

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

Tule Lake Segregation Center

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Tule Lake Segregation Center

Other Name/Site Number: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell Townsite

LOCATION

Street & Number: N/A

Not for publication: ___

City/Town: Newell

Vicinity: ___

State: California

County: Modoc

Code: 049

Zip Code: 96134

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: ___

Public-Local: ___

Public-State: X

Public-Federal: X

Category of Property

Building(s): ___

District: X

Site: ___

Structure: ___

Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

6

1

6

1

14

Noncontributing

1 buildings

0 sites

1 structures

1 objects

3 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 0

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	DOMESTIC	Sub:	Institutional Housing
	DEFENSE	Sub:	Military Facility
	GOVERNMENT	Sub:	Correctional Facility
	AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE	Sub:	Storage
Current:	COMMERCE/TRADE	Sub:	Warehouse

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: Other - U.S. Army

Materials:

Foundation: Concrete
Walls: Wood, Wood/Metal, Concrete
Roof: Wood/Asphalt, Wood/Metal
Other: Rock, Concrete

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The Tule Lake Segregation Center is located in Modoc County, California about 10 miles southeast of the Town of Tulelake¹ and 35 miles southeast of Klamath Falls, Oregon, the largest town in the vicinity (Maps 1 and 2). Tule Lake was constructed in 1942 as one of the ten relocation centers where Japanese Americans were interned during World War II. Security was upgraded when it was designated a segregation center for “disloyals” in 1943.

The segregation center historically comprised 7,400 acres, and had all the amenities of a typical American town, including a post office, a high school, a hospital, a cemetery, factories, railroad sidings, two sewage treatment plants, hog and chicken farms, wells, and over 3,500 acres of irrigated farmland (Map 3, Figure 1, Historic Photograph 1). The most obvious, and oppressive, difference between Tule Lake and a typical American town was the lack of freedom, apparent in guard towers, a security fence, a Military Police Compound, and a high-security Stockade (Historic Photograph 2). But the prison-like atmosphere was also evident in the layout and the facilities. The 18,000 residents were housed in 1,036 barracks, served by 518 latrines, mess halls, and other communal buildings. There were also 144 administration and support buildings.²

The Tule Lake Segregation Center National Historic Landmark encompasses the original segregation center’s Stockade, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) Motor Pool, the Post Engineer’s Yard and Motor Pool, and a small part of the Military Police Compound. These portions of the segregation center retain exceptional integrity and value for commemorating and conveying the history of the Japanese American relocation (Map 4).

The segregation center site is presently a mix of federal, state, and private land. Portions of the segregation center on private land also retain exceptional integrity. For example, the “Flying Goose Lodges” subdivision of the small town of Newell contains 44 original buildings and numerous other features, and the original industrial area includes five of the original 11 factory and warehouse buildings. However, the Historic Landmark includes only public land administered by State and Federal agencies, whose missions include the preservation and interpretation of significant historic properties.

SETTING AND LOCATION

The setting of the Tule Lake Segregation Center National Historic Landmark is essentially unchanged since the historic period. The vicinity is characterized by open fields, as it was during World War II. The small town of Newell, located completely within the original Segregation Center boundaries, is isolated, as was the Segregation Center. Views of Castle Rock Mountain and Abalone Mountain (Horse Mountain), important landmarks to the internees, remain unobstructed, and these are powerful symbols of the relocation today.³

The relocation center, and hence the segregation center, was named after a shallow lake drained during the first

¹ The town spells its name as one word; the name of the relocation/segregation center is divided into two words.

² Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 279-324.

³ Tule Lake Committee, *Patriotism & Loyalty Revisited* (Tule Lake Committee, San Francisco, 2002); and Tule Lake Committee, *Citizens Betrayed: Tule Lake Pilgrimage 2004* (Tule Lake Committee, San Francisco, 2004).

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decades of the twentieth century to create new farm land. Large remnants of Tule Lake, now a National Wildlife Refuge, lie within a few miles of the relocation center site. The lacustrine geology is evident: the relocation center site and surrounding area is flat and treeless, and the sandy loam soil is interspersed with the abundant remains of freshwater mollusks. At an elevation of 4,000 feet, the winters at Tule Lake are long and cold and the summers hot and dry. Native vegetation consists of a sparse growth of grass, tules, and sagebrush.

To the south and west vulcanism is prominent: Tule Lake is just north of lava flows emanating from the Medicine Lake Highlands, the easternmost promontory of the Cascade Range. An 800-foot-high bluff, called the Peninsula, is composed of volcanic tuff that was extruded within Pleistocene Tule Lake. Other smaller bluffs are to the north and east. Lava Beds National Monument includes two areas southwest of the relocation center, Petroglyph Point just south of the Peninsula, and another, much larger area at the northern end of the Medicine Lake Highlands. On a clear day, 14,000-foot Mt. Shasta, 50 miles south, is visible.

HISTORIC APPEARANCE

As with all the relocation centers, Tule Lake was designed to be a self-contained community, complete with hospital, post office, schools, warehouses, offices, factories, and residential areas, all surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers. Since the centers were supposed to be as self-sufficient as possible, the residential core was surrounded by a large buffer zone that also served as farmland. The Military Police had a separate living area to reduce fraternization. The civilian employees also had living quarters available at the relocation center, but these were usually supplemented by whatever housing was available in the nearby towns.

The layout of the relocation centers varied, but certain elements were fairly constant. There was generally a main entrance leading to the local highway, and auxiliary routes to farming areas outside the central fenced and guarded residential and administration area. Some of the major interior roads were paved, but most were simply dirt roads that were dusty or muddy depending on the weather.

The design of buildings for the relocation centers presented a problem since no precedents for “family” barracks existed. A set of standards was developed by the Army, modifying the “theater of operations”-type buildings to make them suitable for housing women, children and elderly people while still meeting the requirements of quick construction, low cost, and restricted use of critical materials.

Uniform construction standards were put in place by the U.S. Army’s Wartime Civilian Control Agency (WCCA) on June 8, 1942, but construction at Tule Lake was already underway at that time. Construction also varied from center to center, because different local Engineer Divisions interpreted the rather vague standards differently, and these local offices were responsible for developing or contracting out the plans and specifications for each center. After June 1942, five-room, 20-by-100-foot barracks were supplanted by 20-by-120-foot barracks divided into six variably-sized rooms. The new barracks still followed standard plans, with different-sized rooms to accommodate different-sized families and groups of single people. Each barracks had two rooms each of the following sizes: 16 by 20 feet, 20 by 20 feet, and 24 by 20 feet.

The exterior walls and roofs of the barracks were generally of boards covered with tarpaper on frames of dimension lumber. The raised floors were wooden boards, which quickly shrank and allowed dust and dirt to fly all over the barracks. The gabled ends of the buildings had rectangular vents – a standard Army construction detail. Interior partitions extended only to the eaves, leaving triangular open spaces between the apartments above the walls and below the roof. Each apartment had a heating unit, fueled by coal, wood, oil, or natural gas. Furnishings included a single drop light, army cots, blankets, and mattresses.

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Most other buildings were variations on the same theme. Recreation halls and community buildings were basically the same as barracks, but 20 by 100 feet in size and without interior partitions. Mess halls were 40 by 100 feet, and included a kitchen, store room, and scullery.

The layout of the Tule Lake Center followed the WRA's general design for the relocation centers. The administration area was adjacent to the Central Pacific Railroad and California State Highway 139. The relocation center road grid was aligned with the highway, at about 50 degrees from true north. From west to east along the north side of the highway was the Military Police Compound (designated Block 1), the administration area and hospital (Block 2), and the warehouse and industrial areas (Block 3). The relocation center entrance was originally directly from the highway into the administration area. The administration area included four interconnected administration buildings, two other office buildings, a post office, a store, a mess hall, the director's residence, three staff houses, two dormitories, a laundry, eight recreation buildings, and three garages. Northeast of the administration area was a hospital, with 19 buildings interconnected with covered walkways.

To the east of the administration area in the warehouse area there were 71 buildings. Many of these were warehouses; others included ten staff houses, three buildings used for an internee furniture factory, a bakery, and a tofu factory. During use of the center seven buildings from the warehouse area were moved to other areas. One was used for a funeral parlor, one for an office, one was split and used for the farm kitchen and a bunk house at one of the sewage treatment plants. Four were moved to the Stockade when it was constructed in 1944.

East of the warehouse area was the industrial area, which included two railroad spurs, an office, ten warehouses, and a coal shed. Later, a latrine and three large buildings (60 by 300 feet) were added. One of the large buildings was a potato warehouse and the other two were to be used for factories, but were instead used for storage.

The internee residential blocks were located on the northeast side of the administration area away from the highway. The internee area was separated from the rest of the developed central area by a 400-foot-wide firebreak. The internee residential blocks were divided into eight wards, each bounded on all sides by 200-foot-wide firebreaks. Most wards comprised nine internee residential blocks; the exceptions were Ward 6, which had only six blocks, and Ward 8, composed of 13 blocks, which was separated from the other wards by a canal.

The 40 earliest-constructed internee residential blocks each had thirteen 20-by-100-foot barracks, a mess hall, a recreation building, a men's latrine and shower, a women's latrine and shower, a laundry, and an ironing room. Later, another women's latrine and shower building was added to each of these blocks. Sixteen later-constructed blocks had a combination men's and women's latrine and shower building and a combination laundry and ironing room. Block recreation buildings were used for offices, six stores, five canteens, a beauty parlor, a barber shop, four judo halls, eight Buddhist churches, a Catholic church, and three other churches. In the firebreaks there were three fire stations, a fish store, an outdoor stage, and a funeral parlor and cemetery, as well as 31 baseball and softball fields and a sumo wrestling pit.

New school buildings were planned, but only the high school, located in the firebreak between the hospital and internee residential area, was ever completed and then not until February 1944. It included an auditorium/gym, a shop, a science and crafts building, a library, an administration building, and four classroom buildings, connected by covered walkways. Two of the classroom buildings at the high school were used for an elementary school.

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Domestic water was supplied by seven wells, a water treatment plant, an elevated 200,000 gallon storage tank to the east of the internee residential area, and two 1 million gallon tanks to the south on the Peninsula. Sewage was treated in two plants, the second added after the relocation center was changed to a segregation center and expanded. Each had a sump pump, Imhoff tank, sludge beds (180 by 366 feet), and effluent beds (800 by 900 feet). Apparently the first plant did not have enough capacity even for the original relocation center population: WRA blueprints show a large pond for holding untreated sewage near it.

