomfort of white audiences by presenting a history that lessens the impact of racism by utilizing a patriotic rhetoric state actors do not fully grasp the significance of.

There is not a storied historiography behind state processes of memorialization as there is behind Japanese American processes of memorialization. The lack of any significant state narrative on Japanese American Internment in and of itself is a statement on the state narrative. The lack of state attention given to narrative building belays a reluctance to acknowledge the history of Japanese American Internment, a refusal to critically address internment in a public sphere in the post WWII landscape. A significant state monumental landscape does not take form until the 1980s but more significantly the 1990s. The timing of this formation is not coincidental,
it speaks directly the movement for redress in the 1980s. The state narrative arises as a response to Japanese American memorial movements and because of this state narratives crop up later than early Japanese American memorials. State narratives begin to exist in a space where the rhetoric of patriotism being expressed by Japanese Americans already permeates the memorial landscape. Not only do state narratives form within a premade narrative landscape, Japanese American activists and Japanese American communities are often in direct conversation with this memorial landscape. This all leads to a narrative that regularly mirrors the themes expressed in narratives created by Japanese American communities but with crucial differences that speak to a state narrative in conversation with the Japanese American narrative while simultaneously emphasizing themes that protect American notions of WWII national heroism and divert criticism from white audiences.

Official histories of Amache come from sources this thesis refers to as state actors, meaning institutions that are either direct state funded entities, receive state funding and support, or carry the appearance of state approval. State Actors comprise traditional sources of public history, state museums, national monuments, and state parks, sites that are all expected to convey unbiased history and define themselves primarily as educational institutions. To evaluate the histories State Actors build, this thesis will examine public presentations of history made by these sites, including museum exhibits, monuments, plaques, and annotated collections presented for public audiences and public access. The official history of Amache, as constructed by State Actors, comes from institutions like History Colorado, the National Park Service, and the Colorado State Government. Evaluating the history these State Actors construct requires an examination of both what is presented to the public and what is left out. These choices, whether
active or a product of ignorance, provide insight about what the story of Amache is and ought to be in official sources of history.

What State Actors chose to present about Amache shows what themes in the history of internment official histories deem necessary to telling Amache’s history, the most important takeaways for their audience. The themes State Actors choose to present are themes of struggle, racism, and patriotism but these themes are often presented in ways that are palatable to white audiences, ignore continuity of internment, and remain largely uncritical in their examination and presentation of internment. This thesis will examine three themes of focus in official narratives that exemplify this focus; the presentation of camp life in official histories, the focus on war participation by internees, and the presentation of Governor Ralph Carr.

Images and descriptions of camp life dominate much of the presentation of Japanese American Internment in official histories, typically this includes an acknowledgment of the poor physical environment of the camps and tragedy of internees forced to live in subpar conditions but then pivots to highlight internees’ ability to continue to engage in both traditional Japanese activities as well as activities considered hallmarks of American culture. History Colorado’s interactive online exhibit is the most extensive presentation of Japanese American Internment produced by History Colorado and exemplifies the most common presentation of Amache given by State Actors. The History Colorado exhibit comprises of four main sections and a separate timeline listing “key dates” in the history of Amache. The exhibit dedicates one of its four full exhibit sections to “Life in Amache,” an exhibit that puts visitors in a panoramic depiction of a fully refurbished and furnished barrack with particular objects in the room marked as interactive

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for guest, giving guests further information related to daily life in the camp. The exhibit explicitly acknowledges the hardships inherent to camp life, pointing out the arid environment, the poorly constructed cramped barracks, the restrictions on internees’ ability to cook and to eat in their own homes, and the presence of guards, but these critiques are couched in a framing that makes it easy for viewers to overlook, with a reconstructed barrack that almost looks cozy and language that points out the hardships but then pivots to overcoming it. The exhibit gives weight to both Japanese American art as well as leisure time within the camp. The focus on football in particular leaves the audience with a perception that camp was hard but internees persisted and lived a fairly normal existence within the camp.

(Life in Amache, History Colorado)

The details provided by the exhibit leave guests with two distinct impressions, life in the camp was hard\textsuperscript{45} but Japanese Americans flourished in the face of adversity.

The exhibit cements this idea of perseverance in the face of adversity in a later portion directly related to camp life, with a transcript of Marion Konishi’s valedictorian speech given at the time of her graduation from Amache’s high school. Marion Konishi’s speech titled \textit{America, Our Hope is in You} centers around the question “what does America mean to you?”\textsuperscript{46} which Konishi ultimately answers with this:

\begin{quote}
“I had also found my faith in America—faith in the America that is still alive in the hearts, minds, and consciences of true Americans today—faith in the American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play that will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of actions and achievements and not on the basis of physical characteristics.

