An Annotated Bibliography for Manzanar National Historic Site
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MANZANAR NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

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Introduction

This introduction to the Manzanar National Historic Site Bibliography consists of four parts. The opening section provides a historical overview of the Manzanar War Relocation Center. Although this site-centered bibliography encompasses the three incarnations of Manzanar as historical settlement space—Paiute communities, through 1850; Euro-American agricultural colony, 1910-1935; and Japanese American relocation center, 1942-1945—it primary emphasis (consistent with the legislation establishing Manzanar as a national historical site) is the World War II period. The second section will present a brief review of the literature treating the relocation center at Manzanar. The third section will describe the background and goals of this bibliographical project. The fourth and final section of the introduction will discuss the bibliography's salient features.

Historical Overview

Manzanar was the first of ten War Relocation Authority (WRA)-administered detention centers created for "national security" by the United States government in 1942, following Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the United States's entrance into World War II. Incarcerated in these camps were more than 120,000 U.S. resident Japanese Americans, approximately one-third of whom were law-abiding Japanese aliens (Issei) denied U.S. citizenship and two-thirds U.S. citizens (preponderantly second-generation Nisei, but also some third-generation Sansai and even a few fourth-generation Yonsei). Located outside West Coast military zones in eastern California's Inyo County, 212 miles north of Los Angeles and nearly equidistant between the Owens Valley towns of Lone Pine and Independence on U.S. Highway 395, the Manzanar site had been utilized by Paiute-Shoshone Indians for centuries before 1900 and then, roughly spanning 1910-1935, was a tiny Euro-American fruit-growing settlement named Manzanar (Spanish for "apple orchard").

The camp was established initially by the U.S. Army as an assembly center and managed by the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) as the Owens Valley Reception Center from March 21 through May 31, 1942. On June 1, 1942, Manzanar was reconstituted as a WRA center, the only one of fifteen assembly centers to be so transformed, and renamed the Manzanar War Relocation Center. As a WCCA unit, Manzanar had one project director (Clayton Triggs) and two acting directors (Sulon Kimball and Harvey Coverley). In its relocation center phase, extending to its shutdown on November 21, 1945, Manzanar's two directors were Roy Nash (until November 24, 1942) and Ralph P. Merritt. The overwhelming majority of the camp's peak population of 10,121 (nearly equally divided between male and female with one-quarter of them school-age children) were drawn from prewar Japanese American communities in Los Angeles County, particularly the City of Los Angeles.

Situated in the rain shadow of the imposing Sierra Nevada range at the base of 14,375-foot Mount Williamson on some 6,000 acres of land leased from the Los Angeles Department
of Water and Power, Manzanar experienced a harsh climate of extreme temperatures, high winds, and severe dust storms. The camp proper consisted of a rectangle of about 550 acres dominated by thirty-six blocks of 504 tar-paper residential barracks for the interned population, most of whom lived within 20 by 25 foot family apartments. This area encompassed communal mess halls, laundry facilities, and latrines for each internee block, as well as considerably upgraded living facilities for the appointed personnel. Additionally, it contained a modern 150-bed hospital, schools, churches, recreational and cultural facilities, cooperative stores, and most other amenities found in a "normal" American city of comparable size. Also in this central area were war-related industries (e.g., a camouflage net factory), an experimental plantation for producing natural rubber from the guayule plant, and the Children's Village orphanage. Immediately outside this main camp were 1,500 acres of agricultural land, which made Manzanar self-sufficient in crops, meat, and poultry, augmented the other WRA camps' food supplies, and generated revenue for the Manzanar center in open-market sales. The camp's core was surrounded by barbed wire and overlooked by eight sentry towers and manned by armed military police, a battalion of whom were quartered a half-mile south of the Manzanar center and, in 1942, was equipped with twenty-one rifles, eighty-nine shotguns, six machine guns, and twenty-one submachine guns.

Although relative peace and harmony generally prevailed within the center, internee resistance to unpopular administrative policies—manifested as work slowdowns and strikes as well as through cultural politics and non-compliance with regulations—was not uncommon. The most dramatic incident of resistance occurred on December 6, 1942. Sparked by the jailing of the Mess Hall Workers' Union's popular head (Harry Ueno) for beating an unpopular internee (Fred Tayama) prominent in the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), whose leaders were widely assumed by internees to be collaborators and informers, the "Manzanar Riot" climaxed in the death of two inmates and the wounding of nine others by MP-fired bullets. Its aftermath involved the roundup and ultimate imprisonment (without formal charges or hearings) of Ueno and other suspected "pro-Japanese" advocates and camp "troublemakers" in citizen isolation centers in Moab, Utah, and Leupp, Arizona, and the "protective custody" consignment to an abandoned Civil Conservation Corps camp in nearby Death Valley National Monument of JACL and allied "pro-American" spokespersons and their families. A more pervasive and protracted show of resistance set in motion two months later, in February 1943, when the Army and the WRA imposed a mandatory registration on the adult population of Manzanar and the other centers for the joint purpose of establishing eligibility for leave clearance and securing volunteers for a special Japanese American combat team. At Manzanar, only forty-two persons (2 percent of the eligible citizen males) volunteered for military service, while approximately 50 percent of all male citizens and 45 percent of all female citizens either answered "no" to the so-called loyalty questions on the registration questionnaire or refused to answer the questions. The latter situation led to 1,322 of the internees (a grand total of 2,165) being transferred in late 1943 to the WRA's newly-established Tule Lake Segregation Center in northern California.

With the departure of its "disloyals" to Tule Lake (along with expatriates and repatriates to Japan) and an increasing number of its "loyals" entering the military (following the re-institution of selective service for Japanese Americans in 1944) and resettling throughout the U.S. as war workers and college students, Manzanar became a community largely of elderly and
youthful residents. Notwithstanding limited self-government and an improved physical appearance and social ambience, Manzanar retained constant reminders that it was a concentration camp: its residents were not free to leave, its newspaper (Manzanar Free Press) was censored, and its confines patrolled by soldiers with loaded weapons.

After its closure, the Manzanar site reverted to its prewar "natural" state. save for four surviving internee-built structures (two 1942 pagoda-like stone security posts at the camp's eastern entrance; a 1943 memorial obelisk, "Soul Consoling Tower," just outside the western boundary; and a 1944 auditorium on the northeast perimeter) plus scattered remnants of the constructed and botanical environment. Beginning in 1969, annual pilgrimages to the site have been held under the sponsorship of the Manzanar Committee, a Los Angeles-based community activist group. Manzanar was declared a state historical landmark in 1972 and a national historical landmark in 1985. On March 3, 1992, President George Bush signed into law the Congress-established Manzanar National Historic Site providing government purchase of the site and National Park Service administration, under the Department of the Interior, for preservation and historical interpretation.

Literature Review

Notwithstanding that in the mind of the general public Manzanar has become a metaphor for the World War II incarceration experience of people of Japanese ancestry, to date no scholarly work on this former War Relocation Authority center has been published. Nor has there been even a doctoral dissertation focused on this camp. In 1947 a University of California, Berkeley, graduate student, Richard Brewer Rice, completed a master's thesis entitled "The Manzanar War Relocation Center," but the author for the most part restricted his attention to the first year of the center's operation. The closest thing to a comprehensive history appeared in 1988 with the publication of a popular work, Manzanar, compiled by John Armor and Peter Wright. Featuring spectacular historical images by one of America's finest photographers, Ansel Adams, and a text by a writer of near-equal stature, John Hersey, this book represents an excellent starting point for students of the subject.

