

THE LIFE AND ART
OF **Tokio**
Ueyama

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Director's Foreword

Christoph Heinrich

Frederick and Jan Mayer Director, Denver Art Museum

In 1942, in the wake of the bombing of Pearl Harbor and spread of World War II, the artist Tokio Ueyama and his wife, Suye, were forcibly removed from Los Angeles to the Granada Relocation Center, colloquially called Amache, in southeastern Colorado. They lived there for nearly three years alongside more than 10,000 other people of Japanese descent from the West Coast. (In fact, for a time, Amache was the tenth largest city in Colorado.) The climatic and geographic extremes of the region compounded the psychological toll of being racially segregated with no definite end in sight. The Ueyamas shared this experience with over 120,000 people across ten “relocation camps,” as they are still euphemistically referred. Theirs are stories of dislocation and loss and—just as importantly—of resilience, tenacity, and creativity in the face of prejudice.

Here, the Denver Art Museum tells the story of the life and experience of Ueyama, including his time at Amache. His experience reminds us that many facets of the American

West remain to be fully understood and acknowledged, including the integral role of diverse peoples of Asian descent who established homes and careers on the West Coast and greater American interior. Their stories add dimension to our evolving American art canon.

I commend JR Henneman, Director of the Petrie Institute and Curator of Western American Art, for bringing this enlightening exhibition to fruition. I extend my gratitude to ShiPu Wang, whose contribution to this publication provides an invaluable analysis of work by Ueyama and other incarcerated artists. I am deeply appreciative for the participation and support of Ueyama’s family and the Japanese American National Museum. This project would not have been possible without them. I am also grateful for the support of the Birnbaum Social Discourse Project. And, finally, thanks to the donors to the Annual Fund Leadership Campaign and the residents who support the Scientific and Cultural Facilities District (SCFD), which helps fund all of our exhibitions.

Note from the Director of the Petrie Institute of Western American Art

JR Henneman

Director and Curator, Petrie Institute of Western American Art

Since its inception in 2001, the Petrie Institute of Western American Art has embraced an expansive definition of the West that encompasses its diversity of people, landscapes, wildlife, and aesthetics from the early nineteenth century to the present. The American West has long been a place of inspiration and artistic production (well before the arrival of any Europeans), though its borders, boundaries, and definitions continue to shift.

Over the past twenty-plus years, the leaders and staff of the Petrie Institute have produced scholarship and exhibitions on western American art that meaningfully reintegrate it into American and global art histories. Simultaneously, they have grown the collection into one of the most important in the country. The Petrie Institute continues to expand American art histories, seeking underappreciated or overlooked artists and unexpected stories. The life and work of Japanese-born American artist Tokio Ueyama fits well within the mission of the Institute while revealing that there are many stories yet to be told, including those that touch upon some of the country's most challenging histories.

Working on this project has been a moving and revelatory experience, one that has consistently reminded me of my own blind spots in American history. I am humbled and honored to lead this meaningful project, especially given the richness of the archives and artworks dutifully maintained by Ueyama's extended family. In particular, I am grateful to Grace Keiko and Mark Nozaki, Irene Tomoko

Tsukada Simonian, Dane Ishibashi, Susie Ishibashi, Clem and Angie Yang, and David and Atsuko Hirai. Thank you for trusting the Denver Art Museum, and me, with your uncle's important story and for so graciously hosting me in your homes and businesses.

Fundamentally, this project is due to ShiPu Wang, Professor and Coats Family Endowed Chair in the Arts at the University of California, Merced. Thank you, ShiPu, for your generosity and collegiality, and for making all the necessary introductions.

At the Denver Art Museum, I am grateful to Meg Selig, Curatorial Assistant; Lauren Thompson, Senior Interpretive Specialist; Jesse Laird Ortega, Assistant Project Manager; Yvonne Vieuille, Associate Registrar and Project Manager; Caitlin Rumery, Associate Registrar for Traveling Exhibitions; Pam Skiles, Senior Paintings Conservator; Christina Jackson, Manager of Photographic Services; Eric Stephenson, Photographer; Renée B. Miller, Manager of Rights and Reproductions; Valerie Hellstein, Managing Editor; Leslie Murrell, Editor; and Matt Popke, Developer. I also thank Yasuko Ogino, independent painting conservator.

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Many thanks to the people who have worked to tell the story of Amache and preserve its historic site, especially to Bonnie Clark for sharing her expertise and insight and to project consultants Dana Ogo Shew, Mitch Homma, and Lily Havey, who helped us better understand how to sensitively and responsibly present the history of Amache to our audiences.

Finally, for fielding a variety of research questions, my thanks to:

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Administrator

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Claude B. Zachary, University Archivist and Manuscripts Librarian, University of Southern California Libraries

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The Life and Art of Tokio Ueyama

JR Henneman

DENVER ART MUSEUM, DENVER

The Life and Art of Tokio Ueyama

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Tokio Ueyama

JR Henneman

Director and Curator, Petrie Institute of Western American Art



Cat. 4 Tokio Ueyama, *Self-Portrait*, 1924.

Two self-portraits bracket this exhibition. The Japanese-born artist Tokio Ueyama (pronounced oo-eh-yama; 1889–1954) painted the first in 1924 around age thirty-five. In it, he wears a collarless white button-up shirt open at the neck, the informality of which echoes his loosely brushed-back black hair. A nude female sculpture hovers behind his right shoulder, a testament to the figure of the human body that inspired him. A few years earlier, Ueyama had completed his academic training at the prestigious Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA) and completed a tour of Spain, France, and Italy. He finished this painting before his trip to Mexico during the summer of 1925, where he met artists, including Diego Rivera, Jean Charlot, and probably Edward Weston. For years, Ueyama participated in exhibitions up and down the West Coast and helped organize art groups based in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles, where he made his home. In retrospect, it is easy to read this self-portrait as one of a skilled artist looking curiously and confidently at a world of opportunity.



Cat. 20 Tokio Ueyama, *Self-Portrait*, July 1943.

In the second self-portrait, created in July 1943, when he was fifty-three years old, Ueyama maintains a confident pose and outward gaze, though the paint handling has matured and the mood darkened. He is still dressed in a white button-up open at the neck, his thinning hair now carefully groomed. Tighter handling of paint signals careful mastery of the brush learned over years of practice as well as, possibly, the controlled environment in which this was painted: the Granada Relocation Center, best known as Amache (pronounced *ah-mah-chee*), in southeast Colorado. In this somber yet striking portrait, in which four brushes and a palette reinforce his occupation and align him with centuries of artists' self-representations, Ueyama proclaims his profession and his personhood—no small thing given the dehumanizing experience of being forcibly relocated as an “enemy alien” during World War II.

The Life and Art of Tokio Ueyama tells the story of this cosmopolitan artist. From age eighteen in 1908 to his death at sixty-four in 1954, Ueyama called the United States his home, even though, as an Asian-born person, he was not allowed American citizenship. As a person of Japanese descent living on the West Coast during World War II, Ueyama and his wife, Suye, along with over 120,000 others, were incarcerated within “relocation centers” hastily built in some of the most remote parts of the

American interior.¹ For two years, eight months, and twenty-three days, Tokio and Suye lived at the Granada Relocation Center. This exhibition spans the entirety of Ueyama’s life, including his prestigious art training, cosmopolitan travels, life in California, incarceration at Amache, and his and Suye’s creation of the store Bunkado in the heart of Little Tokyo in downtown Los Angeles.

This project is due to the generosity of Ueyama’s friends and family. Many Japanese Americans never recovered the belongings forcibly left behind during World War II, but the Ueyamas were more fortunate. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson—their friends, neighbors, and landlords—protected their belongings and maintained their home during their incarceration. After Tokio’s and Suye’s deaths, their extended family protected and maintained their archives and Tokio’s artwork.

This project is also indebted to the work of pioneering scholar and curator Karin Higa (1966–2013), who rediscovered Ueyama and, thanks to the generosity of the artist’s family, aided the placement of his artworks at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles and helped rehabilitate his life and art through publications. Higa’s work charting Asian American artists across the twentieth century has shaped Asian American art studies, and this essay relies heavily on her foundational scholarship.²

I am also deeply grateful to ShiPu Wang, whose essay in this volume puts Ueyama’s wartime work into conversation with that of other incarcerated people of Japanese descent. Wang’s scholarship stands as a model for rehabilitating overlooked artists’ work and lives through careful archival research and relationships with artists’ families.³ In the introduction to his book *The Other American Moderns*, Wang highlights the “substantial volume of creative output, superb quality of pictures, and high levels of engagement with artistic, cultural, and sociopolitical discourses” of modern Asian American artists. They are, he writes, “as fascinating as many canonical artists,” and yet remain largely unknown.⁴ Similarly, the art and life of Tokio Ueyama reveals rich artistic and interpersonal networks, ambitious creative output, and serious, prolonged attention to aesthetics—both his own and those of the art worlds in which he worked.

This essay, in conjunction with the timeline included in this publication, establishes some of the facts of Ueyama’s life. Artworks in the exhibition help illustrate the trajectory of his experiences and aesthetic development. This essay defers to English-language sources, though significant archives in Japanese exist and merit examination. This digital publication establishes a foundation that, I hope, will be useful to those pursuing the many unresolved

questions and rich avenues of inquiry presented by Ueyama's life and work.

1. During World War II, "relocation centers" referred to the ten permanent camps administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). "Relocation" and "evacuation" are euphemisms for what were concentration camps, where people were imprisoned not because of any crimes they committed but because of who they were. "Internment camps" and "incarceration camps" have also been used to refer to these locations and are used in this essay. ShiPu Wang, ed., *Pictures of Belonging: Miki Hayakawa, Hisako Hibi, and Miné Okubo* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2023), 7.
2. In 1992, Higa curated *The View from Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1992). In 1995, she contributed the essay "Some Notes on an Asian American Art History" to the catalog accompanying the exhibition *With New Eyes: Toward an Asian American Art History in the West* (San Francisco: San Francisco State University). In 2008, Stanford University Press released *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–*

1970, edited by Gordon Chang, to which Higa contributed "Hidden in Plain Sight: Little Tokyo between the Wars," an essay in which Ueyama plays a significant role. To date, *Asian American Art* is the most comprehensive survey of the field of Asian American art and includes hundreds of artists' biographies. For a beautifully edited compilation of Higa's writing, see Julie Ault, ed., *Hidden in Plain Sight: Selected Writings of Karin Higa* (Brooklyn, NY: Dancing Foxes Press in association with the Magnum Foundation Counter Histories initiative, 2022).

3. See Wang's publications *Becoming American? The Art and Identity Crisis of Yasuo Kuniyoshi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011); *The Other American Moderns: Matsura, Ishigaki, Noda, Hayakawa* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017); *Chiura Obata: An American Modern* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018, also an exhibition); and *Pictures of Belonging: Miki Hayakawa, Hisako Hibi, and Miné Okubo* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2023, also an exhibition).
4. Wang, *The Other American Moderns*, 2.

Early Life, 1889–1908, and the Exclusionary Period

Born in 1889, Tokio Ueyama spent the first eighteen years of his life in Japan. He left in 1908 and arrived in the United States during the Exclusionary Period (1882–1952), called such because of immigration restrictions aimed at people of Asian descent, who were barred from becoming naturalized American citizens.¹ Chinese immigrants were the first to arrive in large groups in the US beginning in the 1840s. Anti-Chinese sentiment eventually resulted in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the first law restricting immigration to the US.²

While Japanese immigrants were present in the US by the 1880s, after the Chinese Exclusion Act increasing numbers of Japanese immigrants filled the labor void. They faced discrimination similar to that directed at Chinese immigrants. The 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the US effectively ended Japanese immigration, though wives, children, and parents of existing immigrants could enter the country. The 1913 Alien Land Laws in California and Arizona prohibited Asian immigrant males from purchasing or owning land. Even though Ueyama could not obtain official citizenship nor own land, he (like many) established a life and career amid Japanese communities along the West Coast.³ The 1924 Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act) halted all immigration of Japanese, among many other nationalities, into the US.

This ban would not be lifted until 1952 with the McCarran-Walter Act (Immigration and Nationality Act).⁴

1. A 1790 Congressional decree disallowed citizenship to Asian-born people. In 1873, Congress declared that people of African descent could be eligible for citizenship; all Asian immigrants remained ineligible. Those born on American soil were citizens, meaning that first-generation Japanese immigrants (Issei) were not eligible for citizenship though their children (Nisei), if born on US soil, were.
2. The law provided a ten-year absolute ban on Chinese laborers immigrating to the US.
3. As Karin Higa writes, "While American anti-Asian sentiment was consolidated in the legislative arena, Chinese and Japanese immigrants solidified their communities and planted firm roots in the American soil." Higa, "Some Notes on an Asian American Art History," in *With New Eyes: Toward an Asian American Art History in the West* (San Francisco: San Francisco State University), 13.
4. Regarding this history of exclusion, see the "Timeline of Japanese American History," Japanese American National Museum, September 2021, <https://www.janm.org/sites/default/files/2021-12/janm-education-resources-common-ground-previsit-timeline-and-vocabulary-2021.pdf>; and Higa, "Some Notes on an Asian American Art History," 13.

American Art Education, 1909–21

Upon his arrival in the United States, Tokio Ueyama settled in San Francisco and enrolled at the California School of Design from November 1909 to February 1910.¹ Very soon, however, he moved to Los Angeles and enrolled in the painters' course at the University of Southern California, graduating with a degree in fine arts in 1914. Among a class of twelve students, ten women and two men, Ueyama was the only person of Japanese descent and the only person enrolled in the painters' course.² A large binder dated October 1916 filled with extensive typed notes, artists' quotes, and highly detailed anatomical drawings suggests that he independently pursued his studies of historical artists and the human body.³

In 1917, Ueyama moved to Philadelphia to study at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA).⁴ Established in 1805, PAFA was the first museum and school of fine art in the country. By the turn of the twentieth century, it maintained a prestige though was increasingly perceived as conservative, in part because of its traditional teaching styles rooted in representation of the human body.⁵ During the early 1920s, PAFA presented two significant exhibitions incorporating modern aesthetics that helped to change its stuffy reputation: the 1920 *Paintings and Drawings by Representative Modern Artists*, largely constituted of European impressionists, post-impressionists, and avant-gardists, and the 1921 *Paintings and Drawings by American Artists showing the Later Tendencies in Art*, which featured progressive styles by American artists.⁶ Given their prominence and the fact that they were displayed while Ueyama was a student, it is highly likely he saw them.⁷ As seen in his colorful painting of a , Ueyama combined traditional subjects with expressive color, no doubt influenced by his academic studies and faculty and the increasing prevalence of modern styles.⁸

In 1919, Ueyama won a to support three months of travel abroad.⁹ On July 8, 1920, he sailed on the ship *Canopic* to Europe. He carefully documented his travels with photographs and a written journal. It appears that he traveled with other PAFA students—a group he refers to as "us boys" in a photograph taken on the *Canopic* (fig. 1)—and occasionally met up with others throughout Europe.¹⁰

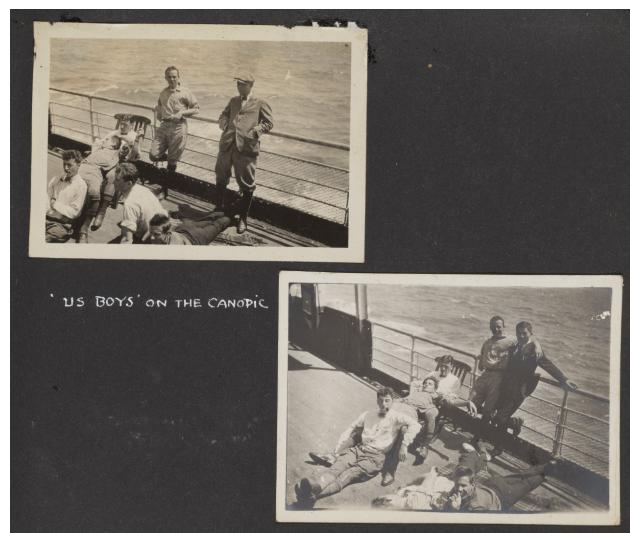


Fig. 1 Unknown photographer, "Us Boys" on the *Canopic*, 1920.

The *Canopic* first stopped in the Azores, where Ueyama wrote that passengers took little boats to shore to visit "the most picturesque town I've ever seen . . . Houses are all very lightly tinted yellow, light blue, or pink with orange or vermillion roofs."¹¹ Color notes also show up in the album of his black-and-white photographs, such as next to an image of an Azores street scene (fig. 2). In his notebook, he

mentions barefoot women with heads covered by shawls "like in the picture by Zuloaga." Most likely, Ueyama had seen the work of the Spanish artist Ignacio Zuloaga (1870–1945) during an exhibition held at PAFA between April 7 and May 7, 1918.¹² Such references and notes indicate that, while traveling, Ueyama thought through color and composition and called upon various facets of his art education to make sense of the new-to-him countries and cultures of Europe.

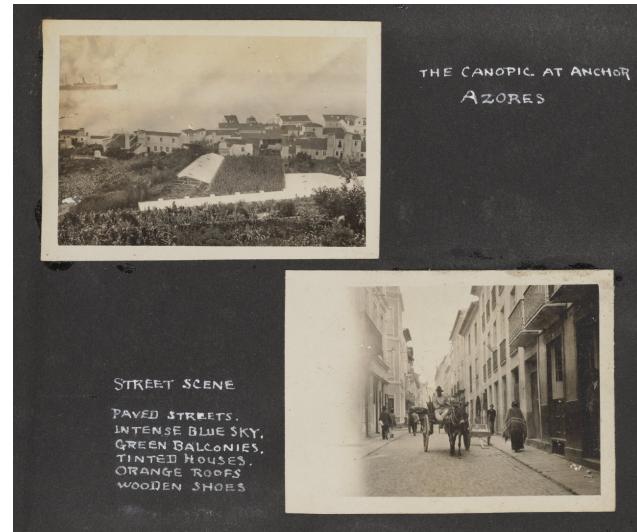


Fig. 2 Unknown photographer, *The Canopic at Anchor, Azores, and Street Scene*, 1920.

