

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066

THE INTERNMENT OF 110,000 JAPANESE AMERICANS



MAISIE & RICHARD CONRAT

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE INTERNMENT OF 110,000 JAPANESE AMERICANS

BY MAISIE & RICHARD CONRAT

*With an Introduction by
EDISON UNO
and an Epilogue by
TOM C. CLARK,
Associate Justice of the
U.S. Supreme Court, Retired*

*Photographs by
DOROTHEA LANGE and others*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1972

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NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desireable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. . . .

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
The White House
February 19, 1942

FOREWORD

The purpose of this book has been to present a group of outstanding photographs in their historical context.

It is possible that some readers may feel that in the process, the U.S. has been maligned, and that focusing public attention on the evacuation of Japanese Americans is somehow unpatriotic.

However, it seems to us that self-examination is crucial to a nation's health. We feel that patriotism should not simply mean defending one's country, right or wrong. Patriotism should mean dedication to making one's country a wiser and more just nation. The true patriot is not one who would like to hide the mistakes his country has made. In our view, the true patriot is one who looks intelligently and objectively at his country's history, and who uses the past as a school for the future.

Our involvement with photographs of the Japanese American evacuation began in 1965. At that time Richard was working as an assistant to the photographer Dorothea Lange. He was greatly moved by a number of photographs which she had taken of the evacuation and internment, and he became curious to know how many other photographs might have been made during the period.

After some investigation, we found that there were in existence at least 25,000 photographs dealing with the process of evacuation. These photographs could be divided roughly into three categories. In the first category were photographs which had some historical significance but which failed completely as images. The second category consisted of photographs which failed in both respects. In the majority of these, the awkward presence of the photographer had made his evacuee subjects smile and try to project a sense of contentment and normality, thus completely betraying the truth of their situation. The third category consisted, perhaps, of no more than 100 photographs. These were photographs which had strength both as images and as historical documents, and this, of course, was the group which we were interested in isolating. In order to do so, we applied for and received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1968-69.

On a few occasions recently, we have been approached by young political activists from the Japanese American community. They have asked us to account for our involvement in this photographic project. The evacuation, they point out, is a part of their people's history, and they feel it should be interpreted by those who experienced it. Our answer has been that of course the evacuation is part of Japanese-American history, but that it is also part of white America's history. After all, the aggressor is as much a part of the crime as the victim.

We recognize the fact that, as Caucasians, it is not our job to interpret the Japanese Americans' experience. We know, however, that the job of presenting this point of view is of the utmost importance, and in order to make all of the evacuation photographs as accessible as possible, we plan to turn our research files over to the community which suffered from Executive Order 9066.

*Maisie & Richard Conrat
March 1972*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book and the exhibit accompanying it could not have been realized without the help of many friends.

The publication of the book was assisted by a generous grant made in honor of four generations of friendship between the Krusi and Takamine families.

Paul Taylor and Shirley Burden nurtured the project in its infancy. Wayne Miller and John Szarkowski, Therese Heyman and Michael Hoffman also helped when the project was young and precarious.

Joe Thomas of the National Archives, Alan Fern of the Library of Congress, John Modell of the Japanese American Research Project opened doors and provided the leads which made our research fruitful.

James W. Moore, Director, Audiovisual Archives Division, National Archives, made possible the high quality of book and exhibition prints by providing us with the original negatives.

Mary Ann Takagi and Edison Uno, Ray Okamura and Masao Satow wrote letters and addressed meetings, pushing the project on through bureaucratic quagmires.

Ansel Adams and Toyo Miyatake helped stretch the budget by letting us use their photographs *gratis*.

The John Simon Guggenheim Foundation made it possible for us to spend a year researching and editing all the available pictorial material on the evacuation.

Roger Olmsted of the California Historical Society helped in planning this book and worked closely with us throughout its production.

Finally, we thank J. S. Holliday, Director of the California Historical Society, whose conviction and persistent efforts over the past year raised the funds for this book and the accompanying exhibition and made possible fulfillment of our best hopes for both.

INTRODUCTION

On the mantle above the fireplace in my living room is a photograph similar to those which unfold the story here. It is a photograph of a splendid white monument that is standing in the middle of the desert. The ground around it is clear save for a barbed wire fence and a few clusters of sagebrush. In the distance are the mountains, sharp and distinct, with clouds towering above them. The monument itself is of porous limestone and on its side is inscribed, in bold black Japanese characters, a memory of the past.

How that monument came to be there and the events that preceded its placement form the subject of this introduction.

On the bitter cold, wind-swept desert floor in 1969 there occurred an event of the profoundest and most singular importance. In retrospect, that morning and the whole of that day assume for me and for vast numbers of Japanese Americans the proportions of a mystical experience, the rebirth of a whole generation of Americans who were wronged by events that took place over a quarter century before.

About the picture there is an austerity and a simplicity that strike me as characteristically Japanese. And yet the monument is placed in the middle of the great American desert. And there is in the whole scene a kind of blending, of East and West, Japan and America—Kipling's twain that would never meet. And I, an American of Japanese ancestry, came to my first consciousness of America in just such a desert, and East and West are met in me, as in that monument.

It is appropriate that this introduction to a book of photographs should take its inspiration from a photograph, as a kind of self-engendering phenomenon. For the photograph that I have in mind, and those that follow in this work,

speaking more eloquently and with much more force than any words that I might ever write. These pictures, elegant in their simplicity and characteristic of the beauty and austerity of the people they seek to portray, are powerful reminders of my own experiences of over four years of camp life and of the experiences of my family and parents.

It was not until the winter of 1969 that this tide of Asian-American consciousness reached its peak. It was not until the pilgrimage to Manzanar, the desert camp site some 300 miles northeast of Los Angeles, that these previously inchoate feelings found a concrete expression. It was not until the moment when we glimpsed the site itself, when we saw again its desert barrenness, the tattered remnants of the barracks, the tufts of sagebrush and mesquite, until we felt again the sharp, early morning desert wind, that we fully perceived what was in the offing for us, that we perceived how tragic the past really was.

We had been too busy—too busy repairing our lives, too busy trying to catch up with careers cut short, too busy trying to make up for years snatched out of our lives—yet with full enthusiasm to realize the American dream.

Perhaps some of us were ashamed that it had even happened. We were like the victim of a rape—we could not bear to speak of the assault, of the unspeakable crime. Thus for many years we had not even spoken of our imprisonment. And when we did speak of it, we were guarded. We dared not fully reveal the depth of our feelings about it.

In fact, we were inclined in some ways to blame ourselves. Some Nisei (U.S. citizens by birth) had even gone so far as to suggest that we had been incarcerated because we had not made ourselves known to our Caucasian neighbors, that we should have been more open, less clannish, that we should have gone to the length of becoming 200% Americans. Then, they reasoned, the Caucasians would have known us and trusted us and would have seen that our loyalty lay first, last, and always with America. For such people the truth was

simply too awesome to be faced. The truth was that our unjust imprisonment was the result of two closely related emotions: racism and hysteria.

It was a cold winter morning, still dark when we boarded our bus and began the five hour trek to that desolate plain between the mountains known as Manzanar. We had imagined that there would be only a bus load of us, yet when we arrived we found more than two hundred people who made the long pilgrimage. Nor were they limited to Asian-Americans alone. It was as if the others—blacks, *Chicanos*, Caucasians—had already sensed in advance what was only now beginning fully to dawn upon us: that this was to be a significant moment in our ethnic consciousness, that a kind of new birth was in the offing. Their intuition led them to come and bear witness of our rediscovery.

For me the event was a spiritual one, almost mystical in its intensity, as it was for my wife; for she too, as a teenager, had known the oppressive fears of living under guard.

And what of my children? They were too young to know anything of all this; they had no ancient memories. I was a child when I first went to camp—with my mother, brothers, and sisters. When I was my oldest daughter's age, I was already in "prison." And I knew that I was there for no crime other than the color of my skin and the shape of my eyes. I knew, too, that the excuse my captors gave—that I was there for my own protection—was sheer hypocrisy, that there was some deeper and more sinister reason for my incarceration, though as with all children I could not fully comprehend why. But surely my parents must have. Their internment must have weighed on them like the very rock of Sisyphus.

To measure the extent of the reticence which this imprisonment imposed on us, one must only realize that until quite recently the overwhelming majority of Americans, and particularly those who live outside of California, Oregon, and Washington, were totally unaware of what had gone on. They were

laboring under the delusion that Americans were without guilt, that this nation had gone into and emerged from World War II as the guardian of freedom and justice the world over, that their hands were clean and their consciences clear. Such innocence is at once maddening and amusing, and one is both exasperated and enraged when one encounters, as I do so often, someone who insists that such a tragic thing either did not happen or that there must have been extenuating circumstances. I answer that there are *always* extenuating circumstances.

America had sinned, had been sinning for nearly a century, and the wages of sin is spiritual death. That may be: it is only a speculation in which I have sometimes indulged. The facts of the matter, however, are as follows: that not one instance of sabotage or subversion by a native-born American of Japanese ancestry was ever attempted; that in the years that followed the war, many fair-minded Americans have admitted the gross injustices inflicted against United States citizens in the name of national security and defense.

History must be written by those who lived it. We must give full recognition to the facts that were responsible for such an outrage against the United States Constitution. Racism, economic and political opportunism were the root causes of this crime that is now a part of our American heritage. This, our legacy, is a reminder to all Americans that it can happen again.

The Japanese American heritage is no exception to the experience of all minorities and oppressed people who know the bitter sting and enduring stigma of hate, fear, and despair in a land of abundance that was founded on freedom, liberty, equality, and opportunity. There are those who cite the experience of the Japanese Americans during World War II as a unique phenomenon, and assert that Japanese American "success" today should be an example for others to emulate. To admonish other minorities with our model is to perpetuate other iniquities, other injustices. The fallacy of our "success story" is immedi-

ately exposed if one is to examine the effects of our wartime experience on an entire generation of people. We observe that the end result of the wrongful imprisonment was a loss of self-confidence and self-respect, a generation of Americans who wrongly suffers a sense of guilt and shame. Justice was trampled upon, and it is a responsibility all Americans must share.

But enough of the scars and wounds of the past, about which I speak so openly—only because they were, however hidden, the background realities of these photographs. It is my hope that by means of these rather pointed observations, reflections and reminiscences I may convey to you some of the deeper meanings that these pictures so subtly suggest.

Edison Tomimaro Uno
San Francisco, California
September, 1971

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

BY DONALD PIKE AND ROGER OLMSTED

In the spring of 1942 the government of the United States began the removal and internment of 110,000 of its residents, two-thirds of them native-born Americans. The "relocation," as it was called, applied to all citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry. These citizens and residents were not individually charged—rather they were collectively ordered to report for internment.

Perhaps it is necessary for one to have lived on the West Coast in those last weeks of 1941 and the first months of 1942 to understand the curious hysteria—a mixture of fear and outrage—that was abroad. It was seriously suggested that Japanese saboteurs dwelt in inconspicuous hovels near oil refineries and shipyards, that fishermen had their Imperial Navy uniforms wrapped in oil-skins in their bait boxes, that houseboys were intelligence agents and farmers militiamen. If Germans and Italians were also enemies, there still loomed the special menace of the Japanese, the enemy who had plotted to attack us and had carried out the assault so successfully that our leaders sought to keep the scope of the disaster from us. Week after week came news of successive Japanese victories; suddenly the Japanese seemed a kind of despicable super race that threatened our very national existence.

