

A PARADISE IN MOUNTAINS: THE WORLD WAR II

JAPANESE INTERNMENT CAMP NEAR KOOSKIA, IDAHO

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Most people are familiar with the World War II hysteria that in early 1942 led to the incarceration of some one hundred twenty thousand West Coast Americans of Japanese descent, two-thirds of whom were American citizens. In violation of their constitutional rights, these people, from infants to the elderly, were forcibly herded first into "assembly centers," such as the euphemistically-named "Camp Harmony" in Puyallup, Washington, and then into one of the ten enormous War Relocation Authority concentration camp installations that mushroomed in inhospitable locations within seven states, Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. The Idaho one, called the Minidoka Relocation Center, was at Hunt, in the southern Idaho desert.

Much less well-known are the internment camps for so-called "enemy aliens" run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), then a branch of the Justice Department. Following Pearl Harbor, three presidential proclamations made it possible to arrest and detain Japanese, German, and Italian legal aliens on no specific grounds and without the due process supposedly guaranteed to them by the U.S. Constitution. Of

1,771 people arrested immediately following the December 7, 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor, more than two-thirds were Japanese. They included Japanese community organization officials, language teachers, and religious leaders, as well as "newspaper editors, and other identifiable leaders."

Those arrested were generally taken to Fort Missoula, in Montana, and Fort Lincoln [at Bismarck], in North Dakota. By early March 1942 some four thousand aliens were incarcerated, mainly in those two locations. Most were later transferred to other alien internment camps operated by the Justice Department or the War Department. In all, the INS operated at least six "permanent detention stations," twenty-two "temporary detention stations," and four "detention camps," whereas the War Department had at least ten permanent and fourteen temporary internment camps, not including ones in Hawaii and Alaska. These were all separate and distinct from the War Relocation Authority (WRA) concentration camps for West Coast families. Besides Fort Missoula and Fort Lincoln, some of the other INS camps were in Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. Another was in northern Idaho, near Kooskia.

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The Internees Arrive at Kooskia

On the morning of May 27, 1943 a "curious crowd" assembled at the Lewiston, Idaho, Union Pacific train depot. They had come to observe the arrival of what the *Lewiston Morning Tribune* blatantly called the "Jap special," a train carrying "[o]ne

hundred-four Japanese, . . . under the supervision of an inspector of the federal bureau of immigration and naturalization assisted by six husky, armed members of the border patrol . . . " These men were some of the several thousand Japanese permanent resident alien community leaders who, more than a year previously, after Pearl Harbor, had been "rounded up," arrested, detained on no specific grounds, denied the due process promised to them by the U.S. Constitution, and shunted from Fort Missoula or Fort Lincoln to internment camps in New Mexico and Texas.

The Japanese on the train were being taken up the Clearwater River to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's Kooskia Internment Camp (Fig. 1). Internee Sakaye [Ed] Yoshimura (Fig. 2) described the journey in a letter to relatives interned at Poston, Arizona:

. . . we spent three days and three nights on the train playing poker-games, sleeping and enjoying the scen[e]ry along the road through New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Oregon, Washington and on to the heart of the state of Idaho, we got of[f] the train at a little town in Idaho called Kooskia at about 5 p.m. Then on a truck into the mountain[s] about 30 miles and we finally landed at our destination.

The Kooskia Internment Camp utilized the buildings and facilities of the Canyon Creek Prison Camp (Fig. 3), a former work camp for federal prisoners who helped construct the Lewis and Clark Highway between 1935 and 1943. The federal prisoners were moved out in May 1943 and the Japanese internees began arriving a week later.

The Japanese who lived at the Kooskia Internment Camp from then until it closed in early May 1945 were all male, and all volunteers, and ranged in age from the low twenties to the mid-sixties. They came from both coasts, and from a variety of states, territories, and even countries. Despite their diverse backgrounds, different languages, and varied

occupations, wartime anti-Japanese hysteria had brought them together. At northern Idaho's Kooskia Internment Camp they formed into a cohesive unit, defying racist stereotyping to win praise and admiration for their work ethic and their successful achievements.

Information Sources

The primary sources consulted for this project included photographs; local contemporary newspapers; records housed at the National Archives in Washington, DC; and information collected by U.S. Forest Service offices in the vicinity. Oral and written interviews with two surviving Kooskia internees provided additional details. One man was James Isao Yano, then age ninety-two, a former internee spokesman, and the other was Koshio Henry Shima, then age seventy-four and a Japanese Peruvian interned briefly at Kooskia. Two former employees and several descendants of deceased internees and employees also provided information.

Although some local residents in the Kooskia area knew about the camp from its inception, and a few even worked there, the Kooskia Internment Camp has largely been forgotten since its closure more than fifty years ago. Standard reference works on the concentration camp experience often do not list it with other Immigration and Naturalization Service camps.

The Kooskia internees worked on construction of the Lewis and Clark Highway, a portion of the present U.S. Highway 12. Paralleling the path of the explorers for whom it was named, the Lewis and Clark Highway crosses the Bitterroot Mountains between Lewiston, Idaho and Lolo, Montana. The route met the wild and scenic Lochsa River at Lowell, and followed it nearly to the Montana border. The Kooskia Internment Camp was, and is, on Forest Service land, seven miles above Lowell. In 1982 the Clearwater National Forest made an effort to document it in greater detail. However, only former employees

were interviewed at that time. While their perceptions are certainly important, they do not necessarily reflect what the internees themselves thought of the experience. Although volunteers, the internees were nevertheless incarcerated, and were not free to leave. It is their perspective that this paper seeks to present.

Reasons for Volunteering

According to the terms of the Geneva Convention, a 1929 document specifying how prisoners of war should be treated, internees could not be conscripted for this kind of work; therefore, they were all volunteers. Road work volunteers were paid \$55 or \$65 per month, with a \$10 deduction for special clothing, while camp workers, in the kitchen, laundry, and so on, only received 80¢ per day. Consequently, there were few volunteers for camp work. By early May, 1943, 104 Santa Fe internees had signified their interest in going to Kooskia, and had solved the camp operation problem. They agreed to supply twenty-five men for the required kitchen, laundry, and other support tasks, by distributing all the income equally among the entire group.

That information is contained in one of several documents reporting on visits by the Spanish vice-consul, Captain Antonio R. Martin. During World War II the United States severed diplomatic relations with enemy nations, so the Spanish government performed that function for Japan, particularly with regard to ensuring fair treatment for citizens of Japan who resided in the United States.

Taken as a whole, the Kooskia internees had a wide variety of reasons compelling them to volunteer for road work in this isolated region of Idaho. Where known, these fall into several main categories. Kizaemon Ikken Momii transferred to Kooskia because he hoped his son would be able to visit him there before joining the army. Kinzo Asaba and Shohei Arase volunteered for Kooskia because they wanted to be closer to their families,

who were interned at Minidoka. James Yano was in the Santa Fe Internment Camp, and he "wa[n]ted to get away from [that] dusty, dry place." He also welcomed the opportunity to help out during wartime. As he put it, "I wanted [to] do something for my adopted country."

Kosaku Sato, who had owned a Seattle second-hand store, volunteered for Kooskia in order to pay the rent on his store; then his son could join the Army and not have to worry about the payments. Japanese Peruvian internees Koshio Shimabukuro, now Koshio Henry Shima, and his father Taro were at Kenedy, Texas, where there was nothing to do. Koshio Shima stated that it was "better to work - the time goes fast."

The Internees

Although newspaper accounts refer to the Kooskia internees as "both citizen internees and aliens," none were actually citizens. Instead, they were permanent resident aliens, denied citizenship by racist U.S. laws.

A profile of the internees appeared in the *Lewiston Morning Tribune* in late September 1943:

Some . . . have been in the United States for more than 40 years, some are graduates of American universities, and some do not speak English. Their average age is 37 and their average residence here is 25 years. Their peacetime occupations range from the professions to exporter, restaurateur [*sic*], fruit grower, jui jitsui [*sic*] instructor of police officers, mercantile operation, on down to common laborer. Some of them are fathers of American-born sons serving in the United States army"

By the time the Kooskia Internment Camp closed, in early May 1945, the internees

who worked there had originally resided in the states of California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, and Washington, as well as Washington, DC. Others came from the then-territories of Alaska and Hawaii; and from Mexico, Panama, and Peru.

