

Interpreting Asian Heritage at Historic Sites

Interpretive programs that focus on Asian heritage present the many images of the Asian experience in the United States. While the western United States provides the most likely places for interpretative opportunities, places like Massachusetts are areas of interest because of recent immigration patterns.

Historic sites of difficult histories and the struggle for social justice provide opportunities to include Asian ethnic heritage as part of the interpretation. Newer Asian communities, such as the Vietnamese, Thai, Hmong, and Cambodian, are imprinting their cultures on communities and places. Many are using historic sites as cultural resources and are presenting interpretation opportunities for historic preservation managers. By addressing these recent issues within the interpretative framework of existing historic sites, Asian American heritage gains visibility and connects Asian Americans to the larger American story.

Lowell Historic Preservation District

Lowell, Massachusetts

The town of Lowell, Massachusetts, is associated with the Industrial Revolution in the United States. The spinning mills and mill buildings embody the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the country during the 1800s. By housing all of the facets of cloth production under one roof, from recruitment to production, the Waltham-Lowell system revolutionized textile manufacturing. Lowell was not only a textile giant, but it also produced tools for the textile mills, housed textile manufacturing shops, and built steam locomotives for the emerging New England rail system.

Lowell, and its surrounding neighborhoods, has been home to many different ethnic communities—Irish, French-Canadians, Portuguese, Poles, Russian Jews, Greeks, and more recently Latinos. In addition to these groups is an emerging Cambodian American community. After the passage of the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, Cambodian refugees immigrated to the Boston area and to Lowell.¹ As of the 2000



■ The Angkor Dance Troupe serves as a keeper of Cambodian culture for Khmer youth growing up in the United States. They learn traditional dances and wear traditional clothes, as the younger members of the troupe did at the Lowell Folk Festival in July 2001.

Courtesy of Kevin Harkins

census, the Cambodian American community accounted for over 17,000 people, or 20 percent of the population of Lowell. The community is concentrated around two areas known respectively as the Acre and the Highlands, both of which fall within the Lowell Historic District.

The Cambodian community has become an active part of the community-at-large, with the development of several civic institutions and participation in the annual Lowell Folk Festival.² In addition, the annual Southeast Asian Water Festival offers Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Laotian residents an opportunity to celebrate water as the source of life, with dragon boat races on the Merrimack River.³ Lowell National Historic Park employees have taken a particular interest in the community, becoming involved with Cambodian American organizations, creating programs for the community at the park, and even visiting Cambodia to develop a better understanding of that culture. Cambodian Americans strive to keep their cultural heritage alive through the Angkor Dance Troupe housed in the Patrick J. Mogan Cultural Center at Lowell National Park. The troupe teaches folk and classical dance to local youth and enhances the appreciation of their heritage. Thus, the historic district incorporates Cambodian culture into its multicultural heritage.

■ One of the feature events of the Southeast Asian Water Festival in Lowell, MA, is the dragon boat race. Cambodian American youth restored a boat in preparation for the 2002 festival.

Courtesy of Joshua Reynolds



Chinese Sites in the Warren Mining District

Warren, Idaho

The desire for gold led many people to the American West and to Idaho. Chinese immigrants came by the thousands, hoping to become rich through mining. Sources indicate that Chinese made up the largest ethnic group in the state during Idaho's early settlement period.⁴ The early mines were placer mines—loose mineral deposits near the surface found through panning in water. Some fortunes were made, but by the time the Warren miners voted to allow the Chinese to have mining rights in 1869, most of the easily obtained gold was gone. Despite this difficulty, a sizable Chinese community developed in Warren between 1870 and the 1890s. These laborers sought to maintain their traditional diet and lifeways as much as possible while in America. In addition to mining, they cultivated terraced gardens and opened shops that catered to the tastes of the community and provided services for the bachelor society in Warren.

Several National Register properties on China Mountain associated with Chinese heritage in the United States make up the Chinese Sites in the Warren Mining District Multiple Property Submission (MPS). These interrelated sites, Ah Toy Garden, Celadon Slope Garden, and Chi-Sandra Garden; Old China Trail; the Chinese Cemetery; and the Chinese Mining Camp Archeological Site, located in the Payette National Forest, tell the story of the Chinese experience in the West within the larger historic context of American westward expansion.