Thus there was perhaps nothing entirely surprising in America's, and

particularly California's, fearful reaction against its own Japanese. Indeed, "The Yellow Peril" was a familiar threat to the Far West and it antedated the immigration of the Japanese themselves. A century of anti-Orientalism, punctuated by outbursts of physical and civil violence, stood back of the relocation order of 1942.

Though Japanese did not begin coming to the United States in significant numbers until after 1890, Professor Roger Daniels has noted that "the anti-Japanese movement was in many ways merely a continuation of the long-standing agitation against the Chinese which began in the early 1850's." Chinese had come to California with the Gold Rush, and reaction against them and other conspicuous foreigners followed quickly. There was gold enough for everybody fortunate enough to be on the ground in 1848, but by 1850 there was no elbow room left in the placers and Americans, perhaps naturally, turned to the notion that the gold in American soil (however recently Americanized) was for Americans. In particular, the success of skilled Mexican miners and industrious Chinese seemed an infringement upon the fruits of Manifest Destiny. The Foreign Miners' License Laws of 1850 and 1852 were especially aimed at these Mexicans and Chinese. As well, American miners intimidated Chinese, allowing them to work only the most inferior diggings or driving them from districts altogether. The Chinese were pushed even further outside the law by the decision in *People v. Hall* (1854), which rejected the right of a Chinese to testify against a white.

A second wave of Chinese immigration came in the 1860's with the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. The desperate need for a huge body of unskilled labor momentarily quieted much of the most outspoken anti-Chinese sentiment—only to cause its revival with redoubled vigor when construction ended and 15,000 Chinese were thrown into more direct competition with

whites. The nationwide depression of the mid-1870's was seen by the workingmen of California in the light of a local condition caused by "coolie labor." Labor's solidarity on this point catapulted Denis Kearney into leadership of the growing Workingmen's Party, and Kearney's sand-lot slogan, "The Chinese Must Go!" became almost inextricably entwined with the more significant social demands of the party. Kearney rode a rising tide of popular feeling in California—one that drew not only on labor's justified fear of cheap, non-union competition but on outright racism as well. Journalists and politicians warned against the "dilution" of the white race by Orientals, and harped on the dangers of an "alien and unassimilable" race in the country. Kearney ironically set the stage for the collapse of the Workingmen's Party and obscurity for himself when the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 (allowing free immigration) was circumvented in 1882 with a ten-year Chinese exclusion law.

Thus, a set of anti-Oriental prejudices and responses developed against the Chinese and greeted the Japanese in America. Though Japan had been opened to the world by Commodore Perry in 1854, the Emperor had not permitted his subjects to emigrate to foreign lands until 1884, when unskilled laborers were allowed to leave to work in the Hawaiian sugar fields. Many of the laborers transshipped to the United States: by 1890 there were 2,000 on the mainland; by 1900 there were 25,000.

During the 1890's the Japanese were singled out for attack, but the assaults were usually minor and ignored by the population at large. Typical was a speech by Denis Kearney in San Francisco in 1892. Seeking once again the notoriety he had enjoyed a decade earlier, Kearney berated politicians and labor unions for not heeding the threat posed by the Japanese—and hoping to revive the old magic of his anti-Chinese days, he closed the speech with a retread of an old theme: "The Japs Must Go!"

Kearney stirred little interest in 1892, but by 1900 the mayor of San Francisco, J. D. Phelan, was saying:

The Japanese are starting the same tide of immigration which we thought we had checked twenty years ago . . . The Chinese and Japanese are not bona fide citizens. They are not the stuff of which American citizens can be made . . . Personally we have nothing against the Japanese, but as they will not assimilate with us and their social life is so different from ours, let them keep a respectful distance.

Such talk was paralleled by a resurgence of labor union agitation that stressed a racial stereotype, while occasionally noting economic competition. The United States Industrial Commission stated in 1901 that the Japanese "are more servile than the Chinese, but less obedient and far less desirable. They have most of the vices of the Chinese, with none of the virtues. They underbid the Chinese in everything, and are as a class tricky, unreliable, and dishonest."

When the Chinese Exclusion Act came up for its second renewal in 1902, rallies and speeches urged exclusion of the Japanese as well. Supporters of every stripe shared a rude awakening, however, when the Japanese counter-demonstrated, arguing that they were the equals of Americans. In a half-century of abuse the Chinese had never done anything like that. This self-assertive response was not forgotten, and came to serve anti-Japanese forces as yet another example of the Japanese "threat."

For the most part, labor continued in the phalanx of opposition to the Japanese. In May of 1905 delegates gathered in San Francisco to form the Asiatic Exclusion League. Originally little more than an extension of the labor unions, it grew to find support in all levels of California. Objecting to the Japanese on racial and economic grounds, the League sought to solve the "problem" by preventing immigration by all Asians. In 1908 a major subsidiary organization, the Anti-Jap Laundry League, was formed among the various San Francisco

trade unions. By the 1920's the organizations had proliferated to the extent that a co-ordinating body was required—the Associated Anti-Japanese Leagues.

The agitation from labor, and occasional newspaper harangues like the *Chronicle's* of 1905 citing "The Japanese Invasion, the Problem of the Hour," set off legislative attempts to regulate the Japanese. From 1905 to 1924 the California lawmakers were besieged with proposed laws, memorials, and resolutions. Although most legislators could find sympathy with them, federal pressure dictated that few were passed, and fewer still survived the courts or had any effect save to fan the flames of prejudice—but a precedent for legal activity had been set. From this agitation would emerge three important actions: The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908, the Alien Land Law of 1913, and the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924.

Theodore Roosevelt's "Gentlemen's Agreement" was an outgrowth of a seemingly minor action by the San Francisco School Board. In October of 1906 the school board, in a half-hearted effort to fulfill a campaign promise of Mayor Eugene Schmitz (under fire for corruption and sorely in need of public favor), ordered all Japanese children to join the Chinese in the Oriental School. The action went largely unnoticed outside of San Francisco until garbled reports emerged in a very much insulted Japanese press. The Japanese government was enraged—as was Roosevelt when he realized that an incident of international moment had been created.

To Roosevelt the action was "intemperate" and the Californians "idiots," for the action had violated the "most favored nation" clause of the treaty of 1894, which accorded the rights and protections of American citizens to Japanese aliens.

Victor Metcalf, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, investigated, exerted soft executive pressure, tried to mollify the Japanese—and found opposition

to his quiet intervention growing in California. California had discovered a strong ally in the Southern Congressional coalition, whose support was always ready for anyone in a states' rights or racial fight. Further, "separate but equal" was California school law, giving San Franciscans a legal buttress for their actions.

Seeking a compromise, Roosevelt cajoled San Francisco into reinstating the Japanese students, closed immigration of Japanese from Hawaii, Canada, and Mexico, and entered negotiations with Japan. To avoid the affront of a Japanese Exclusion Bill, Roosevelt got the Japanese informally to agree to simply cease issuing passports to laborers. This agreement did not prevent the families of Japanese living in America from immigrating, and as a result Californians would later claim that they had been betrayed. Nonetheless, anti-Japanese sentiment began to ebb after 1908 in San Francisco and other urban areas. Unfortunately, it began to spread in rural regions.

The Japanese, restricted from working in the cities by strong labor union agitation, gravitated to agricultural labor. They worked in the rice districts of Glenn, Colusa, and Butte Counties, the Delta region, the orchards and vineyards of Fresno and Tulare Counties. Their thrift and industry brought several hundred thousand acres into their proprietorship—and earned them the competitive enmity and fear of many of their American neighbors. The alarm caused by their success was most dramatically registered in the Alien Land Law of 1913.

Since Federal law dating back to 1790 restricted American citizenship to "free whites" (amended after the Civil War to include native-born blacks), Californians sought to turn the threat of Japanese agricultural competition by prohibiting the sale of land to aliens ineligible for citizenship. Despite veiled opposition from Progressive Governor Hiram Johnson, from President Woodrow Wilson, and from even the promoters of San Francisco's planned Panama-Pacific Exposition (who wanted no more international incidents), the

act was pushed forward. All the old arguments and scare tactics were resurrected, statistics were advanced to show a flood-tide of Japanese truck farmers sweeping over the land, and labor was stirred to another assault. In May of 1913 the Alien Land Law was passed, preventing Japanese from purchasing land or leasing it for more than three years. It should be noted here that the restrictions against citizenship and against owning land could only apply to the Issei (Japanese aliens) and not to Nisei (Japanese born on American soil), and that this factor ultimately undermined the effectiveness of the land law.

From 1913 to 1919 anti-Japanese legislation subsided with Japan's entrance into World War I on the side of the Allies, but following 1920 it became apparent that California's anti-Orientalism was rather generally accepted in the nation as a whole. Strong fears of growing Japanese military prowess in the Pacific were fanned by consistent "yellow peril" warnings from California, and in 1924 it finally became possible to pass into law an immigration act which specifically excluded Japanese.

The Japanese Exclusion Act ended this burst of active anti-Japanese agitation in the United States, but its embers were kept warm through the 1930's with such literary and cinematic stereotypes as the sly, ruthless Oriental villain. The Japanese occupation of Manchuria, her invasion of China, her withdrawal from the League of Nations, her defiance of naval arms limitations, and such incidents as the bombing of the U.S.S. *Panay* all contributed to a general consciousness of a Japanese threat to America.

Americans had spent a century learning to hate and fear the Japanese, and after the catastrophe of Pearl Harbor they lashed out—half in habit, and half in frustration—at the only available enemy. John Hughes, a radio commentator, was the first to demand evacuation of the Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast early in January of 1942. Spurred by the fear of imminent invasion, and

convinced that Japanese Americans would assist it as fifth columnists, the public clamored for action; just as quickly, the government complied. General John L. De Witt, Commander of the Western Defense Command, empowered by Roosevelt to declare "military areas" and exclude "any and all persons" from them, on March 2 declared California, Oregon, and Washington to be strategic areas and stipulated that persons of Japanese descent would be removed therefrom. Decisions and orders moved faster than the bureaucracy could implement them, and substantial hardship ensued.

No facilities for detaining the evacuees existed when the order to relocate was given, and the first centers at Manzanar, California, and Poston, Arizona, were army reception centers hastily transferred to the War Relocation Authority. These camps began receiving Japanese Americans late in March of 1942, in most cases before they were entirely completed—and often when completed they were inadequate in size, sanitation, and protection from the elements for even minimum standards of human comfort. The centers at Tule Lake, California; Gila River, Arizona; Topaz, Utah; Minidoka, Idaho; Granada, Colorado; Jerome, Arkansas; and Heart Mountain, Wyoming, were in some of the most God-forsaken regions in this country, and despite almost herculean efforts by the WRA's director, Dillon Myer, the evacuees suffered from freezing winters and blistering summers.

The Japanese Americans also suffered almost incalculable economic losses as a result of relocation. Forced to settle their affairs in a matter of days or weeks between notification and actual evacuation, they fell victim to financial opportunists who bought their property and possessions at prices far below market value. The real and personal property not immediately sold was either stored or left in the hands of trustees, where it was often stolen, vandalized, or sold through legal chicanery for next to nothing. The government began escheatment proceedings against the farmland of many evacuees, who could

not adequately fight back from their distant relocation centers. Ultimately the government paid \$38,474,140 in property claims to Japanese Americans. This figure is generally conceded to be less than 10% of the actual value of their property, which was estimated in 1942 by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco to total \$400,000,000. But figures are largely meaningless, because it is impossible to evaluate the wages, income, interest, and appreciation that the evacuees lost during their incarceration.