The *Canopic* carried on to Gibraltar, where Ueyama stayed for multiple days and took a short excursion north into Spain to witness the "horrible slaughter" of a bullfight. He left the *Canopic* at Naples, where he stayed for more than a week and took excursions to Capri and Pompei. In his journal, he wrote brief impressions of landscapes, hotels, restaurants, and people, most captured in short descriptive notes. At the Hotel Continental in Naples, he wrote, "Exquisite meal all European style. Waiters better dressed than we . . . automatic elevator. Paved floor. Marble bathtub. Balcony open to sea" (fig. 3). In Naples, he painted the Castel dell'Ovo and later exhibited this watercolor as.¹³ Based on existing artworks and his journal, it seems that he worked primarily in watercolor, and perhaps in prints, while traveling.¹⁴



Fig. 3 Unknown photographer, *At Naples*, 1920.

From Naples, Ueyama traveled by train to Rome, where he stayed for more than a week and took multiple art excursions with friends. From Rome, he took the train (on which "water is more expensive than wine") to Florence before moving on to Venice, where it was raining and cold and a workers' strike meant that most cafés and restaurants were closed. (And worse: "Even no ice cream.") From Venice, he traveled to Milan for multiple days, noting its modernity and wide, clean streets, then on to Genoa, Nice, Marseille, and finally Paris. There, he seemed to have many American acquaintances. He noted wounded men with medals employed as guards and that paper was scarce—legacies of the First World War. He spent his birthday, September 22, in Paris before returning to the US via the SS *France*.

1. Founded in 1871, the school was formerly called the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art and later renamed the San Francisco Art Institute (SFAI). It closed in 2022, and its archives have been transferred to the SFAI Legacy Foundation + Archives. Ueyama's instructors may have included Theodore Wores, John A. Stanton, M. Earl Cummings, Robert H. Fletcher, Harry Everett Alderson, C. Chapel Judson, and Alice B. Chittenden. See the 1909–10 California School of Design college catalog and Ueyama's registration documents shared in an email to the author from Jeff Gunderson, Archivist/Librarian of the SFAI Legacy Foundation + Archives, June 20, 2023.
2. In the 1915 yearbook that documents the Class of 1914, Ueyama's associated quote is "Grows with all his growth and strengthens with all his strength." See page 288 of the 1915 USC yearbook available through ancestry.com; and "University of Southern California Diploma," Tokio Ueyama papers, 1908–circa 1954, bulk 1914–1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-2/folder-8>. Ueyama's classmates included Helen A. Anderson (Teachers' Course), Ruth W. Burns (Teachers' Course), Jessie P. Calhoun (Special Teachers' Course), Josephene Chambers (Design Class), Harvey Stewart Hastings (Illustrating Course), Edna A. Jones (Design Course), Jessie G. Layne (Teachers' Course), Marion Leaver (Teachers' Course), and Josephine L. Preble (Teachers' Course). Unfortunately, a fire in the late 1910s destroyed many of the university's early records, per an email to the author from Claude B. Zachary, University Archivist and Manuscripts Librarian, USC Libraries, June 12, 2023.

- A 1924 article states that Ueyama won a gold medal while at USC, though this is currently unverified. See "Exhibition of Japanese Artist's Paintings Will Be Opened Today," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 19, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-19/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>.
3. "Notebook, 1916," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1/folder-13>.
4. According to his registration card, Ueyama enrolled on October 10, 1917, and listed his permanent address as 327 East First Street in Los Angeles. His Philadelphia addresses included 1608 Vine St., 1217 Green St., 241 [illegible] 11th St., and 624 Locust St. Registration card provided in an email to the author from Hoang Tran, Director of Archives & Collections, PAFA, June 12, 2023.
5. For example, students like Ueyama enrolled in the Department of Drawing and Painting would have attended the preparatory Antique Course, in which students drew from casts and still lifes and attended lectures on composition, perspective, and anatomy; the Life and Head Course, which included all advanced classes in drawing and painting, including from the human figure, the head, and still life, with lectures on composition and perspective; and a variety of Special Classes in composition, anatomy, perspective, and costume. Ueyama held onto his registration cards for the Life and Head course, dated January 26, 1918, May 31, 1919, January 31, 1920, January 29, 1921, and May 28, 1921. "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Enrollment Cards, 1919–1924," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1/folder-12>. For information on departments, courses, and faculty, see the 1919–1920 School Circular (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1920).
6. See *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by Representative Modern Artists* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1920), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073813035&view=1up&seq=3>; and *Paintings and Drawings by American Artists showing the Later Tendencies in Art* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1921), <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/paintingsdrawing00penn>. Regarding this period of PAFA's history, see Mark Hain, Stephen May, Kim Sajet, Ronald J. Onorato, Michael J. Lewis, and Peter M. Saylor, *Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805–2005: 200 Years of Excellence* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005), 22–23.
7. Thanks to PAFA's online archives (<https://pafaarchives.org/>), information is readily available about the lectures, courses, scholarships, faculty, students, and exhibitions during the years Ueyama attended.
8. A 1924 article states that at PAFA Ueyama studied with Henry McCarter, Hugh Breckenridge, and Daniel Garber. See "Exhibition of Japanese Artist's Paintings Will Be Opened Today."
9. A different scholarship, the Cresson European Scholarship, sponsored one or more years of study abroad. These scholarships are often confused. See PAFA's "William Emlen Cresson Memorial Travel Scholarship," accessed May 14, 2024, <https://pafaarchives.org/s/digital/page/cresson>. Ueyama and the other sixteen winners of 1919 had to defer travel to Europe until after World War I had ended. See page 15 of the 1919–1920 PAFA School Circular.
10. Cresson scholarship awardees can be searched by name or year at "William Emlen Cresson Memorial Travel Scholarship," <https://pafaarchives.org/s/digital/page/cresson>.
11. Large black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. All quotes from his European journey come from this source.
12. Christian Brinton, *Exhibition of Paintings by Ignacio Zuloaga under the Auspices of Mrs. Philip M. Lydid* (1916), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucl.b3240967&view=1up&seq=7>.
13. See 1924 Sumida store exhibition catalog, no. 13, red scrapbook, 11, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.; Margaret Skavlan's reference to it in the November 1924 exhibition in Eugene, Oregon: "Japanese Paintings Are Hung in University Art Gallery," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 13, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-13/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; and clipping in red scrapbook, 9, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
14. In his journal, he notes while in Naples that he "sent unnecessary articles—paint box, shoes, books—back." Perhaps his watercolor supplies were more convenient to travel with than oils. Additionally, in Rome he notes that he is "getting prints every day," and the beginning of his travel journal includes notes on making ground for etching.

California, Oregon, Mexico, and Japan, 1920s–30s

Upon returning to Philadelphia, Tokio Ueyama continued his studies at PAFA and finished in 1921. After his return to Los Angeles in 1922, aged thirty-two, he quickly became involved with an art community in Little Tokyo, the area of downtown Los Angeles around East First Street populated by people of Japanese descent.¹ Over the next two decades, Ueyama exhibited regularly up and down the West Coast and, from January 1927 to August 1941, worked at the Bunrindo bookstore located at 303 East First Street.

Soon after his return to Los Angeles, Ueyama cofounded—along with artists Hojin Miyoshi (1888–unknown) and Sekishun Masuzo Uyeno (c. 1892–unknown) and poet T. B. Okamura (dates unknown)—the art association Shaku-do-sha. Dedicated to “the study and furtherance of all forms of modern art,” the Shaku-do-sha organized exhibitions in Little Tokyo.² Some of these featured work by Japanese artists—such as the first group exhibition held in 1923 at the Japanese Union Church, to which Ueyama contributed four paintings—as well as non-Japanese artists, including the photographer Edward Weston.³ By 1927, the author lone Rayburn described the Shaku-do-sha as a “vital and flourishing colony.”⁴

In 1922, Ueyama exhibited three paintings at the second exhibition of the East West Art Society at the San Francisco Museum of Art at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco.⁵ He also participated in regular exhibitions in California, including the annual series Painters and Sculptors of Southern California, organized by the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art (now the Los Angeles County Museum of Art). Later, he would contribute to the annual series of Southern California art hosted by the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego (now the San Diego Museum of Art).



Cat. 5 Tokio Ueyama, *Still Life*, 1924.

In September 1924, Ueyama mounted his first known solo exhibition of twenty-five artworks at the Sumida Music Store, a venue used by the Shaku-do-sha, located at 325 East First Street. He included his 1924 (no. 25 in the 1924 catalog) as well as the 1920 watercolor (no. 13). While difficult to determine without visual evidence, it is likely that he also included his 1924 *Still Life* (cat. 5, illustrated on this page, no. 10 or no. 19) and a currently untitled 1924 landscape of an alpine California landscape (possibly , no. 23). This selection of work provides a snapshot of the subjects to which Ueyama would remain faithful for the rest of his career: the human body, portraiture, still life, and landscape.

In November 1924, Ueyama sent an exhibition of twenty-five works to the gallery at the University of Oregon in Eugene, where his friend and PAFA classmate Nowland B.

Zane (1885–1945), a professor there, had probably invited him to exhibit.⁶ During this exhibition, reviewers attempted to reconcile what one called Ueyama's "double heritage of oriental blood and occidental training."⁷ Another pointed to the "decorative" nature of Japanese influences and the "realistic" influences of Western academies.⁸ Margaret Skavlan interpreted Ueyama as "an art hybrid, laboring between his Japanese decorative sense and a training, here and abroad, toward realism."⁹ Gordon Chang has pointed out that art by people of Asian descent in the US "was constantly subjected to the trope of being a bridge between 'Eastern' and 'Western' art."¹⁰ Oregon reviewers seem to have pushed particularly hard to build this bridge, especially given that Ueyama's paintings do not conform to what Wang has identified as "stereotypical notions of 'Asian imagery,' such as landscape or nature paintings done with brush and ink."¹¹

In contrast, Los Angeles critics were more likely to point to the thorough westernization of Ueyama's practice. Los Angeles-based art critic Antony Anderson called Ueyama's painting *The Fur Coat* (unlocated) "a portrait of much distinction in handling, not in the least Oriental in feeling or treatment."¹² Similarly, an unknown reviewer remarked of *Portrait of Miss B* (unlocated) that "Ueyama is a thoroughly Americanized Japanese. His composition has the occidental balance, his whole technical method is absolutely American."¹³ These reviews from Oregon and Los Angeles signal that Ueyama's work challenged ingrained expectations about Japanese, American, and Japanese American art. As Chang has written, Asian American identities are fluid, multiple, shifting, and unstable.¹⁴ Acknowledging this reality helps blur the unproductive East/West lens through which Ueyama's work was viewed during the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1925, Ueyama made a second major international trip, this time to Mexico for the summer. In Mexico City, he listened to a lecture by Diego Rivera (1886–1957) at the Association of Christian Women and spent time with the muralist, even keeping up a correspondence after his return to the US.¹⁵ In an interview for *Revista de Revistas*,

Ueyama says he spent time with Rivera in his studio and admired his work, especially the mural in the Chapingo chapel.¹⁶ In Mexico, Ueyama probably met Edward Weston (which may have created the connection for Weston's Shaku-do-sha exhibitions) and Jean Charlot, who wrote his address in.¹⁷ Ueyama traveled to and Taxco, where he painted the Church of Santa Prisca from multiple perspectives (cat. 8 and fig. 1).



Cat. 8 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Taxco, Mexico)*, 1925.

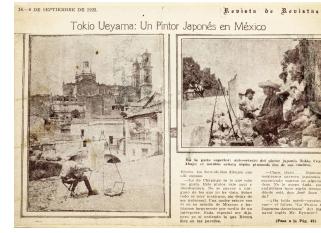


Fig. 1 *Revista de Revistas*, September 6, 1925.

During the later 1920s and into the '30s, Ueyama continued a robust exhibition schedule in Little Tokyo and Southern California. In the spring of 1928, he exhibited *Portrait in Black*, featuring a fashionable Japanese woman in a black fur coat and cloche hat (cat. 10, illustrated below). The sitter, Suyeko "Suye" (pronounced *soo eh*) Tsukada (1897–1969), would become his wife on July 23, 1928, in a ceremony at California's Mission Inn in Riverside.

Like many of Ueyama's portraits, *Portrait in Black* received favorable reviews in the Los Angeles press. Antony Anderson commented on the "imposing and exceedingly skillful portrait of a young Japanese woman." The artist is, he wrote, "one of our finest portrait painters, indeed, quite among the good portraitists of the country."¹⁸ Ueyama's landscapes, too, were praised. When his *Monterey* was on display in 1929, the artist and critic Arthur Millier described it as "flooded with clear light which creates a fine pattern of light and shadow on headlands, houses, and blue water" (cat. 11, illustrated below).¹⁹

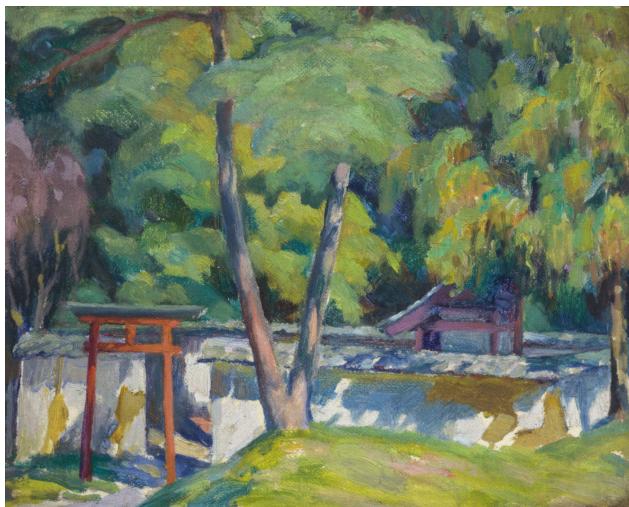


Cat. 10 Tokio Ueyama, *Portrait in Black (Mrs. Ueyama)*, 1928.



Cat. 11 Tokio Ueyama, *Monterey (Point Lobos, Monterey, California)*, 1929.

In February 1936, Ueyama held a significant solo exhibition of sixty-one works at the Miyako Hotel in Little Tokyo. Spanning more than a decade of output, the artworks included studies, watercolors, and finished oils representing diverse locations in Mexico, California, and Oregon. His repertoire remained the same: still life; figure paintings, including (no. 6, illustrated on the cover of the 1936 catalog); portraits, including that of Suye (cat. 11, illustrated on this page, no. 14 in the 1936 catalog) and his own (no. 21); landscapes, including a striking representation of California's (no. 40); and Mexican subjects, including (no. 60) and the church in Taxco (no. 9). In an undated clipping, an unknown author calls Ueyama's Miyako Hotel exhibition "one of the best exhibits ever held by a Japanese artist."²⁰ Another clipping details the artist's "wide versatility not only in technique but in the skill Ueyama uses in handling landscapes, marines, still life compositions, figure arrangements, and portraits with equal dexterity and colorful success."²¹



Cat. 15 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Tori Gate)*, 1937.

The same author also trumpets Ueyama's success in selling twenty-seven of sixty-one paintings and nods toward his upcoming trip to Japan as an art ambassador for the Los Angeles Art Association, which had appointed him its envoy to develop relationships that might result in exhibitions of Japanese artwork in California and of California artwork in Japan.²² Ueyama departed for Japan in May 1936. Over the next thirteen months, he traveled around the Kanto, Kinki, Kansai, Shikoku, and Kyushu regions and mounted a solo exhibition at his alma mater, Toyajyo Elementary School, in July.²³ He painted vibrant scenes, including and *Untitled (Tori Gate)* (cat. 15, illustrated above).

Given Ueyama's positive reviews, regular exhibitions, and significant trip to Japan, the 1930s seem to have been a successful decade, but his diary from this period shows ups and downs. The deaths of his father in December 1939 and of Suye's father the following month were heavy blows to the entire family, while his inclusion in the 1940 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco was a professional coup. Friends including Zane, artist Paul Landacre (1893–1963), Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, and family members show up regularly, though health concerns sometimes keep his body and mood low. In retrospect, his diary—punctuated by notes on German expansion, European alliances, and the deteriorating relationship between Japan and the US—seems both prescient and ominous.²⁴

1. For an overview of Little Tokyo's history, see "Little Tokyo Historic District," National Park Service, accessed November 15, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/places/little-tokyo-historic-district.htm>.
2. See "Photographs by Edward Weston on Exhibition," undated but probably July 1927, red scrapbook, 17, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. Karin Higa provides the date of July 7, 1927, in her *A View from Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1992), 30. For the most complete account of the Shaku-do-sha, see Higa, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Little Tokyo between the Wars," *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970*, edited by Gordon Chang (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).
3. The Shaku-do-sha exhibited Weston's work in 1925, 1927, and 1931.
4. Ione Rayburn, "Japanese Artists in California" in "Sports and Vanities," September 1927, red scrapbook, 37–39, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
5. On the East West Art Society, see ShiPu Wang, *Chiura Obata: An American Modern* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018) 12.
6. Given the date, the number of works included, and period reviews, it is likely that he sent the same (or similar) group as had been exhibited at the Sumida Music Store. See "Japanese Art to be Shown in University Gallery Soon," *Oregon Daily*

- Emerald*, October 29, 1924,
<https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-10-29/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; Margaret Skavlan, "Japanese Paintings Are Hung in University Art Gallery," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 13, 1924,
<https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-13/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Arts+Club+Will+Open+Exhibition+with+Tea>, "Arts Club Will Open Exhibition with Tea," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 18, 1924,
<https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-18/ed-1/seq-3/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Exhibition of Japanese Artist's Paintings Will Be Opened Today," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 19, 1924,
<https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-19/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Japanese Print Collector Visits Campus Today. S. Doi Paintings to be Presented With Ueyama Exhibition," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 20, 1924,
<https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-20/ed-1/seq-3/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Work of Japanese Artist Portrays Variety of Style," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, December 2, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-12-02/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; and undated clipping, "Exhibit of Ueyama, Japanese Painter, Opens Wednesday," red scrapbook, 8 Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
7. "Work of Japanese Artist Portrays Variety of Style."
8. "Exhibition of Japanese Artist's Paintings Will Be Opened Today."
9. Skavlan, "Japanese Paintings Are Hung in University Art Gallery."
10. This evaluation, he continues, "assumed that the mainstream of American art was, as America itself, entirely Europe-derived." Gordan Chang, "Emerging from the Shadows," in *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), x.
11. ShiPu Wang, *The Other American Moderns: Matsura, Ishigaki, Noda, Hayakawa* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017), 1.
12. Antony Anderson, *Art News* 21, no. 36 (1923): 8.
13. Untitled and undated clipping, red scrapbook, 10, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
14. Chang, "Emerging from the Shadows," xi.
15. See letters in the Tokio Ueyama papers, which are written by the author Frances Toor. "Correspondence—Toor, Frances, 1926–27," Tokio Ueyama papers, 1908–circa 1954, bulk 1914–1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution,
<https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-6>.
16. "Tokio Ueyama: Un Pintor Japonés en México," *Revista de Revistas*, September 6, 1925, 17–18 and 42. Page 42 is missing in the clipping available in the red scrapbook, 20–21, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. I am grateful to Memphis Despain for translating this article while ShiPu Wang's research assistant in August 2022. See also a print of Rivera's Chapingo mural (*Partition of the Land*) signed by the artist in "*Partition of the Land* Mural Signed by Diego Rivera," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/oversize-3>.
17. On Weston and the Shaku-do-sha, see Karin Higa, *The View from Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1992), 31.
18. Antony Anderson, "Art News From Laguna," *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1930. Additionally, *Los Angeles Times* art critic Arthur Millier pointed out the poise of the figure and the painting's "feeling for textures and character." Millier called Ueyama "an accomplished and painstaking artist." Millier, "City's Japanese Show Art," *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 1929.
19. Millier, "City's Japanese Show Art."
20. "Art Exhibit Draws Many Purchasers," red scrapbook, 24, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
21. "Tokio Ueyama's Success," March 21, 1936, red scrapbook, 22, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
22. In a letter sent to Ueyama, the Association stated, "As an artist well trained in the best American schools, and a resident of Los Angeles, we believe that you are in a position to accomplish splendid results in creating a better understanding of the art developments around the Pacific Ocean." "Correspondence—Miscellaneous, 1916–1936," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-4>.
23. See Memorial Exhibition catalog, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. I am grateful to Noriko Okada for her translation of the Japanese.
24. "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-9>. I am grateful to Noriko Okada for sharing relevant excerpts of her translations.