There were two farm areas, Farm Area 1 just southwest and north of the administration and residential area, and Farm Area 2 three miles west. Farm Area 1 included a farm kitchen and the hog and chicken farms near the base of the Peninsula. At the chicken farm there were 20 coops, granaries, an office, and a processing plant. The hog farm had 26 hog pens, a slaughter house, a well, and a water tank. The farm kitchen was located across the road from the hog farm. Across the highway from the administration area were a horse corral, a coal unloading and storage area, water wells, and two water tanks. To bring Farm Area 2 under cultivation the internees had to build a water distribution and drainage system which included 13 miles of canals, 8.5 miles of drains, 180 timber gates and other structures, and two small drainage pumping plants.⁴

When Tule Lake was designated a segregation center, a number of changes were made. A new, more secure entrance, a larger Military Police Compound, a motor pool, and other facilities were built to the west of the original Military Police Compound, which was converted to staff housing (Figure 2). Ten more internee residential blocks were added, for a total of 66 residential blocks. The number of guard towers around the perimeter of the relocation center was tripled, from six to nineteen. In addition to the lighted 7-foot-high perimeter fence topped with barbed wire, there was a warning fence 50 feet in from the perimeter fence. A WRA blueprint depicts the warning fence as about 3½ feet high, constructed of wood posts with wood rails, barbed wire, and warning signs. The relocation center post office was relocated to the north end of the staff block to allow access from both sides of the security fence built between the administration area and the internee housing. After segregation, each farm area was surrounded by a warning fence, a security fence, and 16 guard towers. Farm Area 1 also had five searchlights. After the Army took control of the center in late 1943, eight of the guard towers at Farm Area 2 were moved to the central area. Five were placed along a fence constructed between the internee barracks and the administration area, and three were placed at the Stockade.

The new Military Police Compound, built northwest of the original compound, housed an entire battalion (31 officers and 900 enlisted men; eventually 1,200 soldiers would be assigned to Tule Lake). The compound included a headquarters building, a military jail (guard house), a theater/chapel, a post exchange, a fire station, two classroom buildings, three officers' quarters, an officers' mess hall, an officers' recreation building, 22 enlisted men's barracks, two enlisted men's mess halls, four enlisted men's recreation buildings, five supply rooms, a warehouse, a cold storage building, an ordnance building, and a substation and auxiliary power supply. To the south, the Military Police Motor Pool and Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool included a gas station, two latrines, a wash rack, a grease rack, two sheds, a motor repair shop, an office, a warehouse, a utility building, and a carpenter and paint shop.

The new WRA Motor Pool Area, constructed between the staff housing and the new Military Police Compound, included two offices, two automotive repair shops, a gas station, a latrine, a wash rack, two grease racks, a storage shed, a vehicle shed, and a warehouse.

⁴ B. E. Hayden, Annual Report and O & M Report of the Klamath Project, Oregon-California, for Calendar Year 1943. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, 1943).

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The new entrance to the center was along the northwestern fence, between the internee residential area and the new Military Police Compound. Access from the highway was via a road along the outside of the fence. At the new entrance was a vehicle gate, a sentry post, and two pedestrian turnstiles (one on each side of the road). From the gate the road entered the administration area and continued east 1,600 feet through a large open area between two security fences to another gate. This inner gate was the farm workers' embarkation area, where there was another sentry post and multiple turnstiles for pedestrians, with gates on either side for vehicles, a processing building to one side, and a parcel inspection building on the other.

A unique feature of the Tule Lake Segregation Center was a Stockade built in 1944 (Historic Photographs 3-5). This 250-by-350-foot area was enclosed by fences and four guard towers, and a separate jail was located to the north of the Stockade. Within the stockade fence there were four barracks, a mess hall, and a latrine.⁵ The side of the Stockade facing towards the internee residential area was covered with wooden boards to inhibit communication between those within and outside the Stockade. The stockade guard towers included one 1943 perimeter tower and three others moved from outlying farm areas.

PRESENT APPEARANCE

The Tule Lake Segregation Center National Historic Landmark encompasses the original segregation center's Stockade, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) Motor Pool, the Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool, and a small part of the Military Police Compound (Map 5, Photograph 1). Most of the historic resources in the district survive and the district retains its historic character to a high degree. The WRA Motor Pool and the Stockade are owned and managed by the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans). The Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool is federal land managed by the Bureau of Reclamation.

Contributing Resources

The National Historic Landmark includes the most significant features of the Segregation Center, emblematic of the center's turbulent history: the Stockade, the Jail, the "man-proof fence," and guard tower foundations. Features in the WRA Motor Pool and the Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool, including auto-repair shops, warehouses, and office buildings, exemplify the more day-to-day aspects of the Segregation Center. Culverts, ditches, and trees illustrate the efforts the internees made to modify the landscape, partly to grow food, partly to beautify the surroundings.

Stockade

The Stockade, a "jail within a jail," is the most infamous feature of the Segregation Center. It was a 250-by-350-foot area enclosed by fences and guard towers; the jail was adjacent, on the north side. The Stockade was separated from the regular internee housing by a 600-foot-wide fire break and another 800 feet of administration area. Hundreds of internees considered "troublemakers" were put into the Stockade; the fence facing the internee housing was paneled with boards so that the people inside the Stockade could not wave or shout to their family and friends in the regular housing area. Still extant at the Stockade area are the jail, recorded by the Historic American Building Survey in 1988,⁶ two guard tower foundations, 1,800 feet of the

⁵ Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 110; for a photograph see Tule Lake Preservation Committee, *Second Kinenhi: Reflections on Tule Lake* (Tule Lake Preservation Committee, San Francisco, 2000), 111.

⁶ John W. Snyder, Stephen D. Meksell, and Don Tateishi, Tule Lake Project (Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center), Newell, Modoc County, California: Photographs, Written Historical and Descriptive Data, HABS No. CA-2279 (Historic American Building Survey, National Park Service, Western Region, San Francisco, California, 1988).

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original security fence, and an original gate to State Highway 139.

Jail, Building 366 (TULE 2004 A-67). This 39-by-71-foot reinforced concrete structure had 11 rooms, including six cells. The building has a flat roof with a 2-foot-wide overhang. Most of the metal elements and fixtures (e.g. doors, bars, bunks, and toilets) have been removed, but exterior plumbing is in place. The cell walls are covered with graffiti, including names, dates, poems, and drawings (including insects, flowers, and a Japanese flag) (Table 1). All appear to be in pencil, and all appear to have been done by prisoners during the segregation center era. The structure was fenced and stabilized, with a temporary, free-standing protective roof structure added in the summer of 2004. Photographs 2-5.

Guard Tower 216 (TULE 2004 A-75), 1943. This concrete foundation consists of three intact foundation blocks and one pulled block. Figure 3, Photograph 6.

Guard Tower 219 (TULE 2004 A-77), 1943. Although the superstructure is gone, the complete foundation for the guard tower here is intact. This tower was originally in the farm area and moved here in 1944 when the Stockade was constructed.

Fence (TULE 2004 A-512), c. 1943. This 1,800-foot-long segment of the original “man-proof” security fence formed three sides of the Stockade. It is 7-foot-high chainlink, topped with barbed wire. The metal fence posts are set in concrete. The wooden boards installed to prevent communication between those in and those outside of the Stockade were removed before the closure of the segregation center. Figure 4, Photograph 7.

Gate (TULE 2004 A-74), 1944. This gate, to State Highway 139 from the Stockade area, appears unchanged. Photograph 8.

WRA Motor Pool

Until recently, the WRA Motor Pool, part of a Caltrans maintenance yard, has been used as a motor pool by Caltrans and Modoc County. Four segregation-center buildings in this area have been determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, but have not yet been listed.⁷ Besides retaining their original use and setting, the buildings retain essential features of the historic period, such as massing, form, and design. Other segregation center resources include a concrete slab from a building foundation and portions of the security fence.

Office, Building 102 (TULE 2004 A-70), 1943. 20-by-60-foot concrete slab.

Auto Repair Shop, Building 103 (TULE 2004 A-63), 1943. This 40-by-160-foot wood frame structure had new metal roofing and siding, doors, and bay doors added in the 1970s, but the original siding and windows are still intact underneath. The building retains its original location, size, design, alignment, and massing, as well as the original materials and workmanship under the added siding. Formally used as a Modoc County Road Maintenance Facility, it is now vacant and stabilized. Figure 5, Photographs 9 and 10.

Auto Repair Shop, Building 104 (TULE 2004 A-64), 1943. Like Building 103, above, this 40-by-160-foot wood

⁷ Knox Mellon, National Register Eligibility of the Tule Lake/Newell Maintenance Station Historic District in Modoc County, File No. 02-MOD-139, P.M. 44.9, 02-36630K (Letter on file, California State Parks, Office of Historic Preservation, Sacramento, 2001).

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frame structure has new siding and doors, but original windows and siding are intact underneath. Not only does the building retain its original location, size, design, alignment, and massing, it also retains the original materials and workmanship, albeit less visible now that the structure has been protected with additional siding on top of the old. It is now vacant and stabilized. Photographs 11 and 12.

Warehouse, Building 208 (TULE 2004 A-65), 1944. This 20-by-70-foot wood frame structure retains the original siding and doors; it may have been originally constructed elsewhere within the Tule Lake Center and moved here in 1944. The concrete perimeter foundation may date to 1944. A new metal roof has been added. It is now vacant. Photographs 13 and 14.

Gas Station, Building 105-1 (TULE 2004 A-66; Parcel 5-22-35), 1943. This 12-by-16-foot wood frame structure, with a gable roof, was moved to this location. The door has been modified and it has new metal siding and roofing, but like all the other buildings in the WRA Motor Pool, it has been determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. It is now unused. Historic Photograph 6, Photograph 23.

Fence (TULE 2004 A-78), c. 1943. This 1,325-foot-long segment of the original “man-proof” security fence is located between the WRA Motor Pool and the Military Police Compound and Post Engineer’s Yard. It is 7-foot-high chainlink, topped with barbed wire. The metal fence posts are set in concrete.