Even as the internees lived behind barbed wire, an ironic footnote was being written by young Japanese American men in Europe and the Pacific. Japanese American soldiers served hazardous duty with specialized units like Merrill's Marauders, while others, serving as interpreters, provided probably the most important link in American Intelligence. The 442nd Combat Team, an all-Japanese American unit fighting in Italy and France, emerged with more casualties and more decorations than any other unit of comparable size and length of service in the Army's history. In all, more than 25,000 Japanese Americans served—and many died—in the armed forces during the war.

But the tragedy of the relocation was more than squalid internment camps, lost property, and sons dead and maimed. Japanese Americans suffered the psychological stress of confinement, the embarrassment and humiliation of being regarded as traitors to their country, and the inescapable fear that their ancestry rather than their actions would always determine how they would be treated. The relocation confronted other Americans with the fact that they had paid only lip service to a cherished tradition of equality and constitutional protection—and left them with a shame that no amount of rationalization or studied indifference could diminish.

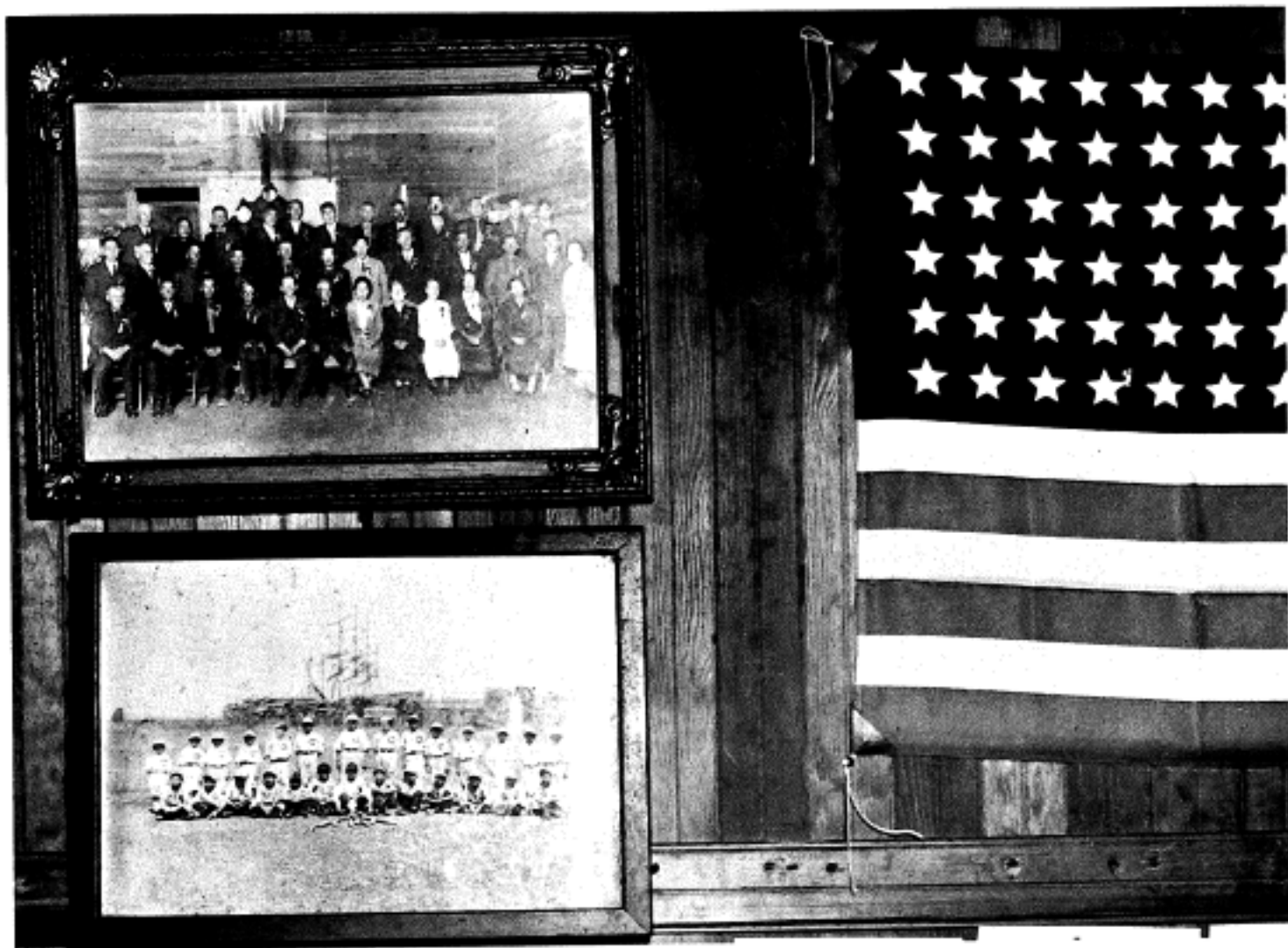
EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066

I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this Nation. I believe in her institutions, ideals and traditions. . . . I trust in her future. . . . She has permitted me to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak and act as I please—as a free man equal to every other man. . . .

Creed of The Japanese-American
Citizens League, 1940.













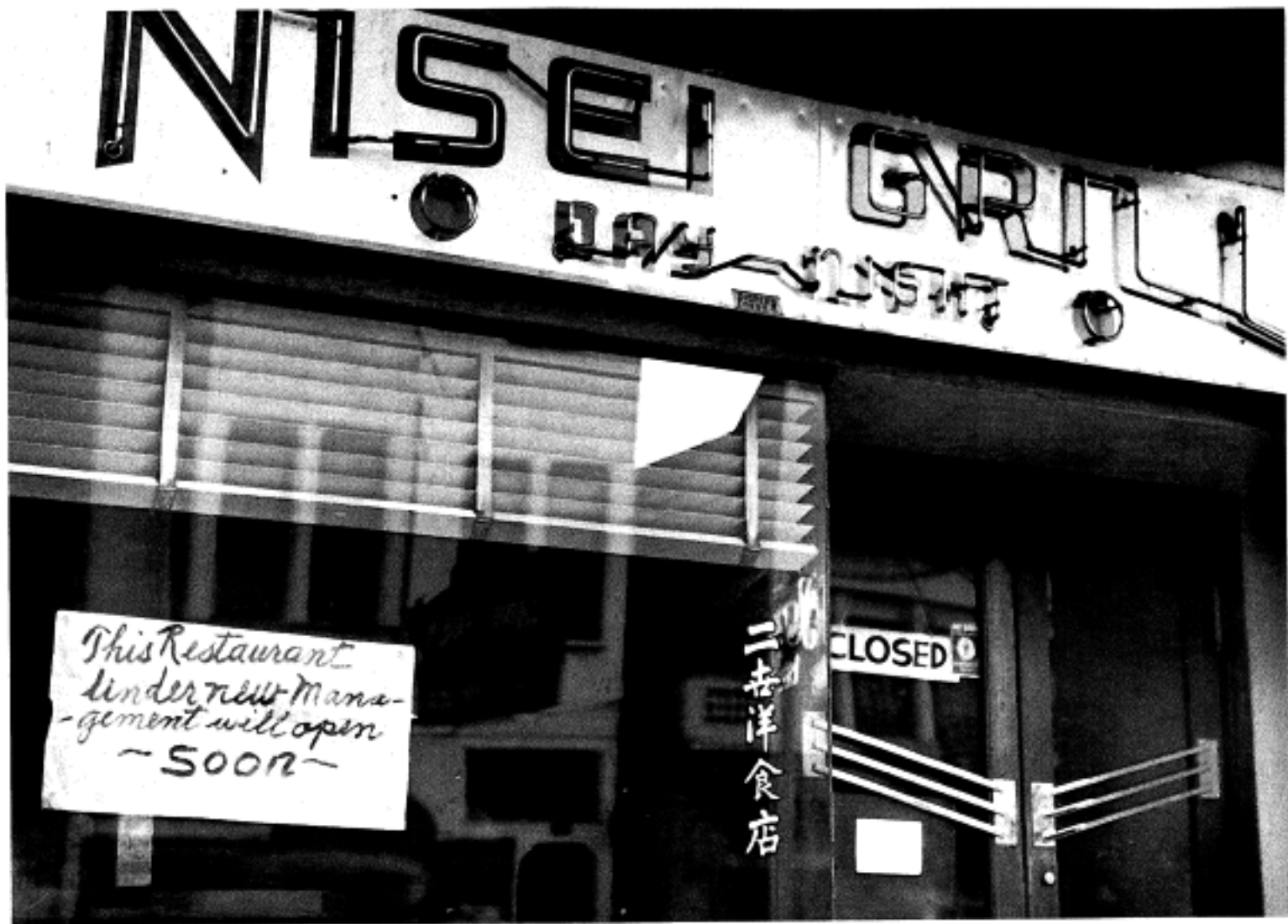
Although some people may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith. . . . I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and the attitude of fair play will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics. . . .

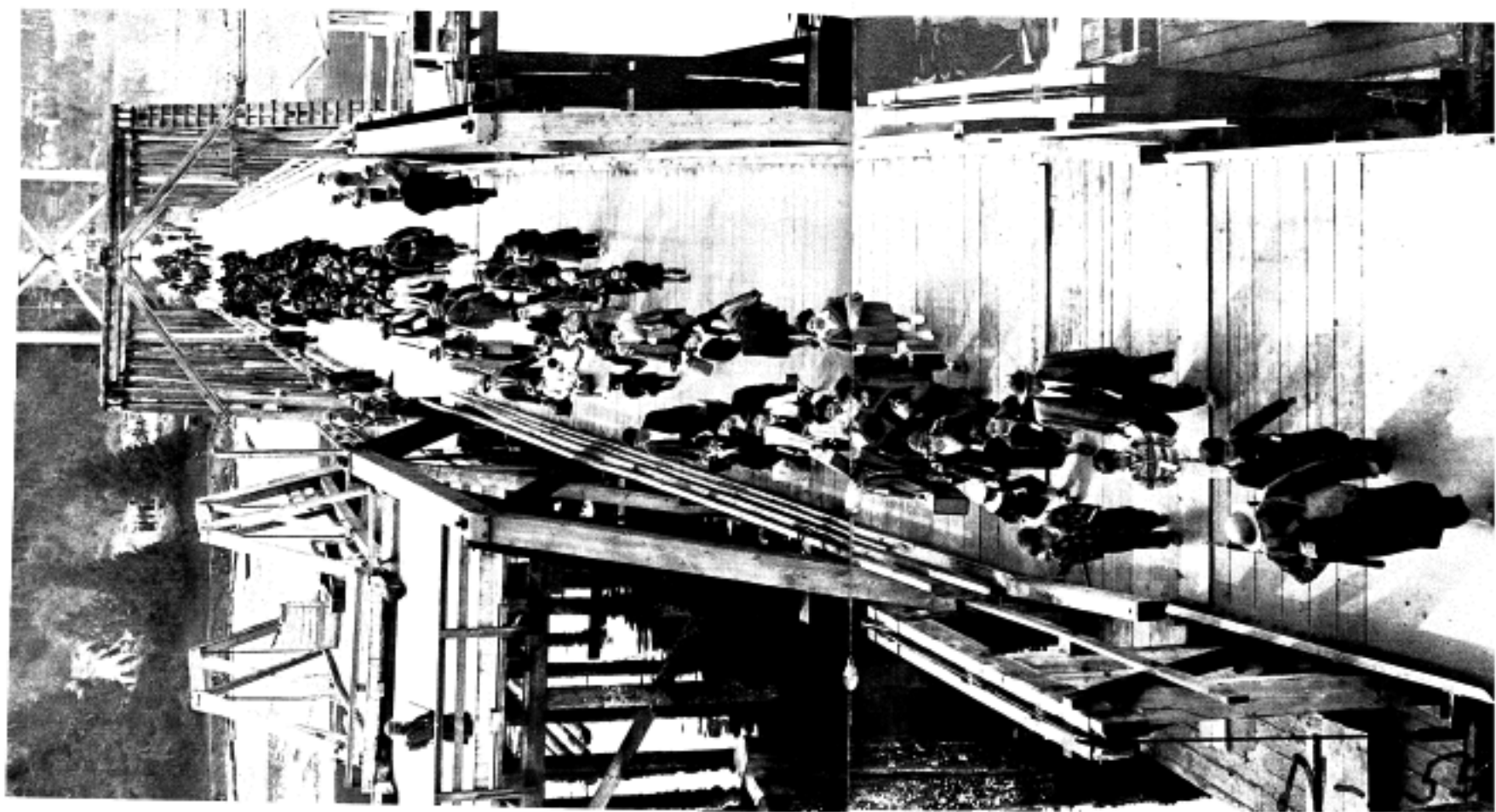
Creed of The Japanese-American Citizens League, 1940.