Documents housed in the National Archives and elsewhere indicate that some 265 men were detained at the Kooskia Internment Camp, but not all at the same time. The first three internee groups totaled 134 Japanese, enough to get the project started. Some remained the entire two years, while others left and were replaced.

First Impressions

Shortly after their arrival at Kooskia, the internees began writing to friends and relatives. Their first impressions related mostly to the scenic surroundings, their accommodations, the food, the potential for recreational activities, and the lack of a barbed-wire fence. In their letters, the internees revealed a deep appreciation for the natural scenic beauty of the Kooskia Internment Camp's location. Hisashi Imamura (Fig. 4) wrote,

This place is such scenic and beautiful place that I have never seen before. In front of the camp, the strong current of water . . . is streaming fast, . . . and are many trouts. What a beautiful scenery! Beyond my words! Undoubtedly I believe this is ideal place for health.

Yoshito Kadotani (Fig. 5) wrote,

This camp is built along the branch-stream and a clear stream with a pleasant splashes, crashing hard against rocks or patting lightly on trees, joins into main stream in front of the camp. In its vicinity greenish trees, firs and

cedars, and common brakes [ferns] grow thick and rank, and freshness of the air is unsurpassed. Of course, there isn't that unpleasant fence. Really it's a paradise in mountains! It reminds me so much of Yosemite National Park.

Sakaye [Ed] Yoshimura eloquently expressed his feelings for his new surroundings:

. . . it's just wonderful, so beautiful . . . wild flowers, birds, water-falls, fountain of youth and even the deers and the bears are roaming all over the place

The Kooskia Internment Camp's setting, on the Lochsa River, was indeed idyllic. Canyon Creek flowed through the camp and into the Lochsa River, which was immediately parallel to, and just beyond, the road in front of the camp. The Lochsa and Selway rivers join at Lowell, becoming the Clearwater River.

Living Conditions

Internee Hisahiko Teraoka (Fig. 6) wrote about the accommodations,

Rooms are heated with steam. Each one is provided with a private locker, a table and chair are shared by two a[nd] the beds are double decked. The floors are painted brown, the walls varnished and the ceilings are white plaster boards. There are many windows which give us plenty of light and ventilation.

He also praised the food quite highly, writing,

The food is extra good and every day we get something new from the oven, such as buns, cinnamon rolls, biscuits, cookies or doughnuts. Everything

ta[s]tes mighty good.

However, Kuromitsu Banba (Fig. 7) was not so pleased. He wrote, "But foods is not so good, so we are floored." Censorship removed the underlined portion from his letter.

Several internees looked forward to the potential recreational opportunities, particularly fishing. Yoshio [Charles] Yoshikawa (Fig. 8) wrote,

River runs down near our camp and stream run by barrack. We almost could do our trout fishing from bed, but the river are high right now. But in the very near future we could do fishing. According to officer's explanation there are plenty trout here. Oh, Boy! It won't be long before we have live trout for our parties. . . . Last night I dreamed myself already caught thousands trouts."

Yoshito Kadotani mentioned several other recreational possibilities, and concluded, ". . . I believe there isn't a single person who is not satisfied."

Work Assignments and Working Conditions

Although the amenities were important in contributing to morale, the Kooskia internees were there primarily to work. They began on the first of June. That evening, Sakaye Yoshimura wrote his relatives:

This wa[s] the first day on my new job since we came out here and it's not merely a job but a real he-man's job -- I drive a dumping truck and you ought to see the size of the truck (Fig. 9) . . . a great big monster as big as locomotive and as husky as war-tank and I am not exaggerating either. Now I know that I am going to be a regular rough-neck We are sort of selected group volunteered to get out of the wired fence and work so that we

allow no chis[e]lers and strictly cooperative. We are much happier now and that's exactly how I wanted to get by in this circumstances we are in.

T. Mitsu Shiotani described the work:

We are building a road between Idaho and Montana. It is very, very mountain region. Most of us cut brush and trees from mountainside and burn them to clear the ground for steam shovel to work on (Fig. 10). I do the burning most of time, sometimes I work with axe and shovel. . . . So far, I worked 15 days. It is not too easy for me but I think I can keep it up. Some young fellows do real heavy work such as driving heavy truck, drilling rock with pneumatic machine and cutting huge tree with a big saw etc. One . . . fellow almo[st] went over into the river with his big dumping truck but he managed to jump off just in time. So far, we have had no accident. It is not so dangerous as one [is] inclined to think of . . . road building, providing one takes reasonable precaution."

Although safety should have been a supervisory concern, it was not. A doctor making an inspection visit learned that the day before, an internee had had his ear nearly severed by a falling rock. Appalled, Dr. Brown wrote:

the engineer in charge, Mr. Gilmore, very brusquely informed me that safety helmets, safety boots, safety belts, goggles, etc. . . . were considered by him to be clothes, not equipment. He stated that the Immigration Department was supposed to furnish the clothes and he would not give the Japanese working on dangerous projects any safety equipment whatever.

Dr. Brown also determined that the internees had had no physical examinations. Eventually, he had to conduct them himself. He found that ninety-nine of the men were "all

physically capable of performing arduous physical labor." Eight other men "should be permitted to do only light duty," and one man, who was blind in one eye, "should not be allowed to handle any dangerous equipment whatsoever."

Conflicts

Although initially pleased with their circumstances, the internees soon found that all was not as had been promised. During his inspection visit, Dr. Brown spoke privately with some of the internees, and learned that they were very unhappy. Apparently, the guards were treating the Japanese as prisoners, rather than as internees. Although the internees tried to communicate their dissatisfaction to the outside world, their remarks were subject to censorship. For example, in early July, Yoshito Kadotani wrote,

As a result of recent shift of officers, majority of them has been changed, but it has been decided that Mr. Remer, former Officer in Charge, will remain in office. This fellow is not in the least cooperative and does not give us convenience, so we are all really disappointed, and some of us is insisting to change our residences.

The underlining indicates that all of that message was censored.

Morale continued to deteriorate. On July 7, Torajiro Imahashi (Fig. 11) wrote, "Well, the camp here is not so bad but lately there have been some things we don't particularly like so we are morally wounded [i.e., our morale is affected]. We hope things will improve soon."

That same day, the disgruntled internees prepared a lengthy petition detailing their complaints, and submitted it by mail to Bert Fraser, the officer in charge at Fort Missoula. Although the original was in Japanese, a hasty, and brief, translation survives. The

internees requested eyeglasses, adequate clothing, wage adjustments, better dental care, and better emergency medical and first aid facilities, and they asked that they be treated as internees, not prisoners. If conditions did not improve, they all wanted to transfer to Fort Missoula.

Dispute Resolution

Because the volunteer internees were crucial to the success of the road-building project, the next few months saw many changes and improvements at Kooskia in response to their petition. In mid-November 1943, morale was helped considerably when Kooskia Superintendent Deane Remer resigned. Merrill Scott replaced him. Although some of the employees disliked Superintendent Scott intensely, the internees viewed him much more favorably. One official visitor commented,

. . . Mr. Scott . . . seems to know every internee by name; has direct and personal contacts with all of them; [and] they hold him in highest respect and esteem" "[The internees themselves stated] . . . we all feel fortunate to be in custody of a real American as decent and benevolent as Mr. Scott and request that this fact be transmitted to the Japanese authorities in charge of the American nationals interned in various places in Japan.

The Daily Routine

Once conditions improved, and the internees achieved better treatment, they settled into their highly regulated daily routine. Their day began

with the crisp clang of a sounding gong cutting the clear, clean air. At the sound the aliens arise promptly, make their toilet and tidy their quarters. At

the breakfast signal, the men march to the mess hall . . . [,] . . . line up at the steam table with their plate and cup[,] and are served. [A typical breakfast consisted of] stewed figs, fried eggs, toast, butter, bran flakes, [and] coffee.

At 7:25 the work call is sounded and the Japanese assemble into crews for assignment to the day's duties. . . . The crews are loaded into trucks and leave with their guards and work supervisors for various points along the Lochsa [R]iver

"Some of the crew are clearing brush and debris from new portions of the right-of-way Some crews remove the shale slides that tumble down the canyon side on to the road; some are manning the jackhammers in preparation for blasting away rock points necessary to be removed before construction can continue.

