

The Utah *Nippo* and World War II: A Sociological Review*

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Abstract

This paper first discusses the socio-historical background of the Japanese community and its newspaper in Utah, then reviews the newspaper functions and “The Medium is the Message” notion by MacLuhan during the World War II period, and finally examines the overall assimilation process of the Japanese immigrants in Utah. The collected data and the content analysis of the newspaper indicate that without those newspapers published in Japanese during the war period, the adjustment of the people of Japanese ancestry to the unprecedented wartime circumstances, their subsequent recovery, and their eventual assimilation process into the mainstream American society would not have been so smooth and peaceful.

Key Words: Japanese immigrant, newspaper, assimilation, community, wartime

I INTRODUCTION

The Utah *Nippo* was a daily Japanese newspaper published at Salt Lake City from 1914 to 1991. It was one of the three Japanese newspapers in the United States that were permitted to publish during World War II. This paper reviews the functioning of the newspaper from a sociological perspective with newly found documents and collected data to explore its unique role during the wartime.

In an earlier study by the researcher, the data supported the notion of Morris Janowitz (1967): “Since assimilation was an ultimate goal, the success of the immigrant press could in some part be measured by its ability to destroy itself.” The decline dysfunction was verified by frequency of publication and circulation of the Utah *Nippo*, and by mail questionnaire survey, which supported the hypothesis that the more a person of Japanese ancestry is assimilated into the mainstream of American society, the less often he will read a Japanese immigrant newspaper.

Ironically, however, World War II moved the headquarters of Japanese American Citizens

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League to Salt Lake City, and allowed the Utah *Nippo* to revive from the decline destiny, serving the Japanese communities and “relocation centers.” The Utah *Nippo* started its English page in 1939, shortly after the death of the founder, Uneo Terasawa. By that time, most of the Nisei, the second generation, had grown up. Yet the majority of the community preferred to read their newspapers in the Japanese language. During the wartime years, the Utah *Nippo* had its largest circulation in its history.

II SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. First Quarter: Japanese Pioneers (1890–1914)

Japanese were allowed to leave their country from 1885 on, and thousands of young Japanese men came to the West Coast of the United States, either directly from Japan or via Hawaii where there was a great need for laborers (Kitano 1976). The first emigration from Japan, however, was in the year “Meiji One,” or 1867, when 146 contract laborers went to Hawaii. In this year, with restoration of Emperor Meiji to full power, he declared a new public policy and opened the door to foreign countries, after an interval of more than two centuries during which almost all contact with foreigners had been prohibited. Since the flow of immigrants and emigrants has continued with various experiences.

By the end of the nineteenth century, more than 30,000 Japanese came as immigrants to the United States. (The number of Japanese immigrants and Japanese population in the United States is shown in Table 1). They found employment as laborers on the railroad, in the canneries, in logging, etc. Bahr, et al. summarize the situation of Japanese farmers in this observation: “The exclusion from industrial jobs, combined with their farming experience in Japan, caused many Japanese to turn to farming in America. The intensive farming techniques they had learned in land-scarce Japan made them very efficient farmers in America. Competition with Anglo farmers to market their crops and the increase in Japanese land holding eventually resulted in a new wave of discrimination” (Bahr, Chadwick, and Stause, 1979).

Japanese immigrants entered the state of Utah in large number at the beginning of the last century, sent by some immigrant labor agents as railroad construction workers, farm hands, or mine laborers. Most of them were single and didn’t plan to stay long. As they accumulated experience and resources, they began to get married and settle down. The ratio of male to female in the Japanese population was dramatically changed from 16 to 1 in 1912 (*Shinsekai*, 1912) to 3 to 1 in 1923–25 (Rocky Mountain *Times*, 1924).

Table 1 The number of Japanese immigrants and Japanese population in the United States

period	Japanese Immigrants	Census Year	Japanese Population in U. S. A	Japanese Population in Utah
1851-70	186	1860	0	0
1871-80	149	1870	55	0
1881-90	2,270	1880	148	0
1891-1900	27,982	1890	2,039	4
1901-1907	108,163	1900	24,326	417
1908-10	21,634	1910	72,197	2,110
1911-20	83,837	1920	111,010	2,936
1921-24	29,204			
1925-30	4,259	1930	138,834	3,269
1931-40	1,948	1940	126,947	2,210
1941-50	1,555	1950	141,786	4,452
1951-60	46,250	1960	260,059	4,371
1961-70	39,988	1970	373,983	4,713
1971-76	30,794	—	—	—
		1980	700,974	5,474

Quoted from Bahr, Chadwick, and Stauss (1979: 85), with Japanese population in Utah added by the researcher using U. S. Census data.