The best-selling volume associated with Manzanar was published in 1973: Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience during and after the World War II Internment. Coauthored by James D. Houston and Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, this moving narrative chronicles the wartime Manzanar experience of the Wakatsuki family from the perspective of the second author, who spent her childhood behind barbed wire in the Owens Valley center. This book served as the basis for a 1976 feature-length television film in 1976 by the same name.

A trio of books produced by the Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton, are also useful in rounding out the history of the Manzanar center: Arthur A. Hansen and Betty E. Mitson, eds., Voices Long Silent: An Oral Inquiry into the Japanese American Evacuation (1974); Jessie A. Garrett and Ronald C. Larson, eds., Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley (1977); and Sue Kunitomi Embrey et al. eds., Manzanar Martyr: An Interview with Harry Y. Ueno (1986). The first of these is focused upon Manzanar people and events, and is communicated through articles, interviews, and lectures; the second is an anthology of interviews done primarily with Owens Valley.
residents who witnessed the mushrooming of a city of 10,000 Japanese Americans in their sparsely populated rural region; and the third is a critically edited interview with the central figure in the Manzanar Riot of December 5, 1942, arguably the defining event during Manzanar’s four-year existence as a “community.”

Project Background and Goals

In July 1994 the California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program (CSUF-OHP), submitted a proposal to have a six-person project team generate an annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources on the Manzanar National Historic Site of approximately 150 pages in length that could be used by the National Park Service (NPS) for the site’s development and interpretation. This proposal was approved by NPS in October 1994, an interim report on the project’s progress was submitted by CSUF-OHP in mid-December 1994, and the completed bibliography (somewhat shorter than anticipated) was forwarded by CSUF-OHP in early March 1995.

The CSUF-OHP project team consisted of six people: Dr. Arthur A. Hansen, Project Director; Dr. Debra Gold Hansen, Bibliographer; Ms. Sue Kunimori Embrey and Ms. Jane Phillips Wehrey, Researchers; and Ms. Kathleen Frazee and Ms. Garnette Long, Editorial and Production Coordinators. The project director is Professor of History at CSUF and Director, OHP and its Japanese American Project; the bibliographer is Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, San Jose State University (Fullerton Campus) and Research Associate, CSUF-OHP, the researchers are, respectively, Chairperson, Manzanar Committee, and Research Associate, CSUF-OHP, and M.A. Candidate (Public History Emphasis), CSUF Department of History and Research Associate, CSUF-OHP; and the editorial and production coordinators are, respectively, Office Manager, CSUF-OHP, and Coordinator, Tapes Into Type Transcription Service, CSUF-OHP.

The project was done in four stages: Project Design; Research; Compilation; and Production. In the first stage, the project director spelled out the aims of the bibliography, established standards, delineated pertinent research subjects, assembled an inventory of topical headings and search descriptors, and designated research tasks. During this stage, also, the bibliographer set criteria for citations, including annotations, to guarantee a standardized format.

In the second stage, the director and bibliographer joined with the two project researchers to form a four-person research team. With each member responsible for specified genre(s) appropriate to his/her background, this team researched and amassed interdisciplinary and multitype bibliographic citations and provided annotations for standard published materials as well as primary documents and unpublished sources.

During the project’s third stage, the bibliographer and editorial and production coordinators worked together to assemble, standardize, and edit the citations generated by the research team. They also organized the citations into relevant subject classifications, each of which were subdivided by genre. Concurrently, the project director prepared the bibliography’s introduction.

In the fourth and final stage, the OHP-CSUF staff oversaw the bibliography’s production: final editing, proofing, printing, and binding of ten spiral-bound volumes, and preparation of a Word Perfect 5.1 disc version.
Site Bibliography

Topics: The bibliography itself is reasonably comprehensive, though it is certainly not exhaustive in its listing of relevant sources. The six main topics covered by the bibliography, in order of appearance, are: (1) Manzanar War Relocation Center; (2) Japanese in California and Beyond; (3) War Relocation Authority; (4) United States Army; (5) Owens Valley; and (6) Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.

The Manzanar War Relocation Center category includes entries for the establishment and administration of the center; demographic characteristics; structures and facilities; social, economic, political, and intellectual activities; daily life; and dramatic events, such as the Manzanar Riot of 1942 and the loyalty registration crisis of 1943. Also covered in this category are prominent Manzanar personalities.

The category of Japanese in California and Beyond is chiefly devoted to sources about the pre-World War II Japanese American communities that together comprised Manzanar's wartime population. While predominantly drawn from Los Angeles County, the center's interned population also numbered people who had resided elsewhere in California, such as the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys, and even outside California (most notably, Bainbridge Island, Washington, and the Territory of Hawaii). Included in this category, too, are references to literature about Japanese Americans bearing upon their generation, gender, organizational affiliation, vocation, and social, intellectual, political, and economic pursuits.

The War Relocation Authority and United States Army categories are distinct yet complementary. The first category embraces sources about the federal agency that administered the Manzanar War Relocation Center from June 1, 1942, to November 21, 1945. The sources in the U.S. Army category pertain to the military's supervision of the movement of evicted Japanese Americans to the Owens Valley site; Manzanar's administration as an assembly or reception center by the Wartime Civilian Control Administration (a civilian arm of the U.S. Army) between March 21 and May 31, 1942; and the Army's responsibility for the center's external security through a military police company housed in a nearby facility.

The sources included in the Owens Valley category address the natural and cultural history of the region where the Manzanar War Relocation Center was located, while those included in the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power category speak to the relocation center being situated on rented land controlled by the City of Los Angeles and the postwar role played by the DWP during Manzanar's transformation into the setting for an annual pilgrimage and a NPS historical site.

Source Types: The bibliography concentrates on eight identifiable genres of information (though not every one of them are represented in each topical category): (1) Reference Sources; (2) Secondary Sources; (3) Audio-Visual Materials; (4) Oral Histories; (5) Periodicals; (6) Government Documents; (7) Manuscript and Record Collections; and (8) Artifacts and Ephemera. The Reference Sources genre includes bibliographies, encyclopedias, dictionaries, biographical sources, factbooks, atlases, and databases containing significant material on Manzanar and related topics. Secondary Sources encompasses monographs, periodical articles, essays, book chapters, dissertations, and theses. Audiovisual Material consists of documentary and feature films, videotapes, sound recordings, photographic collections, artwork, maps, and architectural drawings. The genre of Oral Histories pertains strictly to tape-recorded interviews.
and correlated documents. The Periodical genre is limited to Manzanar site, Japanese American community, and Owens Valley regional publications. The genre of Government Documents relates to published hearings, studies, and reports issued by municipal, county, state, and federal governments and their agencies. Manuscript and Record Collections embraces not only the records of pertinent government agencies but also those of public and private repositories. Artifacts and Memorabilia incorporates physical objects housed in museums and historical societies as well as large private collections.

Time Frame: The bibliography, with few exceptions, includes only items published or created between 1850 and 1994.

Languages: The bibliography is restricted to sources rendered in English, whether originally or via translation.