Because of the isolated nature of the region, much of the area has remained largely undisturbed. Foliage and grass coverage preserved the terraces and protected the archeological sites. This environment provided the U. S. Forest Service an opportunity to conduct surveys of the resources and offer interpretation programs for this unique group of resources. According to Lawrence Kingsbury, heritage program manager, the Payette National Forest used the multiple property nomination and interpretive materials to highlight the historic resources, as well as to gain a measure of protection for them. Kingsbury noted that “[t]he 19th-century gold rush resources were threatened.... In order to create a preservation awareness [sic], we invited university interests to investigate the Chinese sites. We created interpretive signage and historic monographs to educate the public. We provided tours.... After each archeological excavation, we produced reports (gray literature) for the interested archeological community.”⁵

The Payette National Forest developed a self-guided interpretive tour for visitors, using a brochure and signs on the Old China Trail and at the gardens. The China Mountain Interpretive Site highlights the development of the gardens and their connection with the Chinese and the larger mining community. Signage highlights the Chinese settlers' use of terracing in garden design, an agricultural practice common in Guangdong province.⁶ Additional interpretive signage at the Chinese Cemetery addresses burial practices. Site interpretation is provided in monographs and an artifact exhibit area available at the Warren Guard Station.⁷ The Payette Heritage Program is working with the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle, Washington, to increase the biographical information on the individuals who resided in the Warren area.

The discovery of gold was a major impetus to developing the American West. Towns literally materialized overnight to support the mining communities. The legacy of the Gold Rush is evident in Warren and other places in Idaho, Nevada, and California. Mining structures and material culture associated with mining contribute to the heritage of the western states. The interpretive program at Warren Mining District presents a view of this historic period through the prism of the Chinese experience.

Haraguchi Rice Mill

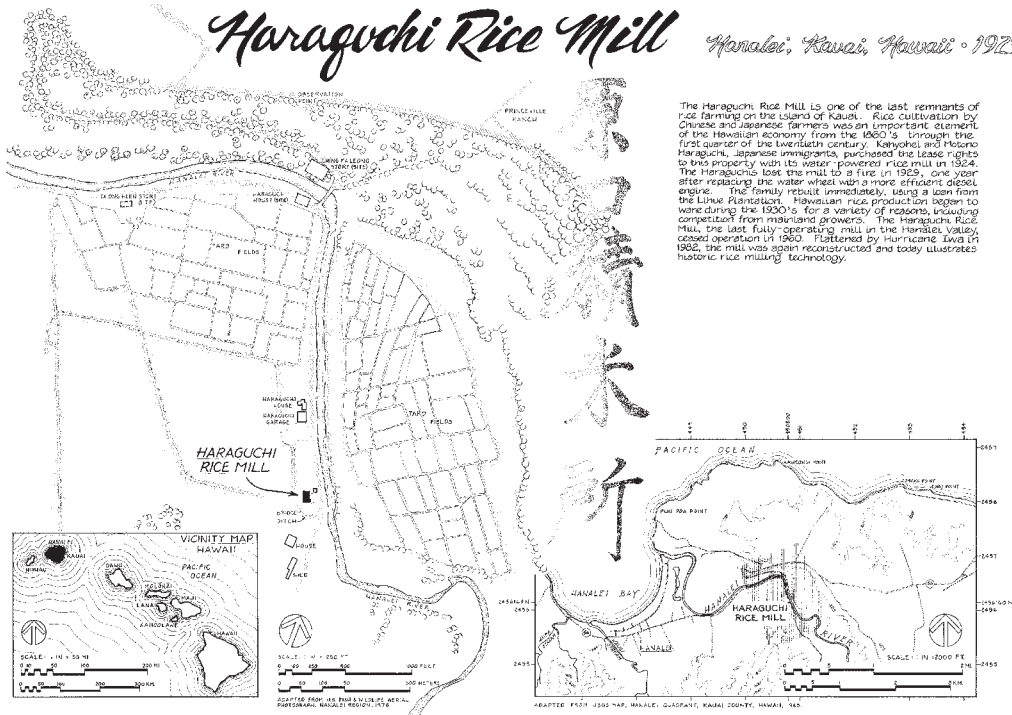
Hanalei, Hawaii

Located on the island of Kauai, Hanalei Valley was the major center of rice production in Hawaii. At its height, Hawaii was the third leading rice producer in the United States, behind Louisiana and South Carolina.⁸ Rice was initially cultivated and produced by Chinese laborers, who started their own farms at the end of their contracts with the various agricultural plantations. Chinese workers made up the bulk of the plantation work force, but as their numbers declined because of the United States annexation of Hawaii and the Exclusion Act of 1882, Japanese laborers replaced them. Like their predecessors, Japanese laborers eventually left the plantations and bought farms, frequently from the exiting Chinese farmers.