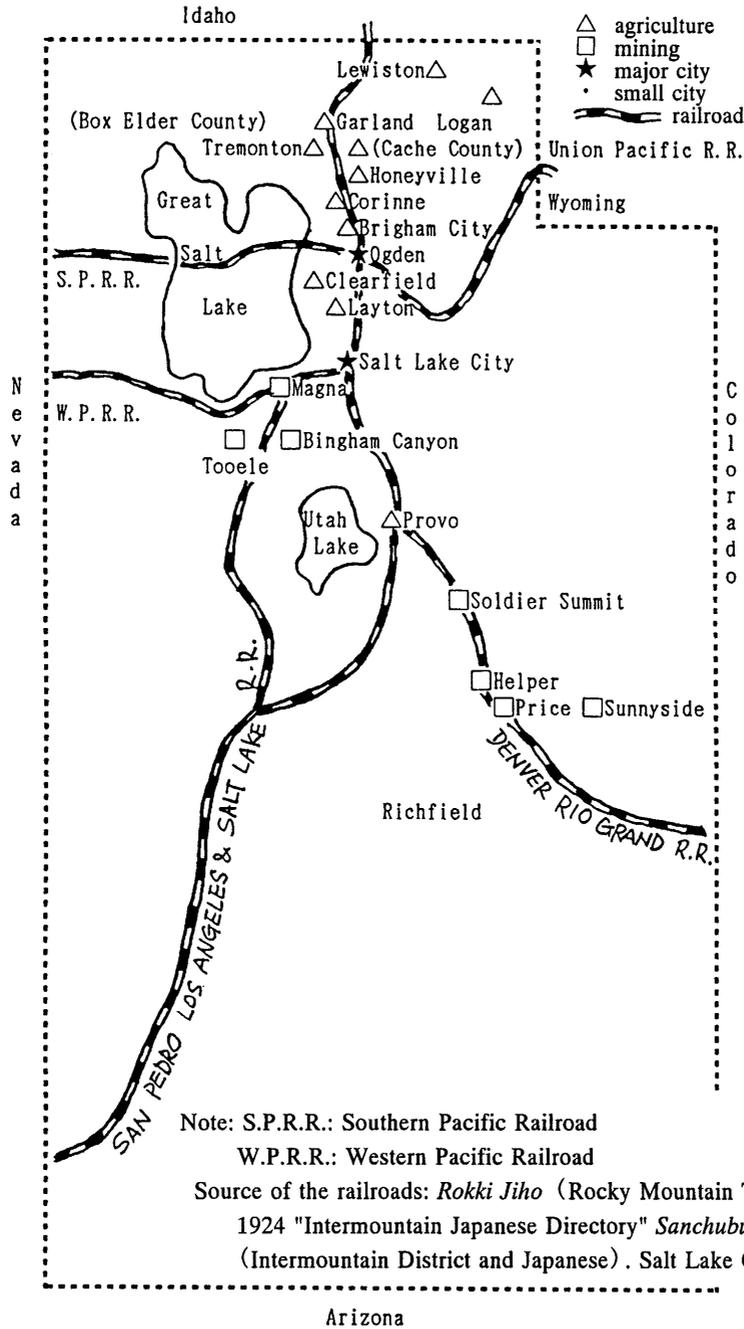
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, Bicentennial Edition, pp. 14,107-108; U. S. Department of Justice, *1976 Annual Report: Immigration and Naturalization Service*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1978, pp. 86-88.

2. Second Quarter: Forming the Japanese Community (1915-1939)

The first Japanese press in Utah, the *Rocky Mountain Times*, appeared at Ogden in 1907. It was a mimeograph newspaper published by Saburo Iida, branch manager of a bank at San Francisco. It was shortly discontinued, and his brother, Shiro Iida, took his place, moved the press to Salt Lake City the next year, improving printing facilities and published a twice-weekly paper beginning March 26, 1908. Six years later, another Japanese newspaper, the *Utah Nippo* (daily) was established at Salt Lake City by Uneo Terasawa. According to his wife, Kuniko Terasawa, it was established as a Buddhist newspaper, while the *Rocky Mountain Times* was a Christian paper. Uneo Terasawa was born in Nagano Prefecture, like Iida, in 1881, and came to the United States in 1905. After engaging in agriculture in California, he moved to Salt Lake City in August, 1909, and opened a vegetable farm in an area of Salt Lake City around the 21st South Street as one of the pioneers in Japanese farming in that area. It is said that he developed the so-called (and famous) Utah celery. At the same time, he worked as a correspondent for the *New World*, a Japanese newspaper in San Francisco (*The Utah Nippo*, 10 May 1939).