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Table 1. Selected Graffiti on the Stockade Jail Walls.

Language	Transcription/Translation
Japanese	“Today was wrongfully accused of disorder problem” “The explanation of the problem” “Akira” (male first name) and other illegible characters
Japanese	“Terasu Yamaguchi” (a male name) “Iwakuni City” (in Japan) “vehicle” or if badly written “east”
Japanese	“Toshisen Kono or Kawano” (a male name) “1919” and an illegible character “September 29, 1945”
Japanese	“The Great Japanese Empire” “window”
Japanese	“Down with the United States”
Japanese	“Yoshida” (surname)
Japanese	“center,” “loyalty,” and “useful information” and other illegible characters
Japanese	Three times the ideogram for “tadashii;” this is a Japanese way of counting off, as Americans use IIII and then a diagonal line; the character has five strokes, so a complete character (all of these are complete) counts off “5”
English	When the golden sun has sunk beyond the desert horizon and darkness followed, under a dim light casting my lonesome heart
English	Show me the way to go to home (second “to” has been lightly crossed out)
English	Large number “5”
English	20 years old 4315 C-D MAMORU Yoshimota 5/24/45 – 180 days – KUMAMOTO 18 “ ” 1406-A HARUO YOKOI 6/17/45 – 270 – NAGOYA 31 “ ” 580-B MASAKI NISHUI 5/24/45 – 180 – KOMAMOTO 19 “ ” 1806-B MASHAHARU YOSHIDA 5/24/45 – 180 – HIROSHIMA
English	H.T. 5/25/45 MON.

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Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool

This area includes one in-situ building, two foundation slabs, a guard tower foundation, a road, portions of the security fence, a ditch and culvert, and historic trees.

Administration, Building 72 (TULE 2004 A-129), 1943. 20-by-60-foot concrete slab.

Utilities, Building 75 (TULE 2004 A-130), 1943. 20-by-148-foot concrete slab. Photograph 15.

Carpenter and Paint Shop, Building 76 (TULE 2004 A-126), 1944. This three-part wood-frame structure includes one section 20 by 32 feet, one 32 by 48 feet, and one about 15 by 20 feet. It retains the original siding, but windows are covered with plywood. It is now vacant. Figure 6, Photographs 16-18.

Guard Tower 220 (TULE 2004 A-505), 1943. This concrete foundation, located between a segregation-center-era ditch and the security fence, consists of at least two in-situ foundation blocks and one pulled block.

Guard Tower 221 (TULE 2004 A-134), 1942. Moved here in 1943, the complete foundation remains. Figure 7, Photograph 19.

Fence (TULE 2004 A-150), c. 1943. This 800-foot-long segment of the original "man-proof" security fence is located between the Post Engineer's Yard and State Highway 139. It is 7-foot-high chainlink, topped with barbed wire. The metal fence posts are set in concrete.

Road (TULE 2004 A-137), 1943. This road, originally named "Headquarters Lane," goes from State Highway 139 through the Post Engineer's Yard into the Military Police Compound. The road, about 700 feet long, is complete but access is blocked in two places, at the Military Police Compound and south of the Bureau of Reclamation equipment yard.

Guard Tower Cupola (TULE 2004 A-503; Parcel 5-22-59), c. 1943. This small square building part, now used for storage, is a rare remnant of a guard tower cupola. The eaves have been cut off, the windows replaced with horizontal wooden siding, and it is no longer on its tower, but the searchlight holder is still attached to the inside roof. Only three surviving cupolas from the relocation center era are known; one of these, now restored, is in the Tule Lake Museum at the Tule Lake fairgrounds. Photograph 25.

Culvert Headwalls (TULE 2004 A-132), 1944. These culvert headwalls, constructed of lava rock and concrete, were built by an internee work crew where the road crossed an irrigation ditch (below).⁸ Photograph 20.

Ditch (TULE 2004 A-133), 1944. The ditch between the Post Engineer's Yard and State Highway 139 was excavated by an internee work crew to irrigate trees and gardens.⁹

Alignment of Trees (TULE 2004 A-87), c. 1943. This row of trees between State Highway 139 and the security fence were planted during the segregation center era.

⁸ Jimi Yamaichi, personal communication, 2004.

⁹ Ibid.

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Alignment of Trees (TULE 2004 A-88), c. 1943. This row of trees on the east side of County Road 113 (the original entrance road), were planted during the segregation-center era. Photograph 21.

Military Police Compound

Substation, Building 27 (TULE 2004 A-131), 1943. A concrete slab at this location is probably the foundation from the segregation center substation.

Theater/Chapel, Building 40 (TULE 2004 A-136), 1943. The concrete slab foundation remaining from this structure is a 37-by-108-foot rectangle; there was a vestibule on the west side.

Motor Repair, Building 68 (TULE 2004 A-128), 1943. 32-by-112-foot concrete slab.

Numerous other buildings and features of the Military Police Compound are still present, many with no major modifications since the Segregation Center era. These properties, located on private land, are not within the boundary of the Historic Landmark but contribute to the integrity of the setting.

NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Non-contributing resources include a modern concrete slab, some displaced concrete debris, a WRA building that has been relocated, part of a guard tower that has been converted into a storage shed, and an electrical substation (Map 6). The historic marker placed in 1979 is also considered a non-contributing resource because of its date.

Stockade

Historic Marker (TULE 2004 A-79; Parcel 5-22-35), 1979. Elaborate lava rock and concrete monument with State of California Historic Marker. Located adjacent to State Highway 139. Photograph 22.

WRA Motor Pool

Debris (TULE 2004 A-76; Parcel 5-22-35), c. 1943. Concrete footings, slab fragments, and fence posts, some set in concrete.

Concrete Slab (TULE 2004 A-73; Parcel 5-22-35), date unknown, appears modern.

Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool

Residence (TULE 2004 A-127; Parcel 5-22-59), c. 1942. This 20-foot-wide residence appears to be a portion of a segregation center building.¹⁰ Possibly moved to this location between 1949 and 1955, it is present in a 1984 photograph of the Military Police Compound.¹¹ The building retains some original siding, but has mostly new windows and a new cinder block chimney. Photograph 24.

Newell Substation (TULE 2004 A-135), date unknown, modern. Electric power substation within a 100ft by 150 ft. fenced enclosure.

¹⁰ Bureau of Reclamation Records indicate this building was constructed in 1945, however no building is shown at this location on WRA blueprints.

¹¹ Stanton B. Turner, "Japanese American Internment at Tule Lake, 1942 to 1946," *The Journal of the Shaw Historical Library* 2, no. 1 (1987): unnumbered figure.

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Military Police Compound*None.***INTEGRITY**

The Tule Lake Segregation Center National Historic Landmark retains a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association (Historic Photograph 7, Photograph 26). Each of these elements is further discussed below. There are 32 resources recorded within the National Historic Landmark boundary; 25 are considered contributing elements (Table 2). This includes five buildings, five structures, and 15 other elements (foundations, historic trees, and other features) classified as a single contributing site.

The adjacent areas, outside the National Historic Landmark boundaries, do not detract from the setting. For example, the Flying Goose Lodges subdivision still retains almost all the original World War II-era buildings and roads of the military police compound, so that the original military design is clearly evident (Photographs 27 and 28). The Segregation Center's industrial area still retains most of its original buildings and function (Photograph 29). The Newell Store typifies buildings in what once was the Administration Area (Photograph 30). The town of Newell incorporates and preserves many of the World War II-era features of the Segregation Center, such as the road grid and orientation of lots. In many cases, relocated segregation center buildings still exist within the town.

Location: The district is in its original location, and contains many intact historic buildings and other resources.

Setting: The setting of the landmark and vicinity remains almost unchanged. With its wide open spaces, sparse vegetation, and small population, it is easy to imagine why this high desert valley was chosen as a site for a relocation center, fitting the military's criteria of remoteness and isolation while still having the potential for self-sustaining farming. Adding to the setting, although outside the National Historic Landmark boundaries, are numerous segregation center buildings that still exist in the vicinity, many of them unmodified. All the large trees within the National Historic Landmark are from the segregation center era.

Materials: Most of the historic buildings retain original materials, such as wood siding, wood sash windows, roof vents, flues, and concrete foundations. The concrete stockade jail remains, as does the stockade gate and large stretches of the original security fence.

Design: The historic-period design of the Segregation Center is evident in the overall layout and the individual features in the Historic Landmark. In the Stockade, the relocation center jail, guard tower foundations, and security fence and gate are still extant. In the WRA Motor Pool, four of the original buildings are still standing in their original locations. Although the buildings have been clad with metal siding, the original wooden siding and windows are in place underneath. At the Post Engineer's Yard and Motor Pool, the large carpenter and paint shop is still present, as are slabs from several other buildings.

Workmanship: There are intact examples of internee-built structures within the National Historic Landmark, including the jail and culverts.

Feeling: The district eloquently expresses the history of the relocation and segregation center. The nearly unchanged environment of the vicinity remains in stark contrast to the coastal and central valley communities and cities from which the internees came. The grid layout, fences, and guard tower foundations convey the

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regimentation and confinement of life within the center. The stockade jail is a poignant reminder of the treatment of internees who voiced dissent, and graffiti on the walls of the jail directly express the feelings, frustration, and loneliness of the internees.

Association: The Historic Landmark is directly associated with the Tule Lake Segregation Center, and provides a tangible link to the history of the Japanese American relocation during World War II.