World War II and Amache, 1942–45

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, drew the United States into World War II. Wartime hysteria, compounded by preexisting "racial discrimination, economic greed, and . . . unfounded fear," ultimately led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 9066, signed on February 19, 1942, which "authorized federal troops to exclude anyone from any location as deemed necessary for national security."¹ While not explicitly stated, the order was aimed at people of Japanese descent, immigrants and citizens alike, living in western states. Soon, they would be forced from their homes. Most complied with imposed restrictions, which included curfews, travel restrictions, and frozen bank accounts, and ultimately with forced relocation, hoping that in a time of intense patriotism such submission would signal their loyalty.²

On March 18, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9102 establishing the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to formulate a program for Japanese American removal. Soon, evacuation notices appeared in public spaces, and community members began moving into "reception centers," or temporary detention centers, where they would be held until removed to facilities further inland. They took only what they could carry.³



Cat. 19 Tokio Ueyama, *The Evacuee*, 1942.

The Ueyamas were first detained at the Santa Anita Assembly Center, a racetrack converted into a holding center that, at its peak, held 19,000 people.⁴ At Santa Anita, barbed wire capped eight-foot fences around the perimeter, with search lights and armed guards placed at regular intervals. Tokio Ueyama's painting *The Evacuee* (cat. 19, illustrated nearby) shows Suye inside one of the wood and tar paper barracks. Other evacuees lived in converted horse stalls. Hot, fly-ridden mess halls served thousands at a time. Privacy was nearly nonexistent. In the cramped barracks, many walls did not extend all the way to the ceiling. Toilet facilities were open rooms with boards with holes about a foot apart, like massive communal outhouses. Showers, too, were communal.⁵



Fig. 1 Unknown photographer, View of Amache (Granada) concentration camp, Colorado, c. 1944.

In September, the Ueyamas were put on a train to Amache, an experience remembered by other evacuees as hot, long, monotonous, and uncomfortable.⁶ Upon arriving, the camp was not yet finished, much of the water was non-potable, and electricity was frequently unavailable.⁷ Once complete, the entire site encompassed more than 10,000 acres, the majority of which was devoted to agricultural production. The camp consisted of twenty-nine blocks of barracks, and apartments within measured between sixteen-by-twenty feet and twenty-four-by-twenty feet (fig. 1). Each apartment included cots, one light bulb, and a pad or blanket.⁸ Those incarcerated had to source or create all other necessities. Many fashioned beautiful gardens and planted trees to enhance their bleak living conditions.⁹ Each block included a recreation hall, mess hall, and lavatory. In addition to agricultural jobs, people also worked in the Amache Silk Screen Shop, the mess halls, the hospital, the newspaper the *Granada Pioneer*, the co-op store, and the local schools. Sports, dances, religious services, movies, clubs, and extracurricular classes, among other activities, helped alleviate boredom.¹⁰ Those forced to live at Amache worked to create a sense of normalcy and community even while battered by extreme temperatures and wind, surrounded by barbed wire fences, and shadowed by eight armed towers (fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Unknown photographer, Amache art students working below a guard tower, c. 1942–45.

Ueyama's relocation to Amache ruptured his previously rigorous exhibition schedule and the dynamic artistic community he and other Japanese American creatives had forged in Little Tokyo. It did not, however, stop him from painting. As part of the adult education program, he supervised and taught art classes three times a day, three days a week, with Koichi Nomiyama (1900–1984) and other instructors in the 7E block recreation hall.¹¹ In a later interview, he stated that he "taught a painting class of 150 adults at Amache . . . Many people who had always wanted to try their hand at painting found their first opportunity there."¹²



Fig. 3 Tom Parker (photographer for the War Relocation Authority), In an adult still life art class, Tokio Ueyama gives a few pointers to one of the students, 1942.

The artworks Ueyama and his students produced demonstrate that they worked from what they had at hand, such as household items (fig. 3). One of his charcoal features a bowl, vase, tea kettle, and citrus fruits, while presents a platter of fish. In a , Ueyama depicts a large squash, dried corn cobs, and an oil lamp on a table. A large sombrero hangs on the wall flanked by a blue and red

plaid fabric. The vegetables refer to the many crops that those at Amache helped grow, both as part of the camp's work program as well as in their own victory gardens.¹³ As ShiPu Wang writes in his essay in this publication and elsewhere, the sombrero may also allude to Ueyama's time in Mexico.¹⁴ In another oil from August 1943, Ueyama painted large sunflowers in bloom, with a grasshopper perched on a leaf just above his signature (cat. 27, illustrated below). Rather than pulled around a stretcher or strainer, this oil on canvas is cropped to the image and taped onto a thick compressed board, a technique that Ueyama replicated in other works. It is possible the board is the same material as had been used to build the Amache barracks.¹⁵ He made use of what was available and may have approached his challenging situation with *shikata ga nai*, or "it can't be helped," and by practicing *gaman*, or "accepting what is with patience and dignity."¹⁶



Cat. 27 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Amache Sunflowers)*, August 1943.



Cat. 25 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Amache Portrait)*, January 17, 1944.

Portraits created by Ueyama and his students, such as charcoal portraits of a man and a woman, show that classmates and community members took turns posing.¹⁷ His (known professionally as Gakuuhajo) shows the musician holding a *biwa*, or short-necked lute. In a vibrant oil portrait, Ueyama painted a woman wearing a plaid top and red lipstick (cat. 25, illustrated nearby). He sketched the on February 12, 1943, shortly after President Roosevelt activated the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated Japanese American unit that would ultimately join the segregated

100th Infantry Battalion formed in 1942. Thirty-one members of Amache would be killed at war.¹⁸



Cat. 29 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Barracks with Basketball Hoops)*, 1944.

Landscapes populate Ueyama's Amache oeuvre. captures the dry plains landscape with barracks in the background, while another features a closer look at life in the camp, complete with basketball hoop made from found materials, transplanted trees, laundry on a line, and figures in jeans and T-shirts (cat. 29, illustrated nearby).¹⁹ The organic arcs of dried cornstalks in the foreground, probably part of a victory garden, echo the rounded billow of clouds above. shows dark clouds above barracks, fence, and water tower (which still stands today), while shows people working in a field, the Amache barracks in the background. In other landscapes, Ueyama depicted scenes outside the camp. Two charcoal drawings feature and fences, while two others present Granada houses and . shows a bony horse standing in the sun by a faded red barn and part of an antique hitch wagon. Other barns bathed in warm light show up in . A , also taped to fiber board, presents a scene of red willows glowing against snow. Ueyama's landscapes—which seem to celebrate the land, sky, and rural architecture of Granada—rarely allude to the harsh conditions of his forced confinement. In his essay for this publication, Wang provides a deeper dive into some of Ueyama's wartime work and places it in the context of artworks by other Japanese Americans incarcerated during the war.



Fig. 4 Unknown photographer, Art students posing in front of a barn, c. 1942–45.

Ueyama's landscapes indicate that he, like many Amacheans, circulated within Amache's 10,000 acres as well as beyond its fences. Some of the barns in Ueyama's landscapes may be part of the infrastructure of the historic XY Ranch, founded by Fred Harvey in 1889 and utilized for Amache's agricultural enterprise (fig. 4).²⁰ Other structures, as well as some of the river drainages, may be scenes from the town of Granada and its environs. Many Amache residents worked outside the camp, and permits could be obtained to travel further. Similarly, residents of the greater region visited Amache for work, shopping, and social and cultural opportunities. At this time, Amache was the largest "city" in the region, with its own schools, sports leagues, Boy Scout troop, theatrical and musical performances, and art exhibitions, including the 1943 Arts and Crafts Festival in which Ueyama exhibited *The Evacuee* (cat. 19, illustrated above). Camp boundaries were controlled but porous.²¹



Cat. 42 Tokio Ueyama, Hand-Polished Stones, 1943–44.

A set of fifteen stones hand-polished by Ueyama while incarcerated reinforces this fact (cat. 42, illustrated nearby).

They are not native to the Granada area, which is composed of sand and limestone, yet they found their way to Amache—perhaps picked up in the drainage of the Arkansas River, sent to Ueyama by friends elsewhere, or selected on travels further afield.²² While their full stories remain unknown, their existence alludes to circulation beyond camp fences.

Polishing these stones released their humble beauty and may have helped Ueyama endure the passage of time. Earlier, when traveling in Europe, he left a reflective note in his journal:

*the stone on the road side
begins its history of existence
only when it is kicked or turned.*

Over twenty years later, when polishing these stones, Ueyama provided each a history of existence. The stones beg to be held, turned over, and engaged with. In a quiet way, they signal agency (in the choice of stone and in polishing it) and relationality (by unlocking the inner beauty of each stone and, possibly, through a network of people who may have helped source them). They are a reminder that existence is marked through interaction with others and that nurturing beauty plays a central role in creating and sustaining such interactions.

1. Robert Harvey, *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado during World War II* (Scottsdale, AZ: Hawes & Jenkins, 2023), 30.
2. Around 9,000 people voluntarily relocated inland. See *ibid.*, 37 and 41.
3. According to evacuation notices, the belongings they carried had to include bedding and linens, toilet articles, extra clothing, plates and silverware, and essential personal effects. See Robert Y. Fuchigami, *Amache Remembered: An American Concentration Camp, 1942–1945* (Parker, CO: BookCrafters, 2020), 15. On March 1 and April 30, 1942, Ueyama made inventory lists of the couple's belongings in a small black notebook. The sixty-six boxes plus larger items would remain indefinitely with Mr. and Mrs. Wilson in Los Angeles. See small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. I am grateful to Noriko Okada for reviewing the lists, much of which is in Japanese, and confirming their contents.
4. Harvey, *Amache*, 54.
5. For further description, *ibid.*, 53–55.
6. Window shades had to be kept drawn. Trains traveled a variety of routes that usually took about three days and three nights to complete. Stops were short and infrequent, if provided at all. See *ibid.*, 100–03. The first arrivals to Amache on August 27, 1942, were from the Merced Assembly Center. They helped to complete construction on the as-yet-unfinished camp. Eight more trains from Merced arrived between September 3 and 18. Six trains from Santa Anita arrived between September 19 and

30. By the end of September, 7,567 Japanese people had arrived at Granada. See *ibid.*, 104–06.
7. See *ibid.*, 108–09.
8. “Amache Construction,” Amache.org, accessed November 29, 2023, <https://amache.org/amache-construction/>. For maps, see “Maps,” Amache.org, accessed November 29, 2023, <https://amache.org/map/>.
9. For resources on Amache gardens, see the University of Denver Amache Research Project, last updated February 22, 2023, <https://portfolio.du.edu/amache>.
10. To browse issues of the *Granada Pioneer*, 1942–45, see the Library of Congress digitized archives, <https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83025522/?st=calendar>.
11. See Gordon Chang, *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 401.
12. “Japanese Artists Show Relocation Center Art,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1947.
13. The objective of the agricultural project at Amache was to grow adequate produce for Amacheans. The project was so successful that produce was sometimes sent to other camps. See Fuchigami, *Amache Remembered*, 49; and Harvey, *Amache*, 169–70.
14. The sombrero takes on increased poignancy “as an image that recalls a happier time—and certainly a freer time.” ShiPu Wang, *Chiura Obata: An American Modern* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 38.
15. Regarding the construction of Amache, see “Amache Construction,” <https://amache.org/amache-construction/>.
16. See Delphine Hirasuna, *The Art of Gaman: Arts and Crafts from the Japanese American Internment Camps, 1942–1946* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2005), 7; and Harvey, *Amache*, 57. Family member David Hirai, who knew Ueyama, remembered that, when asked about the camp, Ueyama did not want to talk about it and said that they had made the best of it. Conversation with the author, April 2024.
17. Black-and-white photographs of Ueyama’s Amache portraits show that a variety of sitters, both Japanese and Caucasian, sat for him and, presumably, his classes. See red scrapbook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
18. “Granada (Amache) Relocation Center Colorado,” in *Report to the President: Japanese-American Internment Sites Preservation* (US Department of the Interior, 2001), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/internment/reporta3.htm.
19. Regarding the trees, see “Amache Construction,” <https://amache.org/amache-construction/>.
20. J. Burton, M. Farrell, F. Lord, and R. Lord, “Granada Relocation Center,” in *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, 2000), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anthropology74/ce5.htm.
21. I am grateful to Bonnie Clark, professor of archaeology at the University of Denver and leader of the DU Amache Project, for her insight about Amache’s porous boundaries. Conversation with the author, November 29, 2023.
22. Thanks to Clark for talking through these stones and explaining the geology of the Granada area. Conversation with the author, November 29, 2023.

Los Angeles, 1945–54, and Continuing Legacy

On December 17, 1944, the West Coast exclusion ban was lifted, effective January 2, 1945. Over the course of the coming year, all ten of the WRA incarceration camps would begin to close.¹ On June 11, 1945, the Ueyamas left Amache.²



Fig. 1 Los Angeles Times newspaper clipping of review of Los Angeles Palette Club's 1947 exhibition, with Tokio Ueyama in front of *The Evacuee*, 1947.

A few years after their return to Los Angeles, Tokio and Suye opened the gift store Bunkado in the heart of Little Tokyo. Tokio worked to help rebuild the artistic community,

forming the Los Angeles Palette Club with a group of artists in November 1946.³ The Palette Club hosted annual exhibitions in Little Tokyo over the coming years. In the exhibitions held in 1947 and 1948, Ueyama exhibited work from Amache, including , a scene from the Manzanar War Relocation Center in California (which he had visited in September 1945), and Japanese subjects (fig. 1). He played a leadership role, serving as chairman of the spring 1947 and 1948 exhibitions.⁴

Ueyama curtailed his art production into the late 1940s.⁵ He died on July 12, 1954, aged sixty-four. Family member David Hirai recalls that Ueyama's funeral was full to overflowing.⁶ In the catalog for his memorial exhibition, Sasabune Sasaki remembered the artist as "a gentle and solid person who loved peace and solitude," a man of "unshakeable convictions," and one who stayed true to his artistic philosophy in search of peace, calmness, and quietude.⁷

Suye continued to manage Bunkado and died on March 12, 1969, aged seventy-one. The store still thrives in the heart of Little Tokyo, now owned and operated by Irene Tsukada Simonian, Tokio and Suye's niece, and managed by Dane Ishibashi, the Ueyamas' great grand-nephew. Ueyama's artwork can still be seen displayed among the store's products, as it was during his lifetime (fig. 2).⁸



Fig. 2 Unknown photographer, Interior of Bunkado with Ueyama's artworks on display, circa 1946–54.

It has taken many years for the United States to reckon with the unconstitutional forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II. The rise of civil rights activism in the 1960s and extensive efforts by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in the 1970s helped lead to President Gerald Ford's formal act rescinding Executive Order 9066 in 1976. In 1980, President Jimmy Carter established the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), which found that the causes for forced relocation were “race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership.”⁹ The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed by President Ronald Reagan, granted \$20,000 and a formal presidential apology to every surviving Japanese American incarcerated during World War II.¹⁰

Due to efforts by people formerly incarcerated and their families starting in the 1960s, Amache achieved status as a national historic site in March 2022.¹¹ In February 2024, the site officially became part of the National Park system after decades of volunteer management driven by the Friends of Amache group, the town of Granada, and the Amache Preservation Society established by educator John Hopper and supported by his students.¹² The University of Denver has also played a leading role in understanding and excavating the site, particularly thanks to the work of archaeologist Bonnie Clark and her students.¹³ Not least of these efforts, family and friends have made regular pilgrimages to Amache since 1975. These continue to take place, typically in May during the weekend before Memorial Day.¹⁴

Because of these efforts, Amache's legacy as a place of remembrance and education is ensured. Ueyama's work sheds light on the lived experience of Amache, on the

consequences of forced relocation, and on the important role of the arts in nurturing resilience, agency, and identity. As a whole, Ueyama's life helps reveal untold histories, and his oeuvre stands the test of time as a significant contribution to American art.