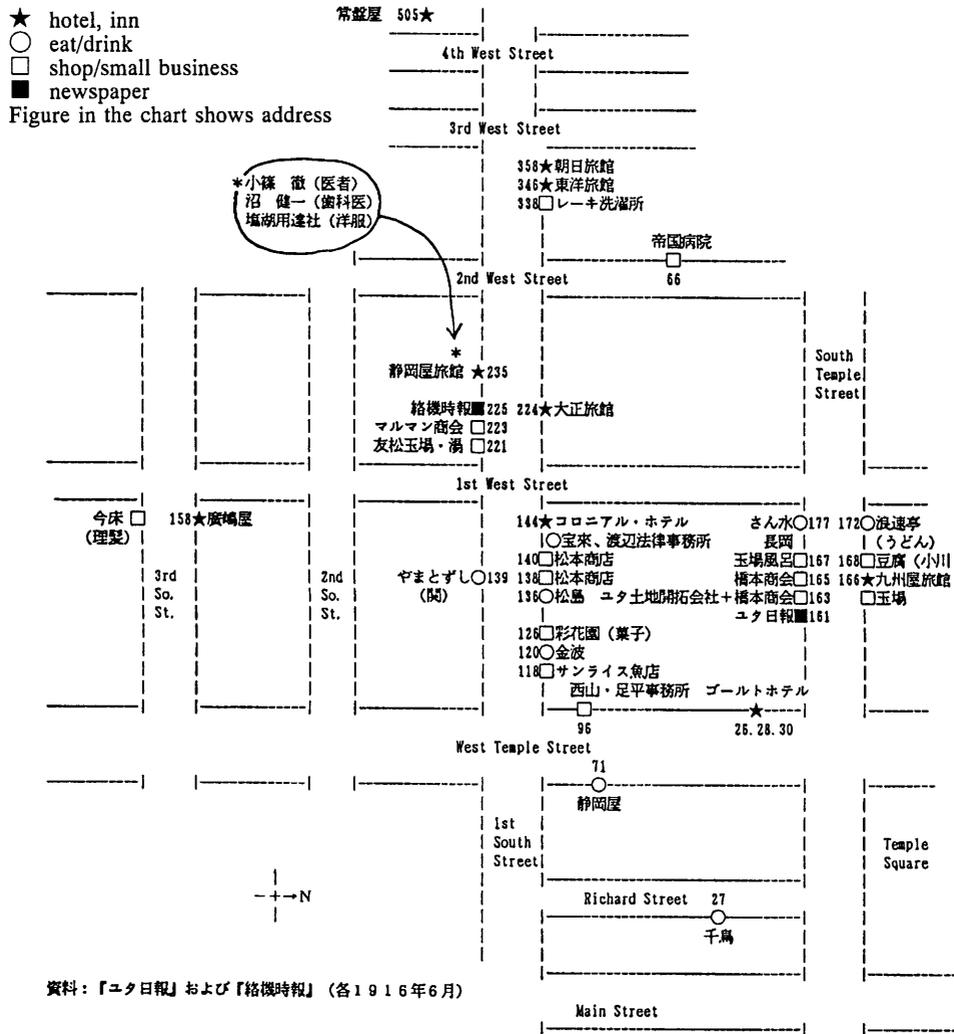
The result of content analysis of the two Japanese newspapers by the researcher indicated that the Japanese immigrants were in the process of assimilation into mainstream of American society.

Chart 1 The Japanese distribution in the state of Utah in 1916. Drawn by Haruo Higashimoto with contents and advertisement on the Utah *Nippo* and the Rocky Mountain *Times*



This notion was supported by a notable change of their social structure. Most of the Japanese started their life in the new world as single laborers, but by 1916 many of them were married and became small business owners in town and independent farmers in the suburbs. There were also Japanese organizations which supported the early stage of their ethnic community: newspapers, hospital and medical clinics, lawyers' offices, clubs, and a Japanese association. Chart 1 presents the Japanese distribution in the state of Utah in 1916, and Chart 2 shows the Japan town in Salt

Chart 2 Japan town in Salt Lake City in 1916. Drawn by Haruo Higashimoto based on advertisements on the Utah *Nippo* and the Rocky Mountain *Times*



(Cited from: Higashimoto, Haruo (1995) "The Japanese Community in Utah: Content Analysis of Newspapers in 1916." (in Japanese) *Journal of Popular Culture Association of Japan*. 5&6:1-11.)