Located within the Hanalei National Wildlife Reserve and administered by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, the Haraguchi Rice Mill and farm were purchased by the Haraguchi family from a Chinese farmer named Man Sing in 1924. The diesel-powered mill was constructed in 1929, on the site of an older, water-powered wooden mill built by Chinese farmers in the 1880s.

Haraguchi Rice Mill

Hanalei, Kauai, Hawaii - 1929



The Haraguchi Rice Mill is one of the last remnants of rice farming on the island of Kauai. Rice cultivation by Chinese and Japanese farmers was an important element of the Hawaiian economy from the 1820's through the first quarter of the twentieth century. Kawohee and Meoio Haraguchi, Japanese immigrants, purchased the lease rights to this property with its water-powered rice mill in 1924. The Haraguchis lost the mill to a fire in 1929, one year after replacing the water wheel with a more efficient diesel engine. The family rebuilt immediately, using a loan from the United Plantations. Hawaiian rice production began to wane during the 1930's for a variety of reasons, including competition from mainland growers. The Haraguchi Rice Mill, the last fully-operating mill in the Hanalei Valley, ceased operation in 1960. Flattened by Hurricane Iwa in 1982, the mill was again reconstructed and today illustrates historic rice milling technology.

■ Rice holds a prominent place in the agricultural history of Hawaii. This drawing of the area surrounding the Haraguchi Rice Mill illustrates the setting for the mill within the agriculturally rich Hanalei Valley on Kauai in 1929.

Drawing by the Historic American Engineering Record

The milling area contains a strainer; two huskers; a polisher, which used cowhide belts; a grader that sorted the rice into three separate grades; and a bagging platform. Whereas the Japanese and Chinese practiced a similar method of rice cultivation, Japanese taste preferred a shorter grain of rice. In addition to the short grain staple rice, the Haraguchi Mill processed “mochi” rice, used in traditional sticky rice cakes made for the New Year’s observance and other special occasions. The mill has been inoperative since 1961, and the remaining acreage of the Haraguchi farm has been converted to taro patches.

The history of rice and its cultivation in Hawaii is of increasing interest to visitors to the Hanalei National Wildlife Reserve. The mill (also known as the Ho’opulapula Haraguchi Rice Mill) offers tours for school groups and others and is developing a brochure about the site in collaboration with the Fish and Wildlife Service.⁹ The mill provides a school curriculum package covering the agrarian, cultural, and economic contributions of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Additional interpretation is available at its website, <http://www.haraguchiricemill.org>. The Haraguchi Rice Mill is the only surviving rice mill in Hawaii, a remnant of an era of agricultural diversification on Kauai and a demographic shift in the Asian diaspora.

San Francisco Bay Maritime National Historic Park Shrimp Junk Project

San Francisco, California

Many Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States to work in the gold mines or railroad construction. Many also found work in the fishing industry. The Chinese were one of several ethnic minorities working the fishing trade in San Francisco Bay. For much of the second half of the 19th century, Chinese companies dominated the shrimping industry in San Francisco, catching and processing shrimp for Hawaiian and Asian markets. From the late 1850s to 1910, Chinese junks, single mast ships ranging from 30 to 50 feet in length and made almost entirely of redwood, were a common sight in the San Francisco Bay. In his *Tales of the Fish Patrol*, Jack London describes junk and shrimp trawling, offering insight into fishing industry in the San Francisco Bay during the early years of the 20th century.¹⁰

Chinese fishing villages, or camps, rimmed San Francisco Bay, and in coves at San Rafael, Richmond, as well as at Point San Pedro and around San Pablo Bay. The fishing villages are repositories of immigrant culture, and through archeological and historical surveys have provided information about these communities.