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Table 2. Contributing and Non-Contributing Resources.¹²

Resource No.	Name	Type	Const. Date	Moved?	Condition	Contributing Status	Ownership
N/A	WRA Motor Pool, Post Engineer's Yard & Motor Pool, and Military Police Compound	Site	1943-44	No	Good	C	Federal & State
63	Garage (Auto Repair Shop, Bldg 103)	Building	1943	No	Good	C	State
64	Garage (Auto Repair Shop, Bldg 104)	Building	1943	No	Good	C	State
65	Warehouse (Bldg 208)	Building	1943	No	Good	C	State
66	Storage (Gas Station, Bldg 105-1)	Building	1943	Yes	Good	C	State
67	Jail (Bldg 366)	Building	1944	No	Good	C	State
70	Slab (Motor Pool Office, Bldg 102)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	State
73	Slab	Feature	modern	No	Good	NC*	State
74	Gate	Structure	1944	No	Good	C	State
75	Footings (Guard Tower 216)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	State
76	Debris	Feature	c. 1943	Yes	Fair	NC*	State
77	Footings (Guard Tower 219)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	State
78	Security Fence	Structure	1943	No	Good	C	State
79	Historic Marker	Object	1979	No	Good	NC	State
87	Alignment of Trees	Feature	c. 1943	No	Good	C*	Federal
88	Alignment of Trees	Feature	c. 1943	No	Good	C*	Federal
126	Shop (Carpenter & Paint Shop, Bldg 76)	Building	1944	No	Good	C	Federal
127	Residence (WRA Building)	Building	c. 1945	Yes	Good	NC	Federal
128	Slab (Motor Repair Shop, Bldg 68)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	Federal
129	Slab (Post Engineer Admin., Bldg 72)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	Federal
130	Slab (Post Engineer Utilities, Bldg 75)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	Federal
131	Slab (Substation, Bldg 27)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	Federal

¹² Notes: Resource numbers are from Burton and Farrell (2004) and are used on the accompanying maps. The "Contributing Status" column denotes whether a resource is contributing ("C") or non-Contributing ("NC") to the National Historic Landmark or it denotes important features that contribute to the overall significance of the district, yet are not included in the count of contributing resources ("C*") or identifiable features that do contribute to the overall significance of the site ("NC*").

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Resource No.	Name	Type	Const. Date	Moved?	Condition	Contributing Status	Ownership
132	Culvert Headwalls	Structure	1944	No	Good	C	Federal
133	Ditch	Feature	1944	No	Good	C*	Federal
134	Footings (Guard Tower 221)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C*	Federal
135	Substation	Structure	modern	No	Good	NC	Federal
136	Slab (MP Theater/Chapel, Bldg 39)	Feature	1943	No	Good	C	Federal
137	Road (Post Engineer Entrance)	Structure	1943	No	Good	C	Federal
150	Security Fence	Structure	1943	No	Good	C	Federal
503	Storage (Guard Tower Cupola)	Object	c. 1943	Yes	Fair	C	Federal
505	Footings (Guard Tower 220)	Feature	1943	No	Fair	C*	Federal
512	Security Fence	Structure	1942-44	No	Good	C	State

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: ___ Locally: ___

Applicable National

Register Criteria: A X B ___ C ___ D ___

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions): A ___ B ___ C ___ D ___ E ___ F ___ G ___

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Theme(s):

- I. Peopling Places
 - 6. Encounters, conflicts, and colonization
- III. Expressing Cultural Values
 - 6. Popular and traditional culture
- IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
 - 1. Parties, protests, and movements
 - 2. Government institutions
 - 3. Military institutions and activities
 - 4. Political ideas, cultures, and theories
- V. Developing the American Economy
 - 7. Governmental policies and practices
- VIII. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community
 - 4. Immigration and emigration policies

Areas of Significance: Architecture
 Ethnic Heritage: Asian
 Law
 Politics/Government
 Social History

Period(s) of Significance: 1942-1946

Significant Dates: 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: U.S. Army/War Relocation Authority

Historic Contexts: Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study (draft 2004)

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The Tule Lake Segregation Center qualifies as a National Historic Landmark under Criterion 1 because it outstandingly represents the “Japanese American Relocation,” an infamous episode in our history in which almost 120,000 innocent Americans, most of them U.S. citizens, were incarcerated for their ethnicity during World War II. Tule Lake was one of ten relocation centers where Japanese Americans were interned. It was later converted to a high-security “segregation center,” for so-called “disloyals.”

In 1975 the State of California officially recognized the historical significance of Tule Lake by registering the site as California State Historic Landmark No. 850-2. In 1979 an elaborate monument was erected adjacent to State Highway 139 in front of the Stockade area. Portions of the National Historic Landmark have already been determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.¹³

Tule Lake, with standing structures and integrity of location, setting, association, materials, feeling, design, and workmanship, conveys this era of government-sponsored prejudice and racism. But in another way, Tule Lake is also a monument to the capacity of government to reevaluate and reform its own policies. In 1982, the government itself determined that prejudice, wartime hysteria, and politics all contributed to the relocation.¹⁴ President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 which provided redress for Japanese Americans, and the following year President George H. W. Bush issued a formal apology from the U.S. government.

The Tule Lake Segregation Center also qualifies as a National Historic Landmark under Criterion 4 as an outstanding example of a World War II U.S. Army Military Police encampment. The contributing buildings exemplify the military design and construction techniques characteristic of the era.

There are four original buildings and a foundation in the WRA Motor Pool, a large carpenter and paint shop and slabs from several other buildings in the Post Engineer’s Yard and Motor Pool, guard tower footings, the security fence, and alignments of historic trees. The Stockade includes the segregation center jail, guard tower foundations, and security fence and gate. Given that the World War II buildings were constructed to be only “temporary,” it is rare to find so many surviving buildings, especially in their original locations. Although Tule Lake shares many similar elements with other WRA relocation centers and U.S. Army POW camps, Tule Lake is unique in illustrating the cohesive physical aspect and visual character of a military detention center.¹⁵

¹³ Mellon, Mellon, “National Register Eligibility of the Tule Lake/Newell Maintenance Station.”

¹⁴ Lane Ryo Hirabayashi and James Hirabayashi, “A Reconsideration of the United States Military’s Role in the Violation of Japanese-American Citizenship Rights,” in *Ethnicity and War*, ed. Winston A. Van Horne and Thomas V. Tonnesen, 87-110 (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, American Ethnic Studies Coordinating Committee, Milwaukee, 1984); and U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund and the University of Washington Press, 1982).

¹⁵ See, for example, Betty Cowley, *Stalag Wisconsin: Inside WW II Prisoner-of-War Camps* (Oregon, WI: Badger Books, 2002); Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America* (Lanham, MD: Scarborough House, 1979); and Michael R. Waters, *Lone Star Stalag: German Prisoners of War at Camp Hearne* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

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PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The period of significance is from 1942, when the Tule Lake Relocation Center was constructed, to 1946, when the Tule Lake Segregation Center was closed. The World War II significance of Tule Lake is clarified and enhanced by the redress movement of the 1980s, which reexamined the Relocation in light of the U.S. Constitution and basic American values.

HISTORIC THEMES

The Tule Lake Segregation Center primarily represents the National Historic Landmark Theme IV, Shaping the Political Landscape. As discussed in the Historic Background section below, Tule Lake was one of ten Relocation Centers established across the country. Although during World War II the relocation was considered a “military necessity,” it was later determined by the government itself that it arose from a culture of fear during a time of national emergency and external attack. All four of the topics that help define the theme of “shaping the political landscape” are represented at the Tule Lake National Historic Landmark. Tule Lake and the other relocation centers embody a political and cultural idea (Topic 4), that safety and security can be found only in segregation and confinement of those perceived to be dangerous mainly because they are “different.” This idea occasionally resurfaces in spite of its inconsistency with important and basic American ideals stated in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.

The topics of military institutions and activities and government institutions are also exemplified in the many physical traces left from the military and civilian administration of Tule Lake. The Tule Lake site embodies the standard layout, design, and construction of the military (Wartime Civilian Control Administration [WCCA]) and the civilian governmental agencies (War Relocation Authority [WRA]) that were in charge of the segregation center at various times in its history (Topics 2 and 3). Finally, in the Landmark we have visible reminders of the protests of many of the Japanese Americans against the relocation and the movement for justice (Topic 1), including the jail where some of the protesters were incarcerated.

Other National Historic Landmark themes are represented at the Tule Lake Segregation Center as well. Theme I, Peopling Places, through Topic 6, “encounters, conflicts, and colonization,” is found in the prejudice and discrimination that Japanese immigrants experienced, which led to the relocation. The resurgence of Japanese culture and values at Tule Lake in the face of discrimination illustrates Theme III, Expressing Cultural Values, especially Topic 6, “popular and traditional culture.” The selection of reclaimed land for the Tule Lake Relocation Center so that internees could help develop its agricultural potential illustrates Topic 7, “government policies and practices,” within Theme V, Development of the American economy. Finally, the Japanese immigration experience and subsequent treatment of Japanese Americans, including relocation, renunciation, and deportation, contributes to Theme VIII, Changing Role of the United States in the World Community, Topic 4, “immigration and emigration policies.”

HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Numerous histories and legal analyses based on archival research and internee experiences provide a rich context for the study of the relocation centers; the “Major Bibliographic References” in Section 9 (below) represent only a partial listing. Title II of Public Law 102-248, enacted by Congress on March 3, 1992, authorized and directed the Secretary of the Interior to prepare a Japanese American National Historic Landmark Theme Study. Specifically, this law defines the purpose of the study as to:

identify the key sites in Japanese American history that illustrate the period in American history when personal justice was denied Japanese Americans. The Theme Study shall identify, evaluate, and nominate as national historic landmarks those sites, buildings and structures that best illustrate

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or commemorate the period in American history from 1941 to 1946 when Japanese Americans were ordered to be detained, relocated, or excluded pursuant to Executive Order Number 9066 and other actions.

A draft of the resulting theme study, *Japanese Americans in World War II*, was completed in July, 2004.¹⁶ Parts of the theme study were based on *Confinement and Ethnicity: an Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, completed to provide information on the physical remains and relative integrity of sites associated with the relocation.¹⁷ Other valuable information specific to the Tule Lake Segregation Center is contained in Turner's seminal article on the history of Tule Lake, Takei and Tachibana's brief history and guide to Tule Lake, Fisher's discussion of the significance of five buildings at the WRA Motor Pool and Stockade, Collins' extensive background on the renunciation, and Akashi's personal account of the protest organizations that arose at Tule Lake.¹⁸ Burton and Farrell describe the original and current physical remains at the relocation center as a whole, which guided the selection of areas with the highest significance and historical integrity for this National Historic Landmark.¹⁹ For ease of reference, pertinent information from these and other studies is summarized below.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

In 1942, almost 120,000 Japanese Americans were forced from their homes in California, southern Arizona, and western Oregon and Washington in the single largest forced relocation in United States history. Most of these internees, three-quarters of them U.S. citizens, would spend the next three years in one of the ten "Relocation Centers" across the country run by the newly-formed War Relocation Authority (WRA). The Relocation Centers were located in remote areas, on Federal or tribal land previously considered too dry or too swampy for development. Since all Japanese Americans on the West Coast were affected, including the elderly, women, and children, Federal officials attempted to conduct the massive incarceration in a humane manner. However, by the time the last internees were released in 1946, the Japanese Americans had lost homes and businesses estimated to be worth, in today's values, 4 to 5 billion dollars. Deleterious effects on Japanese American individuals, their families, and their communities were immeasurable.