Can we the graduating class of Amache Senior High School, still believe that America means freedom, equality, security, and justice? Do I believe this? Do my classmates believe this? Yes, with all our hearts, because in that faith, in that hope, is my future, our future, and the world’s future.”\textsuperscript{47}
\end{quote}

The inclusion of Marion Konishi’s speech is incredibly telling about the themes of Japanese American Internment being valued in History Colorado’s exhibit. Looking at Konishi’s speech within the context of historical narratives produced by Japanese Americans’ in the post internment years, Konishi’s emphasis on patriotism fits with the type of expressions made later by funerary monuments and oral histories like Toshiko Aiboshi. Konishi’s declaration of belief in the values of America, “freedom, equality, security, and justice,”\textsuperscript{48} are not an affirmation of the state but a direct slight against it. Konishi states earlier in her speech that she had found faith in American, meaning “the America that is still alive in the hearts, minds, and consciences of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[45] “Amache - Japanese-American Relocation Center.”
\item[46] Konishi, Marion. “AMERICA, OUR HOPE IS IN YOU,” n.d., 2.
\item[47] Konishi, Marion, p. 2.
\item[48] “Amache - Japanese-American Relocation Center.”
\end{footnotes}
true Americans today,”49 an America that “that will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of actions and achievements and not on the basis of physical characteristics.”50 Konishi’s use of “true Americans” situated in a context that American citizenship should not be assessed on race implicitly labels the Americans who justify and allow internment as not truly Americans. Konishi’s speech is an affirmation that Japanese Americans through their response in the face of internment, particularly their patriotism, are true Americans in a way their oppressors have betrayed. The History Colorado exhibit fails to explore any of this context in their presentation of Konishi’s speech, presenting Konishi’s speech as hopeful about the American ideals the country was founded upon51 and accompanying a recording of the speech with pictures of typical high school activities in Amache contrasted with pictures of the camp as it currently exists. History Colorado presents a shockingly neutral view of Konishi’s speech, presenting it as a footnote in their exhibit portion dedicated to “After the War.”52 The inclusion of Konishi’s speech in the portion of the exhibit dedicated to the years after internment, despite the speech taking place three years before the end of internment in 1943, is telling about what audiences are supposed to take away from the speech. Placing Konishi’s speech in the “After the War” section positions the speech as a sort of ending piece to internment at Amache, almost as if graduating high school and transitioning into adult life is comparable to ending internment and transitioning from a forced imprisonment back into free society. Konishi’s speech in the History Colorado exhibit is an end statement meant to sum up the experience of internment at Amache for the audience. History Colorado’s presentation of Konishi’s speech without context or critical analysis and placed in the exhibit’s conclusion leaves audiences with the impression that Japanese American

49 Konishi, Marion. p, 2.
50 Konishi, Marion. p, 2.
51 “Amache - Japanese-American Relocation Center.”
52 “Amache - Japanese-American Relocation Center”, After the War.
Internment was a terrible mistake but one that did not fundamentally other Japanese Americans from American society but instead might have reinforced their sense of patriotism.

This focus on the patriotism of Japanese Americans in the face of Internment is reaffirmed in the attention official histories give to Nisei men that go to fight for the American army in World War Two. While the inclusion of this history is neither factually inaccurate or an insignificant event to give attention too, the emphasis on participation in the army is purposeful choice and conveys a particular historical interpretation of the history of Japanese American Internment. The History Colorado exhibit spends less space discussing Nisei participation in WWII than it does the daily life of internees but makes sure to give the 442\textsuperscript{nd} regiment its own section. The section commends the valor of the 442\textsuperscript{nd} regiment, making sure to include that the men of the 442\textsuperscript{nd} fought for “freedom and democracy.”\textsuperscript{53} While none of descriptions included in the exhibit are factually untrue, the framing of these men holds up the themes of patriotism being a transformative function of Japanese American Internment, something that solidifies their American identity, that the exhibit previously displays in its presentation of daily camp life. The placement of the section is again an important factor in the messaging. The section discussing the 442\textsuperscript{nd} is included, like Marion Konishi’s speech, in the “After the War” section of the exhibit, making the content of the 442\textsuperscript{nd} less of a discussion of internment as it happened to Japanese Americans but an end note to take moral value from. The service of the 442\textsuperscript{nd} in History Colorado is positioned as a conclusion to internment.