One of the largest of these fishing villages was the site of a shrimp junk reconstruction project by San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park, in conjunction with the China Camp State Park. Working from historical photographs, oral histories, and the archeological remains of two junks found in the mudflats at China Camp, the Junk Project crew, under the direction of John C. Muir of the San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park, replicated the design of these now extinct vessels.

■ Fishing junks, such as the one pictured pulling in nets ca. 1890s were a common sight in the San Francisco Bay. Chinese shrimp fishermen would cast upwards of 60 nets each day to fulfill the demand for shrimp in Hawaii and in Asian markets throughout the Pacific region.

Courtesy of San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park





■ The *Grace Quan* sails San Francisco Bay in one of its last sea trials prior to the official maiden voyage in April 2004. The ship helps the San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park staff interpret shrimp trawling and the lifeways of Chinese fishermen on the bay.

Courtesy of John C. Muir, San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park

Traditional Chinese boat construction methods and materials were used throughout the project. Muir traveled twice to modern-day traditional boatyards in southern China to learn the arts of firebending and edgenailing. In firebending, the planking wood is suspended over an open fire, with weights on the end. The wood is then carefully heated enough to let gravity create a bend. In edgenailing, the strength of the vessel is increased by nailing the planks to each other as well as to the interior structure. Triangular notches are carved along the bottom of a plank, and headless nails are driven down into the notch, essentially pinning the planks together. A special putty mixture, made from linseed or t'ung oil and crushed clam shells, is spread into the triangular notches to keep the nails from rusting.¹¹

The 43-foot shrimp junk was built over the course of 6 months. The junk provides interpretation and research opportunities in illustrating the role of the Chinese as innovators in the fishing industry in northern California. The junk was constructed of redwood, with Douglas fir and white oak used in key structural areas. Hand-forged nails, pounded out on a coal forge, were used in edgenailing notches. Traditional oakum, or hemp-fiber caulking, was used to keep the boat watertight, and the rigging and sail were built using manila and cotton.

The completed junk was christened the *Grace Quan*, after the mother of the last remaining Chinese shrimp fisherman, Frank Quan, and launched on October 25, 2003. The junk was then towed to the Hyde Street Pier at the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, where she was outfitted for sail. The maiden voyage celebration occurred April 10, 2004, when the ship sailed along the San Francisco Bay waterfront.

The crews of the original shrimp junks were primarily from southern China's Pearl River Delta region.¹² Using large triangular nets staked into the mud flats, this technique took advantage of the incoming tide that brought shrimp into the nets, requiring the nets to be hauled in prior to ebb tide later that day. Shrimp junks set as many as 60 nets along the saltwater flats to the edge of deep fresh water and back. The day's catch was stored, sorted by size, and brought ashore, where the shrimp were boiled, then dried on wooden drying platforms on the hillside. The San Francisco Maritime staff plans to recreate the fishing techniques used by the crews as part of its interpretative program.



Teaching with Historic Places, “The War Relocation Camps of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger than Justice”

National Register of Historic Places [<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89manzanar.htm>]

The National Register of Historic Places has developed over 100 classroom-ready lesson plans through its Teaching with Historic Places program. These plans use National Register-listed properties to instruct readers on the significant themes, people, and events that shape American history and offer another way to experience historic places.

■ Despite their internment, some aspects of life continued as normal for Japanese Americans at Manzanar, with school-aged children and teens attending classes in 1943. The Teaching with Historic Places lesson plan encourages students to put themselves in the internees’ place while learning about the events surrounding Japanese American internment.

Courtesy of Ansel Adams Manzanar War Relocation Camp Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

“The War Relocation Camps” lesson plan uses National Register and National Historic Landmark documentation to convey how the civil liberties of American citizens were violated by the forced removal and internment over 100,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II to relocation camps in Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. The lesson plan’s interpretation is supported by photographs, copies of flyers, and contemporary newspaper accounts.¹³ “The War Relocation Camps” lesson plan recounts the story through the Manzanar Relocation Camp in California and Rowher Relocation Camp in Arkansas. Both sites retain a high degree of integrity, with Manzanar being the most highly restored relocation center and Rowher possessing the most original buildings and historic fabric.