The history of Anti-Asian prejudice in the American West provides important background for understanding why the United States government decided to remove Japanese Americans from the West Coast. The cultural

¹⁶ S. Curtis Breckenridge, Jeffery F. Burton, and Mary M. Farrell, *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2004).

¹⁷ Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*.

¹⁸ Motomu Akashi, *Betrayed Trust: The Story of a Deported Issei and His American-Born Family During WW II* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2004); Daniel E. Collins, *Native American Aliens: Disloyalty and Renunciation of Citizenship by Japanese Americans During World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); Jim Fisher, "Historic Resource Evaluation Report for Newell Maintenance Station on State Route 139 near Tulelake, Modoc County. 02-MOD-139" (MS. on file, Redding,: Office of Environmental Management, California Department of Transportation, 2001); Barbara Takei and Judy Tachibana, *Tule Lake Revisited: A Brief History and Guide to the Tule Lake Internment Camp Site* (Sacramento, CA: T & T Press, 2001); Turner, *Japanese Internment*.

¹⁹ Jeffery F. Burton and Mary M. Farrell, "Tule Lake Historic Resources Inventory," (MS. on file, Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, 2004).

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and economic forces that led to the anti-Japanese feelings are discussed in detail by Daniels,²⁰ and summarized here. Anti-Asian prejudices, especially in California, began as anti-Chinese feelings. Chinese immigration to the U.S. began about the same time as the California gold rush of 1849. During the initial phases of the economic boom that accompanied the gold rush, Chinese labor was needed and welcomed. However, soon white workingmen began to consider the Chinese, who in 1870 comprised about 10 percent of California's population, as competitors. This economic competition had increased after the completion of the trans-continental Union-Central Pacific Railroad in 1869, which had employed around 10,000 Chinese laborers. Chinese labor was cheap labor, and this economic grievance became an ideology of Asian inferiority similar to existing American racial prejudices. Discrimination became legislated at both the state and federal level, including a Chinese immigration exclusion bill passed in 1882 by the U.S. Congress.

The experiences of Chinese immigrants foreshadowed those of Japanese immigrants, who began arriving about the same time the Chinese exclusion bill was passed. Anti-Japanese movements began shortly after Japanese immigration began, arising from existing anti-Asian prejudices. However, the anti-Japanese movement became widespread around 1905, due both to increasing immigration and the Japanese victory over Russia, the first defeat of a western nation by an Asian nation in modern times. Discrimination included the formation of anti-Japanese organizations, such as the Asiatic Exclusion League, school segregation, and a growing number of violent attacks upon individuals and businesses.

In 1913, California passed the Alien Land Law which prohibited the ownership of agricultural land by "aliens ineligible to citizenship." In 1920, a stronger Alien Land Act prohibited leasing and sharecropping as well. Both laws were based on the presumption that Asians were aliens ineligible for citizenship, which in turn stemmed from a narrow interpretation of the naturalization statute. The statute had been re-written after the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution to permit naturalization of "white persons" and "aliens of African descent." This exclusionism, clearly the intent of Congress, was legitimized by the Supreme Court in 1921, when it denied citizenship to Takao Ozawa, even though, as the Supreme Court decision read, he had "continuously resided in the United States for 20 years. He was a graduate of the Berkeley, Cal., high school, had been nearly three years a student in the University of California, had educated his children in American schools, his family had attended American churches and he had maintained the use of the English language in his home. That he was well qualified by character and education for citizenship is conceded."

Therefore, Japanese immigrants ("Issei") remained aliens, even if they settled permanently in the United States. However, the second generation ("Nisei") were citizens by birth, and therefore parents would often acquire land in the names of their children. The Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited all further Japanese immigration, with the side effect of making a very distinct generation gap between the Issei and Nisei.

World War II

After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the Justice Department organized the arrests of 3,000 people whom it considered "dangerous" enemy aliens, half of whom were Japanese. Of the Japanese, those arrested included community leaders who were involved in Japanese organizations and religious groups. Evidence of actual subversive activities was not a prerequisite for arrest. At the same time, the bank accounts of all Issei (classified as enemy aliens) and all accounts in American branches of Japanese banks were frozen. These two actions paralyzed the Japanese American community by depriving it of both its leadership and

²⁰ Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger, 1989).

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financial assets. In late January 1942 many of the Japanese arrested by the Justice Department were transferred to internment camps in Montana, New Mexico, and North Dakota.

Politicians called for the mass incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii and on the West Coast. A common sentiment was expressed by Hearst syndicated columnist Henry McLemore, who wrote in January of 1942:

I am for immediate removal of every Japanese on the West Coast to a point deep in the interior. I don't mean a nice part of the interior either. Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give 'em the inside room in the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry and dead up against it. Personally, I hate the Japanese. And that goes for all of them.²¹

In Hawaii, the military resisted this idea: one-third of the Hawaiian population was of Japanese ancestry and the military did not have enough soldiers to guard them or enough ships to send them to the mainland.²² More importantly, their labor was crucial to the civilian and military economy of the islands.²³ In the end, fewer than 1,500 (out of a population of 150,000) were confined and eventually removed to the mainland.

The Japanese American population on the West Coast suffered more indiscriminate discrimination. Lt. General John L. DeWitt, the commander of the Western Defense Command and the U.S. 4th Army, at first recommended that only male enemy aliens over 14 years of age be removed from sensitive areas on the West Coast and held at detention centers inland. However on February 11, DeWitt submitted his final recommendations in which he called for the removal of all Japanese, native-born as well as alien, and "other subversive persons" from the entire area lying west of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountains.²⁴ DeWitt justified this broad-scale removal on "military necessity" stating "the Japanese race is an enemy race" and "the very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken."²⁵

Despite opposition by U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle, the Japanese American Citizens League, and U.S. Army General Mark Clark, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the Secretary of War:

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

²¹ Editorial by Henry McLemore titled "This Is War! Stop Worrying About Hurting Jap Feelings," Seattle Times, January 30, 1942.

²² Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1976), 87-88.

²³ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 48.

²⁴ John Hersey, "A Mistake of Terrifically Horrible Proportions," in *Manzanar: Commentary by John Hersey, Photographs by Ansel Adams*, by John Armor and Peter Wright (New York: Times Books, 1988), 43.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

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the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary in the judgment of the Secretary of War or said Military Commander ...

Following the signing of Executive Order 9066, American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry living in the designated exclusion areas were ordered to evacuate their homes and businesses and report to temporary assembly centers located at fairgrounds, horse racetracks, and other make-shift facilities. Living conditions at the assembly centers were chaotic and squalid. Existing buildings were used, and supplemented with temporary “theater of operations”-type army barracks, buildings divided into five rooms. These barracks were originally designed for temporary use by combat soldiers, not families with small children or elderly people.

At racetracks converted to assembly centers, stables had been hastily cleaned out before their use as living quarters, but the stench remained. Still, the converted stables were described as “somewhat better shelter than the newly constructed mass-fabricated houses.”²⁶ Privacy at the assembly centers was next to non-existent, with communal lavatories and mess halls and thin walls in the barracks. Families were crowded into small apartments, usually 20 by 20 feet. Shortages of food and other material and deplorable sanitation were common at many of the centers.²⁷

To reduce the diversion of soldiers from combat, a civilian organization, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), had been created on March 19, 1942. While the military’s Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA) was responsible for moving people out of the exclusion areas and temporarily housing them in assembly centers, the WRA was left to provide for a more long-term solution. Milton S. Eisenhower, then an official of the Department of Agriculture, was chosen to head the WRA. Eisenhower initially hoped that many of the internees, especially citizens, could be resettled quickly. He expected that internees could be either directly released from the assembly centers and sent back to civilian life away from the military areas, or sent to small unguarded subsistence farms.

However, after meeting with the governors and other officials from ten western states on April 7, Eisenhower realized that anti-Japanese racism was not confined to California. Governors did not want any Japanese Americans in their states, and if any came, they wanted them kept under guard. Eisenhower was forced to accept the idea of keeping both the Issei and Nisei in camps for the duration of the war. The idea of incarcerating innocent people bothered him so much, however, that he resigned in June 1942. He recommended his successor, Dillon S. Myer, but advised Myer to take the position only “if you can do the job and sleep at night.”²⁸

²⁶ Carey McWilliams, “Moving the West Coast Japanese,” *Harpers Magazine* 185 (1942): 361.

²⁷ Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 80-82.

²⁸ Dillon S. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority During World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 3.

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By June, there was a growing realization that life within the centers would be difficult and demoralizing even if all physical facilities were adequate.²⁹ Further, the ostensible rationale for the Japanese American evacuation faltered after the defeat of Japan in the Battle of Midway, June 4-7, 1942, because it became clear that a Japanese invasion of the West Coast was unlikely if not impossible.³⁰ Although by then it was considered too late to reverse the evacuation, Myer conceived of a generous leave policy to help Japanese Americans “relocate” to non-sensitive areas in the West, Midwest, and East.³¹ Hence the long-term internment locations were euphemistically called “Relocation Centers,” although other terms, including “concentration camps,” were also commonly used.

Over 300 possible sites were reviewed for suitability for the relocation centers; primary consideration was given to locations with railroad access and agricultural potential.³² Site selection was made by the WRA, but site acquisition was left to the War Department. The assembly centers at Manzanar and Poston were redesignated relocation centers and eight new sites in seven states were selected. The relocation centers were primarily on unused or underutilized federal lands; the Tule Lake Relocation Center, for example, was located on undeveloped federal reclamation project lands. All were in sparsely populated areas, making them some of the largest “communities” in their respective states.