Format: Items are arranged by subject and then subdivided by type of material or genre. Citations are ordered within categories alphabetically by author, issuing agency, or provenance. Each citation, insofar as possible, includes author, title, place of publication, publisher, and date of publication, using The Chicago Manual of Style (14th edition) citation forms. For unpublished materials, repository and collection names are provided. In cases where the title lacks sufficient information to make the subject(s) covered self-evident, an annotation is provided.

Scope: The bibliography is not limited to traditional historical treatments, but is approached from multiple perspectives such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, geography, political science, and economics. Published items were located using standard bibliographic tools such as bibliographies, indexes, catalogs, and union lists, as well as newer electronic databases available through Internet, OCLC, DIALOG, and WILSONLINE. Unpublished sources and special collections (including audiovisual materials, oral histories, map collections, and artifacts) were gathered by consulting directories like the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections and cataloging utilities like MELVYL and OCLC. Other primary and documentary materials were garnered through on-site visitations by project researchers to libraries, archives, and museums, in the southern and eastern California regions.

Arthur A. Hansen
Project Director
MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION CENTER

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books


———. Born Free And Equal: Photographs of the Loyal Japanese-Americans at Manzanar Relocation Center, Inyo County, California. New York: U.S. Camera, 1944. Critically evocative photographs and text by one of the leading U.S. photographers, and a friend of Manzanar project director Ralph Merritt, captures the WRA community at a point when it appeared outwardly more settled.

———. Two Views of Manzanar: An Exhibition of Photographs by Ansel Adams, Toyo Miyatake. Los Angeles: UCLA Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, 1978. Adams's photos are complemented by those of a prominent Los Angeles photographer who was interned at Manzanar and compiled a photographic record of that center's history, including some unauthorized images.

Armor, John and Peter Wright, comps. Manzanar. New York: Times Books, 1988. Features photographs by Ansel Adams and commentary by John Hersey. In the absence of a critical history of the Manzanar center, this volume provides the best available single source on this important WRA center (the only one of which also saw service as a WCCA assembly center).

Bromley, David S. These Bitter Years. Batavia, N.Y.: Verservice, 1945. Reflections in poetry on the internment experience by a past commander of Inyo Post, American Legion, who worked in the Manzanar camp's administration.


Deane, Hugh. *Remembering Koji Ariyoshi: An American GI in Yenan*. Los Angeles: U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, 1978. This short volume provides background information on Ariyoshi, who was interned in 1942 at the Manzanar center and was an outspoken pro-American, anti-fascist activist there until volunteering for the U.S. Military Intelligence Service.


Embrey Sue Kunitomi, Arthur A. Hansen, and Betty Kulberg Mitson, *Manzanar Martyr: An Interview with Harry Y. Ueno*. Fullerton, Calif.: Japanese American Project, Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 1986. Centered around the project's 1976 interview with the central figure in the Manzanar Riot of December 6, 1942, this volume includes 3 introductions by the editors, extensive notes, historical and contemporary photographs, numerous appendices consisting of primary documents, a comprehensive bibliography, and a subject index.


Houston, Jeanne Wakatsuki and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience during and after the World War II Internment.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. The most celebrated book connected with Manzanar, it tells the powerful story of that center's history via the Wakatsuki family experience and in the voice of Jeanne Wakatsuki (whose girlhood was spent there). This book served as the basis for the 1976 feature-length television film by the same name.


photographs the brief living experience of Manzanar internees placed in protective custody at the Cow Creek Civilian Conservation Camp following the Manzanar Riot.


Tateishi, John. An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps. New York: Random House, 1984. The author spent his childhood at Manzanar. Dedicated to the memory of Shigetoshi Tateishi, the author's father and a dissident leader at Manzanar during 1942, this volume includes edited reminiscences by seven Manzanarians—including ones with John Tateishi's mother, Yuri; the central figure in the Manzanar Riot, Harry Ueno; and Frank Chuman, the chief administrator of Manzanar's hospital.


Yoneda, Karl G. *Ganbatte: Sixty-year Struggle of a Kibei Worker.* Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1983. This autobiography by a prominent social activist, labor leader, and historian, and Communist party political candidate, includes two chapters—Chapters 7 and 12—focused upon the Manzanar experiences of the author and his wife, Elaine Black Yoneda, as well as their postwar participation in pilgrimages to that site as members of the Manzanar Committee. Also covered in this illustrated and indexed volume is Yoneda's wartime role as a volunteer for the U.S. Military Intelligence Service.

**Articles**


Focuses on baseball at Tule Lake center in northern California, but reflective of situation at
Manzanar and other WRA centers.

Fitchette, Todd. "Boy Commemorates Both Grandparents with Project." Inyo Register, 27 April
1994. Derek Yemoto, seeking his Eagle Scout award, designed information board for
installation near the Manzanar cemetery to honor grandparents interned there during World
War II.

Forstenzer, Martin. "Plans to Honor Manzanar Create Divided Camps." Los Angeles Times, 23
December 1993. Interviews reveal divided opinions about developing Manzanar as a
National Historic Site.

Gonzales, Ruby. "Memories of U.S. Relocation Center Stay with Teacher." Highlander
Newspapers, 1 September 1994. LaVerne, California, resident Mary Smeltzer recalls her
wartime teaching experiences at Manzanar.

Grover, Janice Zita. "The Winner Names the Age: Historicism and Ansel Adams's Manzanar

Hansen, Arthur A. "A Riot of Voices: Racial and Ethnic Variables in Interactive Oral History
Interviewing." In McMahan, Eva M. and Kim Lacy Rogers, eds., Interactive Oral History
the Manzanar Riot and interviews done in the 1970s by the author with 5 Manzanarians
associated with that event—Sue Kunitomi Embrey, Togo Tanaka, Harry Ueno, Elaine Black
Yoneda, and Karl Yoneda—for the Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program
at California State University, Fullerton.

Amerasia Journal 2 (Fall 1974): 112-57. Argues that the "riot" at the Manzanar center on
December 6, 1942, was really a "revolt" against accumulated injustices and grievances
perpetrated by the U.S. government, WRA authorities, and internee informers and
accommodationists.

Hansen, Arthur A., Betty E. Mitson and Sue Kunitomi Embrey. "Dissident Harry Ueno
Remembers Manzanar." California History 54 (Winter 1985): 58-64, 77. Excerpts of
interview with former Manzanar internee Harry Y. Ueno for the Japanese American Project
of the Oral History at California State University center on his arrest on eve of the Manzanar
Riot, and subsequent imprisonment for alleged beating of a reputed internee informer.


Houston, Jeanne W., James D. Houston, and Anthony Friedson. "No More Farewells: An Interview With Jeanne and James Houston." *Biography* 7 (1, 1984): 50-73. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and her husband, James D. Houston, discuss the genesis of *Farewell to Manzanar* (1973), their account of Jeanne’s childhood internment at the Manzanar center during World War II.


Klehr, Harvey. "Communists’ Autobiographies." *World & I* (June 1987): 613-20. One of the autobiographies criticized for its adherence to party ideology at the expense of candor is that by Karl Yoneda, *Ganbaate: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (1983). Klehr argues that, based upon this book, Yoneda was only devoted to civil liberties when it served his political purposes; Yoneda’s response to his World War II exclusion and detention at the Manzanar center is cited as substantiating evidence.