The section dedicated to the 442\textsuperscript{nd} is largely devoid of Japanese American voices in describing their experience. The only quotation from a member of the 442\textsuperscript{nd} that is used in the

\textsuperscript{53} “Amache - Japanese-American Relocation Center”, \textit{After the War}.
exhibit comes from George Saito, telling his father in a letter sent while George was serving overseas that “America is a damn good country and don’t let anyone tell you otherwise.” The selection of this quote is telling with the details History Colorado includes to contrast it. The narration notes the existence of draft resistors and alludes to disapproval from the parents of service men but allows them no voice or context for their decisions. Instead, the section immediately pivots to the service of the Saito brothers and George’s letter to his father. Giving a voice to George at the expense of his father and his peers that resist the draft narrows the view of patriotism for History Colorado’s audience. The section implies that George’s expression of patriotism, his belief that America is “a damn good country”, is the correct expression of patriotism. The positioning of this section in the exhibit’s “After the War” portion makes this assertion that George’s patriotism is the correct expression a concluding remark for audiences to take away. Although George dies while his family is still interned at Amache, his statements are positioned by the exhibit as a statement for the years after internment ends. History Colorado’s section on the service of George Saito highlights a key element that permeates state narratives of internment. The emphasis on patriotism in state narratives, particularly the service of the 442nd during WWII, speaks to the central meeting of state narratives with Japanese American narratives. Patriotism serves the rhetorical needs of both the state and Japanese American communities, allowing the state to avoid critical assessment of American notions of WWII heroism while simultaneously providing a leverage for advocacy and agency to Japanese American communities. Patriotism becomes a crucial theme because it provides a meeting of both narratives.

54 “Amache - Japanese-American Relocation Center”, After the War.
The official history of State Actors does not end drawing upon themes that imply a positive transformative element within Japanese American Internment, the official history takes on a sympathetic look at white actors in the history of internment and in doing so both frames internment as a historical narrative for white people and creates an uncritical space in discussing America’s role in internment. This emphasis on a white perspective and an attempt to frame an uncritical image of American government comes through in the presentation of the Colorado Governor at the time of internment, Ralph Carr. Nearly all official histories include a section on Ralph Carr, always a glowing piece discussing the heroic actions of the governor. The History Colorado exhibit dedicates one of its four main sections exclusively to governor Carr, painting his personal and political life as acts of purposeful heroism in defiance of racial prejudice against Japanese Americans’. The lionization of Ralph Carr’s role in Colorado’s history with Japanese American internment is ubiquitous in official histories presented within the state, even the Colorado State Archives presentation of their collection of documents related to Amache lends a significant portion of their work to Carr and opens the collection of the Governor’s documents with a glowing report of his heroism. All this attention given to Carr’s actions during the beginning years of belays a disproportionate importance to Carr’s involvement in the history of Colorado internment at the expense of the experiences of internees. This emphasis on Carr also allows the official history to avoid a more critical assessment of internment, prioritizing a government figure that at the very least disagreed with internment and by doing so allowing room for the official history to avoid deep criticisms of the state.

The themes excluded from official histories are just as telling as the themes included. Official histories overwhelmingly neglect the stories of draft resistors in their presentations of Amache’s history as well as excluding stories of labor use and ignoring the continuity of
internment history, with the exception of minimal information about the movement for redress in the 1980s. This lack of attention is a purposeful choice in deciding what elements of internment are important and necessary to understand for a public audience. Excluding narratives that questions the patriotism of Japanese Americans or complicate the role of the state in internment only serves to reinforce the themes of Japanese American Internment as a transformative event that solidified the American identity of internees that the official history implies.

Another major outlet for articulations of state histories is educational placards created for camp sites designated as National Historic Landmarks. While the efforts to designate internment camps really comes as a result from Japanese American activism, either directly or indirectly as responses to the movement for redress that materialize in the 1990s and early 2000s, the physical educational material is produced by the National Park Service and exists as a portion of their narrative. The placards at Amache provide if anything the same narrative of internment presented in the Amache Museum but stripped of any sense of anxiety about projecting American identity present in the museum. The placards at the site hit upon many of the themes presented in the History Colorado exhibit, dedicating individual placards to daily life in the camps, K-12 education at Amache, agricultural work done at Amache, the Amache silkscreen shop, and a section focusing on in the post internment years. Again, like the History Colorado exhibit there are acknowledgments of difficulty in camp life with a placard dedicated to the living conditions at Amache called “Cramped Quarters” but the discussion of hardship within Amache is always met with presentations of life in Amache as surprisingly normal for internees. The placards omit any discussion of the anxieties or acts of acts of rhetoric resistance found throughout the Japanese American narrative of internment. This lack of acknowledgement presents a history of Amache devoid of the depth of consequence present in Japanese American narratives. Instead,
audiences are presented a history of internment that acknowledges some of the physical struggles of life inside of internment camps without the context of the racism and state violence that fuel internment and the anxiety over the threat of racism that continues to be articulated after internment ends.