Note: This chart shows only the approximate location of each establishment and is not necessarily drawn to scale.

Lake City in 1916 (Higashimoto, 1995). By this time, the Japan town was formed in the central part of the city and this was also in line with the overall pattern, in which minority groups overwhelmingly concentrated in the central cities (Bahr, Chadwick, and Stauss, 1979).

On September 25, 1927, the two Japanese newspapers at Salt Lake City were merged into one, when the Utah *Nippo* bought the Rocky Mountain *Times* and absorbed its employees and facilities (The Utah *Nippo*, 26 September, 1927). Six years earlier, Uneo Terasawa himself, at the age of forty, got married with Kuniko Muramatsu, who was fifteen years younger than him. Uneo went back to Japan for the first time after his departure in 1905, and he met Kuniko in Nagano

Prefecture. They arrived in the United States in January, 1922 (Moriyasu, 1996).

In 1939, there were three important events in the Utah *Nippo* history. First, Uneo died on April 24, 1939, by pneumonia after his twelve-day business trip to Nevada. Second, Kuniko stood up to succeed the *Nippo*, instead of going home. Third, the English section started on the first day of September (The Utah *Nippo*, 1 September 1939). These indicate that the Japanese community in the Intermountain area developed its strong foundation during these twenty-five years under the leadership by Uneo Terasawa. There were the Japanese Buddhist Temple, the Japanese language school, and many businesses in Salt Lake City, which wouldn't have easily been destroyed by a death of the leader. The fact that about five hundreds attended Uneo's funeral and there were about three hundreds telegrams of condolence showed how important Uneo was in the Japanese community. On the other hand, the English section symbolized the growth of Nisei, second generation of the Japanese immigrants, who now needed a medium for their own communication.

3. Third Quarter: World War II and Recovery (1940–1965)

After the Pearl Harbor, the Utah *Nippo* published on December 8 and 10, 1941, and then closed for two months and a half. The first issue after this break was February 25, 1942. Haruko Moriyasu, daughter of the publisher, described the situation:

The FBI arrived on the morning of December 11 and waited while one of the employees who lived on the premises packed his belongings. They then nailed the doors closed, handed the employee the hammer, and effectively terminated the publication of the newspaper indefinitely. Kuniko was also questioned in her home by the FBI during this interval. Her conclusion after the interview was that she was considered to be a relatively insignificant person. With two young daughters and little previous history of community leadership involvement, she was just not important enough to detain. Judging from the comment made by Mike M. Masaoka, there may also have been testimony in her favor to prevent detention (Moriyasu, 1996).

According to Kuniko Terasawa, she believed that the Japanese translation of the Executive Order 9066 was printed by the Utah *Nippo* facilities somewhere around February 10, 1942. No evidence exists because the printing was done under strict watch by guards. After the printing, however, Kuniko asked the FBI agent what they wanted with the Utah *Nippo*. She requested their prompt decision about the fate of her newspaper, whether to close or to resume, because she could not afford paying rent without publishing for a long time. As a result, the Utah *Nippo* was allowed to resume publishing six days after the Executive Order 9066 (Kamisaka, 1985).

As the Japanese language newspapers in the West Coast were all closed due to the war, the demand for the Japanese newspaper dramatically increased. An earlier study by the researcher (1984) indicated the circulation had its peak during this wartime in its 77-year history (See Table 2).

Any accurate data about the circulation was not available, but there was a set of data which allowed inference on the change of readership before and after the war. It is “Analysis by Zones of Subscription List of Utah *Nippo*” which was submitted to the Postmaster of Salt Lake City. In this list, the number of “subscribers outside the county of publication” appears and they are shown in Table 3.

The peak of the newspaper is also suggested by the number of employees. The employer’s tax return information was found from the existing building of the Utah *Nippo*, which made possible to glance the transition of the Utah *Nippo* personnel (Chart 3).