Louthan, Bruce D. and Lloyd M. Pierson. "Moab Japanese-American Isolation Center: The Dark Postlude in the History of Dalton Wells CCC Camp." *Canyon Legacy* 19 (Fall/Winter 1993): 28-31. Article in this special issue for the journal of the Museum of Moab (in Moab, Utah) on the Dalton Wells Civilian Conservation Corps camp describes the several months in 1943 when it served as a temporary WRA isolation center for alleged troublemakers from WRA camps, including Manzanar. Featured (through text and illustrations) is the experience of Moab internee Harry Ueno, the central figure in the Manzanar Riot.


Mitson, Betty E. "Looking Back in Anguish: Oral History and Japanese-American Evacuation." *Oral History Review* 2 (1974): 24-51. Focused upon interviews in the Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton, and enhanced by historic and contemporary photographs, attention is shed on Manzanar through highlighting the wartime experiences of key individuals associated with that center: Robert L. Brown, reports officer and assistant director; Togo Tanaka, WRA documentary historian and JACL spokesperson; Sue Kunitomi Embrey, *Manzanar Free Press* managing editor; Karl and Elaine Black Yoneda, an interracial activist couple in the forefront of camp’s pro-American causes; and Herbert Nicholson, a Quaker missionary who made frequent trips to Manzanar to deliver personal goods and Christmas gifts and to evangelize among interned population and administrative personnel.


Negri, Sam. "Forgotten Arizona Compound Housed Japanese American 'Troublemakers.'" *Arizona Republic*, 4 August 1985. Brief overview of experience of internees, including some from Manzanar, who were removed from 10 WRA centers and imprisoned in this special WRA isolation center in 1943.


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"Manzanar Martyr': Reveals the Untold Camp Story." Review essay by community historian and social activist of a published oral history volume by the Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program at California State University, Fullerton, centers on the experiences of Harry Y. Ueno, the principal figure in the Manzanar Riot, and argues that Ueno's story reveals what it felt like to be branded a "troublemaker" and kicked around from one prison camp to another during World War II.


Pierson, Lloyd. "Dalton Wells CCC/Internment Site North of Moab on US-191 Now on the National Register." Times-Independent [Moab, Utah], 1 September 1994. Describes, in particular, the experiences of the so-called Manzanar Sixteen, the first contingent of alleged "troublemakers" to be removed from the ten regular WRA centers and incarcerated for several months in the temporary isolation center established at Moab by the WRA in 1943.

Rancourt, Linda M. "Remembering Manzanar." National Parks 67 (May/June 1993): 30-34. The internment camp that held more than 10,000 Japanese Americans at Manzanar, California, during World War II is made a national historic site by the National Park Service to serve as a reminder of that unjust situation.

Reifsnider, Betsy. "DWP Stymies Manzanar Bill." Mono Lake Newsletter 14 (Fall 1991). Mono Lake Committee maintains that amendments to HR 543 and S 621 in U.S. Congress bills sought by Los Angeles Department of Water and Power will weaken federal jurisdiction and harm eastern Sierra environment.

Reyes, David. "Let Them Never Forget." Los Angeles Times [Orange County Section], 6 September 1994. Former Manzanar internee Mary Kageyama Nomura of Garden Grove, California, discusses how her husband Shiro, who was also interned at Manzanar, created the Manzanar Project of photographs, artifacts, and other memorabilia at the Eastern California Museum in Independence, California.

Ross, Christopher. "Return to Manzanar." Americana 19 (March 1991): 55+. Explains how each April a poignant pilgrimage, open to all, honors the more than 10,000 people of Japanese ancestry interned during World War II at the Manzanar center in eastern California's Owens Valley.

Schruben, Francis W. "An Even Stranger Death of President Harding." Southern California Quarterly 48 (1, 1966): 57-84. Using the early 1960s oral recollections of Ralph Palmer Merritt for the UCLA Oral History Program as a case study, the author concludes that the historian should approach oral history very cautiously. The account of Warren Harding's final illness and death by Merritt, onetime project director of the Manzanar War Relocation Center, is contradicted at crucial points by contemporary evidence.


Shea, Peter. "Homegrown Rubber—A Most Unusual Plant." Environment 18 (November 1976): N.p. Provides background information on guayule, a scraggly desert shrub; notes that this source of natural rubber, produced in Manzanar with funding received through the Emergency Rubber Project, was deemed 90 percent efficient.


Suzuki, Peter T. "The Ethnolinguistics of Japanese Americans in the Wartime Camps." Anthropological Linguistics 18 (December 1976): 416-23. Although not focused specifically on the Manzanar center, this important article by an anthropologist and former internee at the Minidoka center in Idaho illuminates the jargon used in all WRA camps by the interned population.


Twitchell, Barbara. "It Should Never Happen Again." UNR Times 7 (Winter 1989-1990): 5-8. Based on an interview with Edgar Wakayama, a professor of clinical laboratory science at the University of Nevada, Reno, who was born at the Manzanar center, this piece is focused on his father Kinzo Ernest Wakayama's constitutional challenge to his wartime imprisonment and the wartime and postwar impact that challenge had on the Wakayama family.


Wada, George and James C. Davies. "Riots and Rioters." *Western Political Quarterly* 10 (4, 1957): 864-74. An analysis of the riotous demonstrations that occurred at the Manzanar center on the eve of the first anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Includes extensive demographic material on the interned Japanese American population as well as participants and nonparticipants in the Manzanar Riot.

Winks, Robin. "Sites Of Shame [Including Memorials to Shameful Episodes in U.S. History in the National Parks]." *National Parks* 68 (March-April 1994): 22+. Contends that the National Park Service should include exhibits on troubling elements of U.S. history in order to instruct, reveal the national character, and reflect the nation's maturity. Explains that a unit such as Manzanar National Historic Site displays both historical disgrace and individual dignity.

"Yoneda, Karl, Labor Activist Donates Collection to UCLA." *Hokubei Mainichi [San Francisco Daily News]*, 3 May 1990. Yoneda and his family were interned at Manzanar during World War II, where he served as a block leader and controversial supporter of pro-American policies and activities prior to his enlistment in the U.S. military in late 1942.


**Theses and Dissertations**


Gutierrez, Michelle. "Medicine in a Crisis Situation: The Effect of Culture on Health Care in the World War II Japanese American Detention Centers." Master's thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1989. Study compares the medical care and response to it in the Manzanar center, which was largely constituted of urban-based Nikkei, with the situation in the Poston center in Arizona where the interned population was chiefly rural in background.

Hacker, David A. "A Culture Resisted, A Cultural Revived: The Loyalty Crisis of 1943 at the Manzanar War Relocation Center." Master's thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1980. This thesis, by the onetime director of the Japanese American Project of the CSUF Oral History Program, argues that the loyalty oath administered to the internees by the Army and the WRA led to a revitalization of Japanese culture and a rejection of Americanization. Study is grounded in reports of Manzanar Community Analyst Morris Opler and in the 1978 project interview with him.


Whitney, Helen Elizabeth. "Care of Homeless Children of Japanese Ancestry during Evacuation and Relocation." Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Focuses on Children's Village, the orphanage at the Manzanar War Relocation Center; includes information based upon a visitation by the author to the site during the center's wartime operation.


Yamashita, Kanshi Stanley. "Terminal Island: Ethnography of an Ethnic Community: Its Dissolution and Reorganization to a Non-spatial Community." Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Irvine, 1985. Former Terminal Islander and Manzanarian indicates that, while interned at Manzanar during World War II, the bulk of the residents of the isolated and traditional prewar Japanese American fishing community of Terminal Island near Los Angeles lived in three adjoining blocks, maintained a high degree of group cohesion, and suffered prejudice from the center's off-island internee population.