Treachery, Loyalty to Emperor Inherent Japanese Traits

Los Angeles Examiner editorial page, May 10, 1943.



*I'm for catching every Japanese in
America, Alaska, and Hawaii now and
putting them in concentration camps.
. . . Damn them! Let's get rid of them now!*

Congressman John Rankin,
Congressional Record, Feb. 19, 1942.

The Japanese race is an enemy race. . . .

Gen. John L. DeWitt, Commander,
Western Defense Command & 4th U.S. Army.



Many thanks for
your Patronage. Hope
to serve you in Near future.
God be with you till we meet
again.

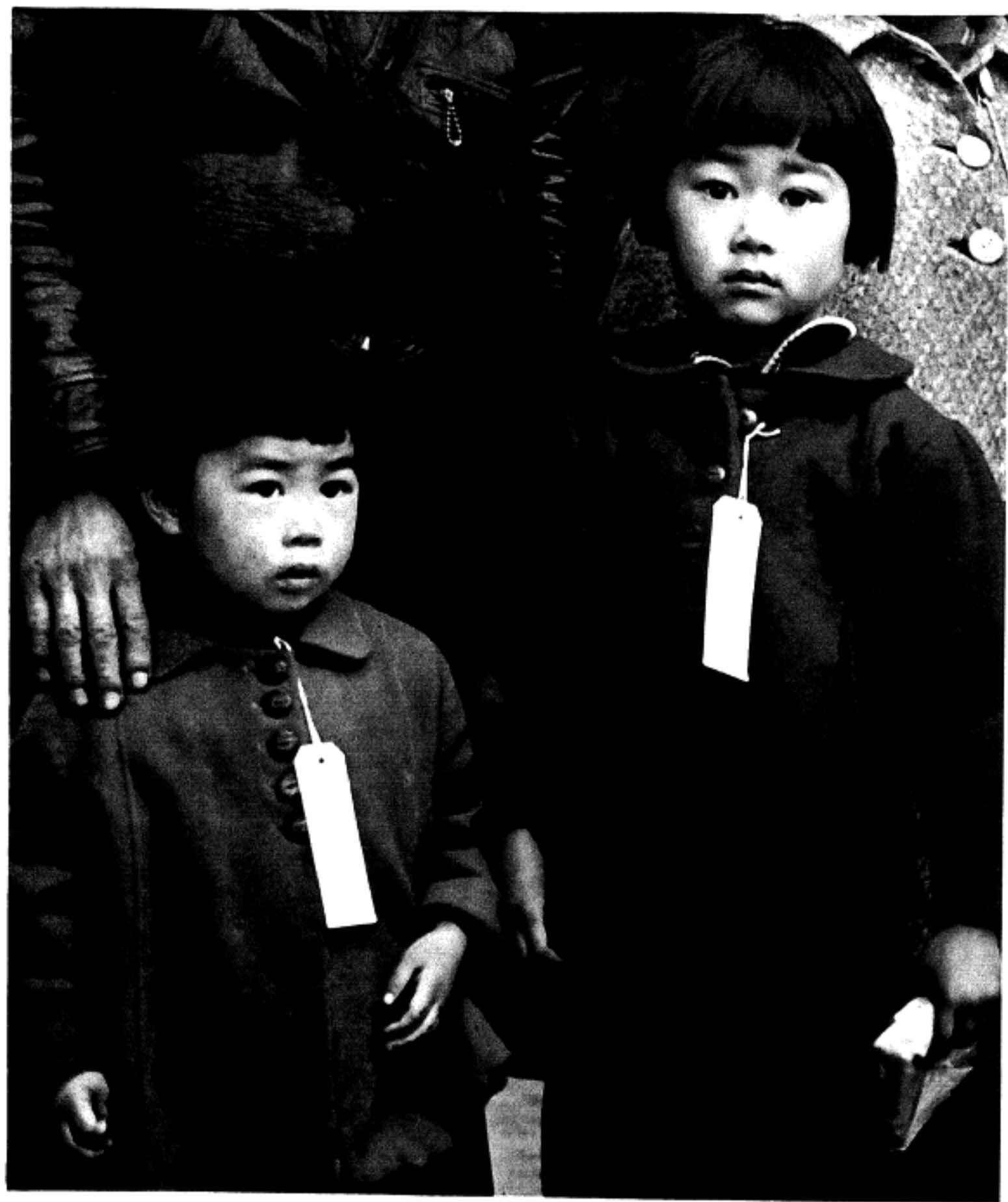
Mr. and Mrs. K. Iseri











SOLD
by WHITE & POLLARD

GROCERY

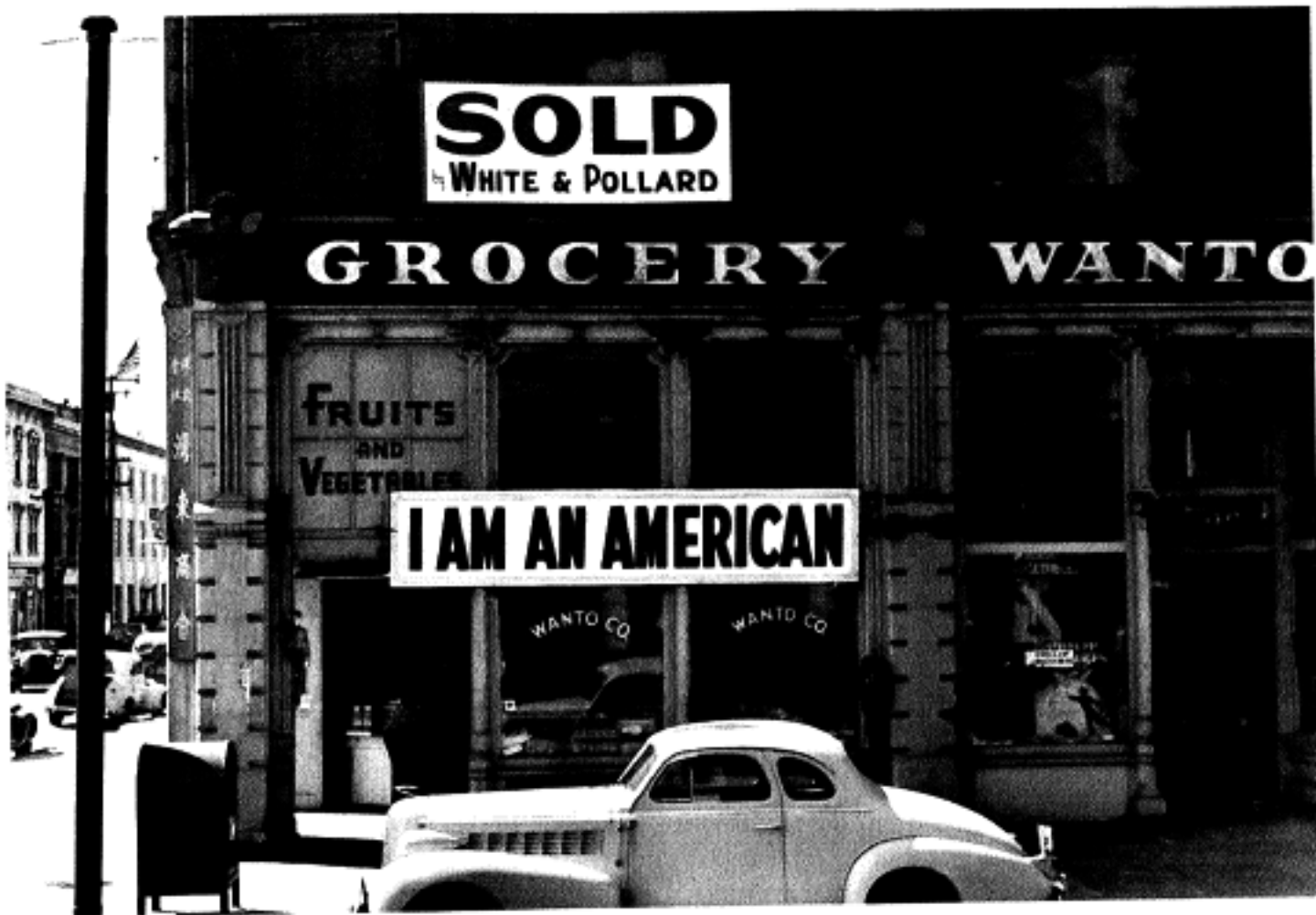
WANTO

**FRUITS
AND
VEGETABLES**

I AM AN AMERICAN

WANTO CO

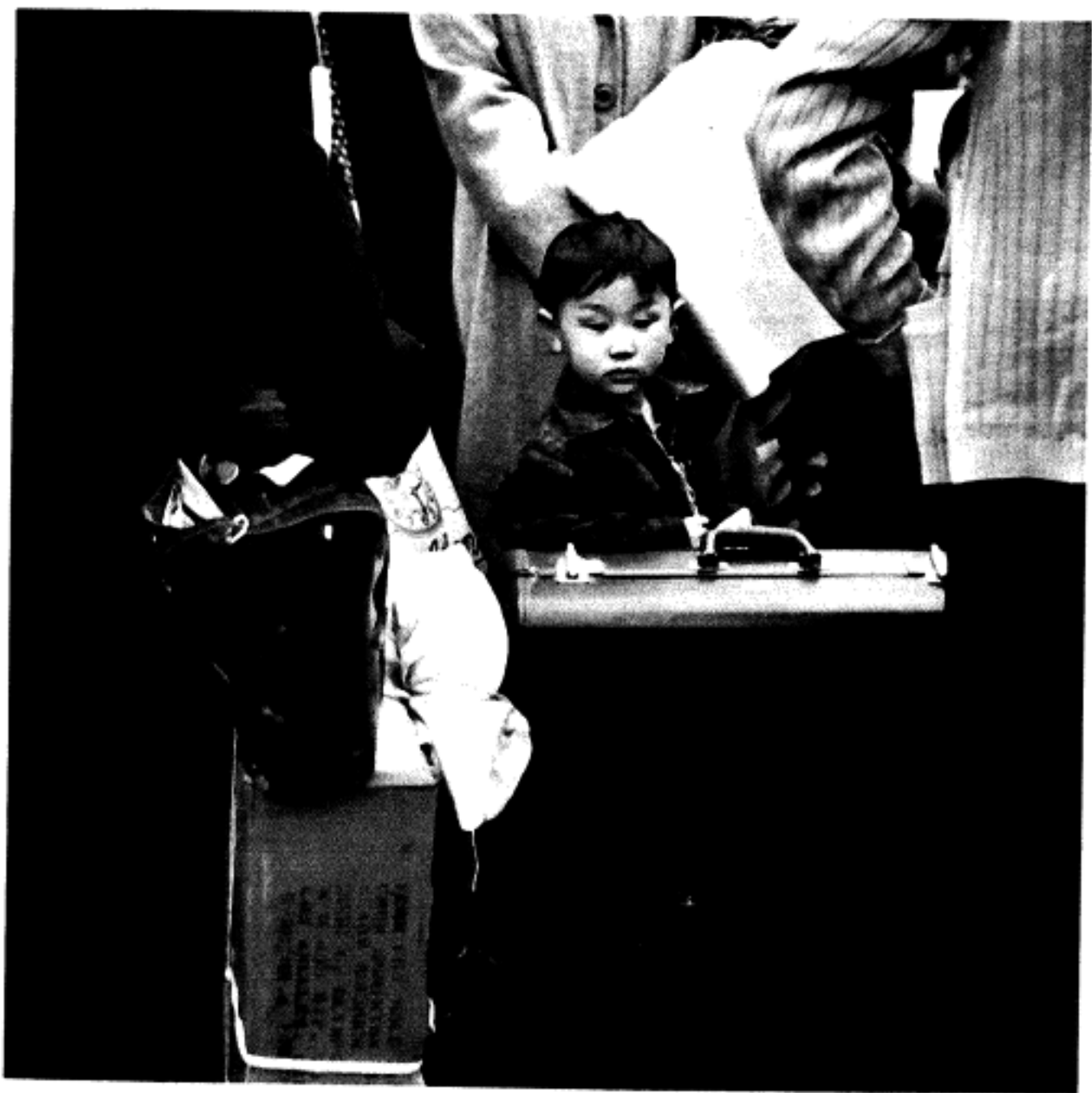
WANTO CO



*Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and
give them the inside room of the
badlands. Let 'em be pinched,
hurt, hungry and dead up against it.*

Henry McLemore,
San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 29, 1942.





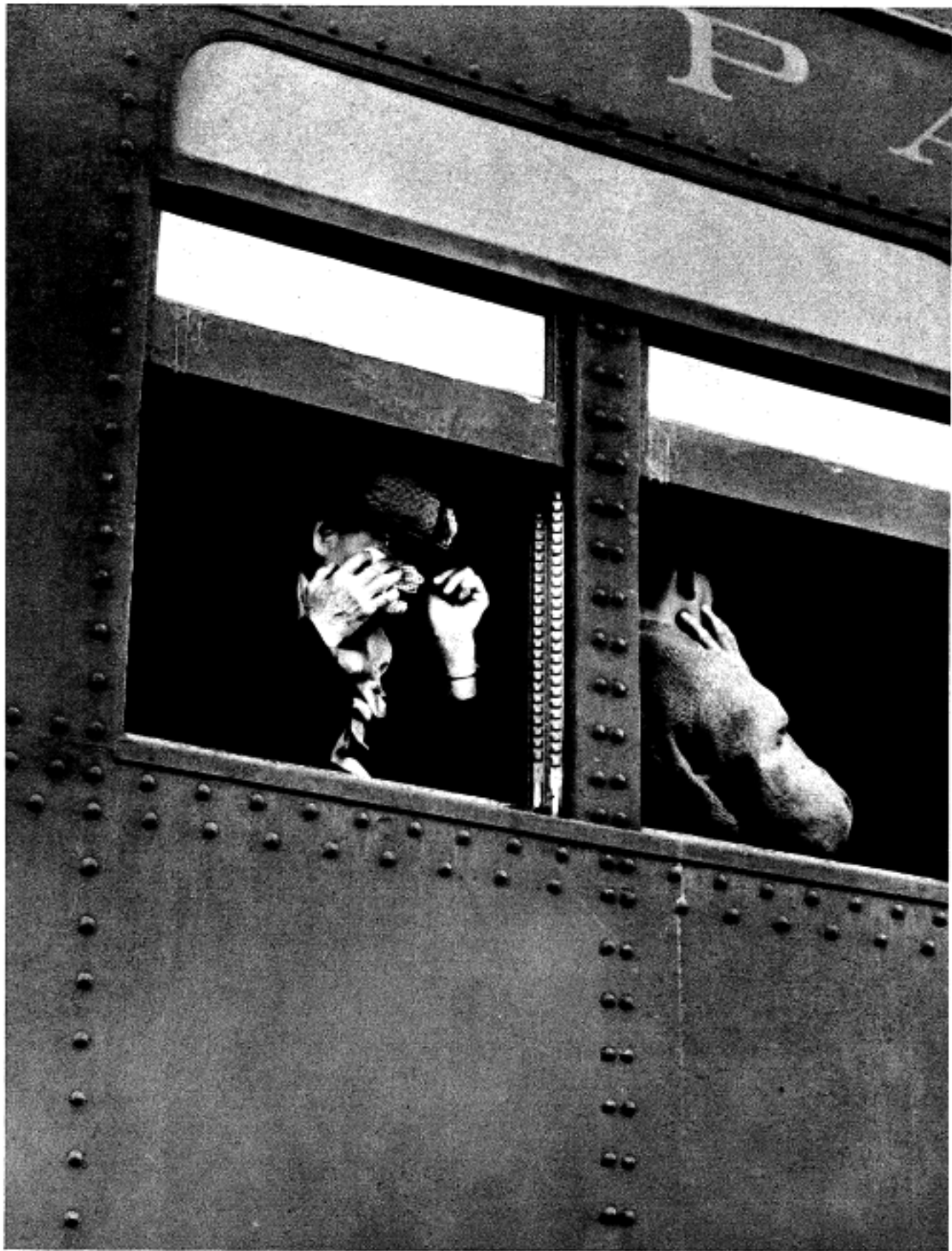




IN THIS SOLEMN HOUR WE PLEDGE OUR FULLEST
COOPERATION TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND
TO OUR COUNTRY. THERE CANNOT BE ANY QUESTION.
THERE MUST BE NO DOUBT. WE, IN OUR HEARTS, ARE
AMERICANS—LOYAL TO AMERICA.
WE MUST PROVE THAT TO ALL OF YOU.