Other crew members drove the large dump trucks, ran compressors, were rock crusher feeders and operators, helped with shop mechanics, and assisted the heavy equipment operators. James Yano drove one of the big dump trucks. He wrote that it was

. . . a ten-ton [dump] truck, specially designed to carry 10 or 12 tons of mountain rocks, served with a pow[er]ful steam shovel (Fig. 12). We dr[o]ve the [dump] truck backwards 50 or 100 yards to the objective point, on the river bank; then stop & turn to left side & go a couple feet forward and stop & release the cl[ut]ch of the [dump truck at the] same time; then the whole ten-ton [of] rocks would d[um]p into the river bank. You have to put on the brake at the right moment to avoid the [dump truck] & you go[ing] into the river. Looks risky on the paper [as written in his letter], but nobody was hurt.

"[T]he major piece of heavy equipment on the project" was a large power shovel, operated by the late Milt Barton, a U.S. Bureau of Public Roads employee. His son, Mickey Barton, stated, "Most of the thousands of tons of rock and other material that had to be dug and moved was handled by this shovel."

Another Public Roads employee was called a 'powder monkey.' His job was both important and dangerous, because "he was responsible for storing, placing, and firing the thousands of dynamite charges required to blast through the Lochsa [C]anyon rock." "Japanese assisted him in this activity," even though they were not supposed to handle explosives.

Barton commented,

[T]he large dump-trucks [were] operated by the Japanese internees. There were several of these trucks in constant use, being loaded one after another by the power shovel, with blasted rock and dirt. This material was then dumped to fill road cuts, and to build up the road slope to the Lochsa River.

Barton also stated that the "relationship between the construction group and the Japanese" was excellent, adding,

"My father was impressed with the attitude and work ethic of the Japanese. Though lacking in highway construction skills, they were fast learners, [and] demonstrat[ed] very little animosity as a result of being inter[n]ed.

The workers quit for lunch, called dinner, at 11:30 a.m. and returned to camp. This heavier meal might consist of "meatballs with Creole sauce, julienne potatoes, creamed new turnips, turnip-carrot salad, fruit jello, milk and coffee." After lunch, the men went back to work at 12:25 p.m.. They quit at 4:30 p.m., returned to camp, and went to their barracks to shower or wash up for supper, which was served at 5:00 p.m..

A typical supper was lighter, and might include "egg fouyoung [*sic*] with steamed rice, army fried potatoes, head lettuce, apple, [and] milk or coffee." When meals included rice, the cooks prepared one hundred pounds of it. Although the internees were entitled to food similar to that served a United States soldier at his base camp, they preferred fish and rice. One month, the meat consumption was so light that the unused ration points would have purchased another nine hundred pounds of meat.

Shohei Arase's son Ted, age about 16, visited his father at the Kooskia Internment Camp and had a meal with him. They ate from

a stainless steel tray of the sort used in the Army then. That was my first encounter with those steel trays and I found it a bit repellent but usable."

Recreation

The internees had Saturdays and Sundays off, plus free time after dinner, so had sufficient leisure to engage in a wide variety of recreational pursuits. They participated in arts and crafts and drama; visited their canteen; fished; gathered wild foods, such as edible ferns and mushrooms; played cards and gambled; gardened; watched movies and listened to radio; played music; produced a newspaper; went on outings; had pets; read and studied; engaged in religious activities; played sports and games; received visitors; and wrote letters. The Japanese man who was the timekeeper painted an oil painting of the camp and gave it to employee Amelia Jacks.

At least one Japanese man made an elaborately embroidered pillow and two mats (Fig. 13) and gave them as gifts to the family of bulldozer and grader operator Bill Misner. Other internees collected colored stones for crafts projects.

Across Canyon Creek from the main camp area the internees had a canteen. It

served beer, and also "sold cigarettes, novelties and trinkets, gum, [and] candy," and stocked "a few slacks, and [a] few sport jackets and shirts," as well as slippers.

The canteen also sold fishing tackle. Fishing licenses cost \$2.00 per year, and in 1944, 48 internees each bought one. They often went fishing after supper, and "were allowed to fish downstream unsupervised."

The internees could only have \$10 in cash at a time, and some of them used this money for gambling. If they lost it, they would arrange to get more by claiming that they had spent the money in the canteen.

The men were allowed to leave camp for supervised outings. One of their most important events was the Anniversary Picnic, held in late May 1944. Several group photographs were taken that day; on some of them, numbers are keyed to lists of names (Fig. 14). The Japanese arranged the picnic as a way to show appreciation for the Caucasian construction personnel who supervised their work. The internees planned the activities and prepared the food, which was Japanese cuisine. It included plants, such as fiddlehead ferns, harvested from the local woods. The guests enjoyed themselves very much. Power shovel operator Milt Barton's son related that his father described the meal as "quite a banquet!"

Another outing occurred on the Fourth of July. The internees went [in trucks] up the river several miles from camp and they bought a whole bunch of prizes. Oh, around \$200 worth of stuff, and we took them up there and they had a big feed They had races and all that kind of stuff, amongst themselves.

Some of the men played softball and handball. They had built a big recreation room, where "they wrestled and all kinds of things." They could also "go swimming under supervision, [and] walk within specified camp limits." One official visitor stated that the

men "most often play Japanese games." He also said that there was an athletic field and "the internees can play football there, but, as they are not so very young, they prefer tennis and Ping-Pong." The internees even had a few pets. The main one was a fawn named Mary.

At Christmas the internees received special privileges. For example, postcards were printed in Spanish for the Latin Americans to send, and the canteen stocked items that the men could purchase and mail as presents. At New Years the internees decorated the mess hall, had a special meal, and sent New Years cards to their friends and relatives.

The Kooskia internees were permitted to have visitors. In August 1943 Tad Sato visited his father, Kosaku Sato, for a day . . . "and recall[ed] seeing him work on the road gang alongside a river." Tad also ate in the mess hall, and said that

the food was great. Of course, in my employment as a laborer living in box cars in a track maintenance gang, the food we were fed was just good enough to keep you alive and working.

Other men had visits from family members incarcerated at Idaho's WRA concentration camp, Minidoka, at Hunt, some four hundred miles away.

Outgoing Mail and Censorship

The internees were permitted several types of written communication. They could correspond with family members and friends, either in English or in Japanese, and often wrote to other individuals on official or personal business. A censor examined their outgoing mail, and deleted any forbidden statements. Some of these messages are extremely poignant. For example, Kizaemon Ikken Momii wrote to his son, Rikito Momii (Fig. 15), who was detained at the Topaz concentration camp in Utah:

Once you put on the uniform of the U.S. Army, your body your mind have

nothing more to do with Japan. You belong completely to America. Don't do anything that's ridiculous or cowardish. Bloody war awaits you. Go with strong resolve that you are to give all, to fight well, for the defen[s]e of your country. Up to now, indecision might have made me utter weakly sentiment. No more of that. I send you off as true soldier's father should, telling you to go bravely and to fight wholeheartedly.

Prior to the designation of a censor at Kooskia, the internees' outgoing mail, whether in Japanese or English, was forwarded, unsealed, to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's internment camp at Fort Missoula, Montana, to Paul S. Kashino, official interpreter. Kashino read all the correspondence, censored it where required, and typed up excerpts from the letters. If the original was in Japanese, he translated the excerpt into English. In his typescript, he also underlined anything he had censored from the original.

Paul Kashino

Paul Shoichi Kashino (Fig. 16) was born in Colorado in 1912, and was educated in Japan from 1917 until about 1930. He then joined his parents and four brothers and sisters in Seattle. Following Pearl Harbor, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the INS, knowing of his bilingual education, requested his services as interpreter and censor at Fort Missoula, Montana; the alternative was being drafted to serve in the South Pacific.

Once Fort Missoula closed, on July 1, 1944, he transferred to the Kooskia Internment Camp, and continued as interpreter, translator, and censor. In October 1944 he married Hattie Maniwa in Denver, and their first home together was at Kooskia. They lived in the employees' housing up the road, at Apgar (Fig. 17).

Individual Internees

Detailed accounts of the lives of a few of the internees have become available through interviews, government records, and other documentary sources. Two living former internees, and family members of deceased internees, have provided additional information.

Shohei Arase

At the time World War II erupted, Shohei Arase lived in Seattle with his wife and six children (Fig. 18). Although his youngest child, Betty, was only seven years old at the time, she has a vivid memory of what happened when the FBI picked up her father. They

first call[ed] our house to see if my father was home. When my mother told them that he was at work, they asked where he worked, then went there to pick him up. They brought him home and searched our house before taking him to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. . . . I don't know why he was considered an 'enemy alien' He was a very sociable person and belonged to many Japanese community organizations. Because of this, the FBI may have considered him to be one of the leaders of the Japanese community, even though he was not politically inclined.