Yatsushiro, Toshio. "Political and Socio-cultural Issues at Poston and Manzanar Relocation Centers: A Thematic Analysis." Ph.D. Diss., Cornell University, 1953. The emphasis is on the Poston center in Arizona, where the author was an internee staff member of the Bureau of Sociological Research headed by Dr. Alexander Leighton.


**AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS**

**Maps**

Bancroft Library, Japanese American Resettlement File 67/14C (E 2-44 T 700). Map of the United States, showing the locations of the WRA Centers.

Photographic Collections


Sound Recordings


"In His Discretion." Los Angeles: Pacifica Tape Library, 1983. 1 sound cassette (60 min.) In 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, using Executive Order 9066, interned 110,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps. This program describes those camps through interviews with former inmates, many of them members of the Manzanar Committee, a Los Angeles-based community activist group that restored the Manzanar camp site for the sake of posterity.


Films


War II internment based on the 1973 book by Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James Houston.


*Manzanar.* Independence: Eastern California Museum, 1986. This 8 mm. color film supplied to Eastern California Museum by R.P. Merritt is a direct video copy of 1944 color film by Francis C. Dieterich. Gardens, parks, street scenes, mattress factory, hospital, nurses in training, and children’s village are among scenes included in this video from film taken by a camp visitor.


"Manzanar #2." 20 min. Independence: Eastern California Museum, 1986. This 8 mm. color film was taken from home movies made ca. 1943 by an unknown visitor to the camp. Scenes include the gardens, Pleasure Park, school activities—a play, dancing, high school graduation (Ralph Merritt and others in academic regalia)—Dillon Meyer visit, snowstorm, orphanage, children at play in the snow.


Visible Target. 30 min. Bainbridge Island, Wash.: KCTS-TV (PBS), 1985. Documentary by John de Graaf about Bainbridge Island and husband and wife newspaper publishers who took stand against evacuation. Japanese Americans from Bainbridge Island were among the first internees at Manzanar, where they occupied several blocks until their transfer in early 1943 to the Minidoka center in Idaho.

ORAL HISTORIES

Bancroft Library. Oral History Collection. University of California, Berkeley. Includes a typed transcript of a 1970 Regional Oral History Office taped interview with Paul Taylor, prominent University of California, Berkeley, labor economist and social activist. Bound under the title of California Social Scientist: Education, Field Research and Family (1973) and introduced by Laurence I. Hewes, Jr., the typescript (accompanied by photographs) discusses the photographic work at Manzanar of Taylor's wife, Dorothea Lange, for the War Relocation Authority.

California State Archives. State Government Oral History Program. Sacramento, California. Contains a 5-hour interview, with edited transcript and finding aid, completed under the auspices of the Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, with Briec Bouche in 1993. Bouche, a naturalized U.S. citizen from France and a master wood carver, discusses the following: his family history in Brittany, French education, the French army, his apprenticeship in wood carving; his experience as an immigrant and his decision to become an American citizen; and wartime residence at the Manzanar War Relocation Center, where he taught industrial arts to interned high school students. Mentions Ralph Merritt,
Manzanar's director, and Ansel Adams, the photographer most closely connected in the public mind with Manzanar.


Department of Special Collections. Oral History Collection. University of California, Los Angeles. Contains an "interview" with Ralph Merritt, former director of the Manzanar War Relocation Center. The edited transcript, along with related material, is available in a 140-page bound volume entitled After Me Cometh a Builder: The Recollections of Ralph Palmer and Related Material. 1956-1962. The final editing for the transcript of this taped autobiographical narrative was completed by the UCLA Oral History Program, UCLA. It covers Merritt's pre-World War II life: student days at the University of California (1904-1907); later experiences as U.C. comptroller and as a member of the U.C. Board of Regents; tenure as food administrator for California during World War I; role in Herbert Hoover's campaign for presidential nomination in 1920; part in the formation of the California Chamber of Commerce and the development of Central Valley Water Project; and cooperative marketing experiences with the California Rice Grower's Association and the Sun Maid Raisin Growers Association. Unfortunately, no mention is made of Merritt's time at Manzanar or his post-World War II life and career.

Manzanar Committee Archives. Oral History Collection. 1566 Curran Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026. Includes short taped interviews, some of which are transcribed, with assorted Manzanar personalities and Owens Valley officials concerned with the Manzanar site. Also contains the tape and transcription of a 1977 panel discussion, "The Loyalty Issue—The Other Side," that includes two former prominent Manzanar internees (Sue Kunitomi Embrey and Karl Yoneda) connected with the postwar Manzanar Committee and its annual pilgrimage.

Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton. Japanese American Project. Fullerton, California. Contains a great number of tapes and edited transcripts of interviews with Manzanar internees, administrators, and employees.

PERIODICALS

Manzanar Christian Church, Manzanar Calif. Bulletins. 24 December 1944 to 29 April 1945.

Manzanar Free Press. Manzanar, Calif.: The Center, 1942-1945. This newspaper was published weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly during different stages of Manzanar's wartime existence.

Valediction—1945. Manzanar, Calif.: Manzanar High School, 1945. Annual publication, text and photographs, for the final year of the high school at the Manzanar center.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS


Inyo County, Calif. Board of Supervisors. Order made on February 4, 1974, to support Planning Commission’s recommendation for proposed recreation site at Manzanar provided that the Road Department not be evicted from its facility on the property. Motion based on Feasibility Study by State Department of Parks and Recreation.


Manzanar War Relocation Center. Nineteen sheets, 22" x 24". Text, maps, and detailed drawings prepared by Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) Division, National Park Service, in cooperation with Death Valley National Monument and the Western Region Office of NPS. Auditorium, stone houses, cemetery grounds and monument, guard tower (no longer standing) and reservoir area included.


U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands. Japanese American Historic Landmarks Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs. 102nd Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 543, to establish the Manzanar National Historic Site in the state of California, and for other purposes; H.R. 2351, to authorize a study of nationally significant places in Japanese American history. Washington, D.C., 21 May 1991. Testimony of Sue Kunitomi Embrey (3 pages), written testimony of Mayor Tom Bradley (3 pages), testimony of Hiro Takusagawa, representing Nisei veterans organizations. Also included are statements by Paul Morrison representing Inyo County (2 pages); Jerry Rogers, Associate Director, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Department of the Interior (1 page); and David Simon, representing the National Parks and Conservation Association (5 pages).


Study of Alternatives for Manzanar War Relocation Center. Western Regional Office, February 1989. A portion of the "Feasibility Study of Additional Sites Associated with the Pacific Campaign of World War II."


Semi-Annual Report, January 1 to June 30, 1944, Washington, D.C. Population—community government—Spanish Consular visits—further segregation to Tule
Lake—community analysis—occupational activities—health and safety—emergency refugee shelter—military police—informational services—tables and charts—chronology.


Trip Report—Archaeological Survey of Manzanar National Historic Site, Inyo Co., California. April (WACC Project Number MANZ 1993A). May 1993. Memo H2215 MANZ (WR)RWI from Archaeologist Jeffrey Burton, Division of Archaeology, WACC, Tucson, Arizona, to Acting Chief, Division of Archaeology, 7 pages, maps, features associated with Manzanar Relocation Center, (2) outlying features related to Manzanar War Relocation Center; features related to Manzanar township; Native American sites; camouflage/mattress factory; block survey record (Block 22); list of vegetation identified.