Chart 3 shows that the Utah *Nippo* had the most employees in March, 1944, when there were eleven of them including Kuniko and her daughter, Kazuko, who appeared in this list for the first time at the age of 17 and continued until the end of the paper. Although the circulation went down so quickly after the war, the employees stayed rather longer to support the newspaper.

4. Fourth Quarter: Into the Mainstream (1966–1991)

In 1966, after twenty-five years after the Pearl Harbor, the Japan town of the Salt Lake City was destroyed and the residents were forced to move to some other places from the central part of the city. By that time, the Japan town was formed between the Second South Street and

Table 2 Changes in Circulation of the Utah *Nippo* and Japanese Population

Period	Average circulation by decade	# of years surveyed by decade	Japanese Population in Utah	U. S. Census Year
1914–19	723.5	2	2,110	1910**
1920–20	---	*	2,936	1920
1930–39	666.4	5	3,269	1930
1940–49	2,626.5	4	2,210	1940
1950–59	1,507.5	10	4,452	1950
1960–69	1,067.5	10	4,371	1960
1970–79	798.5	10	4,713	1970
1980–89	586.0	10	5,474	1980
1990	540.0	1	6,500	1990

* data missing

** The Census data shows the Japanese population was 4 in 1890 and 417 in 1900.

Table 3 Total Subscription of the Utah *Nippo* Outside the County

Yr/Mo	Subscription	Yr/Mo	Subscription
1939/10	408	1946/10	2,863
1940	---	1947/04	2,370
1941/04	418	1947/10	2,207
1942/04	356	1948/04	1,872
1942/06	901	1948/10	1,704
1942/10	1,656	1949/04	1,702
1943/04	3,780	1949/10	1,429
1943/10	4,604	1950/10	1,220
1944/04	6,558	1951/10	1,100
1944/10	8,038		
1945/04	7,937		
1945/10	5,075		

(Source for Table 2 and Table 3: Higashimoto, Haruo. 1984 “Assimilational Factors Related to the Functioning of the Immigrant Press in Selected Japanese Communities.” Ph. D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, U. S. A.)

Chart 3 The Utah *Nippo* 1937-1991 (Source: Employer's The tax Return)

<u>1937-43</u>														
Year:	37	39	40	40	41	41	42	42	42	42	43	43	43	43
Month:	12	12	3	12	3	9	3	6	9	12	3	6	9	12
Kuniko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Hakuai Adachi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Terumasa Adachi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Masaichi Kametani	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Mike Masaoka			*	*										
C.M. Ferrin			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Mariye Ushio							*	*	*	*	*			
Minoru Hata								*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Show Tatai										*	*	*	*	*
Seinosuke Kojima												*	*	*
Toko Fujii													*	*
Sotaro Takahashi														*

<u>1944-49</u>														
Year:	44	44	44	44	46	46	46	46	47	48	48	49	49	50
Month:	3	6	9	12	3	6	9	12	3	1	4	3	6	1
Kuniko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Hakuai Adachi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Terumasa Adachi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Masaichi Kametani	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C.M. Ferrin	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Show Tatai	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Seinosuke Kojima	*	*	*	*	*	*								
Toko Fujii	*													
Sotaro Takahashi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*						
KohTatai	*	*	*											
Kazuko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Saburo Kido					*	*	*	*						
Masatomo Kimura					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Fujitaro Kitano						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Howard T. Kawato											*	*		

<u>1950-69</u>														
Year:	50	50	50	55	55	59	59	64	64	66	66	70		
Month:	1	7	10	4	7	1	4	7	10	9	12	4		
Kuniko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Terumasa Adachi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Masaichi Kametani	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
C.M. Ferrin	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Show Tatai	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Kazuko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Masatomo Kimura	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Fujitaro Kitano	*	*												
Miwame Tatai					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ralph Heap									*	*	*	*	*	*