The Tule Lake Relocation Center

The Tule Lake Relocation Center, in the far northeast corner of California, was the largest of the ten Relocation Centers, and was also the longest-lived, not closing until March of 1946. Tule Lake was also perhaps the most emblematic. It housed many who openly resisted the U.S. internment policy, and as a “segregation center” it had the highest security: the most guard towers, the greatest number of military guards, and its own jail and stockade for those considered troublemakers. Today, it is also distinctive among the relocation centers for its integrity. Over 50 buildings remain in place within the Relocation Center’s original boundaries, and numerous other Relocation Center buildings still stand in the vicinity, where they were moved after the War. Set in what remains a fairly remote part of the state, the setting of the Historic Landmark evokes the Segregation Center’s volatile history in a time of national crisis 60 years ago.

The Tule Lake Relocation Center reserve encompassed 7,400 acres of an existing Bureau of Reclamation project known as the Klamath Project. Large parts of the eponymous shallow lake were drained under the authority of the Reclamation Act of 1902, to create new farm land. However, conditions for applications were strict, and “proving up” was difficult, given the uncertain crop yields and expense of equipment and land improvement.³³ By 1941, only 3,500 acres of former lake bed were under cultivation.³⁴ Establishing the

²⁹ Page Smith, *Democracy on Trial: The Japanese American Evacuation and Relocation in World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 222.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 223.

³² Milton Thomas Madden, “A Physical History of the Japanese Relocation Camp Located at Rivers, Arizona” (master’s thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, 1969), 23-25.

³³ Turner, *Japanese Internment*, 1-34.

³⁴ Harold Stanley Jacoby, *Tule Lake: From Relocation to Segregation* (Grass Valley, CA: Comstock Bonanza Books, 1996).

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relocation center at Tule Lake met several WRA criteria, including remoteness, agricultural potential, and proximity to a railroad line, but it was also expected that labor provided by the internees could advance the reclamation project.

Construction of the Tule Lake Relocation Center began April 15, 1942. The post office designation for the relocation center was Newell, chosen to honor Frederick Haines Newell, the first director of the Bureau of Reclamation.³⁵ By the end of May, the first Japanese Americans, around 500 volunteers from the Portland and Puyallup Assembly Centers, arrived to help set up the relocation center.³⁶ When the WRA later decided to send the internees at the Portland and Puyallup Assembly Centers to Minidoka rather than Tule Lake, some of these first volunteers decided to stay anyway because being the first to arrive, they had good jobs. Most of the internees at Tule Lake were from the Marysville, Pinedale, Pomona, Sacramento, and Salinas Assembly Centers. In addition, a large number of internees were sent directly to the relocation center from the southern San Joaquin Valley without first going to an assembly center.

Life at Tule Lake

Life in all the relocation centers was difficult. Most of the internees had been raised as U.S. citizens, accustomed to the ideals of liberty and democracy, and most had achieved a good economic status, living in their own homes, apartments, or farms. Physically, the barbed wire fences and guard towers were constant reminders of the lack of freedom, and the flimsy barracks and public latrines and shower houses provided no privacy and few conveniences. Those who were employed by the WRA in jobs critical to the operation of the relocation center were paid \$16-21 a month. The WRA employed Japanese American doctors and nurses in the hospital, and farmers at the farms, but many persons trained in different professions found themselves doing work they were not accustomed to, like brush clearing or ditch digging. The community mess halls disrupted traditional family life, and parents felt they were losing control of their children. From the start, the Tule Lake Relocation Center was plagued by problems and discontent. Within 5 months of its opening there was a mess hall strike to protest inadequate food, a farm strike, and a general strike.³⁷

Additional problems arose when, in response to public and congressional criticism, the WRA attempted to determine which of the internees were actually loyal to the United States with a poorly-worded questionnaire. The questionnaire had been developed by the Army to determine loyalty of draft-age men. The WRA wanted to use it to streamline the process of registering for "indefinite leave clearance;" internees who received clearance could go to work or school outside of the relocation centers, provided they did not return to the West Coast. The questionnaire asked respondents to list schools, jobs, residences, languages, hobbies, and contacts in Japan, among other things. The controversial questions were Numbers 27 and 28:

No. 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

³⁵ Turner, *Japanese Internment*, 13.

³⁶ Jacoby, *Tule Lake*.

³⁷ Makoto Kowta, Tule Lake War Relocation Project, in "Archaeological Overview for the Mt. Dome and Timbered Craters Regions, North Central California," by Janet Friedman (MS. on file, Chico: CHRIS, California State University, 1996).

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No. 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and foreswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

The first question was inappropriate for women and the elderly, and the questions were modified slightly for females and Issei. Still, the second question was especially problematic for all. For the first generation of Japanese Americans, who were not allowed to become American citizens, saying yes effectively left them without a country. On the other hand, citizens and non-citizens alike who already felt loyal to the U.S. considered it to be a trick question: if they said “yes,” they foreswear allegiance to Japan, it would indicate they formerly did have allegiance to Japan. Some wondered if a “yes” answer by young men would result in immediate conscription, leaving their families behind in the relocation centers without the supplemental income and support provided by the sons. Each family debated how to answer the questions. Many answered “no” in order to keep their families together; others answered “no” to protest the relocation.

The Loyalty Questionnaire was frustrating for many internees who had not been able to prove their loyalty through decades of exemplary living in the U.S., nor through months of applications for leave from the relocation centers. Motomu Akashi, in *Betrayed Trust*, writes “Ironic, isn’t it, ... that my government that initially could not trust the loyalty of an entire group of people of Japanese ancestry would turn around and trust them to give answers on a piece of paper; answers on which their loyalty was determined and their freedom restored.”³⁸

Administration of the questionnaire was unfortunately inept at Tule Lake,³⁹ in part because the registration questionnaire coincided with a change in directors at Tule Lake.⁴⁰ Authorities refused to answer questions or allay fears, and ended up threatening and lying to internees to force them to answer the questionnaire. Because the administration said that completion of the Army questionnaire was compulsory except for those who had requested repatriation, large numbers began applying for repatriation or expatriation. In response, the administration began arresting those who resisted registration. As a result of the coercion and confusion, “of a total of 10,843 Issei and Nisei eligible to register, approximately one-third, or 3,218, refused to do so. Another 1,238 gave “No-No” answers to the two loyalty questions, while thirty-five ignored them.... In the other nine centers, only thirty-six persons failed to register.”⁴¹

Although the government considered those who answered “no” to the two loyalty questions “disloyal,” historian Donald Collins, in a careful analysis of the registration crisis, concludes that “negative responses to the loyalty questionnaires could more properly be attributed to discontent, fear, confusion, frustration, and disillusionment than to disloyalty to the United States.”⁴² Measured by the questionnaire results, Tule Lake had the highest proportion of disloyals of all the Relocation Centers. While the average number of “no-no”

³⁸ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*, 105.

³⁹ Collins, *Native American Aliens*, 25-31.

⁴⁰ Turner, *Japanese Internment*, 24-25.

⁴¹ Collins, *Native American Aliens*, 31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 32.

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answerers at other centers was 10 percent, at Tule Lake 42 percent did not answer the questionnaire at all, or answered no to both loyalty questions.

In July of 1943, the WRA announced a plan to “separate the loyal from the disloyal internees in all ten relocation centers to bring harmony and to hasten the process of resettlement of loyal citizens and law-abiding aliens.”⁴³ “Disloyals” would be sent to Tule Lake. Yet some who had honestly given the “correct” answers to the Loyalty Questionnaire were still denied leave. Motomu Akashi describes how his Issei father Sanae Akashi’s love of and loyalty to America was gradually eroded by the humiliation and frustrations he experienced in his long and fruitless attempt to be granted a transfer or leave from the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah. When the senior Akashi heard of the administration plan to segregate “disloyals,” he decided that the only way to regain his freedom and dignity was to repatriate to Japan.⁴⁴ The Akashi family was transferred to Tule Lake in September 1943. Many other families, who wanted to protect their sons from the draft or who worried about being forced to resettle outside the relocation centers while anti-Japanese racism was still rampant, joined the “segregation trains” for Tule Lake even though they had no desire to repatriate to Japan.

Conversion to Segregation Center

In the summer of 1943 the Tule Lake Relocation Center was converted into a maximum security segregation facility for those considered “disloyals.” The original internees at Tule Lake who answered “yes” to the loyalty questions were supposed to choose another relocation center to make room for more disloyals at Tule Lake. Some 6,000 internees did move out, but the 8,500 “old Tuleans” who remained included some 4,000 “loyals” who did not want to move yet again. Thus the WRA’s plan to bring harmony to the centers by separating “loyals” and “disloyals” was severely ineffective at Tule Lake. The segregation center became a heterogeneous mix of “loyals” with no intention of leaving the U.S., pro-Japan internees who wished to repatriate or expatriate as soon as possible, and many whose feelings fell somewhere between those extremes. Arrivals and departures dominated much of daily life in the fall of 1943.

New barracks were constructed to the east of the original housing area for the new arrivals, and Tule Lake became the largest of the WRA-run centers. By the spring of 1944, over 18,000 people were interned there. Additional troops were assigned to Tule Lake, including eight tanks.⁴⁵ A lighted 7-foot-high chain link “man-proof” fence, topped with barbed wire, as well as more guard towers were added around the relocation center perimeter. New residents were impressed that searchlights from the guard towers would follow them at night if they got up to go to the communal latrines, lighting the way but reminding them of their prisoner status. Fences and guard towers were also built around the outlying farm fields of the center.

A new, more secure entrance, a larger Military Police Compound, a motor pool, and other facilities were built to the west of the original Military Police Compound, which was converted to staff housing. A new WRA motor pool area was constructed between the staff housing and the new Military Police Compound.

The Growth of Political Resistance

⁴³ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*, 91.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 90-95.

⁴⁵ Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, 95.

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Concentrating the “disloyals” to watch and control them increased discontent. Tule Lake was overcrowded, lacked suitable jobs, and suffered food shortages. A tragic accident set off a chain of events that fueled dissension in the center, and culminated in the Army taking control of the Tule Lake Segregation Center. On October 15, 1943, a truck transporting internees from agricultural fields overturned, killing one internee. The center administration was blamed since the driver was underage, and internees were outraged that the widow’s benefits amounted to only two-thirds of \$16, the deceased’s monthly wage.