“The War Relocation Camps” lesson plan discusses how Japanese families, forced to abandon their possessions and property, were crowded onto trains, and sent first to assembly centers, then to isolated relocation centers in seven states.¹⁴ The lesson plan provides images of what the camps and their conditions were like and encourages students to relate to the internees.

■ *I Rei To*, or the soul-consoling tower, commemorates the 86 people interred at Manzanar. It is a site of reflection for visitors and is used for the inter-faith prayer service held during the annual pilgrimages.

Courtesy of Tom Walker





■ The Rohwer Veterans Memorial in Arkansas is a testament to the valor of the men of the 100th Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat team. This all-Japanese American unit, filled with volunteers from relocation camps, was the most highly decorated unit of its size during World War II.

Courtesy of Kenneth Story

“The War Relocation Camps” lesson plan also highlights the patriotism of the *nisei*, or American-born children of Japanese immigrants, exemplified by the military accomplishments of the U.S. Army 442nd Regimental Combat Team and 100th Battalion, a segregated Japanese American volunteer unit that was highly decorated in World War II. Women volunteered for the Women’s Army Corps and the Red Cross. Many of the volunteers came from the relocation camps. Using the memorial to their military exploits at the Rohwer Relocation Center Cemetery, the lesson plan addresses the contributions of Japanese Americans to the war effort.¹⁵ *Nisei* patriotism clashed with resentment to internment, which led to altercations with military police and attempts by internees to regain their civil rights through lawsuits against the Federal Government. Despite these efforts, “The War Relocation Camps” notes that most internees never left the camps until the war’s end.

Both of the camps featured in “The War Relocation Camps” lesson plan continue to convey the stories of their inhabitants long after their intended use. Former internees return to Manzanar and Rohwer to remember and to memorialize the internment period. An organized annual pilgrimage to Manzanar over the past 35 years prompted the inclusion of Manzanar National Historic Site in the National Park System, while Rohwer is a subject of study of internment in Arkansas for the Life Interrupted project, sponsored by the University of Arkansas Little Rock and the Japanese American National Museum.¹⁶ “The War Relocation Camps” lesson plan offers an interpretation of the war homefront experience while providing the necessary historic context for understanding how an event such as the Japanese internment could take place and its impact not only on Japanese Americans, but all Americans.

United States Immigration Station, Angel Island

Tiburon Vicinity, California

Established in 1850 by President Millard Fillmore as a military reserve, the United States Immigration Station, Angel Island, is often known as the “Ellis Island” of the West Coast. From 1910 through 1940, approximately one million people were processed through the station. Most were of Asian descent—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipinos, and Asian Indians—and included Australians, Russians, Mexicans, and Portuguese. During that period, approximately 250,000 Chinese and 150,000 Japanese immigrants were detained at Angel Island as a result of the laws prohibiting Chinese, and later, Japanese immigration to the

■ Hundreds of passengers, such as those pictured ca. 1920, disembarked regularly at the Angel Island Immigration Station during the early 20th century. Called the Guardian of the Western Gate, one million people entered the United States through the station, with the majority being of Asian descent.

Courtesy of the California Department of State Parks & Recreation



United States. Unlike the inviting image of the Statue of Liberty, the immigration station at Angel Island loomed as the “Guardian of the Western Gate.”

Situated in San Francisco Bay, Angel Island’s use as a de facto detention center reflects the government’s attitude towards Asian immigration. Political and commercial interests in California viewed Chinese immigration as a threat to American society. State and federal legislators created laws such as the Exclusion Act of 1882 to stem the tide of Chinese arrivals. Constructed between 1905 and 1910, the immigration station held Chinese immigrants until their paperwork was approved, a process that could take weeks or even months. After passage of the National Origins Act of 1924, the Japanese were similarly detained. The immigration station was closed in 1940. During World War II, it was used as a prisoner-of-war camp.¹⁷

The immigration station and associated buildings were turned over to the California State Park System in 1963. While exploring the barracks scheduled for demolition, a ranger, Alexander Weiss, discovered the now-famous Chinese calligraphic poems carved into the barracks walls.¹⁸ Efforts by the Angel Island Immigration Station Historic Committee (now the Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation), Weiss, and Paul Choy led to the conversion of the barracks into a museum, with exhibits that relate to the immigrants’ experience.