1. Tule Lake marked the last camp to close, on March 20, 1946. See Robert Harvey, *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado during World War II* (Scottsdale, AZ: Hawes & Jenkins, 2023), 283.
2. Many incarcerated people felt complicated feelings of both relief and fear when leaving camp, having experienced anti-Japanese sentiment outside its barbed wire fences. See Harvey, “Going Home,” in *Amache*, 263–83.
3. See “Japanese Artists Show Relocation Center Art,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1947.
4. See Mary Oyama, “Reveille,” May 2, 1947, clipping in scrapbook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.; and undated clipping, “Attn: Nisei artists,” scrapbook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
5. Family member David Hirai remembers that Tokio may have developed some eye trouble at this time. Conversation with the author, as told to Hirai by Suye Ueyama, April 2023. Ueyama's memorial exhibition catalog identifies *Autumn Fruit* from 1947 (no. 16) as his last painting. See Memorial Exhibition catalog, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
6. Conversation with the author, April 2023.
7. See Memorial Exhibition catalog, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
8. Bunkado website, accessed November 28, 2023, <https://www.bunkadoonline.com/pages/new>.
9. See the National JACL Power of Word II Committee, *The Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II* (Japanese American Citizens League, 2013, revised 2020), 6 and the Densho Encyclopedia on the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Commission_on_Wartime_Relocation_and_Internment_of_Civilians.
10. See the Densho Encyclopedia on the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Act_of_1988.
11. President Joe Biden signed the Amache National Historic Site Act into law on March 18, 2022. For press on the site's management history, see Kevin Simpson, “Amache Is on the Verge of Earning National Park Status,” *Colorado Sun*, February 14, 2022, <https://coloradosun.com/2022/02/14/amache-on-verge-national-historic-site/>.
12. See “Amache Preservation Society,” accessed November 29, 2023, Amache.org, <https://amache.org/amache-preservation-society/>. For information on the project team, see “Project Team,” accessed November 29, 2023, Amache.org, <https://amache.org/project-team/>.
13. See the DU Amache Research Project, accessed November 29, 2023, <https://portfolio.du.edu/amache>.
14. On the pilgrimage, see “Pilgrimage History,” accessed November 29, 2023, Amache.org, <https://amache.org/pilgrimage-history/>.

history/.

Landscape as Existential Negotiation

(Re)Considering Paintings of Place in Japanese American Incarceration Camps

ShiPu Wang

Professor and Coats Family Chair in the Arts, University of California,
Merced

When I first encountered several paintings of a similar coastal scene by Tokio Ueyama, I admittedly did not regard them as something particularly special. Sure, seeing multiple versions of the same rock formations across a watercolor sketchbook, a small oil, and a larger finished oil painting did generate a mental note: this must be a meaningful place for the artist. I later learned a few factors that made this series of landscapes stand out even more from the hundreds of artworks I have seen by this artist: the smaller oil, dated February 1944, was created at the Amache incarceration camp where Ueyama was imprisoned during World War II, and the scenery features the coast of Katsuura (勝浦), a part of Nachikatsuura (那智勝浦) in the southeast part of Wakayama Prefecture (和歌山県) in Japan, the same prefecture where Ueyama was born and raised.¹



Cat. 16 Tokio Ueyama,
Sketchbook from
Japan, 1937.



Cat. 17 Tokio Ueyama,
Katsuura, 1940.



Cat. 18 Tokio Ueyama,
*Untitled (Katsuura
Coast)*, February 1944.

The Katsuura series was produced over a span of nearly eight years. Ueyama likely made the watercolor sketch in 1936–37, during his only return to his hometown in Wakayama since immigrating to the United States in 1908. He worked on at least one smaller oil sketch ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ inches) probably in preparation for the much larger painting ($38 \times 43\frac{1}{2}$ inches). We know he began working on this larger painting on February 4, 1940, thanks to the short entries of his daily activities that he wrote in multiple daybooks over many years; the last mention of Katsuura was on February 26, 1940.² Two final Katsuura landscapes, one in oil and one in charcoal, were created when Ueyama was incarcerated in Amache from 1942 to 1945.

Ueyama did not leave any explanations for why he decided to create a 1944 version of the Katsuura coast; his extant diary entries end in 1941. But it would be reasonable to consider Ueyama's painterly "revisit" to his hometown to be motivated by homesickness or nostalgia, especially when his physical freedom and any possibility of seeing Japan again were taken away without a foreseeable end. Recalling and re-creating the open and lush seaside with his brush when he was confined to Amache in the arid and isolating High Plains of Colorado provided some creative alternatives to, and perhaps relief from, depicting a desolate environment with barracks, dust, and storms (fig. 1). And the Katsuura landscape may have served as a kind of demonstration and visual stimulus to the art classes

that Ueyama taught at the camp, as those instructions usually centered around portraiture, still life, found objects, and local scenes.



Fig. 1 Tokio Ueyama, *Storm*, 1943.

Ueyama indeed maintained high productivity even under incarceration, as works in this exhibition can attest. Many of his other camp paintings appear to be straightforward depictions of people, things, and scenes, but they do allow for deeper readings as well, especially in relation to his prewar imagery. For instance, his *Self-Portrait* of February 1943 is a dignified self-representation of a serious artist, as the depicted accoutrements suggest (cat. 20, illustrated below). The meticulous modeling of his fleshy face, with touches of sheen and blotches of flush, complements a contemplative and determined gaze. The simplicity of the background is a contrast to that in his 1924 self-portrait, where a nude statue fills the space—a signifier of his artistic training in the European tradition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (cat. 4, illustrated below). The younger Ueyama is rendered in looser brushwork with great vitality; the glistening eyes, equally piercing as those in the 1943 self-portrait, project intensity and perhaps an aspiring artist's optimistic outlook toward his burgeoning career. The Amache self-portrait, more subdued and somber in tone, thus serves as a poignant reminder of the passage of time (with nearly twenty years between the two) and drastically changed circumstances. Similarly, Ueyama's , painted in February 1943, offers a view of seemingly ordinary objects. The inclusion of an eye-catching sombrero adds texture and visual interest to the composition, but it also evokes Ueyama's Mexican sojourn of 1925, a bygone era when he was free to roam the world—see JR Henneman's essay and the timeline in this publication.



Cat. 4 Tokio Ueyama, *Self-Portrait*, 1924.



Cat. 20 Tokio Ueyama, *Self-Portrait*, July 1943.

Following this line of interpretation, we could read the 1944 Katsuura landscape as a poignant visual reference of Ueyama's past journey to a meaningful place, which enabled him to "re-experience" that coastal spot. The process of painting the same scene, either from memory or an old sketch, would have required him to recall details and sensations of standing at that far-flung corner of his home prefecture as crashing waves splash against jutting rocks. Re-creating Katsuura visually became an exercise in nostalgia as well as escape, a momentary respite from the dusty desolation surrounding him at Amache. Yet, this recollection is a wistful simulation of a place to which he may never be able to return, at least as it must have seemed at that moment of being confined to inland Colorado. Conversely, the landscape can be regarded as an existential affirmation as well: that he was still alive and able to paint—that even though he may have lost his freedom and belongings, he still had his artistic skills and the memories that made up who he continued to be.

Ueyama's 1944 Katsuura canvas brings up a rich array of critical considerations regarding landscape paintings created by Japanese Americans under wartime incarceration. Could *Katsuura* be considered a "camp painting," even though its depiction is of a place in Japan that the artist re-created from memory? If so, it seems to expand our existing definitions of "camp art," which have tended to emphasize or even valorize visible signifiers of displacement and confinement, as well as documentation and illustration of wartime trauma. Could we instead untether "camp imagery" from identifiable subject matter of incarceration and regard it as a broader and varied kind of visualization of experiential and internal processing, of existential negotiation and affirmation? That is: the act of artistically re-presenting one's physical and subjective experiences, when one's very existence is under threat, functioned as a vital means of making sense of the existential crises one's going through. Ueyama and other

incarcerated artists leveraged their creative tools to confront distressing situations, to maintain control, order, and normalcy (to the extent possible under imprisonment), and to temporarily “escape” from harsh realities. Camp landscapes offer revealing insights into incarcerated artists’ internal grappling with geographical, temporal, geopolitical, and emotional conflicts and dissonances. Beyond being subjective visualizations, such paintings also serve as important accounts that collectively contribute to the composition of a chapter of American history with which we continue to reckon.



Fig. 2 Chiura Obata, *Moonlight Over Topaz, Utah*, 1942.

Taking a broader view, we see that many of the diverse landscape paintings produced by incarcerated artists of Japanese descent are more than documentary in nature. While many do focus on the “now,” depicting that which surrounded and confined them as they lived through the unjust imprisonment one day—and one painting—at a time, their imagery functioned as a kind of “intervention” as the artists leveraged creative tools to represent, aestheticize, and transform their environment and experience. For example, Chiura Obata (1885–1975), Ueyama’s contemporary colleague and a San Francisco Bay Area artist renowned for his paintings of Yosemite and Sierra Nevada, produced numerous landscapes during his wartime confinement at the San Bruno Assembly Center in California and the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz).³ Many of his images captured the drastic fluctuations of weather and the heat, dust, and storms blanketing Topaz. But as I have analyzed elsewhere, Obata adopted an approach of picturing the camp from an elevated perspective, as if the artist were hovering above the ground or on a distant hill (even at nighttime). It is an imaginary position that implies a kind of psychological distancing—detachment as coping mechanism, perhaps—while the “all-seeing” view takes on a broader perspective

that makes sense of the harsh reality and, in turn, affirms one’s place in it. Such a pictorial strategy produced images that are aesthetically pleasing while adding poignancy and ambivalence, as seen in *Moonlight Over Topaz, Utah* (1942; fig. 2), for example—a work that was commissioned by the Japanese American Citizens League and presented to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt in 1943, who displayed the painting in her New York City apartment until her death.⁴

Such a painterly strategy of transforming barren and inhospitable surroundings into emotive visual expressions is evident in the Obata paintings that entered the Denver Art Museum’s collection in 2022. In *Clouds Over Water Tower* and *Landscape Near Topaz*, for instance, Obata applied his expert handling of *sumi-e* (Japanese ink and brush painting) to capture natural elements in fluid, energetic lines (figs. 3 and 4). Beyond the imposing water tower is a snow-capped mountain range that looks like roiling waves; some dark clouds dance above, allowing glimpses of a bright, blue sky. The monochromatic *Landscape Near Topaz*, likely painted on one of the excursions that the incarcerated people were allowed to take later during wartime, presents a mountain that seems to be breathing and expanding, as if it were about to devour or envelop the incoming traveler. The upward brushstrokes that render the trees and slopes guide the viewer’s attention skyward, beyond the forbidding mountain that blocks the view of and, by implication, access to a free world on the other side. While this ink landscape is reminiscent of Obata’s prewar imagery of “Great Nature” (*Daishizen*, in his native Japanese), the economy of his single-color brushwork adds to the visual representation of the bleak circumstances that surrounded the artist and his fellow camp prisoners.



Fig. 3 Chiura Obata, *Clouds Over Water Tower*, January 29, 1943.



Fig. 4 Chiura Obata, *Landscape Near Topaz*, 1943.

The Amache landscapes by Ueyama in this exhibition demonstrate a similar impulse on the artist’s part to transform views of the arid and drab environment into imagery replete with aesthetic qualities that belie their traumatic context. He carefully (re)arranged structures, trees, bushes, and clouds, likely taking creative licenses on the actual scenes he observed to compose the fore-, middle, and background expected in a classic landscape painting. In the 1944 *Untitled (Barracks with Pond)*, for

instance, the pond and a lone shed serve as countervailing elements that anchor the flat land with rows of barracks in the distance (cat. 28, illustrated below). In *Untitled (Amache Landscape with Barrack and Tower)*, dated April 1944, the two structures stand in the lower center of the composition, allowing Ueyama to render the grey clouds in crosshatching strokes that suggest morphing fluffiness gliding through an expansive sky (cat. 33, illustrated below). These, along with a few more Amache paintings in this exhibition, make up a group of imagery that could have been received as an artist's celebration of the idyllic, rural beauty of the American Southwest. They are, but by an incarcerated artist whose freedom this country ripped away, adding dimensions of irony, poignancy, and historical gravitas.



Cat. 28 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Barracks with Pond)*, 1944.



Cat. 33 Tokio Ueyama, *Untitled (Amache Landscape with Barrack and Water Tower)*, April 1944.

The act of looking up and capturing nature's stunning light is evident in other artists' paintings. Hisako Hibi (1907–1991), an artist also incarcerated at Topaz and the wife of Obata's good friend Matsusaburo George Hibi (1886–1947), used oil paint to create spectacular views of the sun's radiant display. Her *Eastern Sky 7:50 A.M.* of February 25, 1945, and *Western Sky*, of Topaz, Utah, in July 1945, are expressionistic, almost abstract depictions of breathtaking views that the artist took care to capture (figs. 5 and 6). The contrasting colors of crimson against charcoal and yellow against persimmon, as well as free-flowing lines and organic forms in the sky versus heavier, dark lines on the ground, all contribute to an immersive, sensorially rich viewing experience. Hibi minimizes the people, barracks, and even mountains, relegating them to the lower part of the composition and instead highlighting the vastness of the open sky and the infinitesimal human existence.



Fig. 5 Hisako Hibi, *Eastern Sky, 7:50 AM*, February 25, 1945.



Fig. 6 Hisako Hibi, *Western Sky*, July 1945.

The skyward view and the cloud motif in Hibi's landscape paintings convey more than an appreciation of nature's awesome beauty. In *Floating Clouds* (April 1944), for instance, she chose to let her eyes and imagination soar and play with the clouds as she depicted cotton candy-like fluffiness frolicking in the air above the barracks (fig. 7).⁵ The scene has a sense of serenity that belies the reality of the painter living in an inhospitable, challenging place while raising two young children and teaching and helping at the art school that her husband and Obata established at Topaz.



Fig. 7 Hisako Hibi, *Floating Clouds*, 1944.

Hibi's own commentary on the canvas's back is revealing: "Topaz sky / It was an interesting cloudy day / Floating clouds / フワリ フワリ フワリ [fuwari, fuwari, fuwari] / Free, free, freeforme [sic] in the spacious sky / I want to be free, as free as that cloud I see up above Topaz." *Fuwari* is a kind of onomatopoeia, meaning "flutter, fluffy, floating." Hibi's words thus add a descriptive, sonic dimension to her visual representation of what she saw as well as her thoughts and emotions: her desire to be free from the physical confinement and the grave injustice that she (and fellow Japanese Americans) experienced. The proclamation "I want to be free" was likely added to the painting's verso

later in her life (she revisited and wrote on the back of many paintings). But it serves as both an honest retrospection on the artist's state of mind under incarceration and a statement of hope and self-motivation that led her on a decades-long journey, through wartime and postwar challenges, to pursue her own voice and freedom in both her art and life.⁶

There are many more wartime paintings by incarcerated Japanese Americans that merit careful study, for they offer important pictures by those who lived through a historic trauma as well as varied insights into how these artists grappled with such existential crises and affirmed their place in the world through art. Such wartime works, as seen in *The Life and Art of Tokio Ueyama*, point to the flourishing prewar and postwar careers that some of these artists had in diverse communities across the US. It demonstrates the vital work of recuperating the extensive artistic output of the pre-WWII generations of American artists of Japanese descent, shifting the almost-exclusive spotlight on Japanese American incarceration toward examining the artists' full oeuvres and allowing for a more inclusive and accurate history of twentieth-century American art.

1. I must express my gratitude for the generosity of the Ueyama estate—Grace Keiko Nozaki and Irene Tsukada-Simonian, the artist's nieces, in particular—for allowing me access to the artworks and archives in their private collections since 2015. Few art museums in the United States have Ueyama's works, with the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles being the exception due to donations from the Ueyama estate. My acknowledgments go to Kristen Hayashi, Director of Collections Management & Access and Curator, and her team for facilitating in-person examinations.
2. I am grateful to Noriko Okada's translation of Ueyama's diaries that sheds light on the artist's life in this prewar period. Her translation is included in the Ueyama estate's donation of the

artist's papers to the Smithsonian Archives of American Art. See "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, 1908–circa 1954, bulk 1914–1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1/folder-9>.

3. Ueyama participated in the 1922 exhibition that Obata and his good friend Matsusaburo George Hibi organized through the East West Art Society, a diverse art collective they cofounded in San Francisco in 1921. See the timeline in this publication.
4. See ShiPu Wang, "Archiving for Reckoning: Chiura Obata's Wartime Work," *Archives of American Art Journal* 59.2 (2020): 46–65; and ShiPu Wang, ed., *Chiura Obata: An American Modern* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018).
5. *Floating Clouds*, along with Hibi's *Autumn* (c. 1967), *Peace* (1948), and Matsusaburo George Hibi's *Coyotes Came Out of the Desert* (1945), became the first paintings by the Hibis to enter the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum in 2022.
6. After Topaz closed in 1945, the Hibis moved to New York City to start a new life, but Matsusaburo died of cancer in 1947, barely two years into their regained freedom. Widowed with two young children, Hisako worked in a garment factory, among other jobs, to support her family. She was able to resume her art career more fully after relocating back to San Francisco in 1954. For Hibi's art and life, see her memoir, edited by her daughter, Ibuki Hibi Lee, *Peaceful Painter: Memoirs of an Issei Woman Artist* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2004); the children's book by her granddaughter, Amy Lee-Tai, *A Place Where Sunflowers Grow*, illustrated by Felicia Hoshino (San Francisco: California Children's Book Press, 2006); and Cécile Whiting's "Depicting Place and Displacement," and Patricia Wakida's "The Remarkable and Resilient Lives of Hisako Hibi and Miné Okubo," in *Pictures of Belonging: Miki Hayakawa, Hisako Hibi, and Miné Okubo*, edited by ShiPu Wang (Los Angeles and Berkeley: Japanese American National Museum in association with the University of California Press, 2023).

Timeline of Ueyama's Life

- 1889–1908, Early Life
- 1909–21, American Art Education
- 1922–41, California, Oregon, Mexico, and Japan
- 1942–45, World War II and Amache
- 1946–69, Los Angeles

1889–1908, Early Life

Tokio Ueyama is born on September 22, 1889, in Toyajo, Wakayama Prefecture, to parents Sojuro and Hamaye Nakai Ueyama. His Japanese education includes Toyajyo Elementary School, Taikuy Junior High School, Prefecture High School, and Eastlake English School. While studying at Eastlake, he works for the design department of the Imperial Japanese Army General Staff Office in Tokyo.¹

In April 1908, a nearly eleven-year-old Suyeko "Suye" Tsukada (1897–1969) leaves Japan on the ship *Iyo*

Maru with her father, Tomojiro Tsukada, and mother, Hana Uyeda Tsukada, and arrives in Seattle on April 17.² (Twenty years later, Suye marries Tokio in California.)