Prior to volunteering for Kooskia, Shohei Arase was sent to Fort Missoula and then to several other states. His daughter recalls "receiving letters from Arizona, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas."

Once Arase was at the Kooskia Internment Camp, his son Ted, then age sixteen, visited him there. It was probably about October or November 1943. Ted Arase recalled,

I took a bus, similar to a van that holds ten or so people, from near Hunt, Idaho I think it took me from morning to late afternoon. I remember the camp area was rugged with steep thickly forested slopes with a small creek rushing along the ravine below. The dormitory was a gray, low, one-story building. There were no fences, no guards. I must have stopped at an Administration building but I don't remember any details. My father came and brought me to the dorm, a dark low-ceilinged crowded place, introduced me to some of his friends, and we took a short walk along the gravel road. We didn't talk much, he never did to me, but that was his way and I was used to it. The next morning, everyone went to work but Papa stayed with me until the bus came. And another long ride home. That's all I remember.

Shohei Arase eventually left Kooskia. He finally rejoined his family at the Minidoka concentration camp, in southeastern Idaho.

Kinzo Asaba

Kinzo Asaba (Fig. 19) was a Seattle merchant, whose store was a gathering place for local Japanese, and whose bookstore sold Japanese books. His family included a wife, a son, and two daughters. In 1940 his wife went to Japan to visit their eldest daughter, who was working and studying there. In late November or early December of 1941, the two women

caught the last boat leaving Yokohama for Seattle. . . . Halfway back, they realized something was wrong because the sun was rising and setting in the wrong direction. When the boat docked, they were back in Yokohama

They had to remain in Japan for the duration of the war. Because of his prominence

in Seattle's Japanese community, Kinzo Asaba was picked up in mid-February 1942. A month later he was transferred to Fort Missoula, Montana, and later he was sent to Camp Livingston, Louisiana.

Meanwhile, his younger daughter, Yoshiko, now Yoshi Mamiya, and his son, Wataru (Watson), were removed to the Minidoka concentration camp (Fig. 20). In June 1943 Kinzo Asaba returned to Fort Missoula. He transferred to the Kooskia Internment Camp in March 1944 because he wanted to be closer to his family, and his son and daughter visited him at Kooskia. Yoshi was about 17 at the time, and Watson was about 23. To get there, they took a bus from Minidoka. It stopped somewhere for lunch, but at the lunch counter Yoshi had "the feeling of being not wanted" so she left and went back into the bus. Although Watson is now deceased, his widow said her husband related how "everyone stared at them, and they were so uncomfortable and afraid that they hardly ate on the way to and from the camp." When they reached the end of the bus route, a car took them to the Kooskia Internment Camp.

Today, Yoshi does not have many memories of the visit, because it was such a difficult time for her. She described that visit as "the low point of my life." It was "a very stressful and sad experience as a teenager" because she and her brother "hated to leave Dad." She did recall that they visited him at the camp site, not at work, and does not know what his actual job was. Yoshi commented, it was "hard parting with Dad again," especially when the car took them away and left him there.

In June 1944 Kinzo Asaba was sent to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Three months later he was released from there and paroled to Minidoka where he was reunited with Yoshi and Watson.

Tom Kito

Tom Kito (Fig. 21) was born in Japan in 1899. In 1914, he immigrated to Washington State with his parents, sister, and younger brother, Sam. In 1920, Tom and Sam's family returned to Japan. The sons stayed in the United States, but traveled to Alaska, where they worked for salmon canneries at Cordova, Ketchikan, and Petersburg. In 1924 Tom married Lucy Cooney, a Tlingit Indian, and they had four children.

A week after Pearl Harbor Tom and Sam Kito were picked up. Their loyalty was in question simply because they were born in Japan and their parents had returned there. The Kito brothers and other Japanese from all over Alaska eventually ended up at internment camps in Lordsburg, New Mexico and then Santa Fe. Meanwhile, Lucy, not being Japanese, had to choose whether to remain in Petersburg or to go to an internment camp. Since her youngest child was only six months old, and two others were still in school, she chose Petersburg.

In what was probably a case of mistaken identity, Tom Kito was relocated to Minidoka, where Sam's family members were incarcerated; perversely, Sam was left behind at Lordsburg, where he remained for the duration of the war. Tom's wife Lucy, in Petersburg with their four children, suffered from ill health and had a hard time making ends meet, even though she and the older children all worked. She and three of the children visited Tom at Minidoka. Although she tried to move there to be with him, Minidoka officials did not allow her to do so, partly because she was not Japanese, but mainly because, as they told her, "You had your chance." At Minidoka, Tom volunteered for Kooskia. When the war was over, Tom Kito returned to Petersburg and his family, and went back to cannery work.

Back in Petersburg, Lucy looked after Tom. The two were gratified that the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 awarded an apology and redress payments of \$20,000, tax-free, to surviving Japanese American internees. The checks were sent to the oldest survivors first.

In October 1990 Lucy Kito became ill and was medically evacuated to Seattle. The day his wife left, Tom Kito received his redress check and apology. Although Lucy died in Seattle, she knew that the long-awaited check had arrived. Tom Kito died in Petersburg, Alaska in 1997, age 98.

Toraichi Kono

Although Toraichi Kono's occupation, "motion picture industry," was unusual for Kooskia internees, it gave no hint of his important connections to Hollywood, namely, that his employer for many years was the famous movie comedian, Charlie Chaplin. Various authors have described Toraichi Kono as Chaplin's butler, valet, "general assistant," secretary, "factotum," private secretary, "major domo," "special confidant and emissary," "combined valet-chauffeur-amanuensis," and his "household manager and personal emissary in various crises." Over time, Kono undoubtedly fulfilled all those functions for his employer.

Toraichi Kono (Fig. 22) was born in March 1885 and immigrated to the United States about 1906. In California, a friend advised him to learn to drive a car, as a way to avoid becoming just another Japanese gardener. In late 1916, when Kono was about 28 or 29, Chaplin's then-secretary hired him as chauffeur for the comedian's new, \$4,000, "Locomobile tourer." That car, with Kono playing "the handsome young chauffeur," appeared in Chaplin's film *The Immigrant*, released in June 1917.

Toraichi Kono is not listed in the credits for that film. However, he did appear in two other Chaplin films. The credits for *The Adventurer*, released in October 1917, list him as the chauffeur. He also appeared in *The Circus*, released in January 1928, but is not in the credits. In the early 1920s, Toraichi Kono became the majordomo in Charlie's private life.

In 1924 Chaplin began shooting *The Gold Rush*, and that April the cast and crew

trekked to Truckee, California, to shoot the outdoor scenes on location. Kono went along to look after Chaplin, and was photographed with him between takes. His relationship with Chaplin was so close that Chaplin even named Kono in his will. In 1932 Chaplin met Paulette Goddard. "By 1934 she was living in his home and running it with such a display of domestic efficiency that Kono . . . felt forced to retire . . ." that year.

Little else is known about Kono's personal life following his resignation from Chaplin's service. However, in May 1934 he came to the attention of the FBI for his involvement with Japanese and German espionage agents in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington, DC. In June 1941 FBI agents arrested him and accused him of working with Al Blake and Itaru Tachibana to pass information about the U.S. Navy to the Imperial Japanese Navy. In a signed statement, Kono admitted to meeting with the men but said he soon had a change of heart and "did not want to be in this business and wanted to get out of it." The U.S. government brought espionage charges against Kono but later dropped the allegations and considered deporting him instead. Subsequently, the FBI and the Office of Naval Intelligence learned that the law did not then provide for deportation in his case. The FBI rearrested Kono on December 7, 1941.

At war's end and into 1948 he was in the Santa Fe, New Mexico, Internment Camp, then later at the Crystal City, Texas, Internment Camp, and finally at Seabrook Farms, New Jersey. Despite providing the U.S. Attorney General with a lengthy statement that attested to his innocence in the Blake-Tachibana matter and explained that he did know both men, but only socially, Kono was threatened with deportation to Japan on the grounds of being "dangerous to the public peace and safety of the United States." His Closed Legal Case File contains numerous letters to various authorities, including President Harry Truman, from his two adult children, both citizens and one with an exemplary war record, pleading constantly on his behalf. He was finally released from custody on August 25, 1948.