Much of the focus of the museum’s interpretation is on the attitudes, hopes, and fears of the immigrants played out against the larger context of the governmental immigration policy. Additional interpretation is offered through a traveling exhibit sponsored by the Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation, *Gateway to Gold Mountain: The Angel Island Experience* and the foundation’s

website, <http://www.asiif.org>. The foundation conducted oral histories of former detainees that formed the basis for the book, *Island: Poetry and History of Immigrants on Angel Island*.¹⁹

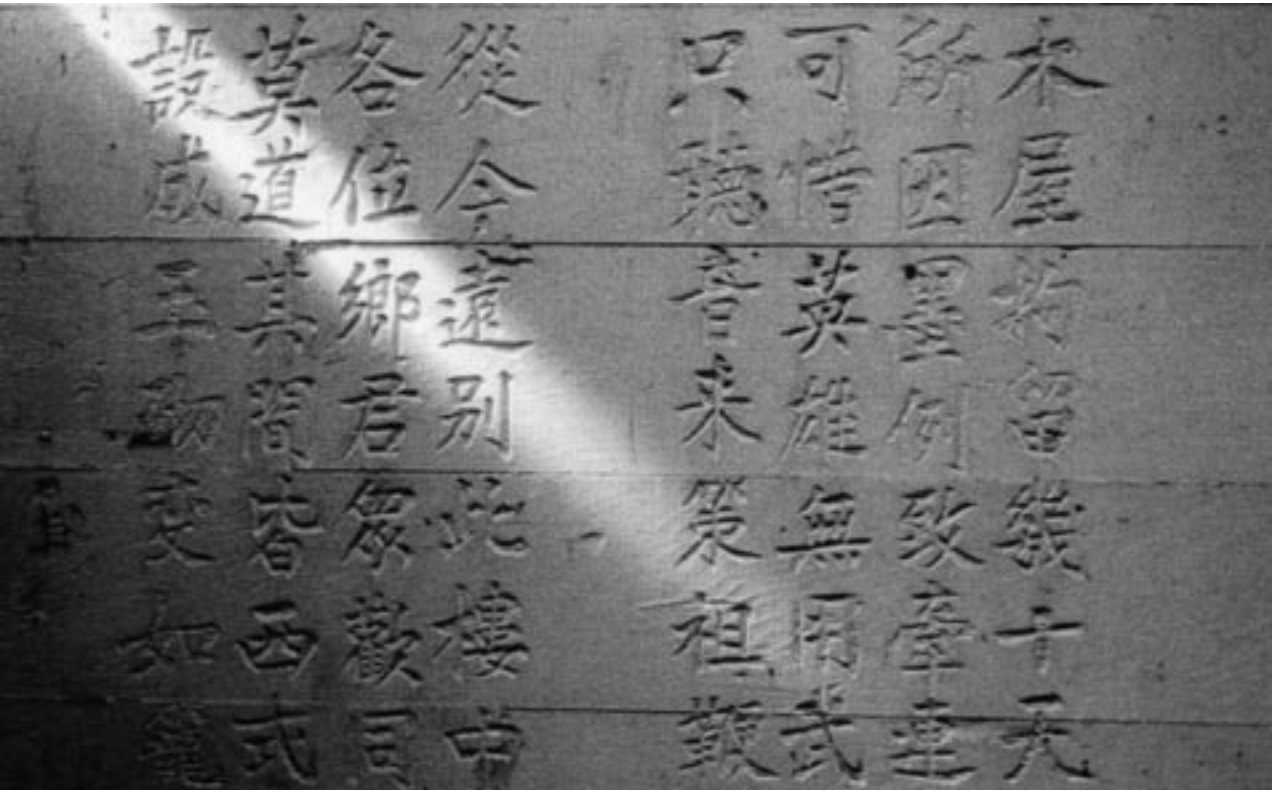
Conclusion

Asian heritage has shaped the development of the United States and is increasingly interpreted at historic sites throughout the nation—from the Manzanar Relocation Camp to the banks of the Merrimack River during the dragon boat races in Lowell. Asian influence extends beyond the Chinatowns and Japantowns to places associated with other national historical themes, such as mining, maritime trade, and agricultural technology.

More than ever, historic preservation must convey American stories—great and small—associated with the growth of a nation. The multiplicity of views and opinions that emerge require new approaches through which to examine the nation's cultural heritage.