The presentation of Japanese American Internment in official narratives is one that prioritizes specific historical events and themes in order to construct a narrative that is ultimately supportive of the institutions that present it, elevating a telling of Amache that largely erases the personal stories and complexities of the internee experience both during and after the end of internment as well as provides easily digestible figures like Governor Carr to the effect of drawing attention away from critical analysis of the state both at the time of internment and in the decades following internment.
Conclusion

The process of creating a historical narrative, going back and contextualizing historical events to create a story that proposes a definitive version of what happened, why this happened, and what should be taken away from what happened, is not an apolitical process of stringing together facts but a deeply political process of identity formation for individuals and for the nation. When stories about history are told, particularly in public spheres that serve educational purposes but are simultaneously spaces that are not in discussion with their audiences they are aiming to educate, they reaffirm certain identities or values through the facts they elevate and the facts they neglect.

The story of historical narrative building around Japanese American Internment is a story about a severely disenfranchised group utilizing their disenfranchisement to chastise the society that ostracized them and levying that society for the legitimacy and agency that had been denied to them as well as advocating for reparations. Japanese American narratives of internment often promote the elements of their history that white American society elevates as hallmarks of legitimate American identity, namely patriotism and military service, to protect themselves in a post-internment climate of legitimate anxiety over the safety of Japanese Americans living in America. The narratives of internment coming from the other end of this dynamic, the institutions that belong to the government and largely represent the white dominant society that instituted internment, comes as a response to the Japanese American narratives, walking a line between validating the Japanese American narrative as a way to acknowledge the failures of the state but at the same time elevating certain white perspectives that allow white audiences to escape some of that criticism and emphasizing patriotic imagery through presentations of the 442nd to uphold American notions of WWII heroism. The narrative of the state is ultimately a
narrative that elevates some of the same rhetorical themes as the narrative of Japanese Americans, focusing on patriotism and resilience, while simultaneously avoiding a critical eye on the American culture that allowed internment to happen and implies a sense of finality that leaves audiences with the impression that these issues are a finished event in the past.

The narratives articulated after internment ends offer a view into both the experience of internment and more prominently the experience of navigating America after the trauma of internment. Narrative building for both Japanese Americans and later the state are acts of reforming presentations of identity after an event that fundamentally challenges it. The narratives presented by Japanese Americans in the decades after the end of internment project an identity palatable to the society that disenfranchised them, an act that initially protective but allows for spaces of agency and advocacy latter on. Narratives articulated by the state come out later, operating in a space of public history permeated by the narratives created by Japanese Americans, and so state narratives exist within this space as a response to it. State narratives take the rhetorical themes presented in Japanese American narratives and strip them of their context and history as protective narratives aimed at empowering Japanese Americans in a post internment age, instead presenting a narrative that elevates white actors in the story of internment and largely disengages with the history of yellow peril racism as it continues in the years post internment.

“The shaping of a past worthy of public commemoration in the present is contested and involves a struggle for supremacy between advocates of various political ideas and sentiments.”55 John Bodnar’s description of public memorialization as grounds for ideological

and political struggle encapsulates the memorial landscape around internment. Japanese American narratives and the narratives of State Actors, while not in explicit conflict with each other, are articulating narratives of history fundamentally at odds, symbolizing a struggle to come to terms with the impact and long reaching consequences of internment into the modern era.
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Appendix

Included in the appendix is photos of monuments, museum exhibits, and placards that informed the arguments of this thesis. This thesis makes much of its argument around visual imagery, so it is necessary to include some of these images to make the argument clear. These images are referenced in the bibliography and text of the thesis. Images of the Amache Monuments, the Nisei War Memorial, and placards from the Amache Museum are included under the section titled Chapter One while imaged of History Colorado’s exhibit as well as placards at the Amache site are included under the section titled Chapter Two.

Chapter One

(Pic. 1, Amache Monument)
(Pic. 2, Detail of Nisei War Memorial)⁵⁶

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(Pic. 3, Detail of Nisei War Memorial)\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{57} Author. \textit{Nisei War Memorial}. March 30, 2019. Fairmount Cemetery, Denver, CO.
The pictures of the Nisei War Memorial do not show the entirety of the monument. On either side of the two detail pictures are the names of Nisei men who die in military service during World War II and the Korean War. The images are meant to give an overview of the presentation of the memorial as well as a full view of the text on display contextualizing the memorial for its audience. A transcription of Pic. 2 and Pic. 3 are given below, in the order that they appear in the Appendix.