Telegram to President Roosevelt, Dec. 7, 1941,
from Japanese American Citizens League.





*They took my boy to the Army, and now they take
my other children to a concentration camp.*

An old farmer, quoted in Alexander Leighton, *The Governing of Men*.





100,000 Japs Now Cleared From Coast

Almost 100,000 Japanese have already been moved from their West Coast homes and farms, or are under orders to be moved, the Wartime Civil Control Administration reported here yesterday.

WCCA officials said 94,330 are now in assembly or relocation centers, 2342 are being moved, and 3035 have received orders to evacuate within the next 10 days.

San Francisco Chronicle, May 20, 1942.

*War makes for harsh measures. . .
but we cannot justify the evacua-
tion even as a war measure. For
we were at war with Germany
and we were at war with Italy. No
such measure was taken against
German or Italian nationals.*

Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice*.





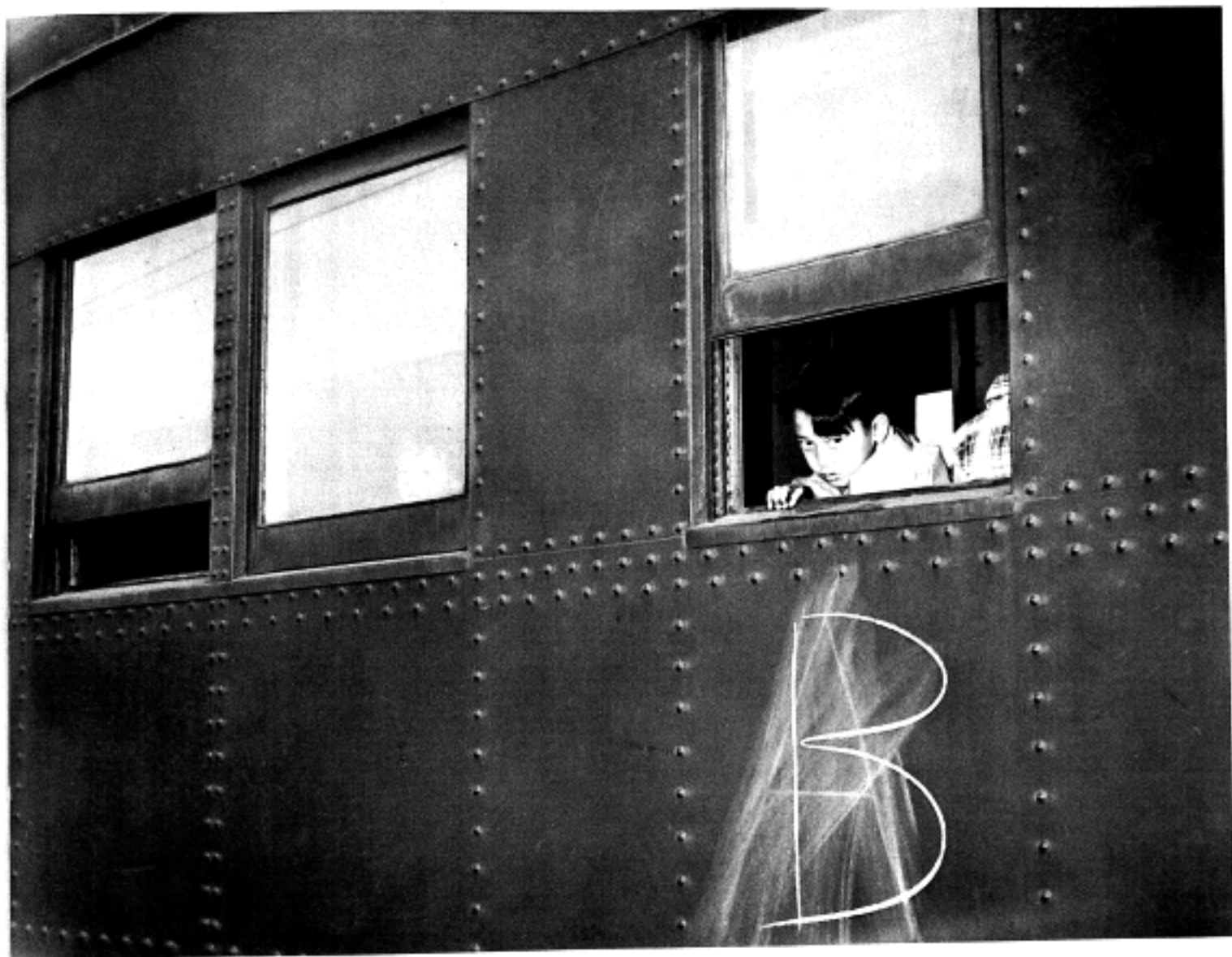






No charges were ever filed against these persons, and no guilt was ever attributed to them. . . . Evacuation swept into guarded camps orphans, foster children in white homes, Japanese married to Caucasians, the offspring of such marriages, persons who were unaware of their Japanese ancestry, and American citizens "with as little as one-sixteenth Japanese blood."