Toraichi Kono died in March 1971.

Kosaku Sato

Kosaku Sato was born in Japan in 1879, and came to the United States in 1912. He lived in Portland, Oregon from 1912 to mid-1927, where he had a public market stall dealing in fruit and vegetables. In 1918 he married Kimi Kawahara in Portland, and they had two children, a son and a daughter. In mid-1927 he moved to Seattle, and was divorced in 1929. He retained custody of his son, and his wife had custody of their daughter.

In Seattle Sato had a stall in the Pike Place Market for about seven years, and then operated Joe's Second Hand Store, on Main Street (Fig. 23). Following Pearl Harbor, he was apprehended in early March 1942, and sent to Fort Missoula. A transcript of his hearing there indicates that he was originally interned based on charges that he was in the Japanese army from 1899 to 1901; he belonged to an organization of Japanese veterans, and had attended one meeting; he once paid 75¢ dues to the Seattle Japanese Chamber of Commerce; he was a member of the Japanese Salvation Army; and he contributed 50¢ or \$1 to the Japanese Red Cross.

Although most of the Kooskia internees had previously received hearings before the Alien Enemy Control Unit's Hearing Board, wartime hysteria prevented these hearings from being fair and impartial; thus the men remained incarcerated. In November 1943 Kosaku Sato had a rehearing, and the board recommended that he be released. Because he was forbidden to return to Seattle, Sato remained at Kooskia until he could find employment. In March 1944 he was released to the Spokane, Washington area. He first joined a railroad gang, but the work was "too tough" for a man of his age, so he went to Spokane, lived in a "cheap hotel," and cut vegetables in the kitchen of the Davenport Hotel." When the war was over Kosaku Sato returned to Seattle and died there in the

1960s.

Koshio Shimabukuro [Koshio Henry Shima] and Taro Shimabukuro

Two living former Kooskia internees were located during the course of this project. One was a Peruvian Japanese man, Koshio Shimabukuro, now Koshio Henry Shima (Fig. 24). During World War II Peru and some other Latin American countries colluded with the United States to kidnap and expel persons of Japanese ancestry for possible exchange with U.S. citizens who were stranded in Japan when World War II began. In 1942 and 1943, American ships brought them to the United States. Once here, they were "[i]nterned in a number of camps administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service." Twenty-seven Japanese Peruvians are known to have worked at Kooskia. Other Japanese Latin Americans interned at Kooskia included two men from Panama and eleven from Mexico.

Koshio Henry Shima's father, Taro Shimabukuro (Fig. 25), was born in Okinawa, Japan, in January 1897. Following their marriage, he and his wife immigrated to Peru, where they ran a small grocery store in a town near Lima. In Peru, they had three children, including their son, Koshio, born in 1923. The children grew up speaking Spanish.

When World War II began, Koshio was working as a clerk in his father's store. He was arrested because the authorities thought he was born in Japan. Ironically, Koshio, though a Peruvian citizen, was picked up and deported in early 1943, about six months before his father. He was eventually sent to the internment camp at Kenedy, Texas, where his father eventually joined him. *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate*, C. Harvey Gardiner's report on the abduction and imprisonment of the Peruvian Japanese, mentions Koshio Shimabukuro and several other Kooskia internees. Three of the other Japanese Peruvians who worked at Kooskia are shown in one of the photographs taken at the Kooskia Internment Camp's anniversary picnic in May 1944.

Koshio Henry Shima reported that he and his father had the job of helping to clear up the road and remove rocks after the blasting. At only twenty years old, Shima was the youngest Kooskia internee.

Surprisingly, the Shimabukuros only remained at the Kooskia Internment Camp for about three weeks. They learned that Koshio's sister Teruko had arrived in the United States from Peru. Shima said they had not known she was coming to the United States also, or they would not have gone to Kooskia for such a short time. Neither Koshio Shima nor his father returned to Peru to live. The Peruvian government never paid Taro Shimabukuro for his store, so his son lost his potential inheritance. Koshio Shima worked at Seabrook Farms in New Jersey, but eventually became a gardener and now lives in southern California.

Isao Yano [James I. Yano]

Born in Japan in 1905, Isao Yano (Fig. 26), later James I. Yano, arrived in the United States in 1919. He graduated from the University of Southern California in 1932 with a degree in Psychology and Sociology.

Yano wrote,

I was picked up on [December 8, 19]41 in my apartment by a[n] FBI agent and brought into [the] Houston city jail. . . . The agent knew who I was, and where I worked: i[n] the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Japanese government. He gave me enough time to dress up, but not enough time to pack up my personal belongings.

Yano was eventually transferred to the internment camp at Santa Fe, New Mexico. From there, he and 103 others volunteered for Kooskia. Because of his education and his

command of the English language, the other internees selected him as their first spokesman in their dealings with the camp administration. In March 1944 Yano left the Kooskia Internment Camp on a voluntary transfer to the Topaz, Utah, WRA concentration camp, where he joined his brother's family. He died on November 5, 2001, age 96.

Closure of the Kooskia Internment Camp

The Kooskia Internment Camp closed in early May 1945. The internees were removed to an undisclosed "state in the south," and the employees dispersed to other jobs. Although Congressman Compton I. White requested that the buildings be left intact for possible future use, they were later removed or demolished, and the camp was then largely forgotten.

Conclusions

The Kooskia Internment Camp was a successful experiment in utilizing Japanese alien internees as volunteers for building a portion of the Lewis-Clark Highway between Idaho and Montana. Besides helping a much-needed road progress towards completion, the project enabled those incarcerated to again become productive members of society. Although the work was tiring, difficult, and sometimes even dangerous, the men appreciated the opportunity to receive fair wages in exchange for performing useful work. Once their early grievances were resolved, they became exemplary workers, earning praise and respect from their Caucasian supervisors and from INS personnel. Doing the road work allowed them to regain much of the self-respect that many of them must have lost through the humiliation of having been so unjustly interned. At 92, former internee spokesman James Yano commented, "We worked hard because we enjoyed the job we

were doing, and I'm very happy to say I was one of them."

Epilogue

At war's end the internees resumed their interrupted lives or began anew. In 1980 Congress created the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians to investigate whether internment and incarceration were "justified by military necessity," as the U.S. government had claimed. In 1983 the Commission concluded, instead, that the underlying causes were "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership."

President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 on August 10. That document awarded an apology and redress payments of \$20,000 to surviving Japanese American internees. Unfortunately and unfairly, most of the kidnapped Japanese Latin Americans were not included, because they were not "permanent [U.S.] residents or citizens at the time of their internment."

In May 1999 President Bill Clinton signed an emergency appropriations bill that included funds to pay \$5,000 apiece to some five hundred Japanese Latin Americans. Some, such as Koshio Henry Shima, refused this compensation, rightly feeling that it was unfair compared with the \$20,000 awarded previously. He and others await court settlement of their claims for equitable redress.

Future Research

Today, there is little to be seen at the former Kooskia Internment Camp. Although Canyon Creek still gushes into the Lochsa River, almost nothing else remains to remind one of what was once there. Plans for future work on the camp include an interpretive sign, a book-length manuscript, a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, and

presentations of a slide lecture to the general public. Any or all of these will further ensure that the Kooskia Internment Camp, its internees and employees, and their contributions to American history are not forgotten.

Acknowledgments

I gratefully acknowledge the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, the Idaho Humanities Council, and the California Civil Liberties Public Education Program for supporting my research on the Kooskia Internment Camp. Special thanks to two former Kooskia internees, Koshio Henry Shima and the late James Yano, and two former Kooskia employees, Cecil Boller and the late Amelia Jacks, who graciously allowed me to interview them. Thanks also to the families of several deceased former internees and employees, and to Terry Abraham, William R. Ellis, Louis Fiset, and Marian Smith, who helped me obtain documents from the National Archives. Doug Carr, Jeff Fee, and Linnea Keating facilitated access to U.S. Forest Service files. Thanks also to Philip Chung for providing references to Toraichi Kono's suspected espionage activities, and to *Idaho Yesterdays* editor Laura Woodworth-Ney and two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

Endnotes

Note: Newspaper citations in the following form: *Clearwater Tribune*, 31(12):1, May 27, 1943, mean that the passage or article cited or quoted appeared in the May 27, 1943 issue, volume 31, number 12, page 1.