“Deeply aware the cloud of suspicion hanging over them in the early days of World War II could be dispersed only be a demonstration of loyalty, Americans of Japanese Descent (Nisei) petitioned in 1942 for the right to serve their country. America offered them the opportunity, and the Nisei served with distinction and valor in the 442\textsuperscript{nd} regimental combat team in Europe. In military intelligence units in the Pacific, and elsewhere. More

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than 30,000 Nisei bore arms in World War II and Korea, shedding their blood on such far-flung battlefield as the Arno and Bruyeres, Guadalcanal, Myitkyin and Porkchop Hill. It is to those who made the supreme sacrifice in demonstrating that Americanism is not a matter of race or ancestry that this monument is dedicated.”

“Dedicated in loving and timeless memory to our sons, fathers, husbands, brothers, and friends who hesitated not to ‘Go for Broke’ in the nation’s defense, that we the beneficiaries of their sacrifice might enjoy without restriction our heritage as Americans.”

(Pic. 5, Object Text Placard at Amache Museum)\textsuperscript{59}

(Pic. 6, Amache Museum, *More American Than Football?*)

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Chapter Two

(Pic. 7, Screen Capture of “Life in Amache”, History Colorado online exhibit)

(Pic. 8, Screen Capture of “Stand for Justice”, History Colorado online exhibit)
Although additional sections in History Colorado’s online exhibit are analyzed within this thesis, the nature of the exhibit makes it hard to capture the effect of the presentation in a still image. The pages are interactive with the orange dots on screen indicating a section with more information. Once these orange dots are clicked the audience is redirected to either a video clip, a collection of pictures, or a digital scrapbook containing pictures with adjoined text. The nature of the exhibit makes it unfeasible to include all of the information presented visually in the History Colorado online exhibit. These two pictures have been included in the Appendix to give an example of the visual presentation presented to the audience. Picture 7 Shows the presentation of the barracks, decorated in a way that makes the scene look almost like a summer camp. Picture 8 shows the presentation of Governor Ralph Carr. Carr takes up a whole fourth of the exhibit’s space and is presented as a humble, hardworking man, with a great deal of information given about his life and background. This is the only section to feature an individual profile on a historical figure in History Colorado’s exhibit.
(Pic. 9, Placard at Amache National Historic Landmark Site)\textsuperscript{61}

(Pic. 10, Placard at Amache National Historic Landmark)\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{61} Author. \textit{A Time to Learn}. November 19, 2019. Amache National Historic Landmark, Granada, CO.

\textsuperscript{62} Author. \textit{Today}. November 19, 2019. Amache National Historic Landmark, Granada, CO.
A transcription of the main text for the Picture 9 and Picture 10 are included in order of appearance below:

“We sat on wooden benches, no books to begin with,’ Bob Fuchigami recalled of the early days of school at Amache. Classes for kindergarten through high school began in October 1942 and met in converted barracks in Block 8H; preschoolers gathered in a recreation hall.

The War Relocation Authority struggled to recruit and retain teachers; young Japanese Americans served as assistants and other taught classes, receiving minimum pay. In addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, the curriculum sought to minimize Japanese influences by emphasizing loyalty to America and its ideals.

Fourth-grade teacher Enola Kjeldgaard remembered her students as ‘the most attentive and industrious pupils I ever had.’ This, despite the cramped living quarters that made it hard to do homework and often left students feeling sleepy.”

“After the internment camp closed near the end of World War II, hundreds of Amache buildings were removed or demolished. The site lay abandoned and largely ignored for decades. But the former internees did not forget – and in 1976, after decades of silence,
they found their voice; they began an annual pilgrimage to Amache as a way to preserve the memory of their internment.

Many people and organizations have been involved in preserving the site. The Amache Historical Society and the Denver Central Optimist Club (reorganized today as the Amache Club) have played key roles in preserving the site since the 1970s.

A younger generation of local residents is now making sure that this chapter of American history is not forgotten. Granada High School students formed the Amache Preservation Society in 1990 and now work in partnership with the internees and their descendants, the Town of Granada (current owners of the site) and nonprofit organizations to maintain and protect the site and to increase public awareness about what happened here. Students have re-landscaped the camp cemetery, installed signs, collected historical documents and artifacts, recorded oral histories, and are largely responsible for maintaining the historic site and cemetery.”