Ueyama arrives at Seattle, Washington, on May 7, 1908, after sailing from Yokohama on the ship *Kaga Maru*.³

1909–21, American Art Education

In November 1909, Ueyama enrolls at the California School of Design (later renamed the San Francisco Art Institute) and leaves in February 1910.⁴

On April 6, 1910, Ueyama's mother dies. He is twenty years old.⁵

In 1910, Ueyama enrolls in the painters' course at the University of Southern California, graduating with a degree in fine arts in 1914 (fig. 1).⁶

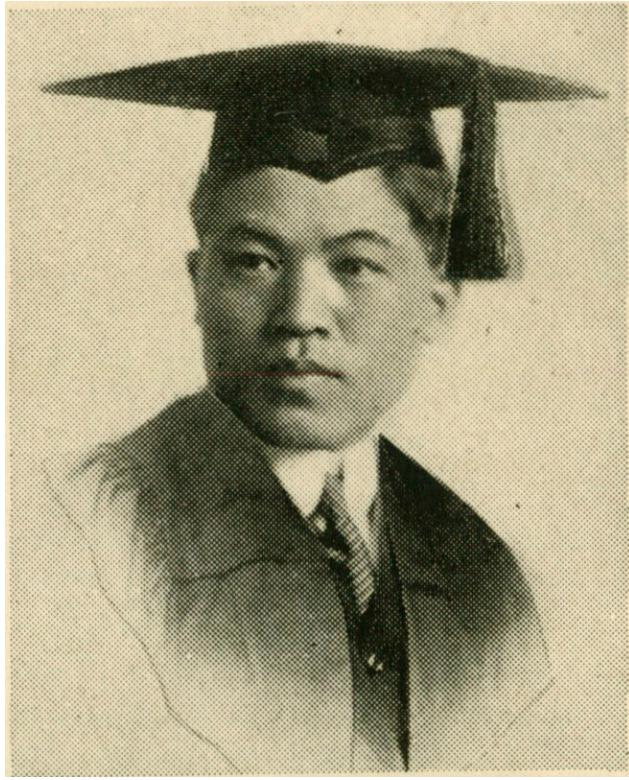


Fig. 1 Unknown photographer, Tokio Ueyama's graduation portrait from the University of Southern California (cropped), published 1915.

The 1913 Alien Land Laws in California and Arizona prohibit Asian immigrant males from purchasing or owning land.⁷

In 1916, Ueyama is included in the Southern California Japanese Art Club exhibition at the Nippon Club in Los Angeles, his first recorded exhibition.⁸

In 1917, Ueyama moves to the East Coast and studies at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA) in Philadelphia until 1921.⁹

In June 1918, he receives an honorable mention at PAFA for his work in perspective.¹⁰

In November 1919, he exhibits in the *Third Exhibition of Work Done at Chester Springs, the Summer School of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*.¹¹ Works on display include a painting of a sculpture bust exhibited as (no. 2 in the catalog), *The*

Spring House (no. 32), *The Hills* (no. 103), and *Portrait* (no. 124).

In 1919, he wins a \$500 to fund three months of travel abroad.

On July 8, 1920, Ueyama leaves New York City on the ship *Canopic* headed to Europe for his Cresson scholarship summer (fig. 2).

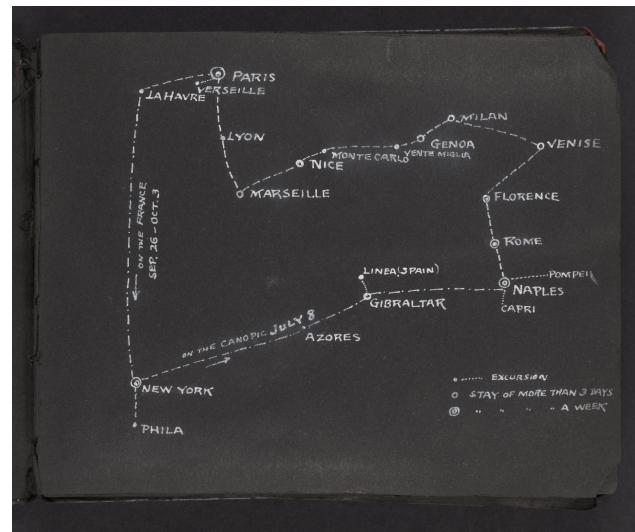


Fig. 2 Tokio Ueyama, Map of European travels, 1920.

The *Canopic* makes a brief stop at the Azores, then carries on to Gibraltar, where Ueyama stays for multiple days and takes a short excursion north into Spain. The ship then carries on to Naples, where he disembarks and stays for more than a week, taking excursions to Capri and Pompeii. From Naples, Ueyama travels by train to Rome, where he stays for over a week. From Rome, he takes the train to Florence, where he stays for more than a week, before moving to Venice for several days. From there, he travels to Milan, Genoa, Nice, and Marseille, staying multiple days at each and making shorter stops in Ventimiglia and Monte Carlo. From Marseille, he takes a train to Paris, where he stays more than a week. From Paris, he takes a train to Le Havre and embarks on the *SS France* on September 26, arriving in New York on October 4.¹²

Ueyama completes his studies at PAFA in 1921.

1922–41, California, Oregon, Mexico, and Japan

He probably returns by train to Los Angeles in January 1922, departing Philadelphia on January 8 to Kansas City, then San Francisco, arriving in Los Angeles on January 12.¹³

In 1922, Ueyama cofounds the association Shaku-do-sha with artists Hojin Miyoshi (1888–unknown) and Sekishun Masuzo Uyeno (c. 1892–unknown) and poet T. B. Okamura (dates unknown).

From April 21 to May 28, 1922, Ueyama exhibits *The Spring House* (no. 64 in the catalog) and *Portrait Study* (no. 65) in the *Third Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.¹⁴

From November 17 to December 16, 1922, he exhibits *Summer Girl* (no. 90 in the catalog), *Fur Coat* (no. 91), and *Lake Arrow Head* (no. 92, illustrated) at the second exhibition of the East West Art Society at the San Francisco Museum of Art at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco.¹⁵

From May 4 to June 17, 1923, Ueyama exhibits *The Fur Coat* (no. 67 in the catalog) in the *Fourth Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.¹⁶

Between June 15 and 28, 1923, the Shaku-do-sha holds its first group exhibition at the Japanese

Union Church at 120 N. San Pedro Street. Ueyama exhibits four paintings: *Still Life* (no. 21 on the checklist), *Still Life* (no. 22, illustrated), *Portrait Sketch* (no. 23), and *Spring in the Valley* (no. 24).¹⁷

Ueyama also contributes a woodblock print for the cover of the catalog.¹⁸

On September 1, 1923, the Great Kanto Earthquake strikes south of Tokyo, bringing down buildings and piers. Its tremor creates a tsunami that sweeps away thousands of people. Fires rage until September 3, devastating Tokyo and Yokohama. According to a later news report, Ueyama had sent paintings by ship to Japan for a government exhibition that were lost in the disaster.¹⁹

Congress passes the Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act), which halts all immigration from Asia and limits other immigrants through a national origins quota.²⁰

From September 20 to 30, 1924, Ueyama mounts his first known solo exhibition at the Sumida Music Store at 325 East First Street. Among the twenty-five works exhibited are his watercolor (no. 13 in the catalog), his early (no. 25), and possibly (no. 10 or 19). It is also possible that a dated 1924 was exhibited as *In the High Sierras* (no. 23).²¹

In November 1924, Ueyama presents a one-man exhibition of twenty-five works at the gallery at the University of Oregon in Eugene. His friend and PAFA classmate Nowland B. Zane (1885–1945), a professor at the university, probably invited him to exhibit.²²



Fig. 3 Unknown photographer, Tokio Ueyama painting the *Romeo and Juliet* mural for the Elsinore Theatre, Oregon, circa 1924–26.

In 1924, Ueyama is commissioned to create murals of Romeo and Juliet and Macbeth for the Elsinore Theatre in Salem, Oregon. Currently, these are attributed to Zane and may have been a shared commission (fig. 3).²³ The Elsinor Theater opened to the public on May 28, 1926.

In April 1925, Ueyama exhibits *Portrait of Miss B.* (no. 73 in the catalog) at the *Sixth Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.²⁴

On May 24, 1925, Ueyama passes through the US border at El Paso, Texas, for a three-month sojourn in Mexico. He passes back into the US on August 27.²⁵ While in Mexico, he spends time in Mexico City, Cuernavaca, and Taxco. He meets Diego Rivera, Jean Charlot, and probably Edward Weston.²⁶

Ueyama probably travels back to Oregon in 1925.²⁷

A letter dated February 13, 1926, from F. T. Iwakura in Courtland, California, is addressed to Ueyama at 1912 Moss Street in Eugene, Oregon, suggesting he was in Oregon at that time.²⁸

From April 9 to May 23, 1926, Ueyama exhibits *Creeping Shadows* (no. 62 in the catalog) in the *Seventh Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.²⁹

In late May 1926, Ueyama helps arrange stage decorations with Zane at the University of Oregon for an upcoming dance drama.³⁰

During the summer of 1926, Ueyama wins an honorable mention for his painting *The Spring-house* when it is exhibited (no. 143 in the catalog) in the first annual Southern California Artists' exhibition at the Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, from June 4 to August 31.³¹

Later in 1926, he exhibits at the Southern California State Fair in Riverside County and wins honorable mention for *Still Life*.³²

In January 1927, Ueyama begins working for the Bunrindo Book Store at 303 East First Street in Los Angeles.³³

From April 6 to May 17, 1928, Ueyama exhibits (no. 83 in the catalog) at the *Ninth Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.³⁴



Fig. 4 Unknown photographer, Tokio and Suye Ueyama on their wedding day, 1928.

On July 23, 1928, Ueyama marries Suye Tsukada in a ceremony at California's Mission Inn led by Reverend Taizo Kitagawa (fig. 4).³⁵

From April 14 to 28, 1929, Ueyama exhibits *Portrait Study in Black* (no. 158 in the catalog) in the 51st San Francisco Art Association exhibition.³⁶

From June 7 to August 31, 1929, he exhibits *Creeping Shadows* (no. 93 in the catalog) in the *Fourth Annual Exhibition of Southern California Art* at the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego.³⁷

In December 1929, Ueyama exhibits two paintings in the first annual *Japanese Artists of Los Angeles* exhibition held at the Rafu Nichibei Art Salon at 219 N. San Pedro Street. Based on a review written by Arthur Millier, art critic for the *LA Times*, these were probably and .³⁸

In 1930, Tokio and Suye move to the Fulsom Street house owned by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson.³⁹

From April 4 to May 25, 1930, Ueyama exhibits a painting titled *Monterey* (no. 96 in the catalog) in the *Eleventh Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.⁴⁰

Later in 1930, he exhibits in the second annual *Japanese Artists of Los Angeles*.⁴¹

In 1931, Ueyama exhibits *Church at Taxco, Mexico* (no. 440 in the catalog) in the 53rd exhibition of the San Francisco Art Association at the Palace of the Legion of Honor from April 26 to May 31.⁴² Ueyama painted a number of versions of the Church of Santa Prisca de Taxco. While it is unknown which one was on display in San Francisco, it may have been similar to the accompanying this catalog.

From April 25 to June 6, 1935, Ueyama exhibits one painting, *The Rain* (no. 104 in the catalog), in the *Sixteenth Annual: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California*, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art.⁴³

From February 19 to 24, 1936, Ueyama holds a significant solo exhibition composed of sixty-one works at the Miyako Hotel on First and San Pedro Streets. (no. 6 in the catalog) is illustrated on the cover of the catalog. Also included were (no. 14), (no. 21), (no. 40), and (no. 60).⁴⁴

On February 28, 1936, Ueyama receives a letter from the LA Art Association appointing him as its envoy to Japan to develop relationships that might result in exhibitions of Japanese artwork in California and of California artwork in Japan.⁴⁵

Ueyama receives his travel permit on March 10, 1936, and leaves on the ship *Asama* on May 30.⁴⁶ While intending to stay for only ten months, he applies for an extension with the American consulate at

Yokohama on February 1, 1937, and stays for a total of thirteen months.⁴⁷ While in Japan, he mounts a solo exhibition at his alma mater, Toyajyo Elementary School.⁴⁸

On April 28, 1937, Tokio, Suye, Tokio's father, Sojuro, and Suye's brother Jutaro Narumi board the SS *Tatsuta Maru* in Yokohama bound for San Francisco, where they arrive on May 12, 1937. Two days later, they arrived on the same ship at San Pedro and the port of Los Angeles.⁴⁹

Ueyama's father dies unexpectedly of a stroke in December 1939.⁵⁰

The following month, January 1940, Suye's father dies of a stroke.

From May 25 to September 29, 1940, Ueyama exhibits *Misumi, Japan* (no. 2165 in the catalog) and *The Rain* (no. 2166) in *California Art Today* at the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco.⁵¹

Between July 19 and 22, 1940, Ueyama writes in his diary that he and Suye travel to San Francisco with Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. They stop in Monterey and drive up the Pacific Coast Highway. They visit the Presidio, Golden Gate State Park, and Chinatown. The Wilsons returned to LA, but Suye and Tokio remain to visit the Golden Gate International Exposition.⁵²

On September 27, 1940, Germany, Italy, and Japan sign the Tripartite Pact formalizing the alliance between the three countries. Ueyama notes Japan's having joined the Axis in his diary that same day.⁵³

On August 31, 1941, Ueyama writes in his diary that he has quit working for Bunrindo, where he has worked for fourteen years. "My heart is heavy with feeling."⁵⁴

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacks Pearl Harbor. In response, the US joins World War II.

1942–45, World War II and Amache

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9066, allowing for the mass incarceration of over 120,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast during WWII without trial or hearings.⁵⁵

On March 18, 1942, President Roosevelt signs Executive Order 9102, establishing the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to formulate a program for Japanese relocation.

The Santa Anita Assembly Center, a temporary detention center where the Ueyamas are first detained, opens on March 27, 1942. (It closes on October 27, 1942).

On June 12, 1942, construction of the WRA-managed Granada Relocation Center in Colorado, colloquially known as Amache (pronounced *ah-mah-chee*), begins. It is in operation by August and sees its maximum population that October at 7,318. More than 10,000 people are incarcerated at Amache over time.⁵⁶

Also on June 12, 1942, the 100th Infantry Battalion—a segregated unit composed of second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei)—is activated.⁵⁷

The Ueyamas arrive at Amache on September 19, 1942, and reside at barrack 6F-7C.⁵⁸ With Koichi Nomiyama (1900–1984) and others, Ueyama supervises and teaches art classes three times a day, three days a week, in the 7E block recreation hall (fig. 5).⁵⁹



Fig. 5 Unknown photographer, Outside the Amache Art Studio. Tokio and Suye Ueyama are on the left. Yoshio Harry Tsuruda is below, and Koichi Nomiyama is on the right, c. 1942–45.

On February 1, 1943, President Roosevelt activates the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated regiment of Japanese Americans.⁶⁰ On August 10, 1944, the 100th Infantry Battalion is integrated into the 442nd.⁶¹ These remain the most decorated units of their size in US military history.⁶² Thirty-one members of Amache are killed at war.⁶³

In March 1943, Ueyama exhibits at the Arts and Crafts Festival at Amache held in Terry Hall.⁶⁴

On December 17, 1944, the West Coast exclusion ban is lifted, effective January 2, 1945.⁶⁵ The ten concentration camps run by the WRA begin to close.

On May 29, 1945, Ueyama receives permission to travel to Los Angeles.⁶⁶

On June 11, 1945, the Ueyamas leave Amache.⁶⁷

On August 31, 1945, Ueyama receives permission to travel to the Manzanar Relocation Center, California. He departs Los Angeles on September 4 and returns on September 20.⁶⁸

The last residents leave Amache on October 15, 1945.⁶⁹

1946–69, Los Angeles

In November 1946, a group of artists including Ueyama form the Los Angeles Palette Club.⁷⁰



Fig. 6 Unknown photographer, Tokio and Suye Ueyama in Bunkado, date unknown.

In 1947, Suye and Tokio open the gift shop Bunkado (fig. 6).⁷¹

From May 2 to 4, 1947, Japanese artists of the LA Palette Club exhibit artwork created at American concentration camps at the Daishi Mission, or Koyasas Beikoku Betsuin, on 342 East First Street. Ueyama exhibits *At Santa Anita* (known as , no. 48 in the catalog), *Yucca Trees* (no. 49), *Amache Center* (no. 50), *Passing Shower* (no. 51), *Our Corn Patch* (no. 52), *Cactus* (no. 53), and *Manzanar* (no. 54). Ueyama serves as chairman of the exhibition.⁷²

From November 5 to 10, Ueyama exhibits *Self Portrait* (no. 33), possibly this , *Katsuura* (no. 34 in the catalog), possibly , and *Still Life* (no. 35) in the Los Angeles Palette Club's *Second Annual Exhibition* at the Daishi Mission.⁷³

From September 29 to October 4, 1948, Ueyama exhibits *The Spring Light* (no. 37 in the catalog), *Sketch* (no. 38), and *Amakusa, Japan* (no. 39) in the LA Palette Club's *Third Annual Exhibition* at the Daishi Mission. Ueyama serves as chairman of the exhibition.⁷⁴

In 1952, Congress passes the McCarran-Walter Act, allowing Japanese immigration to the US again and allowing Issei (first-generation Japanese immigrants) to become US citizens for the first time.

Tokio Ueyama dies, aged sixty-four, on July 12, 1954.

Ueyama's memorial exhibition takes place October 20 to 26, 1954, at the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Southern California, 358 East First Street. Thirty-five works are on display representing the arc of his career, including (no. 5 in the catalog), (no. 25), and *Life at Santa Anita* (known as) (no. 27).⁷⁵

On March 12, 1969, Suye Ueyama dies, aged seventy-one, in Los Angeles.

1. See the biography (in Japanese) in Ueyama's Memorial Exhibition catalog, 1954, Collection of Bunkado. Many thanks to Noriko Okada for translating the Japanese text.

2. See handwritten note, small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.

3. See "Japanese Passport, 1908," Tokio Ueyama papers, 1908–circa 1954, bulk 1914–1945, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-10>; and handwritten note, small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.

4. See 1909–10 California School of Design college catalog and Ueyama registration documents shared in an email to the author from Jeff Gunderson, Archivist/Librarian of the SFAI Legacy Foundation + Archives, June 20, 2023.

5. "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, 1Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-9>.

6. See "University of Southern California Diploma," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-2-folder-8>.

7. See "Timeline of Japanese American History," Japanese American National Museum, September 2021, <https://www.janm.org/sites/default/files/2021-12/janm-education-resources-common-ground-previsit-timeline-and-vocabulary-2021.pdf>.

8. Gordon Chang, ed., *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 439. This author has not located the source catalog for this exhibition.

9. See registration cards at PAFA sent via email to the author from Hoang Tran, Director of Archives & Collections, PAFA, June 12, 2023.

10. See hand-written letter dated June 28, 1918, red scrapbook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.

11. See *Third Exhibition of Work Done at Chester Springs, the Summer School of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Chester Springs, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1919), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015062805919&view=1up&seq=3>.

12. The ship manifest provides the date of arrival in New York as October 4, 1920. In a small black notebook in the Bunkado collection with his and Suye's travel information, Ueyama notes the date as October 3.