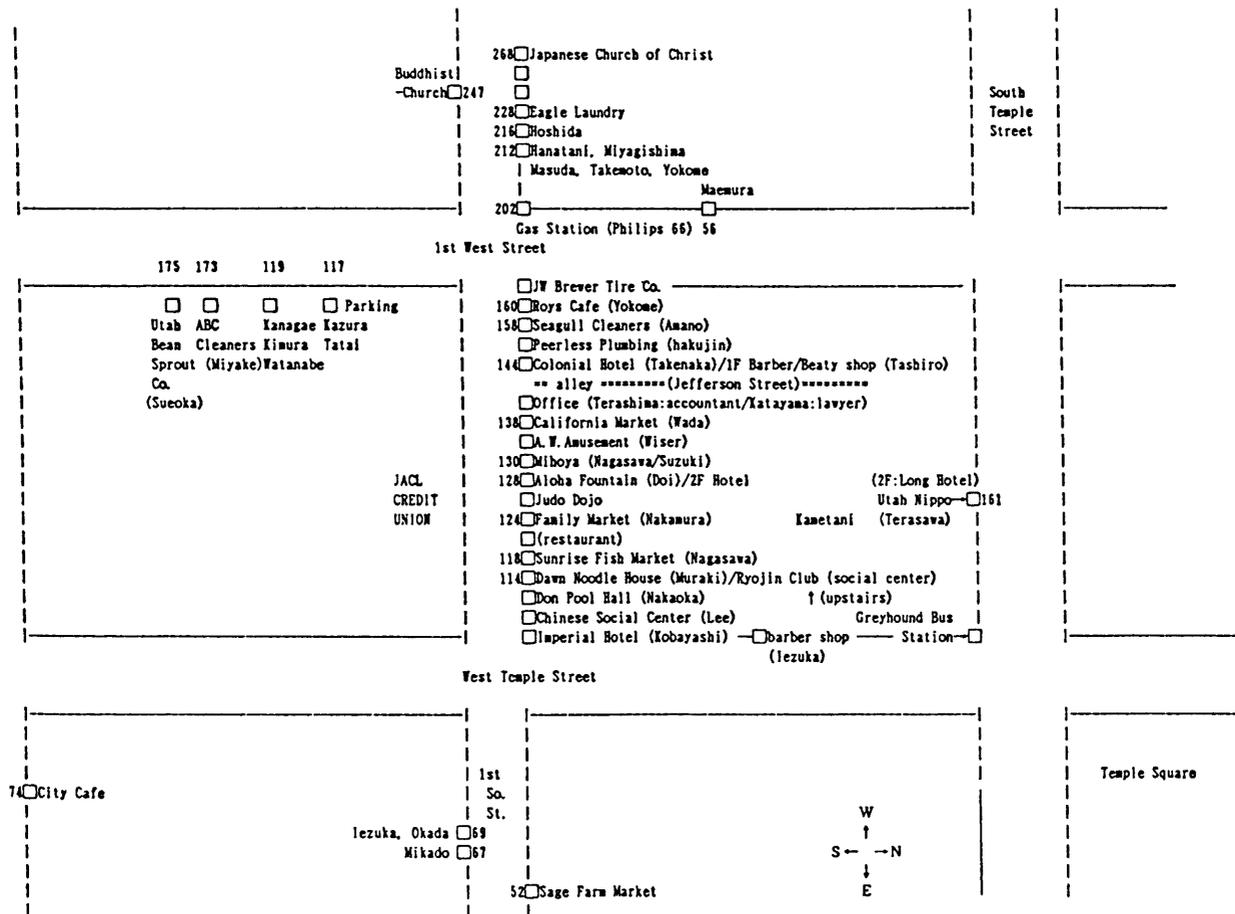
<u>1970-1991</u>														
Year:	70	70	70	71	72	72	73	73	73	74	77	78	91	
Month:	4	7	10	1	4	7	4	7	10	1	10	1	7	
Kuniko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Terumasa Adachi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Kazuko Terasawa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Masatomo Kimura	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Miwame Tatai	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ralph Heap	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Note: Kuniko Terasawa died on August 2, 1991.

Prepared by Haruo Higashimoto, January 14, 1992, according to the Utah Nippo files.

South Temple Street and between West Temple Street and Second West Street, but most of the businesses concentrated on the First South Street (See Chart 4). Takeo Goto analogized this with "another evacuation", because the notice came too sudden early in April and they needed to vacate

Chart 4 Japan Town at Salt Lake City in 1966



(Source: 1966 Japanese American Address and Telephone Directory. (attachment to the 1966 New Year Edition of the Utah *Nippo*) and information provided by Iwao Nagasawa and Kazuko Terasawa, the Nisei residents of the town at that time. Note: This chart shows only the approximate location of each establishment and is not necessarily drawn to scale.) (cited from: Higashimoto, Haruo (1994) "The End of Salt Lake City Japan Town: A Sociological Perspective." (in Japanese) *Ashiya University Ronso*. 30th Anniversary Edition II. page 7.)

the area by May 15 (1966).