A massive public funeral was conducted without administration approval and ten days later agricultural workers decided to go on strike for safer working conditions and other improvements. A quickly elected negotiating committee, the *Daihyo Sha Kai*, met with Director Raymond Best to resolve the issues. Best was cordial, the negotiating committee was optimistic. But two days later, the administration announced that all the agricultural workers were fired. The administration had brought in 234 Japanese Americans from other relocation centers to harvest the crops.⁴⁶ For their protection, the workers (who had been recruited without being told they would be strikebreakers) were housed at a former CCC camp nearby. Even conservative and loyal Tule Lake internees felt betrayed by Best.⁴⁷ The strikebreakers’ presence and the fact they were paid about ten times the standard internee wage contributed to the general discontent.

On November 1, 1943, the negotiating committee demanded to meet with visiting WRA Director Dillon Myer, to discuss various grievances, including the safety of workers and the sending of scarce center supplies to the strikebreakers. In a peaceful demonstration of support, 5,000 people gathered outside. The crowd dispersed when Myer said he would investigate the issues. However, that same night some young men entered the hospital and severely beat an unpopular doctor. Although the administration realized the events were unrelated, many in the Caucasian WRA staff imagined a frightening link between the determined demonstrators and the violence. Some resigned, others demanded that a fence be erected between the administration area and the internee areas, and many demanded military protection, including machine guns and tanks. The fence was quickly erected, and the military stood by to occupy the center as soon as requested by any Caucasian Internal Security Officer. On the evening of November 4, 1943, the Army, with their tanks, armored cars, tear gas, and machine guns, assumed control of the center.⁴⁸

Some accounts suggest that the army would have taken over the camp regardless of what happened in the next few days, but the event that probably precipitated the call occurred on November 4, when some young men from camp clashed with WRA police in the warehouse area over the clandestine nighttime loading of trucks with food for the strikebreakers.⁴⁹ Some accounts claimed that the young men had gone to Center Director Best’s residence, near the warehouses, and threatened him. Others suggest they went to demand that the food transfer be stopped, as Best had promised. At least one participant recounted that many of those involved had been working their regular shifts at the motor pool when they were accosted by the military police.⁵⁰ Most accounts agree that the police dragged certain Japanese Americans into the administration building to

⁴⁶ Collins, *Native American Aliens*, 38-42.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁴⁹ Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, 139.

⁵⁰ Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 164.

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interrogate them. Many were beaten with fists and baseball bats, choked, and kicked. All were hospitalized, and one suffered permanent brain damage.⁵¹

On the morning of November 5, the army met some internees who were assembling for work, and ordered them back to their barracks. The workers began to comply, but the dispersal was slowed when curious residents from nearby barracks came out to see what was going on. The army tear-gassed the crowd, further enraging the residents. Leaders of the *Daihyo Sha Kai* tried to ease tensions by negotiating with the administration to restore jobs, but negotiations broke down after eight days when the administration decided the *Daihyo Sha Kai* was not representative of the internees and refused to negotiate further with the group. No one showed up at an assembly called by the administration, who retaliated by declaring martial law on November 13, 1943, and ordering the arrests of the *Daihyo Sha Kai* leaders and others who were considered troublemakers. Five guard towers were constructed between the administration and internee residential areas and a stockade was built to isolate those arrested from the rest of the center population. Over 250 were arrested and put in a stockade built to hold 100.

The Stockade, a 250-by-350-foot area enclosed by fences and guard towers located just south of the jail, was unique to the Tule Lake center. The stockade guard towers included one original perimeter tower and three others moved from outlying farm areas. The side of the Stockade towards the internee housing area was covered with wooden boards to inhibit communication between those within and outside the Stockade. Within the stockade fence there were eventually four barracks, a mess hall, and a latrine.⁵² Army tents that had been used to provide temporary housing while more permanent barracks were constructed, were left as unheated “punishment” quarters for stockade prisoners who displeased authorities.

Committees formed to negotiate the release of internees in the Stockade were themselves arrested. Internees felt terrorized by midnight raids and incomprehensible arrests. Stockade inmates were allowed no visits with family members. Arrests and unrest continued until over 350 internees were in the Stockade. The arrests led to hardship throughout the center. Residents tried to support the imprisoned through civil disobedience, such as non-cooperation with Army orders and work strikes, but striking workers lost their desperately needed \$16 monthly wage. “Loyals” were punished along with “disloyals,” and conflicts among the internees increased. On January 11 the Army held a referendum; weary internees voted, by a narrow margin (with one ward refusing to vote), to end their resistance and go back to work. Martial law was lifted on January 15,⁵³ and the center administration, except for the Stockade, was returned to the WRA. By the end of April, 276 detainees had been released from the Stockade, partly because of pressure from the Japanese government.⁵⁴ On May 23, 1944, control of the Stockade was turned over to the WRA. However, tensions still ran high. On May 24, an internee was shot and killed during an altercation with a guard, and in June the general manager of the Business Enterprise Association, one of the most stable elements in the internee community, was found murdered.

It was not until August 1944 that the Stockade was closed, in large part thanks to the efforts of Ernest Besig, an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney from northern California, and Wayne M. Collins, a civil

⁵¹ Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, 130.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 111.

⁵³ Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 205-206.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 207.

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rights lawyer associate of Besig's. The national ACLU refused to approve intervention in the stockade cases, but Collins, acting as the prisoners' private counsel, threatened habeas corpus proceedings that would bring wide publicity to the WRA's actions. On August 24, 1944, the last stockade prisoners were released.⁵⁵

Some internees attributed increased tensions to the loyals and disloyals living together in close quarters in crowded, less than ideal conditions, which fostered resentment, fear, and spying. In the fall of 1943 the *Saikakuri Seigan*, or resegregation group, was formed to openly promote "resegregation," moving those who wished to repatriate to a separate part of the center. The resegregationists believed that if they were classified as Japanese nationals, the administration would be forced to treat them according to tenets of the Geneva Convention, and the people in the Stockade would be released. The resegregation movement tried to negotiate with the administration over the course of several months but was rebuffed. A statement written by Sanae Akashi lists among the underlying motives of the resegregation movement one particularly telling clause: "whereas, we realize the uselessness of our American Citizenship."⁵⁶

The resegregation movement welcomed the passage of Public Law 405, the so-called "denationalization bill." Enacted on July 1, 1944, Public Law 405 allowed U.S. citizens to renounce their citizenship on U.S. soil during time of war.⁵⁷ In fact, some of the Tule Lake WRA staff, according to attorney Besig, had been encouraging Nisei to renounce citizenship so they could get rid of "troublemakers" by shipping them to Department of Justice internment centers.⁵⁸

The *Saikakuri Seigan* grew in public support. Having lost their faith in a future in the U.S., internees formed organizations to help prepare young people for their future life in Japan. The *Saikakuri Seigan* sponsored the *Hokuku Dan* organization for young men 16 to 35 years old, the *Hoshi Dan* for those 36 and over, and the *Joshi Dan* for young women. Internee-sponsored Japanese schools taught Japanese language, history, religion, geography, ethics, and songs. By August 1944, the *Hokuku Dan* organization was demonstrating peaceful pro-Japanese sentiments by early morning exercises, military marching and drilling, uniforms, and bugling (Historic Photograph 8).⁵⁹

The Tule Lake administration was aware of the *Saikakuri Seigan* resegregation movement, and initially was tolerant of their Japanese cultural activities, although they rejected all of their demands for a separate area of the camp. Secretly, however, some of the resegregationists began to pressure "fence-sitters" to sign resegregation petitions, using rumors, threats, and even violence to encourage internees to join their organization. Still, by mid-December, only 600 internees had applied for renunciation. Then, on December 17, 1944, two national decisions that were intended to restore rights to the Japanese Americans precipitated an unexpected and unprecedented rush to renounce citizenship among the tense and frightened internees of Tule Lake.

⁵⁵ Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, 135.

⁵⁶ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*, 139.

⁵⁷ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*; Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 229.

⁵⁸ Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 212.

⁵⁹ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*, 168.

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In December, 1944, in *Endo v. United States*, the Supreme Court decided that the WRA had “no authority to subject citizens who are concededly loyal to its leave procedure.” The government therefore did not have the right to confine any loyal Japanese Americans. While sidestepping the constitutional question of the right of government to hold citizens without cause in wartime, the Supreme Court did in effect free all loyal Japanese Americans still held in Relocation Centers. That same month, the War Department lifted the West Coast exclusion orders, and the WRA announced that all centers were to be closed by January 1946.

Rumors spread that Tuleans would not be welcomed anywhere outside the center; they would starve for want of jobs or fall victim to Caucasian atrocities; young men would be shipped off to war, and families would be separated. Justice Department officials blamed the pro-Japan resegregation groups for the rumors and fears, and hoped that immediate arrest and removal of key *Hoshi Dan* and *Hokoku Dan* leaders would calm the hysteria.⁶⁰ Early in the morning on December 27, 1944, seventy leaders were arrested, and turned over to the Department of Justice for transfer to the Santa Fe internment camp. On January 18, 1945, the administration banned the activities of the *Hokoku-Hoshi Dan*, and on March 16, all pro-Japanese activities were banned, including assembling, speaking, bugling, or wearing Japanese symbols or clothing.⁶¹ However, the arrests, the banning of Japanese activities, and the revocation of the rights of speech and assembly did nothing to calm the fears of the internees.⁶² By the end of January 1945, 4,600 had applied for repatriation, or half of the citizens at Tule Lake, and eventually up to 6,000 citizens applied.⁶³ Only a small minority of the renunciants truly wanted to resettle in Japan; most renounced citizenship out of fear. They were convinced it was the only way to avoid expulsion from Tule Lake before the end of the war, the only way to avoid the draft and break-up of families, or the only way to avoid persecution from the radical resegregationists within Tule Lake.⁶⁴

Eventually, over 1,500 Issei and Nisei were removed from the Tule Lake Segregation Center to Justice Department internment camps at Bismarck, North Dakota, and Santa Fe, New Mexico.⁶⁵ However, the resegregation organizations persisted. Akashi recalls about being a young member of the *Hokoku Dan*, “For the first time, I felt good about being Japanese, not in a political or loyalty sense but being part of the Japanese race... I could hold my head up high and be treated as an equal. I did not feel that I had to subordinate myself, feel inferior or show deference to the whites as I often and subconsciously did when I was in Mt. Eden”⁶⁶ His bugle group was not disbanded until five of its members were arrested for blowing bugles and wearing Japanese-style clothing, in June 1945. The boys, who were under 18 years old, were tried and sentenced by Best to incarceration in the Stockade with terms as long as 12 months.

⁶⁰ Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 236-237.