13. See Pullman train ticket stubs, "Visas and Other Travel Documents, 1920–1925," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-2-folder-9>.

14. See *Third Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1922), https://archive.org/details/calanhm_000570.

15. The catalog is available at the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) in Los Angeles.

16. See *Fourth Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1923), https://archive.org/details/calanhm_000590/mode/2up.

17. I am grateful to Noriko Okada for her translation of the exhibition catalog, which is held at JANM.

18. Woodblock print cover illustrated in Karin Higa, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Little Tokyo between the Wars," in *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970*, 36. The original catalog is held at JANM.

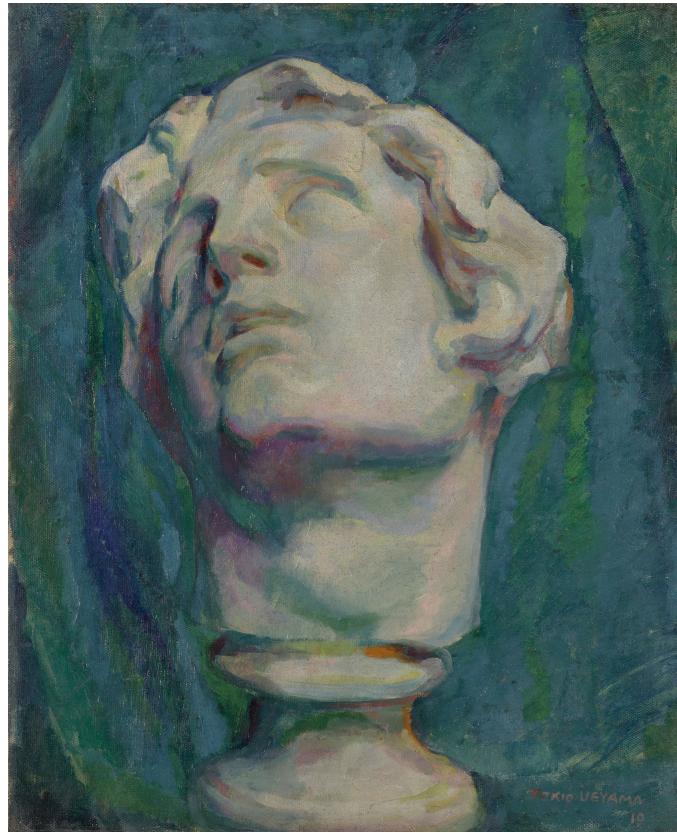
19. It is currently unknown which of his works perished. See "Japanese Art to be Shown in University Gallery Soon," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, October 29, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-10-29/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>.

20. See "The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)," Office of the Historian of the United States Department of State, accessed November 9, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>.
21. The catalog is in the red scrapbook, 11, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
22. See "Japanese Art to be Shown in University Gallery Soon," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, October 29, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-10-29/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; Margaret Skavlan, "Japanese Paintings Are Hung in University Art Gallery," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 13, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-13/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Arts Club Will Open Exhibition with Tea," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 18, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-18/ed-1/seq-3/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Exhibition of Japanese Artist's Paintings Will Be Opened Today," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 19, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-19/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Japanese Print Collector Visits Campus Today. S. Doi Paintings to be Presented With Ueyama Exhibition," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 20, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-11-20/ed-1/seq-3/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; "Work of Japanese Artist Portrays Variety of Style," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, December 2, 1924, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1924-12-02/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; and undated clipping, "Exhibit of Ueyama, Japanese Painter, Opens Wednesday," red scrapbook, 8, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
23. Ueyama's Memorial Exhibition biography states he received the commission in 1924, and a black-and-white photograph of Ueyama applying paint under Romeo's shoe, illustrated in this timeline, provides incontestable evidence. See the Japanese version of his biography in the Memorial Exhibition catalog, 1954. I am grateful for a translation by Noriko Okada. I am also grateful to Kanae Aoki, whose research revealed that Ueyama helped create both murals, which still exist. See email to the author, December 18, 2023. Recently, Aoki co-curated *Transbordering: Migration and Art Across Wakayama and the U.S.A* at the Museum of Modern Art, Wakayama, Japan, which included artwork by Ueyama.
24. See *Sixth Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1925), https://archive.org/details/calanhm_000621.
25. His visa to visit Mexico was approved in Los Angeles on April 27, 1925. It shows that he entered Mexico on May 24, 1925, and was admitted back into the US on August 27, 1925. "Visas and Other Travel Documents, 1920–1925," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-2/folder-9>.
26. On his relationship with Diego Rivera, see "Tokio Ueyama: Un Pintor Japonés en México," *Revista de Revistas*, September 6, 1925, 17–18 and 42. Page 42 is missing in the clipping available in the red scrapbook, 20–21, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. I am grateful to Memphis Despain for translating this article while ShiPu Wang's research assistant in August 2022. Jean Charlot handwrote his address in Ueyama's black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. The Shaku-do-sha later exhibited Weston's work in 1925, 1927, and 1931 at the Sumida Music Store on East First Street. See Higa, "Hidden in Plain Sight," 39.
27. See "Talented Japanese Artist Visits Campus," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, November 18, 1925, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1925-11-18/ed-1/seq-3/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; and "Dance," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, April 2, 1926, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1926-04-02/ed-1/seq-4/>.
28. See "Correspondence—Miscellaneous, 1916–1936," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1/folder-4>.
29. See *Seventh Exhibition: Painters and Sculptors of Southern California* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1926), https://archive.org/details/calanhm_000633.
30. See "Music to Add to Beauty of Dance Drama," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, April 1, 1926, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1926-04-01/ed-1/seq-1/#words=Tokio+Ueyama>; and "Dance Drama Has Atmosphere of Colorful and Dreamlike Fairyland," *Oregon Daily Emerald*, April 2, 1926, <https://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/2004260239/1926-04-02/ed-1/seq-1/>.
31. Catalog available in the archives of the San Diego Museum of Art. See also a clipping from the *San Diego Independent*, June 27, 1926, red scrapbook, 19, Collection of Bunkado, Inc; letter from Reginald Poland notifying of award, red scrapbook, 30, Collection of Bunkado, Inc; and Ione Rayburn, "Japanese Artists in California," in "Sports and Vanities," September 1927, clipping in red scrapbook, 37–38, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. Rayburn's

- article states that Ueyama exhibited canvases at the Artland Club from December 1926 to January 1927, but to date this author has not found further references to these.
32. Because he exhibited a number of paintings under this title, it is difficult to know which still life won the award. To date this author has not located the exhibition catalog. See references to this award and exhibition in Ueyama's Memorial Exhibition biography; "Award Certificate from Southern California Fair, 1926," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-1>; and Rayburn, "Japanese Artists in California."
33. "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-9>.
34. Catalog available in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) archives.
35. See hand-written details in a small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.; and a wedding expenses receipt, "Miscellaneous Biographical Information, circa 1928–1937," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-11>.
36. My thanks to ShiPu Wang for information on this exhibition.
37. Catalog available in the archives of the San Diego Museum of Art. See also a clipping of an article by Reginald Poland, director of the Fine Arts Gallery, "Work in Annual Show of Virile, Positive Spirit," red scrapbook, 5, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
38. Millier describes Monterey as "flooded with clear light which creates a fine pattern of light and shadow on headlands, houses, and blue water." He continues: "His portrait of a young Japanese woman in black hat and coat holds one's interest by its poise, feeling for textures and character." Millier concludes by writing, "He is an accomplished and painstaking artist." See Arthur Millier, "City's Japanese Show Art," *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 1929. To date this author has not located the exhibition catalog.
39. "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-9>.
40. Catalog available in the LACMA archives.
41. To date, this author has not located the source catalog for this exhibition. Based on the review by *LA Times* art critic Antony Anderson, Ueyama had on display "an imposing and exceedingly skillful portrait of a young Japanese woman." This might be his large portrait of Suye in a kimono painted in 1929 and now at the Japanese American National Museum. Anderson continues that Ueyama's "strong modeling and understanding breadth of style show him to be one of our finest portrait painters, indeed, quite among the good portraitists of the country." See clipping in red scrapbook, 15, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. Antony Anderson, "Art News From Laguna," *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1930.
42. Many thanks to ShiPu Wang for information about this exhibition.
43. Catalog available in the LACMA archives.
44. See catalog in red scrapbook, 30, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
45. "Correspondence—Miscellaneous, 1916–1936," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-4>.
46. See handwritten note in small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
47. See handwritten note in small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc; and Japanese biography in his Memorial Exhibition catalog, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. I am grateful to Noriko Okada for her translation of the Japanese.
48. See Memorial Exhibition catalog, Collection of Bunkado, Inc. I am grateful to Noriko Okada for her translation of the Japanese.
49. See the manifest for the *Tatsuta Maru*; handwritten notes in small black notebook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.; and "Visas and Other Travel Documents, 1920–1925," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-2-folder-9>. I am grateful to Grace Keiko Nozaki for articulating family relationships.
50. See Western Union telegraph dated December 10, 1929, "Correspondence—Ueyama Family, circa 1928–1939," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-7>; and emails to the author from Grace Keiko Nozaki, June 19 and 20, 2023.
51. This author has not located the source catalog and is grateful to ShiPu Wang for the information on this exhibition. In a diary entry from May 2, 1940, Ueyama writes that *Misumi* and *Rain*

- won citations. See "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-9>. See also a letter from Timothy L. Pflueger, Vice Chairman, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, expressing gratitude for Ueyama's participation, red scrapbook, 92–93, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
52. "Diary Excerpts Translated into English, 2023," Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-9>.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. See "Timeline," Japanese American Museum of Art.
56. On the history of Amache, see J. Burton, M. Farrell, F. Lord, and R. Lord, "Granada Relocation Center," in *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Tuscon, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, 2000), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/anthropology74/ce5.htm; and "Granada (Amache) Relocation Center Colorado," in *Report to the President: Japanese-American Internment Sites Preservation* (US Department of the Interior, 2001), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/internment/reporta3.htm.
57. See "Going for Broke: The 100th Infantry Battalion," National WWII Museum, August 1, 2020, <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/japanese-american-100th-infantry-battalion>.
58. See "Name by Name Accounting Roster of Evacuees for Closing of Granada Camp" (War Relocation Authority, December 31, 1944), 172, <https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/176117?ln=en>; and an interactive Amache Camp Directory created by the University of Denver, <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=38d3dc5b459d46bfae00576afb66af4&extent=-11393355.7689%2C458533.2233%2C-11389113.5138%2C4587509.29%2C102100>.
59. See Chang, ed., *Asian American Art*, 401.
60. See "Going for Broke: The 442nd Regimental Combat Team," National WWII Museum website, September 24, 2020, <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/442nd-regimental-combat-team>.
61. See "Going for Broke: The 100th Infantry Battalion."
62. See "Timeline," Japanese American Museum of Art.
63. "Granada (Amache) Relocation Center Colorado."
64. See a photograph of the painting by Pat Coffee, with typed notes on verso, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement 1942–45, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, <https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/109977?ln=en#?xywh=-25%2C0%2C1548%2C1119&cv=.>
65. See James G. Lindley, "The Granada Relocation Center: A Narrative Report," November 15, 1945, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records 1930–1974, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, <https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/record/175087?ln=en>.
66. See Alien's Travel Permit, "Granada Relocation Center (Amache, Colorado) Forms and Permits, 1942–1945, Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-2>.
67. See "Name by Name Accounting Roster of Evacuees for Closing of Granada Camp."
68. See Application for Alien Enemy to Travel, "Granada Relocation Center (Amache, Colorado) Forms and Permits, 1942–1945, Tokio Ueyama papers, Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/tokio-ueyama-papers-22289/series-1/box-1-folder-2>.
69. See Robert Harvey, *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado during World War II* (Scottsdale, AZ: Hawes & Jenkins, 2023), 282; and Lindley, "The Granada Relocation Center: A Narrative Report."
70. See "Japanese Artists Show Relocation Center Art," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1947.
71. See the Bunkado website, accessed November 28, 2023, <https://www.bunkadoonline.com/pages/new>.
72. See catalog in Collection of Bunkado, Inc.; and Mary Oyama, "Reveille," May 2, 1947, clipping in scrapbook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
73. See catalog in Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
74. See catalog in Collection of Bunkado, Inc.; and undated clipping, "Attn: Nisei artists," scrapbook, Collection of Bunkado, Inc.
75. See catalog in Collection of Bunkado, Inc.

Works in the Exhibition



Head

1919
Oil on canvas
21 x 16 1/2 in.

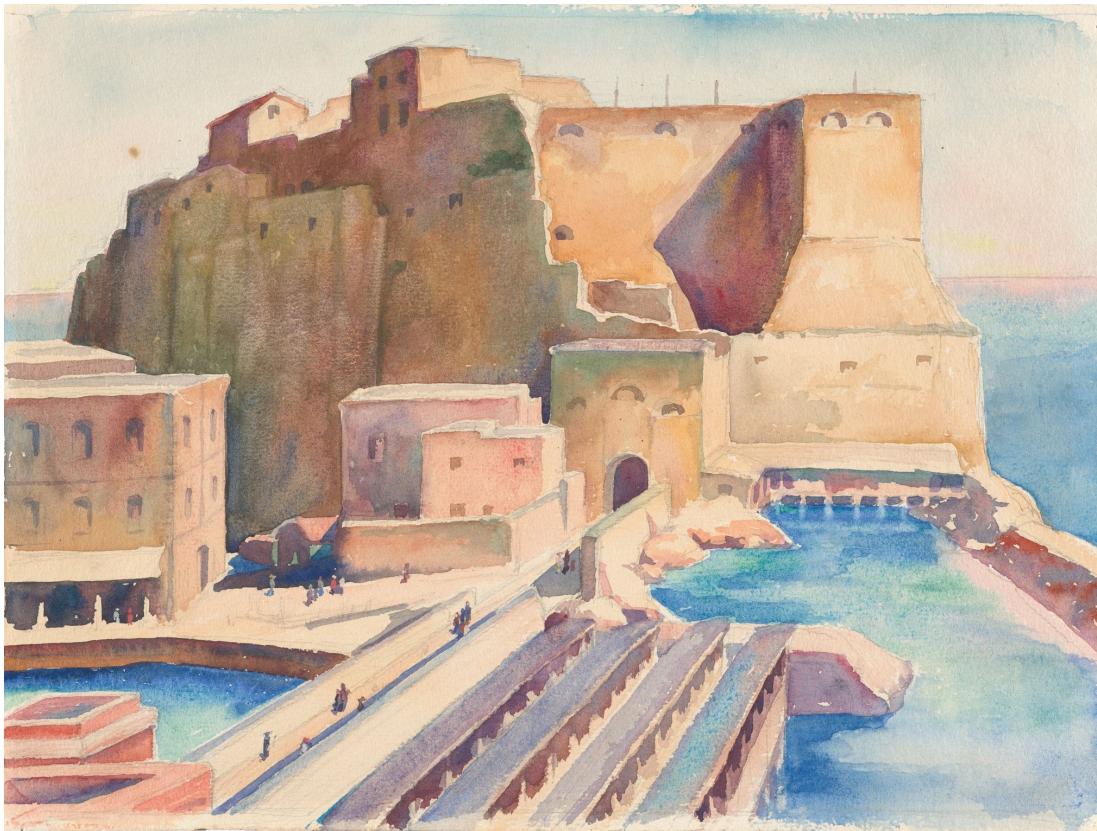
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Cresson Scholarship

May 1919
Ink on paper
11 x 8 1/2 in.

Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



The Castle in Naples (Castel dell'Ovo, Naples)

1920

Watercolor on paper

8 1/2 x 11 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Self-Portrait

1924

Oil on canvas

18 1/2 x 13 3/4 in.

Collection of Susie and David Ishibashi. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



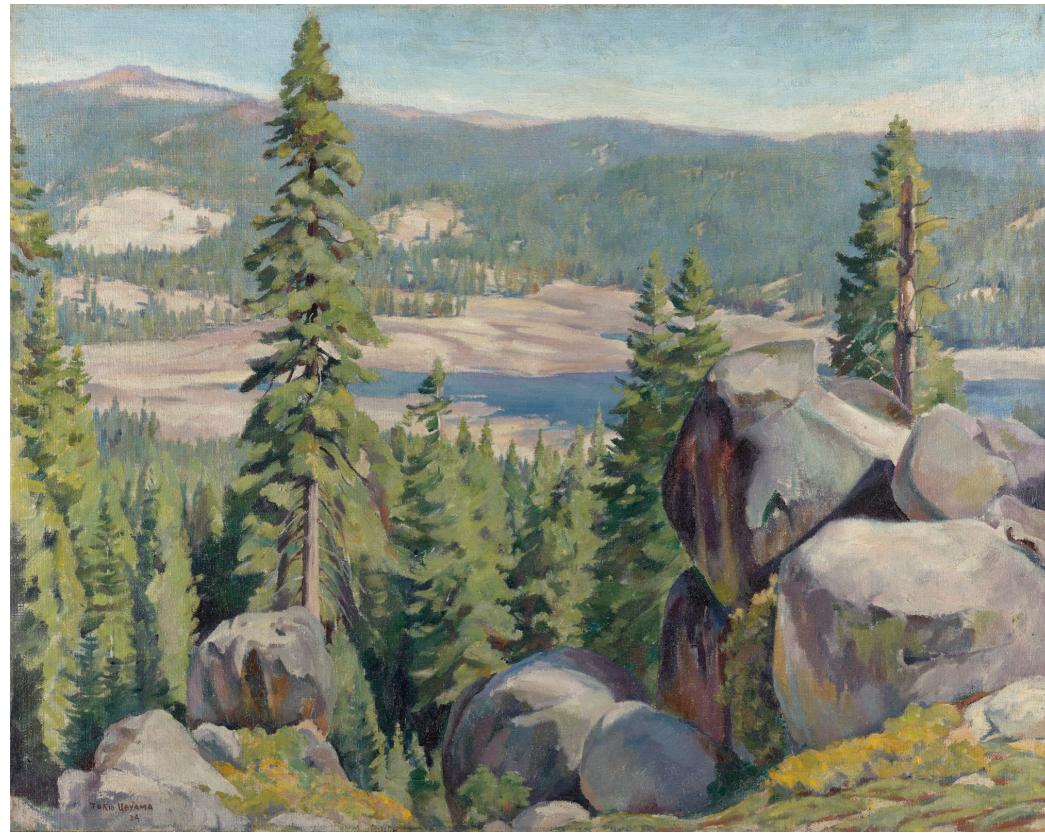
Still Life

1924

Oil on canvas

24 x 30 in.