Morton Grodzins, Americans Betrayed





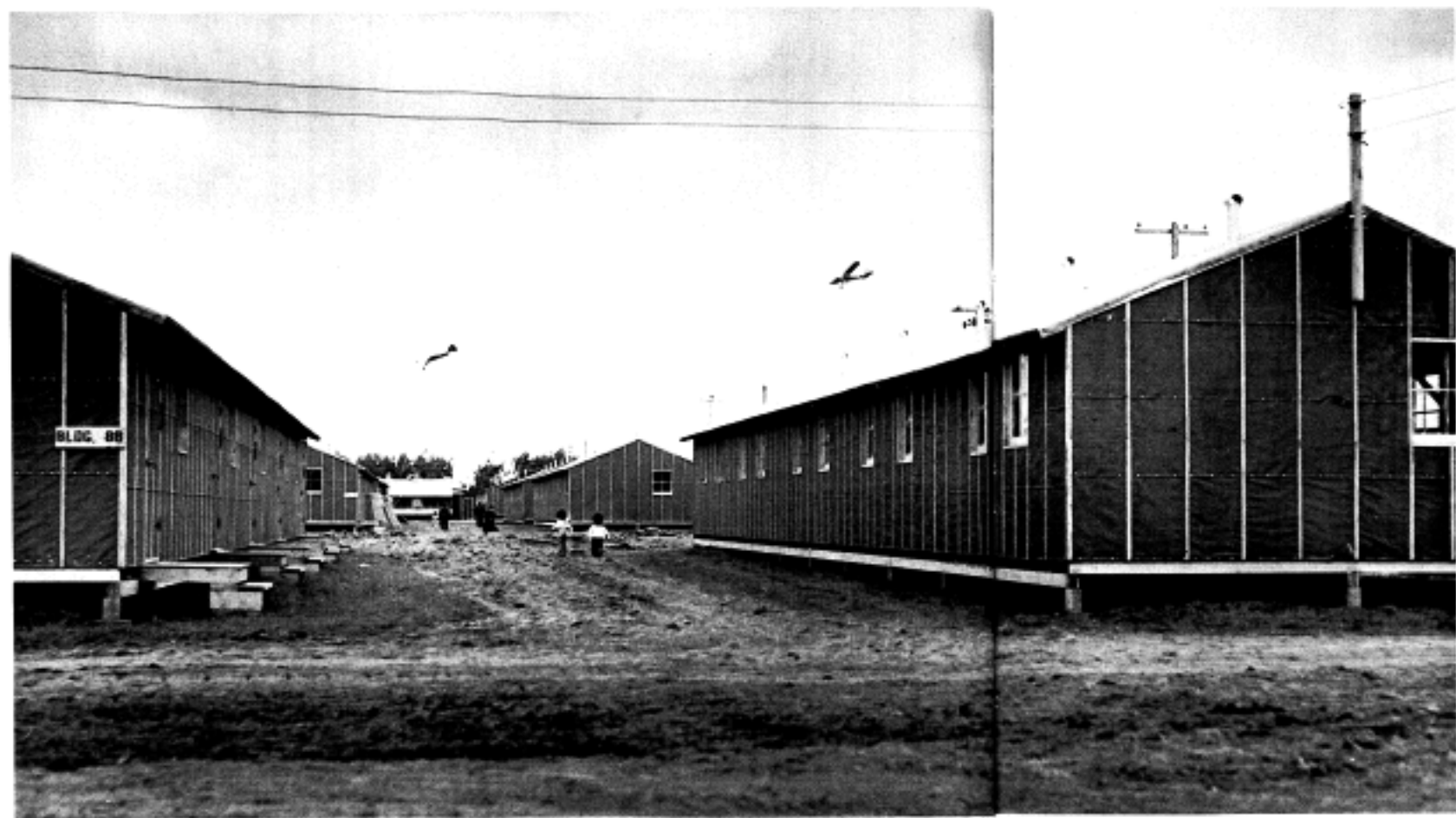
Topaz looked so big, so enormous to us. It made me feel like an ant. Every place we go we cannot escape the dust . . . dust and more dust, dust everywhere. . . .

I wonder who found this desert and why they put us in a place like this. . . .

Young evacuee, quoted in
Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice*.







I am an American. I have never known anything else. This evacuation can't change me because I am old enough and will always be the same. But what about the children in their formative years? What will it do to them?

Evacuee, quoted in Alexander Leighton, *The Governing of Men*.













We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men. They came into this valley to work, and they stayed to take over.

Austin Anson, Managing Secretary,
Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association of
Central California, quoted in *The
Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1942.





During the months of confinement, our minds lived in the future—not in the past—hoping, planning, dreaming, and thinking. The freedom we had always taken for granted—as most Americans still do—began to take on deep meaning when we had been deprived of it. There were times when we began to lose faith in ourselves and our ability to take it. Life in the camps was not easy. It was inadequate and morale-killing. But never in those months did we lose faith in America.

An evacuee, quoted in Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice*.



Poll Indicates Californians Seek To Eject All Japs

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 6 (U.P.)
—By a 14 to 1 ratio, Southern Californians in a poll conducted by the Los Angeles Times, today favored deportation of all Japanese from the United States and a ban upon further Nipponese immigration.

Yuma Sun and Sentinel, Dec, 6, 1943.

U.S. Japs in Italy Hailed as Heroes

ROME, July 1. — (UP) — American soldiers of Japanese origin, fighting with the 100th Battalion of the 442d Regiment combat team in the present 5th Army offensive, were cited in a special statement which accompanied today's communique. "The 100th Battalion," the statement said, "has been fighting brilliantly with the 1st U.S. Infantry Division and has played a major role in some of the campaign's bitterest fighting, having landed in Italy shortly after the invasion last Sept. 9."

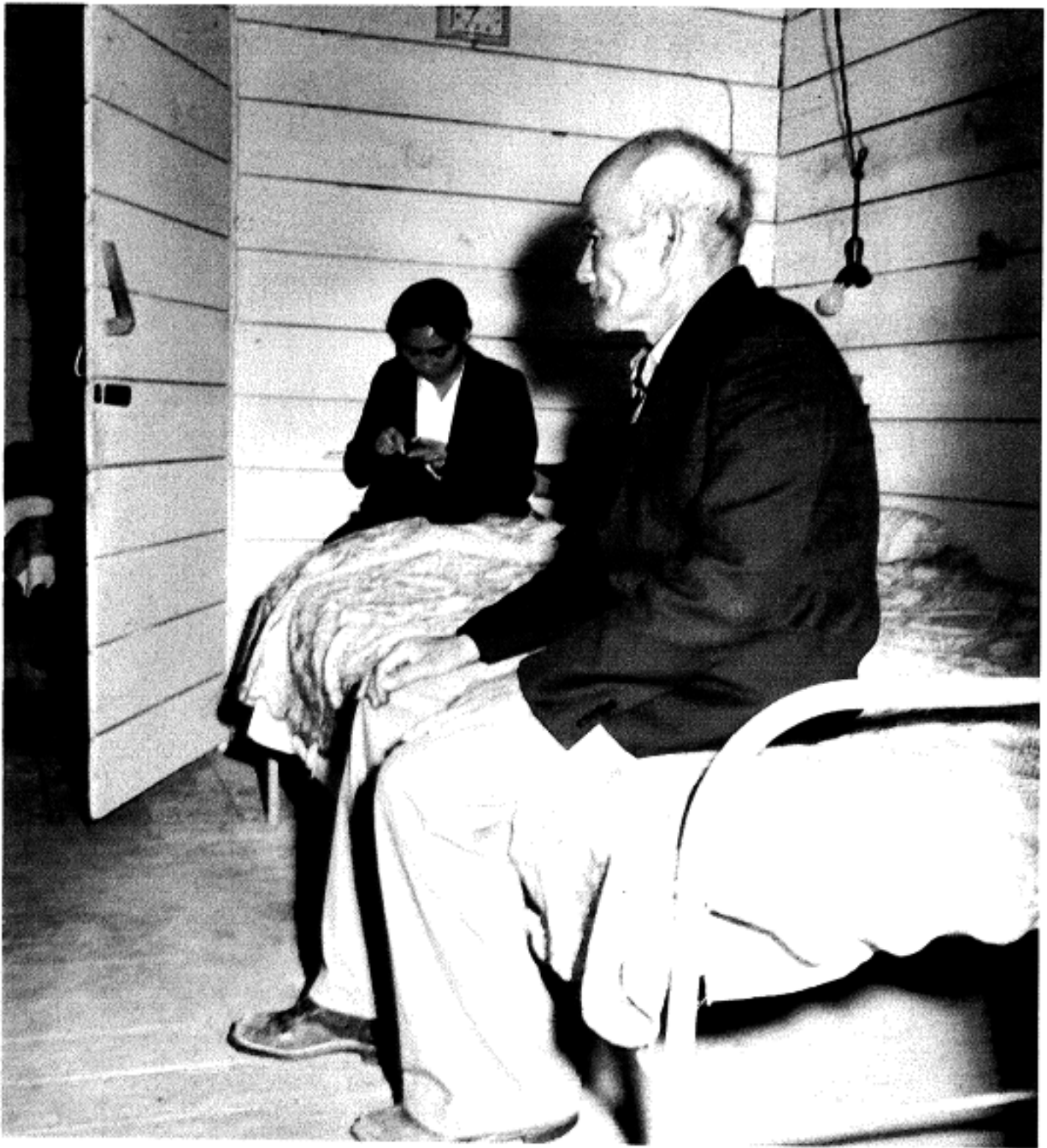
Yuma Sun and Sentinel, July 2, 1944.



It is sobering to recall that though the Japanese relocation . . . was justified to us on the ground that the Japanese were potentially disloyal, the record does not disclose a single case of Japanese disloyalty or sabotage during the whole war. . . .

Henry Steele Commager,
Harpers, Sept. 1947.