■ Delays in processing new arrivals at the Angel Island Immigration Station could take anywhere from days to months. Some Chinese detainees carved poems into the barracks walls to express their sadness while waiting to leave. These poems have become part of the historic record of the immigration station.

Courtesy of Surrey Blackburn



ENDNOTES

1. To avoid creating ethnic enclaves, the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 sought to disperse the Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees throughout the country. The Boston area became a primary area of resettlement. The Refugee Act of 1980 provided funds to towns such as Lowell to accommodate the influx of Cambodians, Vietnamese, and Laotians. See Franklin Odo, ed., *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 407-408.
2. Martha Norkunas discusses the Cambodian community's presence in the ethnically diverse and monument-filled city of Lowell in *Monuments and Memories: History and Representation in Lowell, Massachusetts* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 34-35, 59-60, 167.
3. In Cambodia, the Water Festival, or *Bon Om Puk*, takes place on the Mekong River during the full moon of the eleventh month at the end of the rainy season. National Park Service employees helped construct long boats for the 2001 Southeast Asian Water Festival. See "Singing Hope Along the Mekong River," in *Tzu Chi Quarterly* 8, no. 1(Spring 2001); "Cambodian Odyssey: Executive Summary, Lowell Delegation to Cambodia June 24-July 2, 2001" (Lowell, MA: Lowell National Historic Park, 2001).
4. Federal Writers' Projects of the Works Progress Administration, American Guide Series, *Idaho: A Guide in Words and Pictures*, 3rd Printing (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford Press, 1968), 122. While the names China Mountain and China Trail are toponyms, place-names that serve a specific function, it is safe to assume that the names were not given by the Chinese immigrants.
5. Concerns over looting, flea market treasure seekers, authorized gold mining, and rock harvesting for resurfacing roads fueled the need for preservation of the resources. Lawrence Kingsbury, electronic correspondence with the author, December 18, 2003.
6. Guangdong province is the place from which the majority of immigrants hailed. Earlier settlers to Warren claimed much of the better farmland, but Chinese familiar with terracing techniques were able to take advantage of the fertile land of the available steep mountainsides. The terraces are cut into the slope, and planted with crops and other plant life. The technique requires a close proximity to water, which China Mountain has in abundance from China Creek and the Salmon River.
7. Exhumation was an important burial practice for overseas Chinese. When a male immigrant died, his body would be prepared and sent back home to China by his family. *Huiguan*, associations of people from the same districts, would have paid for deceased members without family to cover the expense. They provided a support system for migratory laborers with strong ties to districts, occupations, and dialects. Twenty-nine of the 35 individuals interred in the cemetery were returned home. For the authoritative text on the associations, see Him Mark Lai, "Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/Huiguan System," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, Journal of the Chinese Historical Society of America* 1(1987): 13-52. For discussions on the practice of exhumation, see National Register of Historic Places, *Chinese Cemetery, Idaho County, Idaho. National Register #9400270*; Sucheng Chan, *Twayne's Immigrant History of America Series, Asian Americans: An Interpretative History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 64-65; and Payette National Forest, Heritage Program, "The Chinese Cemetery at Warren," (U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Forest Service, July 2002, monograph).
The monographs offer the interested visitor more in-depth information on individuals and practices of the Chinese in and around Warren. See Sheila D. Reddy, "Mountain Garden, Mountain Stew" (McCall, ID: U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Forest Service, February 1994); Lawrence A. Kingsbury, "Celadon Slope