This was, however, a symbolic matter in the Japanese history in this area. First it represents the end of the post-war era for the Japanese in Utah. In general, there passed enough time for the recovery to a certain extent from hardship of the wartime. Second, this incident terminated the visibility of the Japanese community as an ethnic group and it appeared the Japanese were merged into the host society. The Utah *Nippo* also moved from the area to the present location: 52 North 1000 West. The only remaining buildings are the two religious institutions: Salt Lake Buddhist Temple at 211 West First South, and Japanese Church of Christ at 268 West First South.

The highlight of this period was the redress movement, and the Utah *Nippo* concluded its

seventy-seven year history in 1991 when Kuniko Terasawa passed away. It was also the end of the Issei era. The circulation of the Utah Nippo decreased from 1,010 in 1966 to 540 in 1990. It was published three times a week in 1966, but became twice a week in 1975, monthly in 1987. These figures indicate the Isseis were “fading away,” so was the Utah *Nippo* and immigrant press in general.

III FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Newspaper functions.

According to the classic functionalist approach, mass communication has four major functions: surveillance of the environment (news), correlation of the parts of society in responding to the environment (editorial), transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next (educational), and entertainment (Wright, 1986). The Utah *Nippo* did serve these four roles to the full extent during the World War II.

At this time, it should be noted that there were several different kinds of newspapers available for the people of Japanese ancestry even after the closure of major Japanese language newspapers in the West Coast. They were: Assembly Center mimeograph newspapers, Relocation Camp mimeograph newspapers, Japanese newspapers outside the camps like the Utah *Nippo*, the Pacific Citizens (the JACL’s publication in English), and majority English newspapers available to the general public. Generally, center and camp newspapers were only allowed inside those places. Since most of the Issei (first generation immigrants from Japan) didn’t understand English, the Japanese language media were indispensable for communication with them.

There are some evidences that show the fact that Utah *Nippo* was allowed to publish under limited conditions during the war. For example, a copy of application form for travel was found in the Utah *Nippo* building. The date was May 9, 1942, and it was “Certificate of Identification” to be issued by the United States Attorney for the purpose to certify “that above named alien has the authority of this office to make the trip as above described and on the date or dates indicated.” There were application by Kuniko Terasawa and Terumasa Adachi, the editor. In the application, “purpose of trip” was “collection of newspaper subscription (Utah Nippo),” “destination” was “various parts of the State of Utah (and Idaho),” “date of departure” was “several times during the month,” etc.

In the Utah *Nippo* building, the researcher found many letters which were exchanged between the Utah *Nippo* editor, Terumasa Adachi, and several wartime authorities, related to the assembly centers and the “Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press.” There was a letter from “The Office of Censorship, Washington” dated on July 20, 1942, to the Editor Adachi, which read:

This is to call your attention to another issue of your paper which violated the Code of War-time Practices for the American Press, but which was published before you received our letter of July 7, calling your attention to the Code.

The issue of July 3 carried the names of individuals in the Santa Anita assembly center, which violates the second "Note" under the General clause of the Code, unless the names were disclosed by the Department of Justice or the Provost Marshal General. This is the same type of violation which was explained in our letter of July 7, to which you replied, thanking us for the Code and agreeing to comply with the requests of censorship.

This letter is merely to again to call your attention to the type of violation, which you acknowledged since this issue of your paper was published.

It seemed, however, the authorities policy regarding the Japanese newspapers like the Utah *Nippo* was not necessarily consistent throughout all the assembly centers, especially in early stage of the war and the Utah *Nippo* finally sent a letter like this:

Attn: Provost Marshall (of WCCA Office, San Francisco) July 10, 1942

Dear Sir: I am writing to you in behalf of the Utah Nippo Corporation in regard to several questions which require clarification. I have had a number of the Assembly Centers on the Pacific Coast and inland Centers notify me that Japanese vernacular papers are not allowed to be subscribed while others have not been thus restricted. I would like to know whether all Assembly Centers are restricted or whether exceptions were made. My paper has been publishing news all the time during this war crisis with the exception of about 30 days. Every issue is sent to the various civil and military headquarters for approval and all the news is carefully read over by these agencies. Our circulation covers practically all the Western States and we have received requests from nearly all of the Assembly Centers for the Utah Nippo. Can we send the paper to these camps? What is the policy of the WCCA in regards to this matter? An official answer will be appreciated. Cordially yours, Sec. Utah Nippo Corporation.