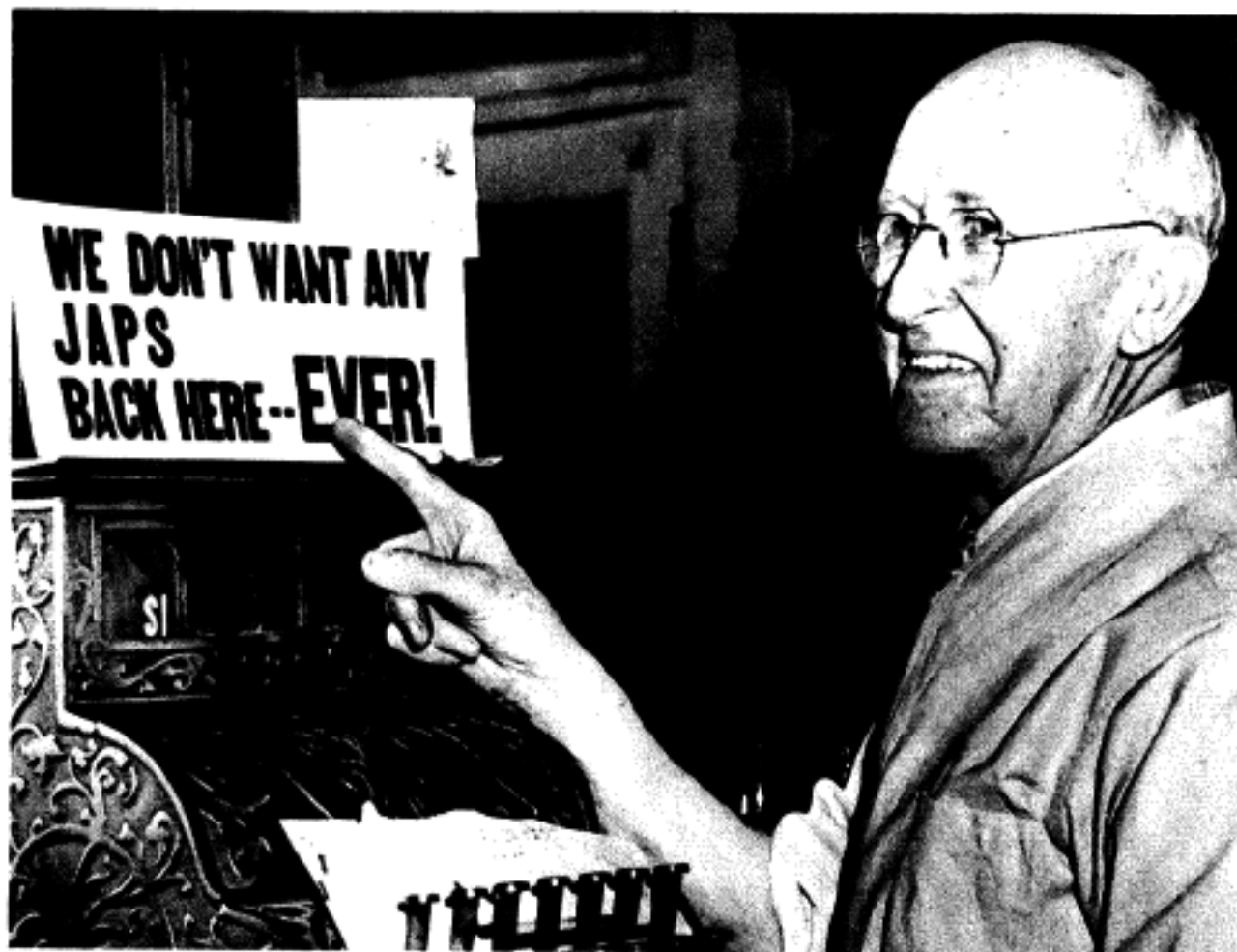




*I am an American citizen. . . .
I have never been outside of the
United States, and I don't know
Japan or what Japan stands for. . . .
Put me down as disloyal if you
will, but I'm going where I won't
have to live on the wrong side of
the tracks just because my face
is yellow. I will find my future
in the Orient.*

*An evacuee, quoted in Carey McWilliams,
Prejudice.*







It takes 8 tons of
freight to k.o. 1 Jap



SOUTHERN PACIFIC

Foster and Kleiser

FOR SALE
KE. 20295

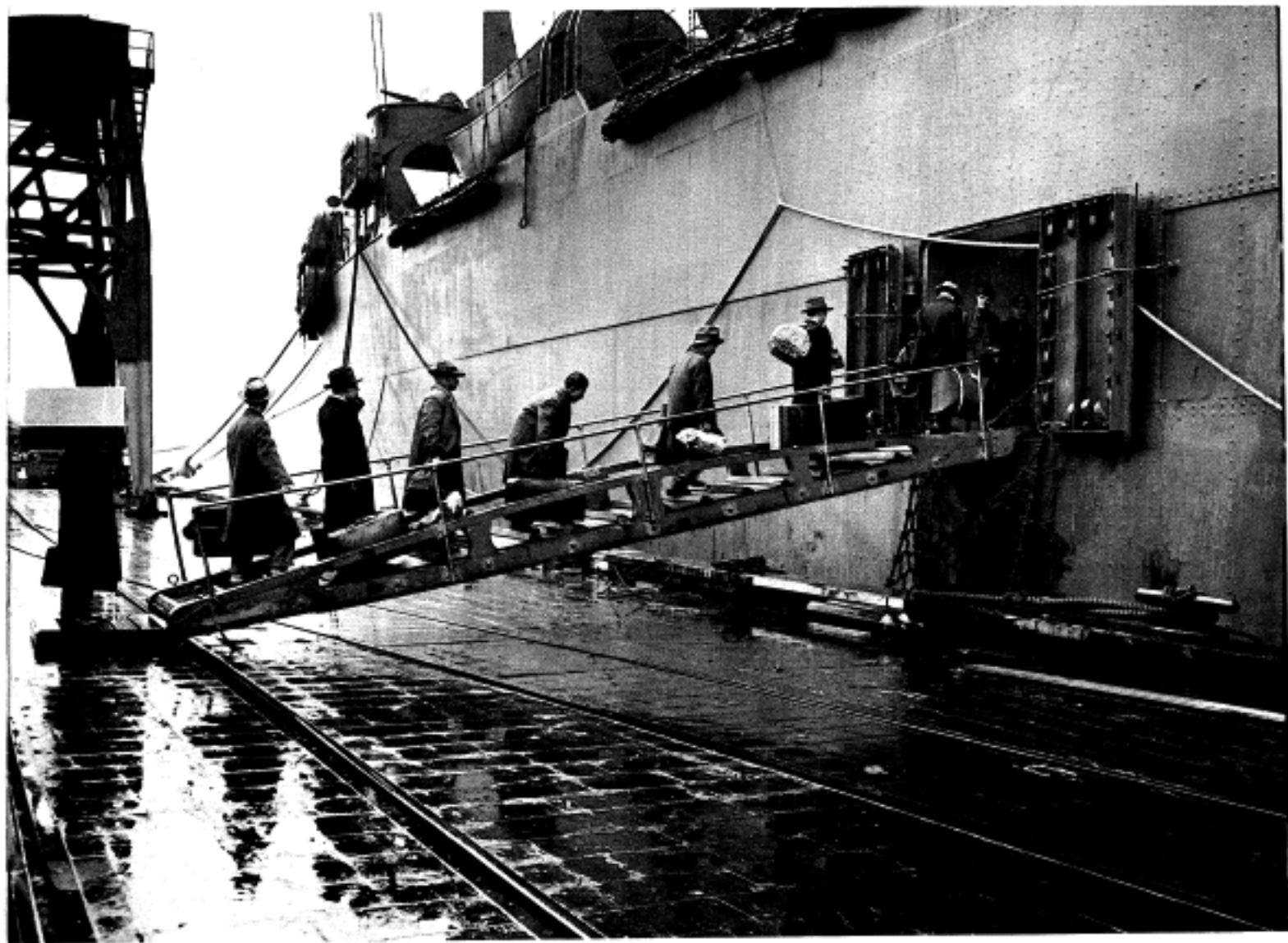


1500 Repatriates En Route to Japan

About 1500 Japanese repatriates, most of them American-born, were aboard ship en route to Japan last night after release from U.S. internment camps.

Frank J. Hennessy, United States Attorney here, was so notified yesterday by Washington, which added that 428 of the total were from the Tule Lake camp. The rest are from Fort Lincoln, North Dakota. Many of the repatriates had renounced United States citizenship.

San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 18, 1945.



3 Jap Deportation Bills Introduced

By Ray Richards

Los Angeles Examiner Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 26.—Preceded by the sharp point of a Dies Committee investigation, Congress is moving rapidly toward a face-to-face meeting with the hard problem of what to do with the 135,000 members of the Japanese race on the United States mainland and the 158,923 in Hawaii.

Tied into the problem are constitutional, economic and social concerns, and even the matter of statehood for the island territory.

Los Angeles Examiner, June 27, 1942.





Stilwell led the way to the front porch where members of the Masuda family were waiting. . . . Then General Stilwell's aide read the citation. It told how Staff Sergeant Kazuo Masuda had walked through two hundred yards of enemy fire. . . . It also told how he gave his own life to save the lives of men he was leading on a night patrol into heavily mined enemy territory.

"I've seen a good deal of the Nisei in service and never yet have I found one of them who didn't do his duty right up to the handle. . . ." (said Stilwell).

Then he pinned the medal on the soldier's thirty-four year old sister. . . . "In accepting this distinction for my brother," (said Miss Masuda) "I know that he would want me to say that he was only doing his duty as a soldier of our beloved country."

Los Angeles Times, Dec. 9, 1945.



EPILOGUE

That pictures can express truth more succinctly than words is proved here in the images of Dorothea Lange and the other photographers who documented the Japanese American relocation of World War II. The wistful, forlorn look of the children; the hopeless, dejected expression of their elders; the Nisei Grill that soon will be “under new management”; the foreboding sign declaring that all one’s possessions must be sold; the white storekeeper’s sneering words “We don’t want any Japs back here EVER!”; the concentration camps; the armed sentries; the deportation lines—each is a powerful reminder of a nightmare that was acted out here in our land of the free, all as the result of racism and wartime hysteria.

Soon after Pearl Harbor, at the instance of the Attorney General of the United States, I was appointed Civilian Coordinator for General John DeWitt, Commanding General, Western Defense Command, United States Army. It was his duty to protect our West Coast from subversion as well as invasion, and it was my task to be his “go-between” with the public. Following my appointment, I was deluged by demands that regardless of citizenship, every person of Japanese descent must be removed from the West Coast.

In the beginning, in an effort to forestall removal, a curfew was instituted (see *U.S. v. Yasui*, 48 F. Supp. 40 [1942], modified, 320 U.S. 115 [1943]), but the threatening public attitude reached a fever heat that would permit nothing less than total mass relocation. Moreover, as Civilian Coordinator, I found a complete lack of understanding, respect, and regard for our fellow Japanese Americans in the very communities where they were born, where they were reared, and where they worked. Some said that they were too clannish, too race-conscious, too Emperor-oriented; that they would not cultivate American ways and could not be assimilated. But mutual understanding and respect is not a one-way street—to be loved and to be respected, one must himself love and be respectful. Racial hatred coupled with economic and political opportunism kept hearts closed and fear predominant; it was a sad day in our constitutional history.

The truth is—as this deplorable experience proves—that constitutions

and laws are not sufficient of themselves; they must be given life through implementation and strict enforcement. Despite the unequivocal language of the Constitution of the United States that the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, and despite the Fifth Amendment's command that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, both of these constitutional safeguards were denied by military action under Executive Order 9066. While the Supreme Court in *Hirabayashi v. U.S.*, 320, U.S. 81 (1943) and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, 323, U.S. 214 (1944) gave the Fifth Amendment some lip service on the basis that there might have been some saboteurs among the thousands of persons of Japanese descent who were incarcerated, it wholly ignored the fundamental principle that a free society judges by individual acts, not by ancestry. Even though some malefactors might have been present—which was never proven—the liberty of the many cannot be forfeited because of the guilt of the few. Indeed, the Department of Justice successfully handled a similar problem involving persons of Italian and German extraction, dealing with them on an individual basis rather than by mass incarceration. The stubborn fact is, our fellow Japanese American citizens lost their liberty simply and only because of their ancestry.

Those who cherish liberty may learn much, now that the racial hatred and fear of conquest of thirty years have passed. Let us determine to abide by the lessons that *Executive Order 9066* teaches us—first, that the mere existence of a legal right is no more protection to individual liberty than the parchment upon which it is written, and second, that mutual love, respect, and understanding of one another are stronger bonds than constitutions.