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Besides Minidoka, the others were Gila River and Poston, in Arizona; Jerome and Rohwer, in Arkansas; Manzanar and Tule Lake, in California; Amache (Granada), in

Colorado; Topaz, in Utah; and Heart Mountain, in Wyoming. See, for example, Frank Iritani and Joanne Iritani, *Ten Visits* (San Mateo, CA: Japanese American Curriculum Project, 1994) and Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: William Morrow, 1976). Previously, references to the WRA camps used euphemisms to describe them, such as calling them "relocation" camps for "evacuees." These terms disguise their true nature; they were actually concentration camps whose inmates were there by force; barbed wire, and guard towers with guns pointing inward, prevented them from leaving. Although conditions were not nearly as harsh as in the Nazi death camps, the WRA camps were concentration camps nonetheless. Internment camps, on the other hand, held only aliens, people who were citizens of nations with whom we were at war. For a discussion of these concepts, see James Hirabayashi, "'Concentration Camp' or 'Relocation Center:' What's in a Name?," *Japanese American National Museum Quarterly* 9:3 (Autumn 1994), 5-10.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, foreword by Tetsuden Kashima (Washington, DC: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund and Seattle: University of Washington Press, reprint, 1997), 54; John J. Culley, "The Santa Fe Internment Camp and the Justice Department Program for Enemy Aliens," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, ed. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986; reprint, Seattle, University of Washington, 1991), 58. The wording read, "alien enemies deemed dangerous to the public health or safety of the United States by the Attorney General or Secretary of War"; their property could also be confiscated, Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied*, 54.

Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne, 1991), 123. Culley, "Santa Fe Internment Camp," 58, observing that the FBI arrested 1,212 Japanese in the first 24 hours; the INS arranged for their detention. Tetsuden Kashima, "American

Mistreatment of Internees during World War II: Enemy Alien Japanese," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, ed. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), 52-53 found that in August 1945, at the end of World War II, "there were 5,264 Japanese in actual custody (3,116 male adults, 589 female adults, and 1,559 children), with 153 Japanese diplomats and 1,573 other Japanese having been repatriated and five having been returned to South America - a total of 6,995 people." Culley, "Santa Fe Internment Camp," 58 provides details on administration of the alien apprehension and internment program. Although aliens did receive hearings, they were not allowed to have an attorney and could not contradict "evidence" against them. Following the hearing, a detainee would be released, paroled, or "interned in army custody." In early 1943 the army transferred custody of civilian internees to the INS, Culley, "Santa Fe Internment Camp," 59.

Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 252-256.

Ibid., 252-256.

Lewiston Morning Tribune, May 28, 1943, p. 14; the onlookers also included "one Chinese."

Ibid.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied*, 54; Culley, "Santa Fe Internment Camp," 58.

Kooskia, pronounced KOOS-key, "is a contraction of the Nez Perce word 'kooskooskia' that appears in the journals of . . . Lewis and Clark. The explorers applied the name to the Clearwater River, apparently as a result of an interpretive misunderstanding. The Indians were attempting to explain that two large rivers flowed through their country - 'kooskooske' [meaning] 'this the little one' [i.e., the Clearwater River], and the other, larger, Snake River," Cort Conley, *Idaho for the Curious* (Cambridge, ID: Backeddy Books, 1982), 127.

Another source states, "Lewis and Clark had to work through interpreters, who first translated from Nez Perce into Shoshonean, then into French, and finally into English

The truth is that the Nez Perce did not name streams in the manner now known.

Nevertheless, what was believed to be a true Indian word with a definite meaning remains as Kooskia, 'where the waters join,'" Lalia Boone, *Idaho Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1988), 212. The town of Kooskia, today a community of some seven hundred persons at the confluence of the Middle Fork and the South Fork of the Clearwater River, is about thirty miles west of the former Kooskia Internment Camp. Although the Camp is actually east of the hamlet of Lowell, it was named after the larger community, probably because Kooskia, on the railroad, was the closest town.

Sakaye [Ed] Yoshimura, Kooskia Camp, to Mr. & Mrs. D. S. Yoshimura, Poston WRA, Poston, Arizona, June 1, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

Clearwater Tribune, 31(40):6, December 9, 1943; *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, May 28, 1943, p. 14; Neal Parsell, *Major Fenn's Country: A History of the Lower Lochsa, the Lower Selway, the Upper Middle Fork of the Clearwater, and Surrounding Lands* (Kooskia, ID: Upper Clearwater-Lochsa-Selway Chamber of Commerce [1986]), 40. At least two of the buildings at the mouth of Canyon Creek were constructed in 1933 as part of Camp No. 38, which housed some two hundred Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) men who worked on the "Lolo Trail motorway," *Kooskia Mountaineer*, 32(11):1, May 4, 1933; 32(18):1, June 22, 1933. The remainder of the buildings were built in 1935 prior to the opening of the prison camp, *Kooskia Mountaineer*, 34(27):1, August 22, 1935. The prisoners began road construction in May 1936 following the arrival of heavy equipment, *Kooskia Mountaineer*, 35(15):1, May 28, 1936. Kooskia Internment Camp is the name most commonly used on official documents obtained from the National Archives in Washington, DC. Other sources have called it the Canyon Creek Internment Camp, "Work Roster-Daily Time Report," Canyon Creek Internment Camp, May (Clearwater National

Forest Supervisor's Office, Orofino, ID, 1944) or the Canyon Creek Prison Site, H[oward] Watts and Fred Kuester, "Cultural Site Record [for] 10-IH-870" (Clearwater National Forest, Orofino, ID, 1979). The federal prison camp, here called the Canyon Creek Prison Camp, has also been known as the Lochsa Federal Prison Camp, M. Alfreda Elsensohn, *Pioneer Days in Idaho County*, Vol. 2 (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1951), 55, quoting *Idaho County Free Press*, June 3, 1943.

Clearwater Tribune, 31(12):1, May 27, 1943; "D. A. Remer, camp superintendent, . . . was superintendent of the federal camp and will remain in the same capacity for the immigration service of the department of justice, under whose jurisdiction the internee camp will operate."

Some information on the Kooskia Internment Camp is available in local newspapers between late April 1943 and early May 1945. Skimming the weekly *Clearwater Tribune* provided brief mentions of the arrival, in 1943, and departure, in 1945, of the Japanese from the Kooskia Internment Camp. Those accounts led to longer articles on the same topics in the daily *Lewiston Morning Tribune*.

Culley, "Santa Fe Internment Camp," 59.

Loyd H. Jensen, Acting Officer in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Santa Fe, to W. F. Kelly, Assistant Commissioner for Alien Control, Philadelphia, May 4, 1943; File No. 1300; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. A two-page attached list contains the names, internee serial numbers, ages, and occupations of the one hundred men. Four more names were on a second list, Loyd H. Jensen, Acting Officer in Charge, U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico to Central Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Philadelphia, May 5, 1943; File No. 1300; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building,

Washington, DC. Fourteen of the men on the first list and one on the second list did not actually leave for Kooskia; others willing to go replaced them.

Yoshi Asaba Mamiya, telephone conversation with author, December 13, 1997.

Betty Arase Okamura, letter to author, May 29, 1998.

Mamiya, telephone conversation.

James I. Yano, letter to author, February 11, 1998 and answers to questions dated January 18, 1998, p. 1.

Ibid.

Loyd Wright, Chairman, and Gardiner Turrill, Department of Justice, Alien Enemy Special Hearing Board In the Matter of the Detention of Kosaku Sato, November 13, 1943; photocopy provided by Tad Sato.

Koshio Henry Shima, telephone conversation with author, April 13, 1998.

Lewiston Morning Tribune, May 28, 1943, p. 14.

The United States then had many permanent residents who had been born in Asia and who had lived in the U.S. for many years. Until 1952, anti-Asian U.S. laws prohibited Japanese immigrants from becoming citizens. Immigrants born in China achieved naturalization in 1943.

Tish Erb, "Jap Internees Work Hard, Well," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, September 26, 1943, sect. 2, p. 1.

The lone Idaho internee at Kooskia was Ippachi (Paul) Saito, a photographer from Idaho Falls.