The basic agreement with the wartime authority was that only translation from the news articles of American newspapers might be used in the Utah *Nippo*. In fact, however, this was not followed very strictly and there was much original information in the content of the newspaper. They had freedom to select the news items and to place their own headlines. They were also free to place literary works, which reflected the thoughts and sentiments of the evacuees. On the other hand, their editorials were overwhelmingly precautionary throughout the war period. For

example, the editorial on December 8 appealed to be good residents of the United States. It insisted that they should lead their lives cooperating with Nisei (second generation) without fear or panic and that it is important to follow any order from the government because they were only protected by the law of this country. Another editorial on February 25, when the Utah Nippo resumed after two month closure, appealed to the readers to thank the authority for the permit of publication of this newspaper for those Japanese in this country and to cooperate with the American governments, behaving carefully in this crisis.

Overall, this exploratory content analysis of the Utah *Nippo* indicates that it did play a good role in sending messages from the wartime authority to Issei and messages between the residents inside and outside the camps, and in guiding them appropriately with their editorials without so heavy conflicts with or suspension by the authority. It was fortunate both for the authority and for those in camps, because any unwanted event such as a riot could have happened if there had been no formal channel of communication, which might cause rumor or demagoguery.

On the other hand, a recent research by Takeya Mizuno examined development of the “free under supervision” press policy with archival documents of the War Relocation Authority (WRA). He studied the WRA’s planning and making of the camp newspaper policy and concluded “this ‘free under supervision’ scheme related closely with the U. S. federal government’s desire to publicize both at home and abroad that mass incarceration of Japanese Americans was a ‘democratic’ undertaking” (Mizuno, 2001). At this time, however, there are no empirical evidences supporting or refuting this notion on the side of the Utah *Nippo*.

2. “The Medium is the Massage.”

Not only news and editorial functions, but the Utah Nippo had education and entertainment functions, which were especially important during the crisis period like war. From the beginning to the end of the war, there was a serial novel or two and literary works. English cartoons were continued in English section until 1943. There was rich variety of literary works, such as *haiku* (a 17-syllable verse), *tanka* (a 31-syllable verse), poetry, Chinese poetry, *senryu* (a 17-syllable satirical verse), mutual selection of *senryu*, excerpts from journals, free-style verse, etc. Those literary works were common feature of Japanese newspapers in general, but it was especially critical during the war.

On April 17, 1942, a *haiku* leader at Salt Lake City encouraged the readers for more active participation because literary works were not restricted. On April 27, poetry, *haiku*, and others appeared from more than ten persons waiting for evacuation in the Los Angeles area. The first article from Manzanar by an American reporter appeared on May 4, but this was apparently translation from an American paper. On May 6, Shusui Matsui of Santa Anita appealed to the readers

about organizing literary work group with his address to send works. Eventually, on May 27, a regular space on page two started as “Santa *Bungei*” (literary work). With the names and addresses of selection committee, the title read “The Literary Men’s Group, Adult Activities Division, Recreation Office, Santa Anita Assembly Center, Arcadia, California.” Shusui Matsui was the editor of the literary page.

“The Medium is the Massage” is a notable book by Marshall MacLuhan (1967), but earlier in the World War II, a Japanese newspaper had “massage” function, especially for those in the camps and the centers. With those literary works, they were able to share the experiences of great hardship and to create a sense of community. Like massage, a Japanese newspaper might have reduced their tension and lowered their frustration. The role of literary works in the newspaper was especially important in this sense.

In addition, any message in Japanese language might have had the similar effect. The language itself may work as massage. The content itself doesn’t matter very much. It is often said that Nisei (second generation of Japanese immigrant) at old age tends to like sounds of Japanese language. Although Nisei was born in the United States and therefore their “mother tongue” is English, they tend to feel comfortable when they hear the Japanese sounds to which they had exposed when they grew up at home. For Issei (first generation), of course, it must have been comfortable to have a Japanese medium in the environment where everything was so restricted.

Thus, the Utah *Nippo* sent messages and massages to people of Japanese ancestry inside and outside the camps during the war, and served as a medium that heightened the sense of Japanese community. It may have strengthened the ethnic tie among the people, but may also have served to loosen the tension and stress those people endured at the time.

We can argue that without the Utah *Nippo* and the other two Japanese newspapers, the adjustment of the people of Japanese ancestry to the unprecedented wartime circumstances, their subsequent recovery, and their eventual assimilation process into the mainstream American society would not have been so smooth and peaceful.

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