- Garden, *Circa 1870-1902: A Chinese Sojourner Occupation on the Payette National Forest*" (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, December 1990); Lawrence A. Kingsbury, "Chinese Properties Listed in the National Register," in *CRM* 17, no. 2 (1994): 23-24; National Register of Historic Places, *Chinese Sites in the Warren Mining District Multiple Property Survey, Idaho County, Idaho. National Register #1696100*.
8. Rice cultivation in North America dates back to the late 1600s, coming through western Africa, but the Chinese and Japanese have a rice tradition dating back 4,000 to 8,000 years. The types of grains (*Oryza sativa*) and techniques (transplanting rice seedlings after 30-50 days into paddies) used in Hawaii equate with Asian rice traditions. See *Rice Almanac: Source Book for the Most Important Economic Activity on Earth*. Third Edition (Oxon, UK: CABI Publishing, 2002), 1-4; and John Wesley Coulter and Chee Kwon Chen, "Chinese Rice Farmers in Hawaii," *University of Hawaii Bulletin* 16, no. 5(1937): 18.
 9. Currently, the mill is closed to the public while undergoing restoration. However Ho'opulapula Haraguchi Rice Mill is working with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to develop a guided tour to meet the requests for visitation.
 10. London's description of his time as an officer for the California Fish Commission also provides examples of negative stereotypes accorded ethnic minorities, Asians in particular. See Jack London, *Tales of the Fish Patrol* (Cleveland, OH and New York: International Fiction Library, 1905).
 11. John Muir provided the descriptions of the various construction techniques used to build the *Grace Quan*. John C. Muir, electronic correspondence with the author, January 5, 2004.
 12. For a fuller description of the shrimp harvesting technique, see "All in a Day's Work: San Francisco Shrimp Junks," by John C. Muir at Native Sons of the Golden West website, <http://www.nsgw.org/projects/shrimpboat/dayswork.html>; accessed December 8, 2003.
 13. Some of the most famous photographs of Manzanar came from a photographic essay by Ansel Adams of the Manzanar relocation camp and offer visual documentation of the isolated locations and harsh conditions provided for these incarcerated citizens. His interest stemmed from his relationship with Harry Oye, a long-time *issei* employee of Adams. Adams commented in his 1965 letter to the Library of Congress donating the collection, "The purpose of my work was to show how these people, suffering under a great injustice, and loss of property, businesses and professions, had overcome the sense of defeat and despair [sic] by building for themselves a vital community in an arid (but magnificent) environment... All in all, I think this Manzanar Collection is an important historical document, and I trust it can be put to good use." The collection is available in print, *Born Free and Equal: The Story of Loyal Japanese Americans* (Bishop, CA: Spotted Dog Press, 2001) and through the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Collection in Washington, DC and online at "Prints and Photographs Online Catalog-Ansel Adams' Photographs of Japanese American Internment," at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/manzhtml/manzabt.html>; maintained by the Library of Congress, accessed April 10, 2004.
 14. For example, at Manzanar, 10,000 people lived in pine framed, tar-paper covered barracks, with communal messes (cafeterias) and bathrooms. The internees were expected to help support their internment—with industrial and agricultural complexes. See National Register of Historic Places, *Manzanar Relocation Center, Inyo County, California. National Register #76000484*; Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Publications in Anthropology 74 (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1999).
 15. See National Historic Landmarks Survey, *Rohwer Relocation Center Cemetery, Desha County, Arkansas*; and Burton, et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 254-257.

16. The Manzanar Committee sponsors trips for surviving detainees each year, one of several pilgrimages made to the site. Other relocation centers host similar pilgrimages. Rohwer hosted a homecoming in September 2004 as a part of the “Life Interrupted: The Japanese American Experience in WWII Arkansas” project, which features exhibits at three locations near Little Rock and a conference to accompany the homecoming. See “The Manzanar Committee Online” at <http://www.manzanarcommittee.org>; maintained by the Japanese American Network, accessed April 14, 2004; and “Life Interrupted: The Japanese American Experience in WWII Arkansas” at <http://www.lifeinterrupted.org/>; maintained by the University of Arkansas Little Rock, accessed April 14, 2004.
17. See National Register of Historic Places, *Angel Island, Marin County, California*. National Register #71000164; National Historic Landmark Survey, U.S. Immigration Station Angel Island, Tiburon, California; See Atim Oton’s review of “Gateway to Golden Mountain: the Angel Island Experience, part of the exhibit *Tin See Do: the Angel Island Experience*, at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum, Ellis Island, New York; March 8-May 31, 2003,” in *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1, no. 1(Fall 2003): 135-137.
18. The isolation of being neither home nor able to leave the immigration center produced profound sorrow for many detainees. Time at Angel Island was spent being examined at the hospital, being interrogated, and being housed in barracks. Some carved poetry into the barracks walls that reflect the hardship and indignity. See National Historic Landmarks Survey, *Angel Island*; and “The Angel Island Immigration Foundation” at <http://www.asiif.org>; accessed February 6, 2004.
19. Him Mark Lai, Genny Lim, and Judy Yung, *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).