MANUSCRIPT AND RECORD COLLECTIONS

Manuscripts


Anderson, Hugh H. "A Short History of U.S. Government Rebuffs on the Development of Rubber from Guayule." 1981. 11 pages, typed manuscript with 2-page record of individuals who advocated making rubber from guayule. Manzanar Committee. Hugh Anderson, president of the Pacific Rubber Growers, was connected during World War II with the production of rubber from guayule plants at both Manzanar and the Poston center in Arizona.


Drury, Newton Bishop. "Papers Relating to Ralph P. Merritt." N.d. 4 folders in 1 portfolio. University of California, Berkeley. Correspondence between the onetime chief of the California Department of Natural Resources and the former director of the Manzanar center contains reference to Merritt's wartime experiences.

cooperatives in Manzanar provided internees with goods and services during their enforced stay and gave them a means of earning annual dividends.


Gutierrez, Michelle. "Medical Mystique: Medical Care at the Manzanar War Relocation Center." California State University, Fullerton: History 490. 1986. 24 pages, typed manuscript with footnotes and bibliography. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program.

Hansen, Arthur A. "The Generational Meanings of the Monuments at Manzanar." 1994. 38 pages, typed manuscript. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program. Originally presented as a talk sponsored by the Muckenthaler Cultural Center Foundation in Fullerton, California, on March 25, 1994. Explains how the Issei, Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations have interpreted the historical marker and commemorative obelisk at the Manzanar site in somewhat different ways.

Imai, Gary. "IREITO: The Manzanar Cemetery Monument." California State University, Fullerton: History 490. 1986. 21 pages, typed manuscript with footnotes and selected bibliography. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program. Describes the origins and construction of the memorial obelisk in the Manzanar cemetery, the focal point for the annual postwar Manzanar Pilgrimage.


Jaffe, Philip J. "Papers." 1920-1980. 54 linear ft. Special Collections, Emory University. Correspondence of former editor of China Today and Amerasia includes letters with onetime Manzanar internee and Communist party labor activist Koji Ariyoshi.


Potts, Marion E. "Papers." 1942-1945. 1 box. Library, Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies. Pertaining to the former vice principal of high school at the Manzanar Center, these papers consist of correspondence; student papers; publications; newspaper clippings; a report; a speech; and photographs, including six by celebrated photographer Ansel Adams; and related material.


Schwesinger, Gladys C. "The Struggle for Self-government at Manzanar Relocation Center." 1950-1959. 270 pages, incomplete draft typescript with notes plus related papers. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program. Based upon her work experiences as the supervisor of adult and vocational education at the Manzanar center.

Swift, Dennis. "Manzanar Mountains: An Examination of the Psychological, Physical and Spiritual Effects of Manzanar's Geography on its Inhabitants." California State University, Fullerton: History 490. 1986. 24 pages, typed manuscript with endnotes, appendices, and selected bibliography. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program.

Takemura, Martha. "Letters, Manzanar (Calif.) to Peggy Painter, Los Angeles (Calif.)." 1942-1944. 7 items plus 4 envelopes. Los Angeles County Natural History Museum. Handwritten letters by Takemura when a teen-aged internee at the Manzanar detention camp discuss conditions and life there.


Records

Japanese-American Relocation Centers. Records. 1935-1953. Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University Libraries. The documentation comprising this archive was primarily collected by Alexander Leighton and Morris Opler. Anthropologist-psychiatrist Leighton served as director of the Bureau of Sociological Research at the Poston center, while anthropologist Opler headed up the WRA's Community Analysis Section for the War Relocation Authority at the Manzanar camp. Together the records provide details about life in Poston and Manzanar from 1942 through 1944. Because the collection was assembled by social scientists, both of whom taught at Cornell University in the postwar period, the documents also afford an opportunity to examine social science concerns and methodology during the World War II era. The document series are arranged from larger to smaller units: from the macrocosms of national administration to the microcosm of camp life. Statistical analyses and charts accompany many of the series. The Poston records are much more voluminous and comprehensive in both document type and coverage. The Manzanar records complement those of the Poston group. Whereas the Poston records stress interaction within the camp, the Manzanar material emphasizes contact with the outside world. There is ample documentation of camp life within the Manzanar records, although there are fewer researcher analyses of detention than found in the Poston series. External dealings featured in the records are: the WRA and its loyalty hearings; the House Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities chaired by Congressman Martin Dies; and relocation and resettlement. Also included are student autobiographies, poetry, 2 yearbooks, and a blueprint of the Manzanar center. An extensive newspaper clipping file (through 1953) contains news of Japanese Americans across the country and is arranged alphabetically by the name of each paper.

Manzanar War Relocation Center. Archives. 1942-1946. Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Collection consists of the files collected and maintained by Ralph Palmer Merritt, Director of the Manzanar War Relocation Center. The collection was a gift of Merritt in 1946 and was rearranged into its
present form in 1971. Contained in the archive are: a history of the Manzanar center in five volumes (including a set of blueprints covering the electrical, plumbing, sanitation, etc. setup for the center); files of Wartime Civil Control Administration and War Relocation Authority (Manzanar was both an assembly and a relocation center) records and correspondence from April 1942 to December 1945, indexed as to subject matter; daily records of the block managers in handling all evacuee housing and in-center problems; Ralph Merritt's office file; books, clippings, Congressional Records, reprints of committee hearings and magazines and reprints covering the subjects of Japanese in America, the evacuation of 1942, and services of persons of Japanese ancestry to the United States from 1942 to 1946; photographs treating the activities of the Manzanar center and the resettled evacuees; and a 2-volume index of all evacuees at any time resident in Manzanar. Housed with the collection are bound volumes of various relocation center newspapers, including a file of the Manzanar Free Press.


ARTIFACTS AND EPHEMERA

Artifacts

Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Takamura Watercolor Painting Collection. The original collection of Kango Takamura's works includes 75 paintings produced while the artist was interned during World War II in the Santa Fe Internment Camp in New Mexico and the Manzanar War Relocation Center. The paintings depict daily life in the camp. In addition to the original collection, Takamura's works have also been reprinted on slides.

Eastern California Museum. Manzanar Collection. Originally assembled by former Manzanar internee, Shiro Nomura, this invaluable collection consists of internee-made household goods, artwork, and craft items. Additionally, there are substantial number of photographs, both historical and contemporary, primary documents, and selected copies of camp publications.
JAPANESE AMERICANS
IN CALIFORNIA AND BEYOND

REFERENCE SOURCES


Ichikawa, Yuji, et al., eds. A Buried Past: An Annotated Bibliography of the Japanese American Research Project Collection. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974. Deposited in the Research Library of the University California at Los Angeles, the collection described consists of primary and secondary Japanese-language source materials, including Japanese government archival documents, concerning Japanese immigrants and their descendants in the United States. Prepared bilingually in English and Japanese, the bibliography contains eighteen chapters; headnotes introduce the major ones (Japanese Government Archival Documents; General Historical Works; Religion; Newspapers, Periodicals, Yearbooks, Directories, and Who’s Whos; Personal Papers; World War II and Internment; and Oral History Tapes) and provide a brief historical background and summary evaluation of the materials within them. Unintroduced chapters include: Background to Emigration; Japanese Exclusion Movement; Economics; Second Generation; Socio-Cultural Materials; Japanese Associations; Literature and Poetry; Autobiographies and Biographies; Published Photographic Albums; Dissertations and Theses; and Miscellaneous.


subject of Japanese American history and culture. Entries cover the Manzanar center, many of Manzanar's prominent personalities, the Manzanar Riot, and the Manzanar Pilgrimage—replete with appended suggestions for further reading. Included is a Foreword by Senator Daniel K. Inouye, an introductory essay ("The Japanese in America") by historian Gary Y. Okihiro, a chronology of Japanese American history, and a select bibliography of works on Japanese Americans.