TOM C. CLARK

*Associate Justice of the
U.S. Supreme Court, Retired*

ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPHS

The greatest concentration of evacuation photographs is to be found in Washington, D.C. The vast majority of these pictures were made by photographers hired by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) of the Federal government. Altogether there are approximately 13,000 WRA photographs, and today they are housed in the Audiovisual Division of the National Archives. A smaller number of evacuation photographs can be found in the Library of Congress. In these files are photographs taken under the auspices of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), and the Fourth U.S. Army & Western Defense Command. In addition, the Library of Congress houses a collection donated by Ansel Adams, who photographed the Manzanar Relocation Center on his own initiative.

In the picture credits below we have given the photographer's name first, then the source or collection from which the picture is drawn. Other available data follows the credit line.



Frontispiece

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Hayward, Calif.
May 8, 1942
Evacuation day.



Page 27

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Manzanar, Calif.
July 3, 1942

Young man at Manzanar Relocation Center. His Caucasian wife is living with him in the camp, together with their small child.



Page 28

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Manzanar, Calif.
July 2, 1942

Grandfather and grandson.



Page 29

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Centerville, Calif.

April 7, 1942

Interior view of Japanese-American Citizens League headquarters.



Page 30, top left

Photographer unknown

From Sydney Gulick, The American Japanese Problem (New York, 1914)

"The mother and son . . . are pure Japanese. The mother came as a young girl to California, where the son was born."



Page 30, top right

Photographer unknown

From R. Suzuki, The Development of the Inter-Mountain Japanese Colonies (Denver, n.d.)

A secretary from the Japanese Embassy (seated with white hat) together with members of the Japanese community in Cheyenne, Wyoming, c. 1915.



Page 30, lower left

Photographer unknown

From Yusen Kawashima, History of the Settling of California (Tokyo, 1932)

California berry farmer, c. 1925.



Page 30, lower right

Photographer unknown

From "Prominent Americans Interested in Japan and Prominent Japanese in America", Japanese in California

(San Francisco, 1903)



Page 31

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Florin, Calif.

May 11, 1942

"A soldier and his mother in a strawberry field. The soldier, age 23, volunteered July 10, 1941, and is stationed at Camp Leonard Wood, Missouri. He was furloughed to help his mother and family prepare for evacuation. He is the youngest of six children, two of them volunteers in the U.S. Army. The mother, now 53, came from Japan 37 years ago. . . ."



Page 32

Dorothea Lange, WRA

San Francisco, Calif.

April 20, 1942

"Pledge of allegiance at Rafael Weill Elementary School, a few weeks prior to evacuation."



Page 35

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Bainbridge Island, Wash.

March 23, 1942

Soldier posting Civilian Exclusion Order No. 1 together with instructions for evacuation procedures.



Page 36

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Byron, Calif.

May, 1942

"Field laborers of Japanese ancestry from a large delta ranch have assembled at Wartime Civilian Control Authority Station to receive instructions for evacuation which is to be effected in three days under California Exclusion Order No. 24. They are arguing together over whether or not to return to the ranch to work for the remaining days before evacuation, or whether they shall spend that time on their personal affairs."



Page 38

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Oakland, Calif.

Feb. 27, 1942



Page 39

Dorothea Lange, WRA

San Francisco, Calif.

April 7, 1942



Page 40

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Bainbridge Island, Wash.

March 30, 1942

Evacuation day.



Page 43

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Bainbridge Island, Wash.

March 30, 1942



Page 45

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Hayward, Calif.

May 8, 1942

"Grandfather and grandchildren awaiting evacuation bus. The grandfather conducted a dyeing and cleaning business. The family unit is preserved during evacuation and at War Relocation Authority centers. . . ."



Page 46

Clem Albers, WRA

Los Angeles, Calif.

April 11, 1942



Page 47

Clem Albers, WRA

Los Angeles, Calif.

April, 1942

Page 48

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Woodland, Calif.

May 20, 1942

"Tenant-farmer of Japanese ancestry who has just completed settlement of his affairs. Everything is packed, ready for evacuation the following morning. . . ."





Page 49

Russell Lee, FSA
Los Angeles, Calif.
April, 1942



Page 50

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Hayward, Calif.
May 8, 1942



Page 51

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Oakland, Calif.
April, 1942

"Following evacuation orders, this store, at 13th and Franklin Streets, was closed. The owner, a University of California graduate of Japanese descent, placed the "I AM AN AMERICAN" sign on the store front on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor."



Page 53

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Centerville, Calif.
May 9, 1942

Page 54



Russell Lee, FSA
Los Angeles, Calif.
April, 1942
Waiting for the train to Manzanar Relocation Center.



Page 55

Dorothea Lange, WRA
San Francisco, Calif.
April 6, 1942

"Labeled, checked against the master list, this evacuee is ready to leave the assembly point for Santa Anita Assembly Center."—Tolan Committee Report, 1942



Page 56

Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Bainbridge Island, Wash.
March 30, 1942



Page 58

Russell Lee, FSA
Los Angeles, Calif.
April, 1942



Page 59

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Woodland, Yolo County, Calif.
May 20, 1942

"Ten train cars are now filled with evacuees and the doors are closed. Caucasian friends and the WCCA staff are watching their departure from the platform. Evacuees are leaving their homes and ranches, in a rich agricultural district, bound for Merced Assembly Center, 125 miles away."



Page 61

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Centerville, Calif.
May 19, 1942



Page 62

Fred Clark, WRA
Poston, Arizona
June 28, 1942
Colorado River Relocation Center.



Page 65

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Turlock, Calif.
May 2, 1942
Turlock Assembly Center.



Pages 66-67

Toyo Miyatake
Manzanar Relocation Center
The photographer was an evacuee when these pictures were made.



Page 68

Photographer unknown, WRA
Hunt, Idaho
June 29, 1944
Land adjacent to Minidoka Relocation Center.



Page 69

Charles Mace, WRA
Newell, Calif.
Sept. 28, 1943
"One of the many boundary signs posted around the Tule Lake Center."



Page 71

Photographer unknown
Bureau of Public Relations
War Department
Hunt, Idaho
Sept. 25, 1943
Evacuees being transferred from Minidoka Relocation Center to the Tule Lake Center, Newell, Calif.



Page 72

R. H. Ross, WRA
Newell, Calif.
March 20, 1946
Tule Lake Relocation Center.



Page 74

Dorothea Lange, WRA
Turlock, Calif.
May 2, 1942
Turlock Assembly Center.



Page 75

Charles Mace, WRA
Newell, Calif.
Sept. 25, 1943
Arriving at Tule Lake Center.



Page 76

Clem Albers, WRA

Salinas, Calif.

March 31, 1942

Salinas Assembly Center, with U.S. Army airplanes overhead.



Page 78

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Manzanar, Calif.

June 29, 1942

Manzanar Relocation Center.



Page 79

Clem Albers, WRA

Manzanar, Calif.

April 2, 1942

"Evacuees on their way to clear land of brush at the Manzanar Relocation Center."



Page 81

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Stockton, Calif.

May 19, 1942

"This family just arrived in the Stockton Assembly Center this morning. The mother and the children wait at the door of the room in the barracks to which they have been assigned, while the father is at the baggage depot where the bedding and clothing are being unloaded and inspected for contraband."



Page 82

Dorothea Lange, WRA

San Bruno, Calif.

April 29, 1942

"'Help Wanted' sign displayed for the newly arrived evacuees at Tanforan Assembly Center. There was much work to be done, because the Center had been opened only since the previous day. Three weeks later, there were 8000 persons of Japanese ancestry in this center."



Page 83

J. D. Bigelow, WRA

Newell, Calif.

June 24, 1944

Transplanting cabbage from hotbeds at the Tule Lake Center.



Page 84

United Press International

Phoenix, Arizona

Feb. 6, 1935

"Signs such as this indicated by Floyd Hawkins, rancher, adorn some parts of the ranch and farm area surrounding Phoenix. . . ."



Page 86

Dorothea Lange, WRA

San Bruno, Calif.

June 16, 1942

"A close-up on an entrance to a family apartment at Tanforan Assembly Center. Note that the windows in this unit have been enlarged. Five people occupy two small rooms."



Page 87

Dorothea Lange, WRA

San Bruno, Calif.

June 16, 1942

"Tanforan Assembly Center. These barracks were formerly horse stalls. Each family is assigned two small rooms. The interior one has neither door nor window."



Page 89

Ansel Adams

Manzanar Relocation Center

October, 1943

From Born Free and Equal (New York, 1944)

Interior view of the barracks quarters of the Yonemitsu family. The portrait is of their son Robert, who is serving in the U.S. Army's Japanese-American Combat Team. Next to his portrait are some of the letters he has written to his sister.



Page 91

Photographer unknown, WRA

Hunt, Idaho

Minidoka Relocation Center. Serviceman visiting his parents.

Page 93

Photographer unknown, WRA

Parker, Arizona

c. 1945

Sign on a barbershop in this small town near the Colorado River Relocation Center.



Page 94

Dorothea Lange, WRA

San Bruno, Calif.

June 16, 1942

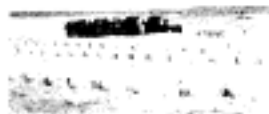
"Old Mr. Konda in his barrack apartment, Tanforan Assembly Center, after supper. He lives here with his two sons, his married daughter and her husband. They share two small rooms together. His daughter is seen behind him, knitting. He has been a truck farmer and raised his family who are also farmers, in Centerville, Alameda County, where his children were born."

Page 95

Photographer unknown, WRA

Hunt, Idaho

Funeral service at the Minidoka Relocation Center.



Page 97

Francis Stewart, WRA

Newell, Calif.

Feb. 2, 1943

"Thaws at this Tule Lake Center turn the streets and fire breaks into seas of mud. . . ."



Page 98

United Press International

Kent, Wash.

March 2, 1944

"G. S. Hantf, barbershop proprietor, . . . At the beginning of the war, large numbers of Japanese were evacuated from Kent, near Seattle. Rumor has it that the Japs may be allowed to return to their homes when the war is ended."



Page 99

Photographer unknown, WRA

Topaz, Utah

July, 1945

Central Utah Relocation Center.



Page 105

Photographer unknown, WRA

Gila River Relocation Center, Arizona

Memorial service for Japanese-American servicemen killed in action.

Page 100

Dorothea Lange

Richmond, Calif.

1945

From the Oakland Museum collection.



Page 106

Photographer unknown, WRA

Poston, Arizona

1944

Colorado River Relocation Center.

Page 101

Photographer unknown, WRA

Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Wyo.

War mothers presented with service flags.



Page 109

Dorothea Lange, WRA

Manzanar Relocation Center

July 3, 1942

"A hot windstorm brings dust from the surrounding desert."

Page 103

Photographer unknown, WRA

Seattle, Wash.

Nov. 24, 1945

Japanese repatriates embarking for Japan.

The days following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor were dark days of the American spirit. Unable to strike back effectively against the Japanese Empire, Americans in the Western states lashed out at fellow citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry. Executive Order 9066, signed by President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, was the instrument that allowed military commanders to designate areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded." Under this order all Japanese and Americans of Japanese ancestry were removed from Western coastal regions to guarded camps in the interior. Former Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark,

who represented the Department of Justice in the "relocation," writes in the Epilogue to this book:

The truth is—as this deplorable experience proves—that constitutions and laws are not sufficient of themselves. . . . Despite the unequivocal language of the Constitution of the United States that the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, and despite the Fifth Amendment's command that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, both of these constitutional safeguards were denied by military action under Executive Order 9066. . . .