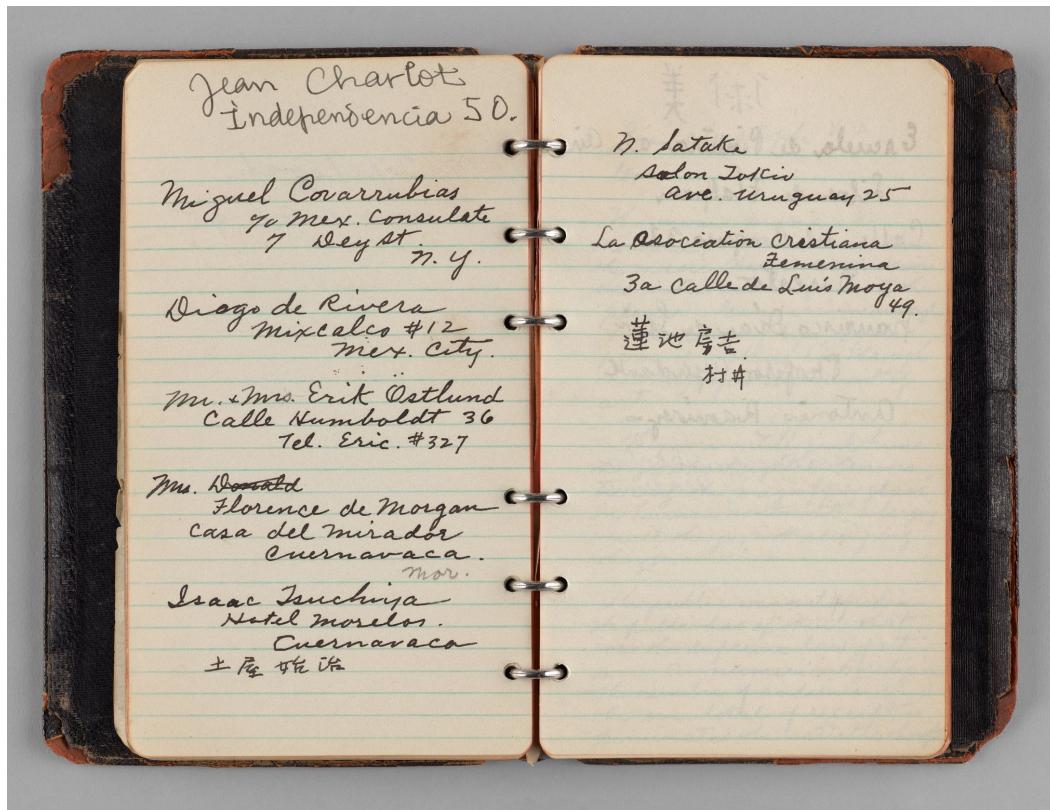
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Landscape)

1924
Oil on canvas
32 x 40 1/2 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Notebook with addresses and journal entries

1920s

Ink on paper

6 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. open

Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Taxco, Mexico)

1925
Oil on canvas
25 1/4 x 30 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



At Cuernavaca

1925

Oil on canvas

8 3/4 x 10 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Portrait in Black (Mrs. Ueyama)

1928
Oil on canvas
29 1/2 x 24 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



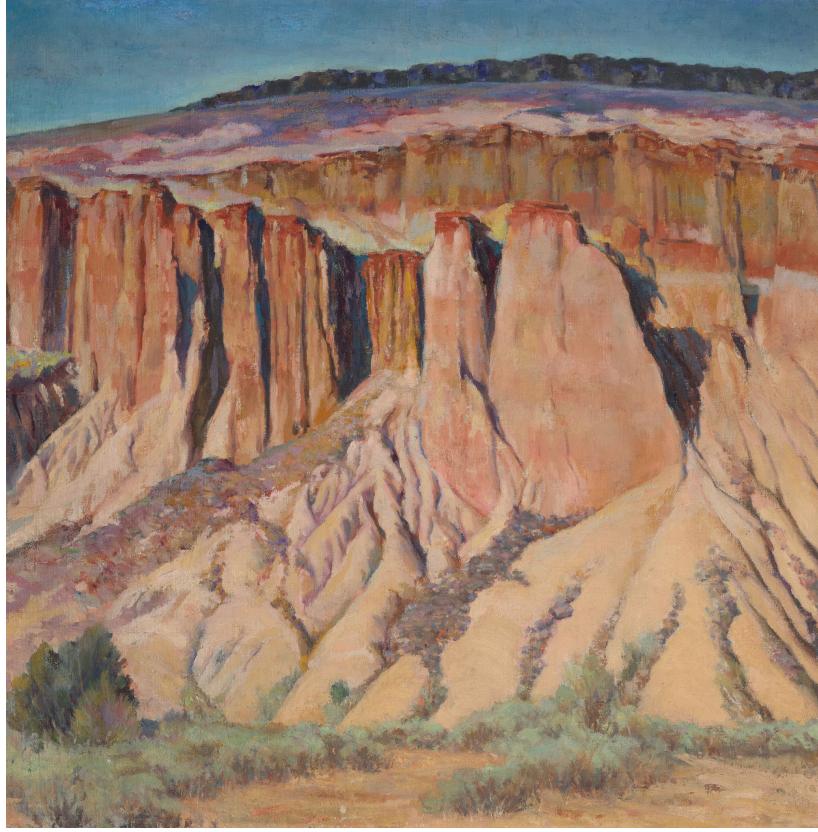
Monterey (Point Lobos, Monterey, California)

1929

Oil on canvas

29 7/8 × 35 1/2 in.

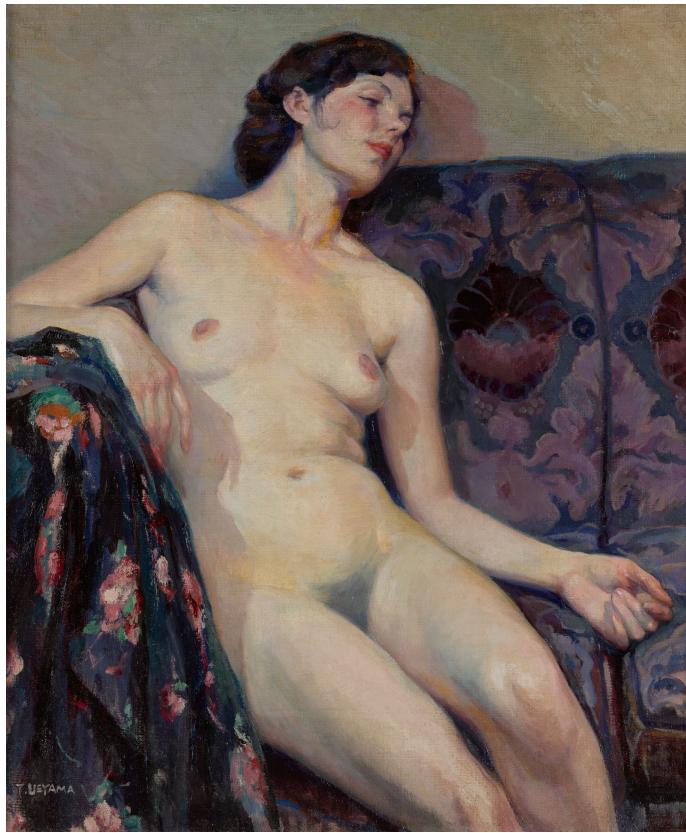
Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Red Rock Canyon

1931
Oil on canvas
42 x 42 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



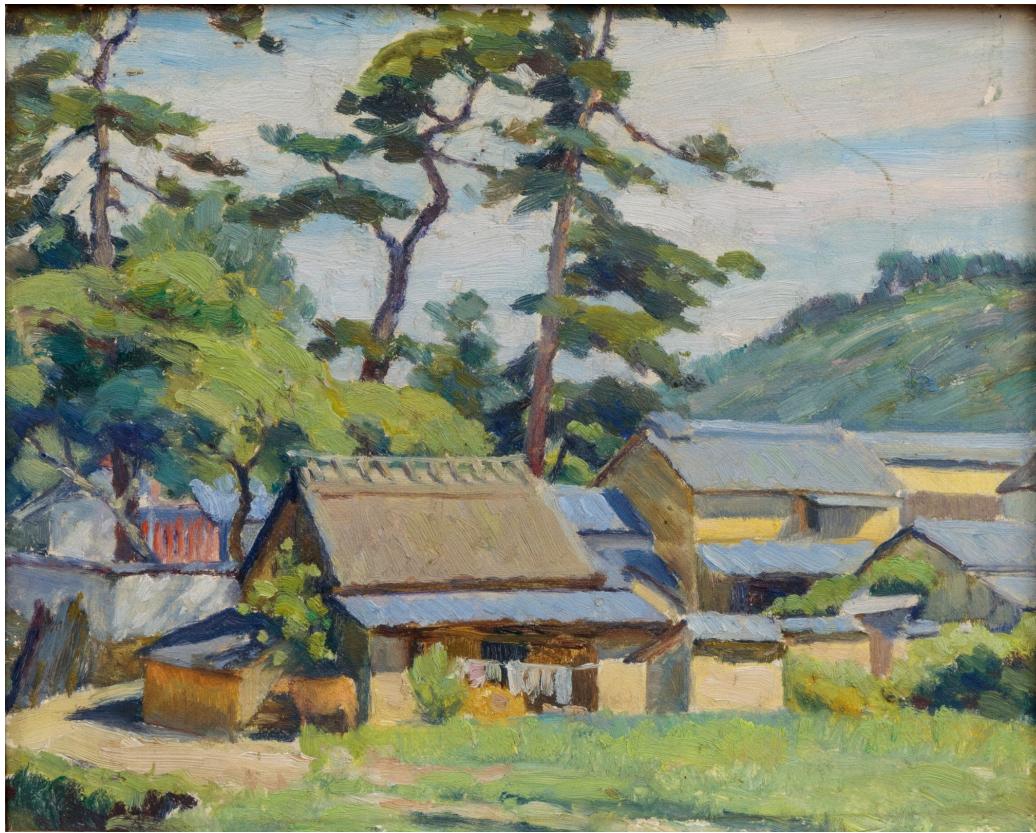
The Nude

1932

Oil on canvas

41 1/2 x 36 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Japanese Village)

1937
Oil on board
8 3/4 x 10 1/2 in.

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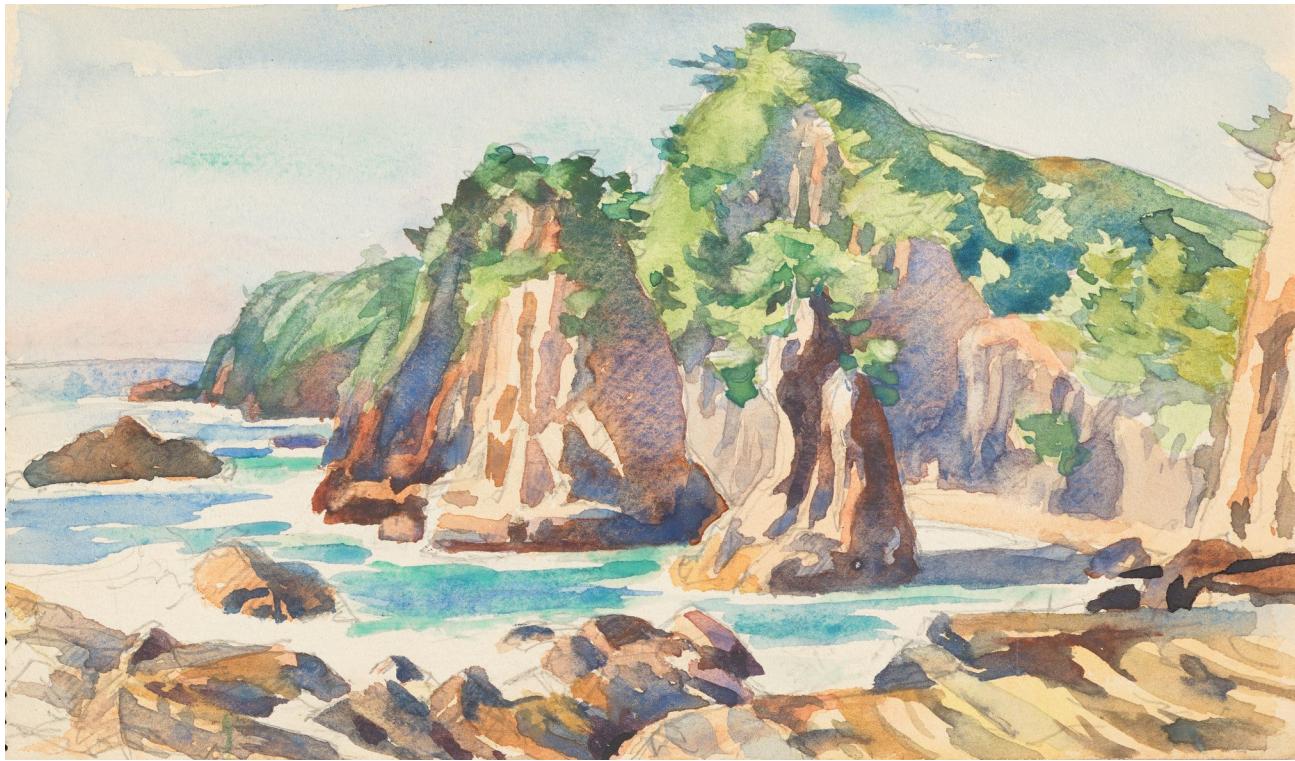


Untitled (Tori Gate)

1937

Oil on board
8 3/4 x 10 1/2 in.

Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Sketchbook from Japan

1937

Watercolor on paper

4 1/2 x 10 in.

Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



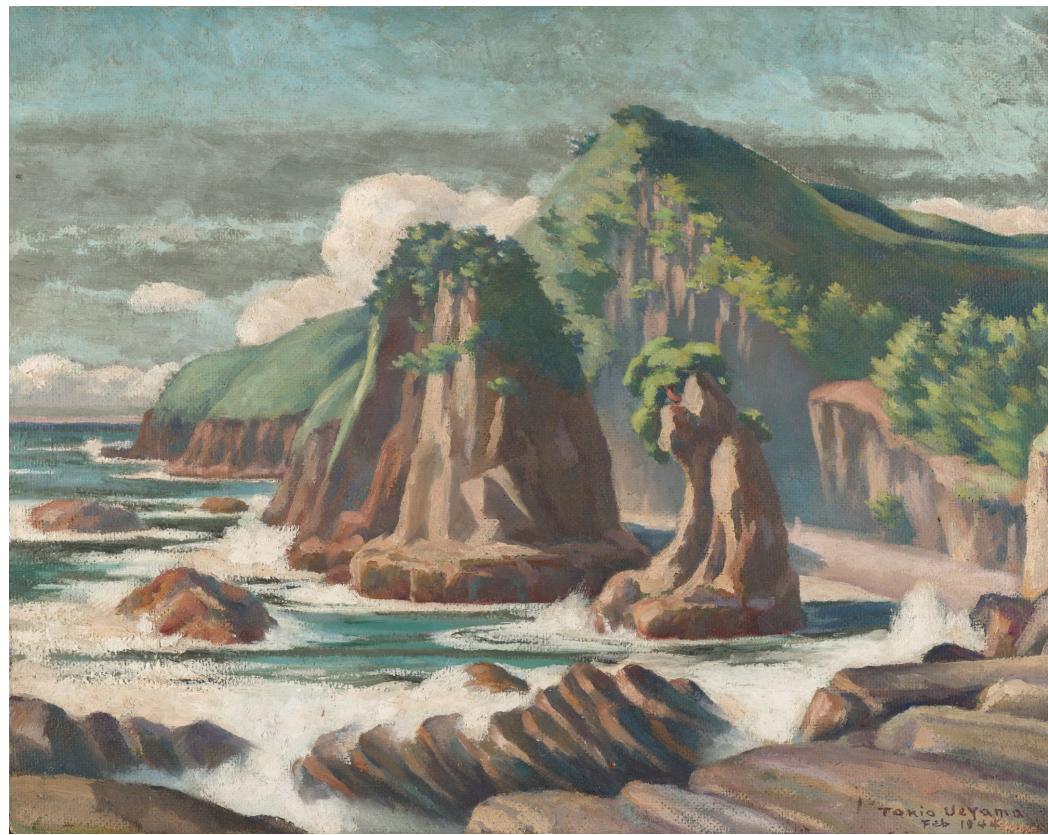
Katsuura

1940

Oil on canvas

38 x 43 1/2 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Katsuura Coast)

February 1944
Oil on board
16 × 20 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



The Evacuee

1942

Oil on canvas

24 x 30 1/4 in.

Courtesy Japanese American National Museum: Gift of Kayoko Tsukada, 92.20.3. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama.



Self-Portrait

July 1943
Oil on canvas
18 x 16 in.

Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Portrait of Tomoye Sawa [Gakuhajo] with Biwa)

1943

Charcoal on paper
25 x 19 in.

Courtesy Japanese American National Museum: Gift of Arthur Asawa, 2004.35.1. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama.



Untitled (Portrait of a Soldier)

February 12, 1943
Charcoal on paper
25 1/8 x 19 1/8 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Portrait of a Girl)

1943–44
Charcoal on paper
19 1/8 x 12 1/2 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Portrait of a Man with Glasses)

1943–44
Charcoal on paper
19 1/8 × 12 5/8 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Amache Portrait)

January 17, 1944
Oil on canvas
19 1/2 x 17 in.

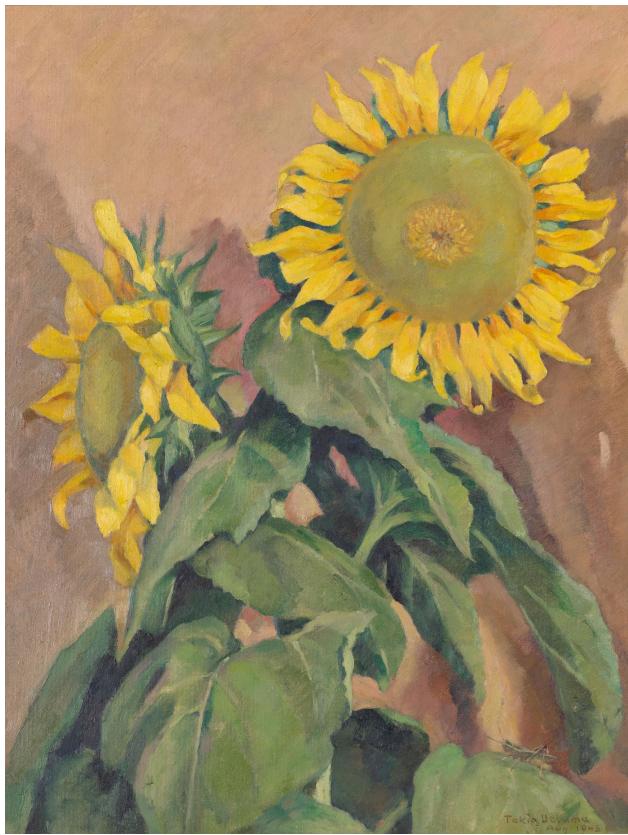
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Amache Still Life)

February 1943
Oil on canvas
30 1/2 x 26 in.