Okihiro, Gary Y. "The Oral History Tapes of the Japanese American Research Project, Tape Numbers 1-112: A Survey." Typed manuscript. 13 June 1974. Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. A partial analytical survey of the 307 taped interviews of Issei, Kibei, Nisei, and others that were recorded by Joe Grant Masaoka and members of Los Angeles area chapters of the Japanese American Citizens League from 1964 to 1969 as part of the Japanese American Research Project. Most of the interviews are in the Japanese language. Some of the interviews are group interviews. All are listed in Chapter 16 of Yuji Ichioka et al., eds., A Buried Path: An Annotated Bibliography of the Japanese American Research Project Collection (1974). While Okihiro evaluates the collection as "being an invaluable record of the Asian American past," he bemoans the many problems with it: the lack of a catalog indicating the tapes' contents, the poor condition of the tapes, the discrepancy in their filing, the frequent absence of taped introductions to identify interview participants, the noisy recording conditions for the interviews, the interviewers' poor preparation and biased perspective, and the liabilities associated with group interviews. The summaries and critiques provided by Okihiro for the tapes he reviewed are of great use for researchers. Many of the interviews are with personalities associated with the Manzanar center, while principal interviewer Joe Grant Masaoka served as a documentary historian for the War Relocation Authority during his 1942 internment at the Manzanar center.


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books


Baker, Lillian. *Dishonoring America: The Collective Guilt of American Japanese*. Gardena, Calif.: Americans for Historical Accuracy/Webb Research Group, 1988. Chairperson of Americans for Historical Accuracy, through text, reproduced primary documents, and historical photographs argues that, notwithstanding the efforts of a vocal group of Japanese Americans to rewrite the history of the Japanese American Evacuation experience to justify reparations and to exact a formal apology from the U.S. government, "no Japanese-American ever served a day in any 'concentration camp' in U.S.A. because there were none!" This volume was published in a revised edition in 1994 with a new subtitle, "The Falsification of World War II History."


Bosworth, Allan R. *America's Concentration Camps*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1967. Popular comprehensive account of the Japanese American Evacuation experience, embellished by historical photographs (including one of children at a prewar San Francisco orphanage who later were interned at the Children's Village in Manzanar) and a bibliography.


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Daniels, Roger, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds. Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991. Revised edition of 1986 volume by the same title published by the University of Utah Press, this significant compilation of articles is based upon a 1983 conference at the University of Utah that was organized by the Center for Historical Population Studies. Includes a chronology of Japanese American history, headnotes for the book’s nine parts, bibliographies, and a highly useful quantitative entry by Daniels on the forced migration of West Coast Japanese Americans during World War II. A truly indispensable source.

Duus, Masayo Umezawa. Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and 442nd. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987. Based largely on interviews with veterans of the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442d Regimental Combat Team units of Nisei who fought during World War II.


California State University, Fullerton, focuses on 5 groups involved in the Japanese American Evacuation: internees; administrators; analysts; resisters; and guards and townspeople. All of the interviews are indexed and many include extensive references as well as photographs and other illustrations. Each part of the project contains both introductory and prefatory essays. The 2-volume "Guards and Townspeople" part is coedited by Nora M. Jesch.


Ichinokuchi, Tad. *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II*. Los Angeles: Military Intelligence Service Club of Southern California, 1988. John Aiso, a prominent post-World War II judge and the wartime director of the Military Intelligence Service Language School was raised in Los Angeles, the place of origin for most of Manzanar's population. Numerous Manzanarians—such as Koji Ariyoshi, James Oda, and Karl Yoneda—were MISLS graduates and saw service in the Pacific Theater.


_____. ed. *Views From Within: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study*. Los Angeles: Resource Development and Publications, UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1989. This compilation of articles by former staff members with the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study and contemporary scholars of the Japanese American Evacuation experience is based upon a 1987 conference at U.C. Berkeley. Although Manzanar was not one of the ERS's main research sites among WRA centers, much of the material in this collection is relevant to it.


insightful account of her mother’s life illuminates the prewar, wartime, and postwar experience of Issei women in the United States.


Kojima, Takasumi. *Tule Lake Pilgrimage*. Berkeley, Calif.: Tule Lake Committee, 1994. On the basis of a loyalty oath administered in early 1943 by the U.S. Army and the War Relocation Authority, many internees at Manzanar (as well as the other WRA centers) were transferred to the Tule Lake Segregation Center.

Komai, Chris. *The Rafu Shimpo, 1903-1993*. Los Angeles: Michael Komai, 1993. During the prewar period, this Los Angeles-based vernacular newspaper was read by many destined to become interned at the Manzanar center—including Togo Tanaka, the *Rafu*’s most influential English-language section editor.


Laing, Michiyo et al. eds., *Issei Christians: Selected Interviews from the Issei Oral History Project*. Sacramento, Calif.: Issei Oral History Project, 1977. Though only one of the principal 6 interviewees represented was interned at Manzanar, which is but briefly mentioned, all of them communicate an insight into the prewar, wartime, and postwar experiences of the immigrant generation of Japanese Americans on the West Coast.

Leighton, Alexander H. *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1945. Developed from the author’s experience as the director of the Bureau of Sociological Research at the Poston center in Arizona. His insights and conclusions led to the War Relocation Authority establishing a Community Analysis Section in 1943. With social-scientific analysts placed in every center (including Manzanar), this section’s responsibility was to make center administration smooth and efficacious.

Masumoto, David Mas. *Country Voices: The Oral History of a Japanese American Farm Family*. Del Rey, Calif.: Inaka Countryside Publications, 1987. Through interviews, essays, and stories, this ethnography of an unincorporated town near Fresno, California, describes the historical development of a rural community and its World War II uprooting. Though most of the people from this community were interned in the Gila center in Arizona, the history and culture of Del Rey imparted by its historian and folklorist is applicable to those who lived behind barbed wire at Manzanar.

Mine, Okubo. *Citizen 13660*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. A book of line drawings and text based upon the author’s internment experiences at the Tanforan Assembly Center in California and the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah. Since Manzanar was the only site to serve as both an assembly and a relocation center, Okubo’s depictions have relevance to the experiences of internees there.

Miyakawa, Edward. *Tule Lake*. Waldport, Ore.: House by the Sea Publishing Co., 1979. This fictionalized account of the internment experience at the Tule Lake center, where many Manzanarians were transferred after the War Relocation Authority declared it a segregation center for all internees deemed disloyal, is grounded in documentation collected by the University of California-based Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

Mochizuki, Ken. *Baseball Saved Us*. New York: Lee and Low Books, 1993. This fictional account centers on how a Japanese American boy learned to play baseball when he and his family were forced to live in an internment camp during World War II, and then reveals how his ability to play that sport aided his readjustment within the postwar world.