A few of the internee name lists give the men's home states, but most do not, so several other states are undoubtedly represented. In some cases, the state or country of origin has been interpolated from the location of a man's next of kin. Although a newspaper article said that at least one internee had family in Maine, Erb, "Internees Work Hard," p. 1, that state did not appear on any of the official lists. Former Kooskia Internment Camp guard Alfred Keehr remembered that "some" of the internees were from Miami, Florida, Alfred Keehr and Dorothy Keehr, interview by Ramona Alam Parry, July 12, 1979, transcript,

Clearwater National Forest Supervisor's Office, Orofino, ID, 16. One internee, Teiji Nakamura, was in fact from that place.

E.g., "Visit to Japanese Internees, Detainees or Evacuees, Kooskia Internment Camp, Kooskia, Idaho, 3-1-45," attached to W. R. Beecher, Acting Officer in Charge, Kooskia Internment Camp, to W. F. Kelly, Assistant Commissioner for Alien Control, Philadelphia; 8 March 1945; Inspection Reports Re Visits to Detention Facilities, 7/44 - 3/45, Kooskia, ID, File No. 56125/157, Box 2436; INS Records Related to the Detention and Internment of Enemy Aliens during World War II, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives, Washington, DC. This document states that the camp had held a total of 256 men, whereas information gathered from a variety of other sources names 265 men who were at Kooskia. Not all the men stayed the entire two years. Following a rehearing, some were released to other jobs or to join family in the WRA camps or in the INS family camp at Crystal City, Texas.

"134 Aliens at Kooskia" [name list], June 30, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (1) [Box 4]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

Hisashi Imamura, Kooskia Camp, to Miss Kiyoko Yagi, Manzanar [WRA camp], California, May 28, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino excerpted and translated the original letter, in Japanese.

Yoshito Kadotani, Kooskia Camp, to Mr. Sanzo Aso, Santa Fe Detention Camp, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 28, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record

Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino excerpted and translated the original letter, in Japanese.

Yoshimura to Yoshimura.

Hisahiko Teraoka, Kooskia Camp, to Mr. Tsueemon Tsuji, Santa Fe Detention Station, Santa Fe, New Mexico, June 2, 1945; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

Ibid.

Kuromitsu Banba, Kooskia Camp, to Mr. Suteematsu Endo, Santa Fe Detention Camp, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 28, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino excerpted and translated the original letter, in Japanese.

Yoshio [Charles] Yoshikawa, Kooskia Camp, to Mr. H. Takiguchi, Santa Fe Detention Camp, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 28, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino copied the original letter.

Kadotani to Aso.

Yoshimura to Yoshimura.

T. Mitsu Shiotani, Kooskia Camp, to Mrs. J. Frank Conwell, Lincolndale, New York, June 19, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino excerpted the

original letter.

Frank V. Brown, Medical Officer in Charge, Fort Missoula, Montana, to William J. Keenan, Technical Asst., U.S.P.H.S., Kooskia Internment Camp, June 25, 1943; File No. 1000/F, Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945; Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Alien Enemy Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives, Washington, DC.

Ibid.

Yoshito T. Kadotani, Kooskia Camp, to Miss M. Kadotani, Poston [WRA camp], Arizona, July 1, 1943; Record Group 85. 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino excerpted, translated, and censored the original letter, in Japanese.

Torajiro Imahashi, Kooskia, to Mr. Tosuke Sukegawa, Santa Fe Detention Station, Santa Fe, New Mexico, July 7, 1943; 1000/Kooskia [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Copied by Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino.

[Kooskia internees] to Mr. F. [sic] H. Fraser, Officer in Charge, Alien Detention Station, Fort Missoula, [Montana], July 7, 1943; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Briefly translated by Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino.

Ibid.

[Report of] Charles C. Eberhardt [on visit by Eberhardt and Captain Antonio Martin to] Kooskia Internment Camp, Kooskia, Idaho, [stamped] "From the Special War Problems Division Department of State" to: Justice - Mr. Kelly, 9/8/44; Inspection Reports Re Visits

to Detention Facilities, 7/44 - 3/45, Kooskia, ID, File No. 56125/157, Box 2436; INS Records Related to the Detention and Internment of Enemy Aliens during World War II, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives, Washington, DC.

Erb, "Internees Work Hard," 1.

Ibid.

James I. Yano, letter to author, October 4, 1997, p. 2.

Milton (Mickey) Barton, letter to author, March 30, 1998, p. 3.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., 4.

Erb, "Internees Work Hard," 1.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ted Arase, letter to Yuki Kanegaye, May 8; 1998; photocopy provided by Betty Arase Okamura.

Amelia Jacks, e-mail message to author via Ken Jacks, November 25, 1997.

Mike Misner, son of the late Bill Misner, graciously donated these three items to the University of Idaho's Asian American Comparative Collection.

Kadotani to Aso.

Amelia Jacks and Edwin Jacks, interview by Dennis Griffith, March 25, 1982, transcript, Kooskia Ranger District, Kooskia, ID, [8].

Ibid.

Keehr and Keehr, interview, 10-11.

Department of State Central Translating Division, [Translation], Kooskia, Idaho Visited by Mr. Paul Schnyder, July 11 and 12, 1944, Inspection Reports Re Visits to Detention Facilities, 7/44 - 3/45, Kooskia, ID, File No. 56125/157, Box 2436; INS Records Related to the Detention and Internment of Enemy Aliens during World War II, Records of the

Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives, Washington, DC.

Keehr and Keehr, interview, 6.

Jacks and Jacks, interview, [8].

Keehr and Keehr, interview, 11.

At least three photographs were taken, showing various groups of internees posing with camp officials. Lists of names accompany three photographs housed at the Clearwater National Forest Supervisor's Office in Orofino, Idaho.

Milton (Mickey) Barton, letter to author, March 30, 1998, p. 1.

Milton (Mickey) Barton, telephone conversation with author, undated (1997?).

Keehr and Keehr, interview, 8.

Kadotani to Aso.

Keehr and Keehr, interview, 4.

Erb, "Internees Work Hard," 1.

Department of State Central Translating Division, [Translation], Kooskia, Idaho Visited by Mr. Paul Schnyder, July 11 and 12, 1944, Inspection Reports Re Visits to Detention Facilities, 7/44 - 3/45, Kooskia, ID, File No. 56125/157, Box 2436; INS Records Related to the Detention and Internment of Enemy Aliens during World War II, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives, Washington, DC.

Erb, "Internees Work Hard," 1.

Since James I. Yano, letter to author, answers to questions dated October 21, 1997, does not recall any visits to Kooskia by family members of his fellow internees, one can safely assume that such visits were infrequent, and of short duration.

Tad Sato, letter to author, November 13, 1997.

Tad Sato, letter to author, December 15, 1997.

For a detailed discussion of mail censorship history and process see Louis Fiset, "Return to Sender: U.S. Censorship of Enemy Alien Mail in World War II," *Prologue* 33:1 (Spring

2001), 21-35.

Kizaemon Momii, Kooskia Camp, to Mr. Rekito [*sic*] Momii, Topaz, Utah, June 27, 1943; 1000/Kooskia (2) [Box 4, second white folder]; Entry 291, General Files, 1942-1945, Fort Missoula, MT; Records of Enemy Alien Internment Facilities, World War II; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. Official Interpreter Paul S. Kashino excerpted the original letter, in Japanese. Takeshi Momii, Kizaemon Momii's son, provided some background to his father's concern: "Shortly after my brother Rick volunteered for the [U.S.] Army, Father was quite disturbed, so I went [from Salt Lake City] to visit Father at Ft. Missoula, Montana where he was [then] interned. I stayed at the Florence Hotel in Missoula . . . for 1 or 2 nights The day after getting to Missoula, I was provided transportation to visit Father. There I saw Japanese, Germans and Italian prisoners of war. They were wearing POW [prisoner of war] clothing. Father was in healthy condition. I met some of Father's friends from Hawaii who were also interned there," Takeshi Momii, letter to author, April 30, 1998. Rikito Momii did not join the U.S. Army after all. His draft board classified him as an "enemy alien," Rikito Momii, letter to author, answers to questions dated April 30, 1998.

Virginia Kashino Tomita, letter to author, March 25, 1998. Paul Kashino was a Kibei, meaning a Japanese American who was born in the United States and educated in Japan, and who then returned to the United States.

Carol Bulger Van Valkenburg, *An Alien Place: The Fort Missoula, Montana, Detention Camp 1941-1944* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories, 1995), 85.