Collection of Bunkado, Inc. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Amache Sunflowers)

August 1943
Oil on canvas taped on Celotex (insulation board)
28 1/2 x 22 1/2 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Barracks with Pond)

1944
Oil on canvas
20 x 26 in.

Courtesy Japanese American National Museum: Gift of Kayoko Tsukada, 92.20.8. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama.



Untitled (Barracks with Basketball Hoops)

1944

Oil on canvas

18 x 24 in.

Courtesy Japanese American National Museum: Gift of Kayoko Tsukada, 92.20.7. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama.



Untitled (Horse and Barn)

October 1944
Oil on artist's board
15 3/4 x 19 7/8 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Desert Brush

March 1945
Oil on canvas
15 3/4 x 19 in.

Courtesy Japanese American National Museum: Gift of Kayoko Tsukada, 92.20.5. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama.



Untitled (Amache Landscape with Fields)

1943–44
Pastel on paper
17 × 19 1/2 in.

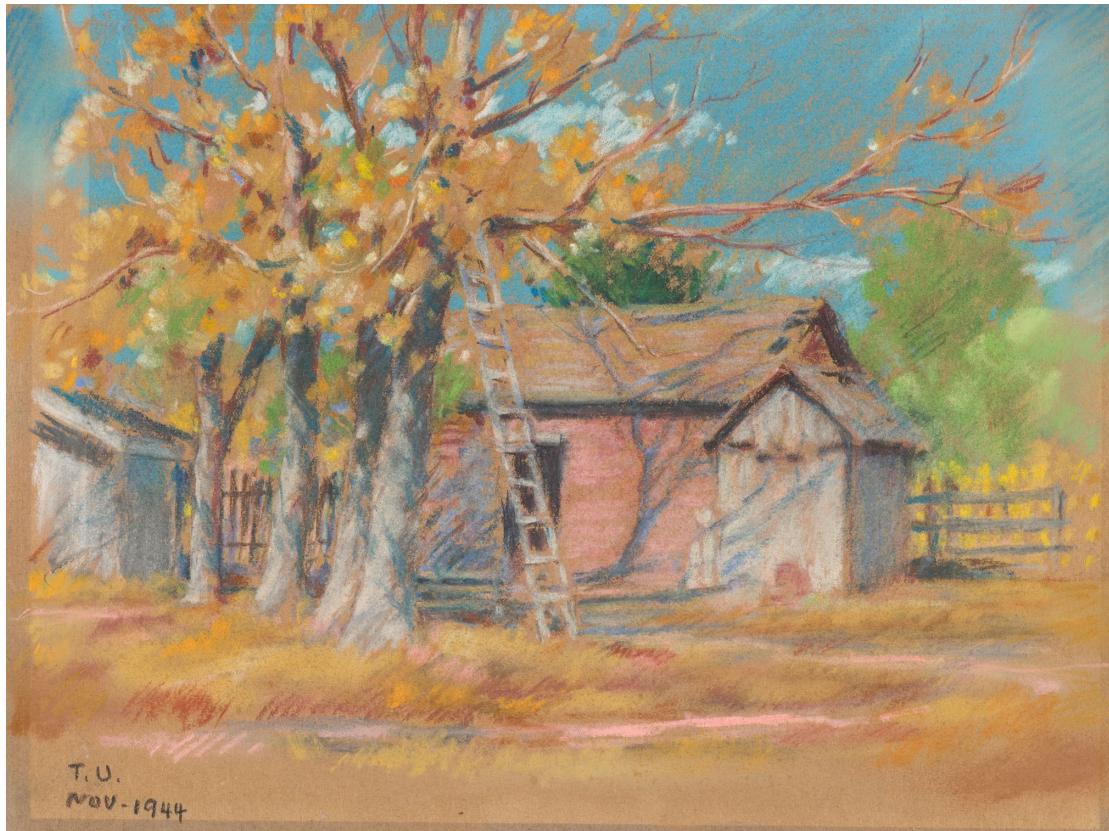
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Amache Landscape with Barrack and Water Tower)

April 1944
Pastel on paper
9 x 12 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Granada Landscape)

November 1944
Pastel on paper
8 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Building and Trees)

1944

Pastel on paper
9 x 12 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Gate and Fence)

1943–44
Charcoal on paper
12 1/2 × 19 in.

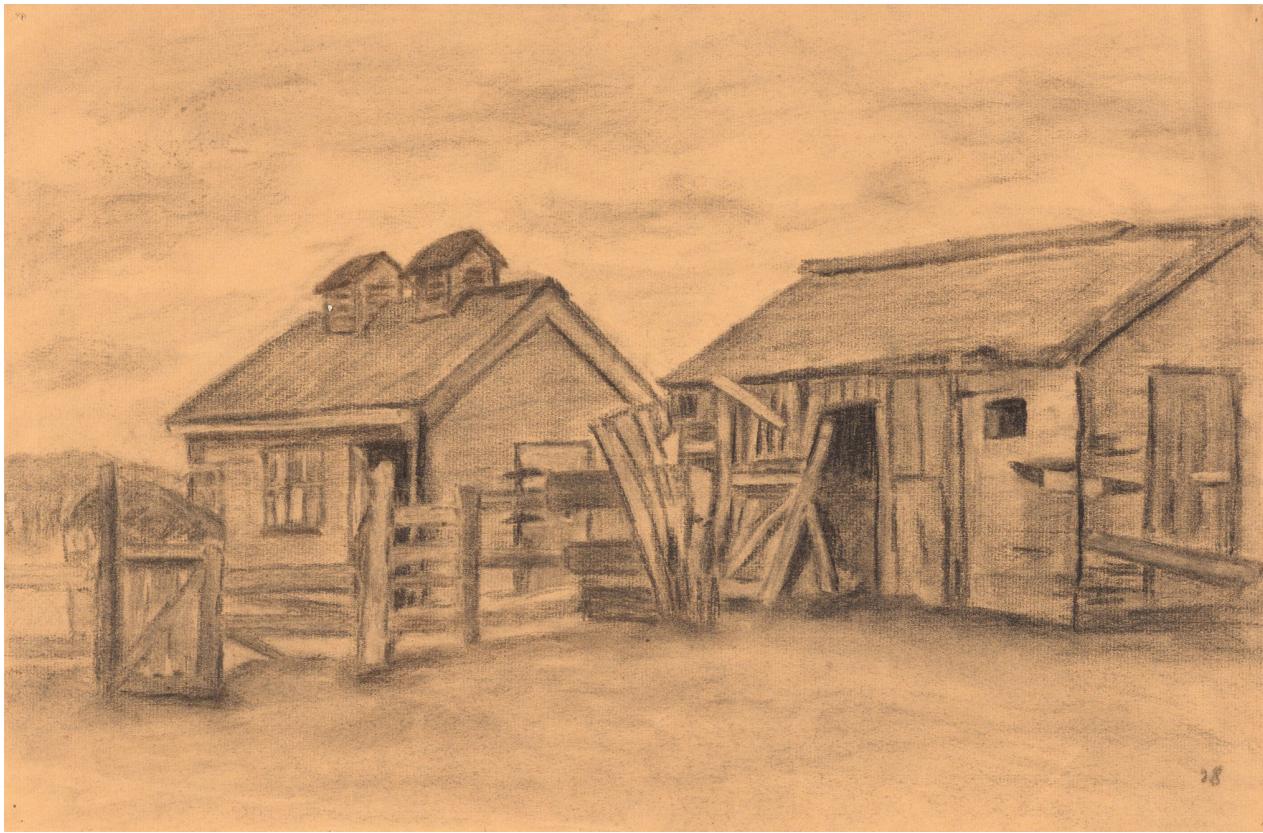
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Stream and Trees)

1943–44
Charcoal on paper
12 1/2 x 18 in.

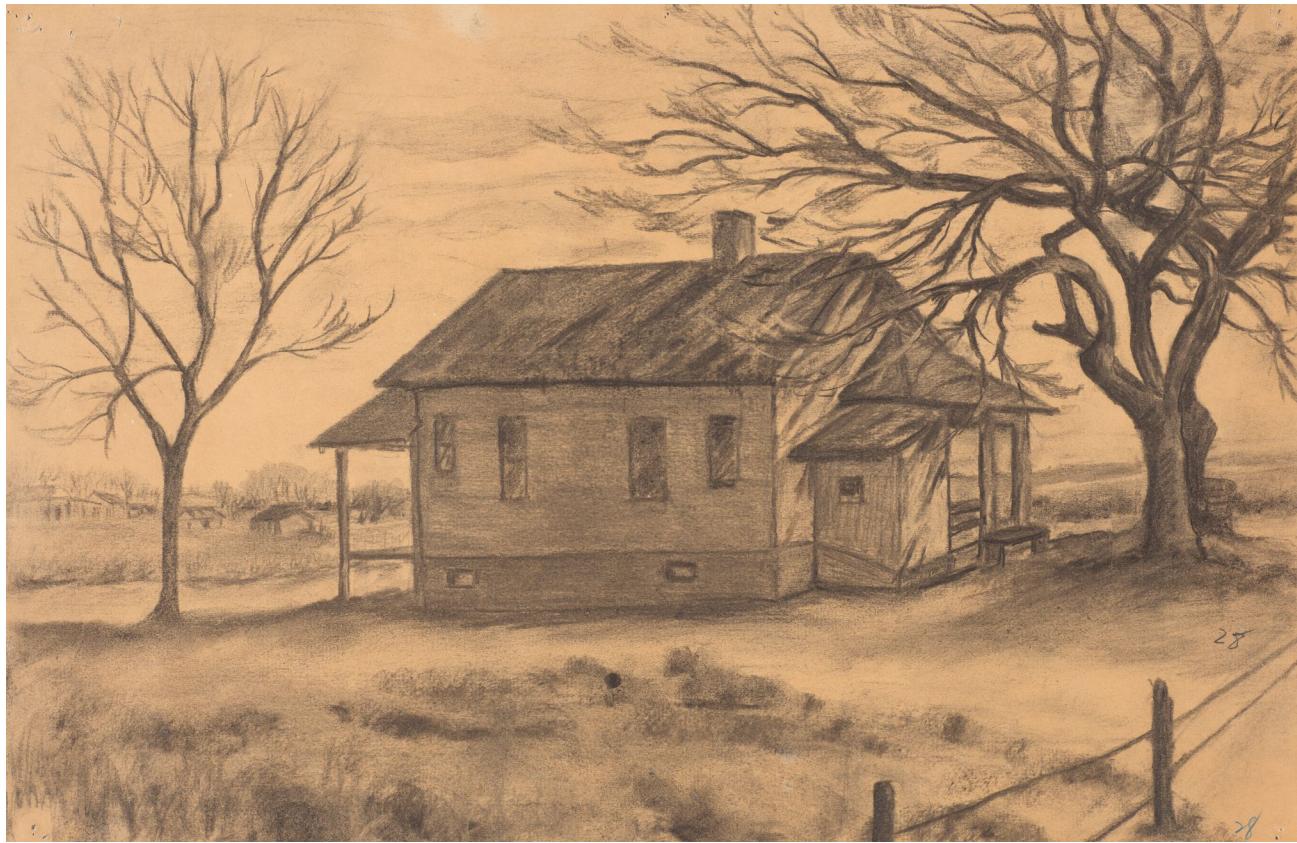
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Granada Outbuildings)

1943–44
Charcoal on paper
12 5/8 x 19 1/8 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Granada House)

1943-44
Charcoal on paper
12 1/2 x 19 1/8 in.

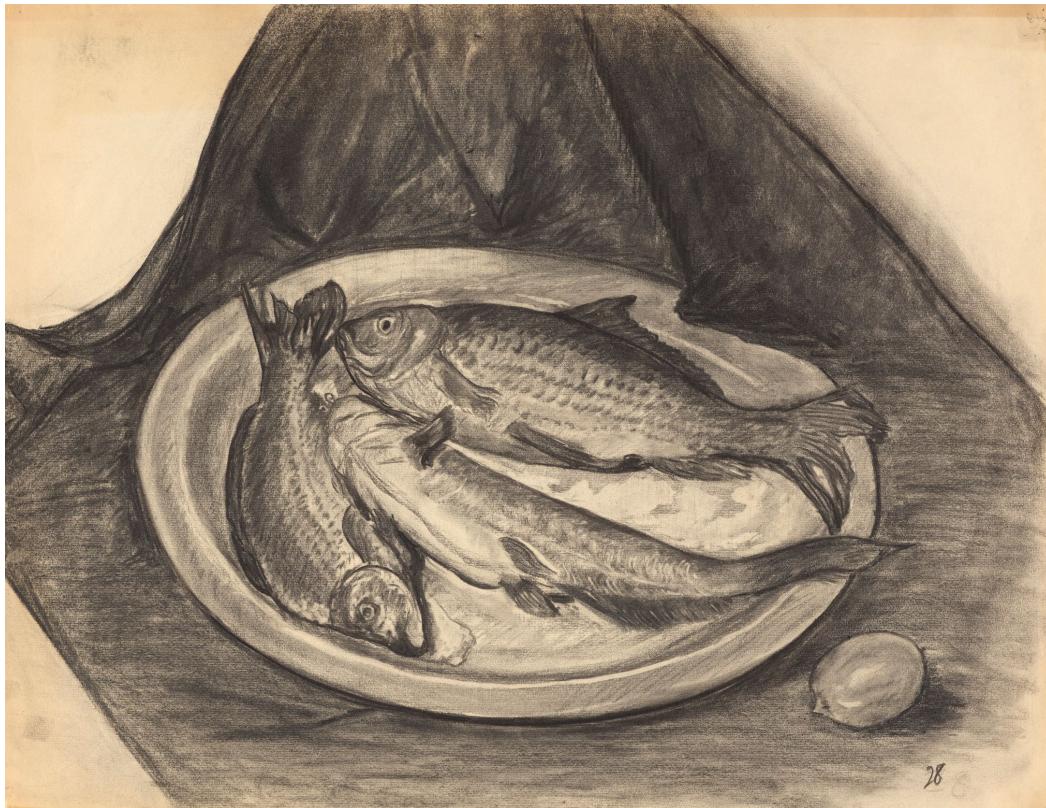
Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Untitled (Amache Still Life)

1943–44
Charcoal on paper
14 5/8 x 17 3/4 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



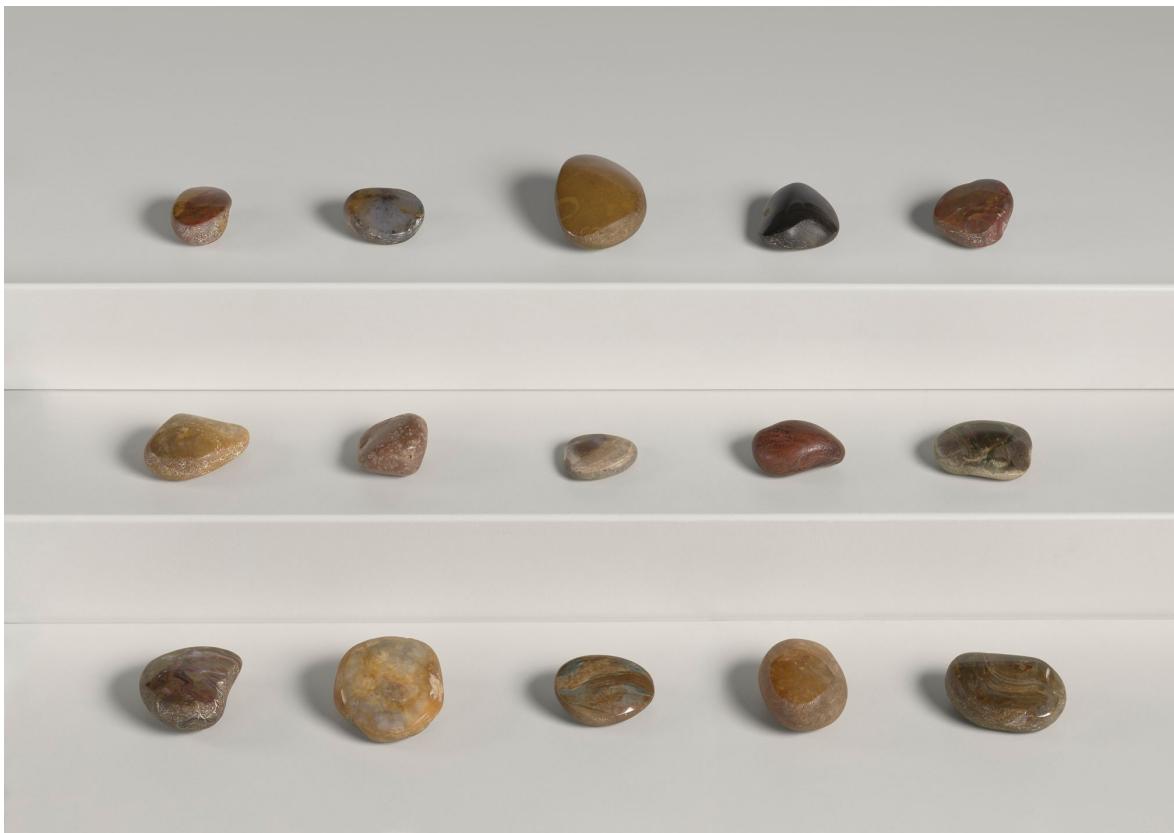
Untitled (Amache Still Life with Fish and Lemon)

1942–45

Charcoal on paper

19 1/8 x 25 1/8 in.

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Bruce Fernandez, courtesy Denver Art Museum.



Hand-Polished Stones (set of 15)

1943–44

Various polished stones

Private collection. © Estate of Tokio Ueyama. Photo by Eric Stephenson, courtesy Denver Art Museum.

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