⁶¹ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*, 187.

⁶² Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, 237.

⁶³ Collins, *Native American Aliens*, 93.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 92-93, 102-103.

⁶⁵ John J. Culley, “The Santa Fe Internment Camp and the Justice Department Program for Enemy Aliens,” in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, eds. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H.L. Kitano, 57-71 (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1991); Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*; and Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, 90.

⁶⁶ Akashi, *Betrayed Trust*, 199.

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Northern California ACLU attorney Ernest Besig fought the incarceration of the boys on the grounds that the defendants had no attorneys, no appeals, and no opportunity for bail, and on the grounds that the WRA did not have authority to imprison the boys.⁶⁷ Attorney Wayne Collins again threatened habeas corpus proceedings, and convinced Director Best and other members of the WRA staff to release the boys, on August 28, 1945.⁶⁸ It was during a trip to Tule Lake on behalf of the buglers and others in the Stockade that Collins learned of the mass renunciations, when many internees pleaded with him to help them reverse their renunciations. When Collins learned of the duress under which most of the renunciations were made, he determined to help the remorseful renunciants avoid deportation and regain citizenship, and in fact spent over two decades in this cause.⁶⁹

Closing of the Tule Lake Center

“Loyals” had to return to the outside world on their own. The WRA provided only minimum assistance: \$25 in cash, train fare, and meals en route for those with less than \$500 in cash. By the end of 1945, the nine other relocation centers had closed, and the Tule Lake “loyals” had been released. On October 10, 1945, Tule Lake was transferred from the WRA to the Department of Justice, which announced that all renunciants would be repatriated to Japan beginning November 15. Attorney Collins filed suits to delay the deportations, and was successful. In response, the Department of Justice initiated “mitigation hearings” to review the cases of renunciants and aliens who asked for a hearing. Of the 3,300 renunciants remaining in Tule Lake in January, 1946, all but 107 asked for a hearing. As a result of the hearings and further legal actions by Collins, the number of renunciants on the list for deportation was reduced from over 3,000 to 406 by the time the last renunciants and Issei left Tule Lake for the Department of Justice camp at Crystal City on March 20, 1946. The number was further reduced as some renunciants were granted reprieves en route. Although renunciants were still considered “aliens ineligible to citizenship,” once they were cleared by the mitigation hearings they were given releases to settle anywhere in the United States.

Tule Lake Segregation Center closed on March 28, and the custodial administration of the center was transferred to the Bureau of Reclamation on May 5, 1946. The Military Police Compound and one ward of the internee residential area were leased to the Tulelake Growers Association for migrant laborer housing. The first laborers arrived on May 27. The Growers Association also leased the three large industrial warehouses to store grain.

Some of the buildings and land of the center were distributed to homesteaders, with World War II veterans receiving preference, and some land was kept by the Bureau of Reclamation. Other buildings were held for later transfer to homesteaders (570 barracks and other buildings), government agencies, and non-profit groups (school and service buildings and over 400 barracks). The remaining buildings were stripped of their furnishings and removed between July 28 and December 9, 1946. The townsite of Newell, located in what had been the relocation center’s administration area, was laid out in 1950. Around 1963, H. A. and Anna Fletcher bought the Military Police Compound and turned it into the “Flying Goose Lodges” subdivision.

Postscript

⁶⁷ Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, 147-149.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁶⁹ Collins, *Native American Aliens*.

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The Tule Lake Segregation Center uniquely epitomizes the “Japanese American Relocation,” from its initial construction as a Relocation Center to its conversion to a high-security “segregation center.” With a volatile and dramatic history, Tule Lake illustrates that even a government based on principles of equality, justice, and the Constitution can promote injustices based on “military necessity.” Tule Lake is also a poignant representation of how prejudice and discrimination can lead victims to desperate acts, such as the resegregation movement, massive renunciations, and violence.

Tule Lake has been the site of many pilgrimages since 1969, when the first pilgrimage was organized by a student group from the University of California at Davis. Since then, pilgrimages have been organized by the Japanese American Citizen League, the Japanese Christian Church Federation of Northern California, Asian Student Unions from many northern California campuses, and the Tule Lake Committee.⁷⁰ As stated in *Second Kinenhi: Reflections on Tule Lake*, the Tule Lake Committee uses the pilgrimages:

as a vehicle to explore and uncover the history of the Japanese in the United States, and in particular, the World War II concentration camp experience of the Issei and Nisei. The TLC [Tule Lake Committee] sees a direct connection between this past, our present lives, and conditions in the Nikkei [Japanese American] communities today ...

Pilgrimages provided one means to open up this past by relating it to current issues and concerns of the communities.⁷¹

Pilgrims, who include people interested in history and in civil rights as well as former internees, their friends, and families, have found that the physical remains at Tule Lake spark memories, discussions, and even reconciliations.⁷² The history of Tule Lake is remembered and honored with the hope that, as the monument at the site states, “... the injustices and humiliation suffered here never recur.”

COMPARABLE RESOURCES

The Tule Lake Segregation Center is distinctive among all the WRA centers for its integrity. Over 50 buildings remain at their original locations within the segregation center’s original boundaries, and numerous other buildings still stand in the vicinity, where they were moved after the war. Situated in what still remains a fairly remote part of the state, the National Historic Landmark is unique in illustrating the cohesive physical aspect, visual character, and feeling of the volatile history of the Japanese American Relocation.

Five sites associated with the Japanese American Relocation are National Historic Landmarks: Manzanar Relocation Center, Rohwer Relocation Center Cemetery, Fort Sill, Fort Sam Houston, and Angel Island. The latter three were used to intern Japanese aliens, but the Relocation connection is peripheral to their primary historical associations, and their Landmark status rests on other themes. The Manzanar Relocation Center, now a unit of the National Park Service, has only three standing buildings from the Relocation era. The Rohwer Cemetery is only a small portion of the original Relocation Center; there are no standing buildings and few features remaining from the Center’s occupation.

⁷⁰ Tule Lake Committee, *Patriotism and Loyalty Revisited*, 127-128.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 128-152.

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Four sites associated with the Relocation are managed by the National Park Service: Manzanar, mentioned above, the Minidoka Relocation Center, Ellis Island, and Cow Creek. The Minidoka Relocation Center, now the Minidoka Internment National Monument, has three in-situ buildings (one outside the national monument). Ellis Island, like Angel Island, was used to intern Japanese aliens during the war, but that association is only a very small part of the site's significance. Cow Creek, constructed as a Civilian Conservation Corps camp, was used to temporarily house internees from Manzanar. Two buildings remain. Cow Creek is within Death Valley National Park.

Although not included in the Landmark boundaries because it is located on private land, the Military Police Compound contributes to the integrity of the setting. There are no standing buildings within the Military Police Compounds at nine of the Relocation Centers; they exist either as archaeological sites or have been destroyed completely (Table 3). Only at Tule Lake do standing structures convey the original design, layout, and construction of the military encampments typical of the relocation centers.

Beyond archeological features, little remains today at the World War II Japanese American Relocation Centers (Table 4). The exception is Tule Lake with 51 in-situ buildings, by far the greatest concentration of extant buildings associated with the Relocation. Five of these extant buildings are located within the National Historic Landmark. "These buildings are large structures that convey a sense of immense activity and practical functionality. Further, they played major and integral roles in the overall operation and function of the Tule Lake site."⁷³

Table 3. Remaining In-Situ Buildings and Major Structures at WRA Relocation Centers.

⁷³ Fisher, "Historic Resources Evaluation Report for Newell," 13.

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Gila River

Honor Roll Monument
Sewage Treatment Plants (n=2)

Granada

Cemetery Monument
Co-op Store Storage Room
Water Tank

Heart Mountain

Hospital Boiler Room and Smokestack
Hospital Mess Hall
Hospital Warehouse
Root Cellar
Staff Apartment (partial)
High School Storage Room
Honor Roll Monument
Reservoir

Jerome

Hospital Smokestack
Water Tank
Sewage Treatment Plant

Manzanar

Auditorium (restored)
Military Police Sentry Post
Internal Police Post
Cemetery Monument
Sewage Treatment Plant
Reservoir

Minidoka

Fire Station No. 1
Root Cellar
Warehouse (partial)
Entrance Sentry Post (ruins)

Poston I

Poston I Auditorium (ruins)
Poston I Classrooms (n=3)
Poston II Auditorium
Machine Shop
Warehouses (n=3)
Sewage Treatment Plants (n=3)

Rohwer

Cemetery Monuments
Hospital Smokestack
Post Office Storage Room
Water Tank
Sewage Treatment Plant

Topaz

Outlying Farm Buildings (n=10)

Tule Lake

Military Police Buildings (n=39)
Industrial Buildings (n=5)
WRA Motor Pool Buildings (n=3)
Stockade Jail
Carpenter and Paint Shop
Caucasian Recreation Building
Well House
Sewage Treatment Plants (n=2)

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

Previously Listed in the National Register.

Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

Designated a National Historic Landmark.

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: CA-2279

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record:

Primary Location of Additional Data:

State Historic Preservation Office: California State Historic Landmark No. 850-2

Other State Agency: California Department of Transportation, Sacramento.

Federal Agency: National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona; Bureau of Reclamation, Klamath Falls, Oregon; and National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Local Government

University

Other (Specify Repository): Tule Lake Committee, San Francisco, California, and Tulelake Museum, Tulelake, California.

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 42 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	10	634712	4638565
B	10	634956	4638370
C	10	635154	4638606
D	10	635202	4638567
E	10	635132	4638482
F	10	635266	4638377
G	10	635010	4638065
H	10	634582	4638400

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary is delineated by a polygon whose vertices are marked by the UTM reference points listed above (Map 8). The property includes Assessor's Parcel 5-22-59 and a portion of Assessor's Parcel 5-22-35 within the Town of Newell, Modoc County, California (Figure 8).

Boundary Justification:

The boundary contains the Stockade, the WRA Motor Pool, the Post Engineer's Yard, and portions of the former Military Police Compound. This concentration of WRA buildings and features are unique. The boundaries were drawn to include only public land with highly significant historic resources which retain high integrity. There are very few non-contributing resources within the boundaries, and the area includes the most poignant symbol at Tule Lake, the stockade jail. The boundaries exclude the Caltrans maintenance facility, which post-dates the end of the period of significance.

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DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
February 17, 2006