Tomita to author. Hattie Maniwa had previously worked with Paul Kashino at Fort Missoula.

Jacks and Jacks, interview, [8]. Amelia Jacks remembered a dozen cabins, Bill London, "A Different Kind of Christmas," *Central Idaho Magazine* 1:3 (Winter 1988), 9, while Alfred Keehr recalled 13, Keehr and Keehr, interview, 3.

Okamura to author.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ted Arase, letter to Yuki Kanegaye, May 8, 1998; photocopy provided by Betty Arase Okamura.

Pauline Asaba, letter to author, January 18, 1998.

Asaba to author; Yoshi Asaba Mamiya, telephone conversation with author, December 13, 1997. Mrs. Mamiya's mother and sister returned to the United States in 1947.

Mamiya, telephone conversation, and letter to author with answers to questions dated December 18, 1997.

Mamiya, telephone conversation.

Asaba to author.

Mamiya, telephone conversation, and letter to author with answers to questions dated December 18, 1997.

Mamiya, telephone conversation.

Marilyn George and Pamela Cravez. "Forced from Their Homes . . . Petersburg's Kitos Remember Prison Camps," *Senior Voice* [Alaska], (February 1990), 9.

Marilyn George, telephone conversation with author, October 15, 1997.

Marilyn George, "Petersburg's Oldest Citizen Looks Back on a Happy Life," *Alaskan Southeaster* (1996?), 11.

Social Security Death Index, <http://ssdi.genealogy.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/ssdi.cgi>, accessed June 21, 2004.

Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Civilian Alien Enemies In Custody - February 29, 1944; Entry 271, Miscellaneous Records 1942-1945, Box 2; Records of Alien Enemy Internment Facilities, World War II; General Records; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85; National Archives, Washington, DC.

John McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin* (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 162.

David Robinson, *Chaplin: His Life and Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985), 769.

Ibid.

Charles Chaplin, *My Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), 371.

Kenneth S. Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin and His Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 297.

Robinson, *Chaplin*, 464.

Ibid.

Ibid., 188.

McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin*, 179-180.

Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 182.

Social Security Death Index, <http://ssdi.genealogy.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/ssdi.cgi>, accessed June 8, 2004.

Robinson, *Chaplin*, 719; this source states that Toraichi Kono was born in 1888.

Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 182.

Roger Manvell, *Chaplin* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 149; Robinson, *Chaplin*, 188.

Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 181; Manvell, *Chaplin*, 149; Robinson, *Chaplin*, 188.

Robinson, *Chaplin*, 204.

Ibid., 719.

Ibid., 720.

Ibid., 732.

Manvell, *Chaplin*, 149.

Robinson, *Chaplin*, between 424 and 425. The photograph is captioned, "Between takes on location. Charlie Chaplin as a chicken, with Mack Swain and Kono Toraichi."

Gerith von Ulm, *Charlie Chaplin: King of Tragedy* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1940), 375.

Manvell, *Chaplin*, 188. "[Chaplin] liked the perfectionism of the Japanese, to whom . . . he left the running of the house. When Kono left, he was succeeded by Frank, another Japanese, as head servant," 186. "Frank" was Frank Yonamori, Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 384, who was described as Chaplin's valet in 1936, Robinson, *Chaplin*, 479. One biographer states that Kono "resigned from Chaplin's employ, out of resentment of

Paulette's usurpation of his household authority," Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 384.

Unfortunately, Kono's resignation meant that Chaplin removed him from his will when he wrote a new one in 1936, von Ulm, *Charlie Chaplin*, 375; however, Chaplin, who died in 1977, outlived Kono by some six years.

Alan Hynd, *Betrayal from the East: The Inside Story of Japanese Spies in America* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1943), 29, 33; Ronald Seth, *Secret Servants: A History of Japanese Espionage* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), 209-210. Seth seems to have relied heavily on Hynd even to the misspelling of Kono's first name as "Torzichi."

J. F. Mahan, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles, California, ["Report on Torachi (*sic*) Kono"], January 27, 1942; Closed Legal Case File, Toraichi Kono, 146-13-2-12-1011; Stack 230/25/06/06, Box 124; General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Ibid.

"Basic Personnel Record (Alien Enemy or Prisoner of War)," Toraichi Kono, Entry 466F, Records Relating to Japanese Civilian Internees during World War II, 1942-1946; Office of the Provost Marshal General, Record Group 389, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Kona [*sic*] Toraichi, Barrack 9, Internment Camp, Santa Fe, New Mexico, To the Honorable Hearing Board [envelope addressed to Honorable Thomas C. Clark, Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington 25, D.C.], December 6, 1945; Closed Legal Case File, Toraichi Kono, 146-13-2-12-1011; Stack 230/25/06/06, Box 124; General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Tom C. Clark, Attorney General, "In the Matter of Toraichi Kono Alien Enemy," March 9, 1946; Closed Legal Case File, Toraichi Kono, 146-13-2-12-1011; Stack 230/25/06/06, Box 124; General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Tom C. Clark, Attorney General, "In the Matter of Toraichi Kono Alien Enemy," August

25, 1948; Closed Legal Case File, Toraichi Kono, 146-13-2-12-1011; Stack 230/25/06/06, Box 124; General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Social Security Death Index, <http://ssdi.genealogy.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/ssdi.cgi>, accessed June 8, 2004.

Lemuel B. Schofield, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Memorandum for Alien Enemy Information Bureau, March 21, 1942, and "U.S. Department of Justice Alien Enemy Questionnaire for Sato, Kosaku, and Department of Justice Alien Enemy Hearing Board No. One, Western District of Washington, In re The Detention of Kosaku Sato"; photocopy provided by Tad Sato.

Japanese Enemy Alien Card; photocopy provided by Tad Sato.

Ibid.

Tad Sato, telephone conversation with author, November 18, 1997. Kosaku Sato's name does not appear in the Social Security Death Index, <http://ssdi.genealogy.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/ssdi.cgi>.

Historian C. Harvey Gardiner, *The Japanese and Peru 1873-1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), 87 has established that Peru deported 1,771 Japanese, or "more than 83 percent of the total of 2118 [Latin American] deportees" of Japanese descent. Although Mexico and Brazil did not expel their Japanese, other countries that did included "Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic." Elsewhere, in an apparent contradiction, Gardiner states that Honduras did not actually expel any Japanese, 88.

Gardiner, *Japanese and Peru*, 87.

Ibid., 88.

The camp also had two German internee doctors at different times.

C. Harvey Gardiner, *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 97.

Shima, telephone conversation.

Seabrook Farms, in New Jersey, was a "[l]arge-scale farming operation that recruited many Japanese American workers from American concentration camps during World War II. Later, Seabrook Farms . . . attracted thousands of Japanese Americans resettling . . . from the camps that held them during the war. These Japanese American workers helped Seabrook Farms to become one of the major frozen food producers in the country . . . ," Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present* (New York: Facts on File, 1993), 307.

James I. Yano, letter to author, answers to questions dated February 23, 1998 and March 18, 1998, p. 1; Chiyoko Yano, letter to author, September 16, 1997; James I. Yano, letter to author, October 4, 1997.

James I. Yano, letter to author, October 4, 1997, and answers to questions dated December 11, p. 2.

Social Security Death Index, <http://ssdi.genealogy.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/ssdi.cgi>, accessed June 8, 2004.

Lewiston Morning Tribune, May 1, 1945, p. 10; May 3, 1945, p. 12. The Kooskia Internment Camp was originally scheduled to close by late April. A March 1945 letter to guard Edwin Jacks notified him that it would close on April 30 and that his "services [would] be terminated as of that date," Trent Doser, Acting District Director, Spokane, to Edwin L. Jacks, Guard, Kooskia Internment Camp, March 27, 1945; photocopy provided by Amelia Jacks.

Lewiston Morning Tribune, May 1, 1945, p. 10.

Ibid.

James I. Yano, letter to author, answers to questions dated October 29, 1997.

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied*, 459.

Frank and Joanne Iritani, *Ten Visits* (San Mateo, CA: Japanese American Curriculum Project, 1994), 64.

Leah Brumer, "Stealing Home," *East Bay Monthly*, 29 (November 1998), 45.

For example, the Minidoka concentration camp, near Hunt, Idaho, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on July 10, 1979 as the "Minidoka Relocation Center." It is now the "Minidoka Internment National Monument."