Murase, Ichiro Mike. *Little Tokyo: One Hundred Years in Pictures*. Los Angeles: Visual Communications/Asian American Studies Central, 1983. A stunning array of photographs, supported by a useful text, communicates the history of the largest mainland center of people of Japanese ancestry. In the prewar years, many future Manzanarians lived and/or worked in Los Angeles’s Little Tokyo district.


Nicholson, Herbert V. *Treasures in Earthen Vessels*. Whittier, Calif.: Penn Lithographics, 1974. Details the World War II experiences—including many visits of mercy to the Manzanar center—of a Society of Friends minister who, prior to World War II, had been a longtime missionary in Japan.


Robertson, Georgia Day. *The Harvest of Hate*. Fullerton, Calif.: Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 1986. This novel, written by a former teacher at the Poston War Relocation Center in Arizona, treats the Japanese American Evacuation through the experiences of one interned southern California family.


Shibutani, Tamotsu. *The Derelicts of Company K: A Sociological Study of Demoralization*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978. Written by a prominent sociologist who, during World War II was affiliated with the University of California, Berkeley-based Evacuation and Resettlement Study, this work studies the effect of demoralization on an underachieving Nisei military unit during World War II. It also insightfully compares and contrasts the behavior of Japanese Americans from the Hawaiian Islands and the mainland.


Tanaka, Chester. *Go for Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.* Richmond, Calif.: Go For Broke, 1982.


Wax, Rosalie Hankey. *Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971. The longest section of this book by a former anthropological field worker for the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study treats her experiences at the Gila Relocation Center and the Tule Lake Segregation Center (where she came into frequent contact with several ex-Manzanarians as informants).


Weglyn, Michi, and Betty E. Mitson. *Valiant Odyssey: Herbert Nicholson in and out of America’s Concentration Camps.* Upland, Calif.: Brunk’s Printing, 1978. In interviews, narrative, photographs, and letters, this volume relates the World War II experiences of this Society of Friends minister and prewar missionary to Japan. Focus is on his independent missions of mercy from Los Angeles to Manzanar as well as the WRA centers of Gila and Poston in Arizona.

**Articles**

Daniels, Roger. "The Japanese." In Higham, John, ed., *Ethnic Leadership in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 36-63. This overview of Japanese American history and culture by one of the leading scholars in this area devotes considerable attention to the wartime evacuation and incarceration experience, especially the political and social divisions at the Manzanar center.

Howard, Harry Paxton. "Americans in Concentration Camps." *The Crisis* 49 (September 1942): 281-284. Author provides an African American perspective on the Japanese American Evacuation, noting that color seemed to be the only possible reason why thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry were being placed in concentration camps like Manzanar (which is both discussed and depicted in photographs).

Matsumoto, Valerie. "Japanese American Women During World War II." *Frontiers* 8 (1984): 6-14. Author examines the lives of Japanese American women during the trying war years, focusing on the second generation, the Nisei, whose work and education she feels were most affected.


Opler, Marvin K. "Japanese Folk Beliefs and Practices, Tule Lake, California." *Journal of American Folklore* 63 (October-December 1950): 385-97. Former community analyst discusses revival of traditional Japanese folkloristic beliefs and practices between 1944 and 1946 in the context of the Tule Lake Segregation Center, where many former Manzanar internees were incarcerated owing to their alleged disloyalty.

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"Senryu Poetry as Folk and Community Expression." *Journal of American Folklore* 58 (January-March 1945): 1-11. Community analyst at Tule Lake Segregation Center discusses how the revival of traditional Japanese poetry expressed the interned Tule Lake community’s outlook during the turbulent period after it was converted in late 1943 from a WRA relocation center into a WRA segregation center for the allegedly disloyal population (which included many former Manzanarians).

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"Two Japanese Religious Sects." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6 (1950): 69-78. Former Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center community analyst reports, on the basis of his camp fieldnotes, data about 2 minor Japanese religions—an offshoot of Buddhism, the Gedatsu-kyo-kai cult; and a development out of popular shintoism, Kon-kwo-kyo cult—that flourished as part of a nativist revival of cultural forms and practices at the Tule Lake center, where many former Manzanarians were segregated as "disloyals" between 1944 and 1946.

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"A 'Sumo' Tournament at Tule Lake Center." *American Anthropologist* 47 (January-March 1945): 134-39. Based on a Japanese wrestling tournament held at the Tule Lake Segregation Center in June 1944, at a time when many Manzanarians had been transferred there because of their alleged disloyal status, this ethnographic report by the center’s community analyst has relevance because of the popularity of sumo in all of the WRA centers.

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Suzuki, Peter T. "The University of California Japanese Evacuation and Resettlement Study: A Prolegomenon." *Dialectical Anthropology* 10 (April 1986): 189-213. Anthropologist and former internee castigates the wartime work of the University of California-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study, a social science research project funded by several foundations and headed by sociologist Dorothy S. Thomas. The writings of two project investigators, Robert Spencer and Rosalie Hankey [Wax], are analyzed negatively on the basis of enculturated values. Hankey did field work at the Tule Lake Segregation Center, where many Manzanarians were interned on the basis of their response to a 1943 loyalty oath, that provided much of the data for the ERS’s flagship 1946 publication, *The Spoilage*, by Thomas and Richard Nishimoto.

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the article) that opened in 1990 at the Oakland Museum in Oakland, California, and featured oral history, artifacts, and photographs in interpreting a century of Japanese American women's experiences.

Turner, Stanton B. "Japanese-American Internment at Tule Lake, 1942-1946." Journal of the Shaw Historical Library 2 (Fall 1987): 1-34. Text is supplemented by extensive historical photographs and detailed references. Once the Tule Lake center was transformed from a relocation into a segregation center in late 1943, many Manzanarians deemed unloyal were interned there.


Wax, Rosalie H. "In and Out of Tule Lake Segregation Center: Japanese Internment in the West, 1942-1945." Montana: The Magazine of Western History 37 (Spring 1987): 12-25. Former field anthropologist at the Tule Lake Segregation Center for the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study reflects on the tempestuous period in which her field work was enacted. Former Manzanarians transferred to the Tule Lake facility, such as Joe Kurihara and Kinzo Ernest Wakayama, figure prominently in the events observed and interpreted by the author.

Theses and Dissertations


came from this central California Christian farming community—practically all of them were interned at the Amache camp in Colorado—but this fascinating historical ethnography reveals much about the prewar life of all Japanese Americans throughout California and the West Coast.


Sakoda, James M. "Minidoka: An Analysis of Changing Patterns of Social Interactions." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1949. The psychosocial behavior at the Minidoka center in Idaho that the author, a field researcher for the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study, describes and analyzes is parallel to that at Manzanar and the other WRA centers.

Shibutani, Tamotsu. "The Circulation of Rumors as a Form of Collective Behavior." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1948. Author's experience as a wartime researcher for the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study in Tanforan Assembly Center, Tule Lake Relocation Center, and in the Chicago area among resettled Japanese Americans provided strategic data for his sociological formulations.

_____. "Rumors in a Crisis Situation." Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1944. Based upon rumors that the author collected during the post-Pearl Harbor months within the West Coast Japanese American community.


Spencer, Robert F. "Japanese Buddhism in the United States, 1940-1946." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1946. University of California, Berkeley-based Evacuation and Resettlement Study field anthropologist spent 1942-1943 at the Gila center in Arizona. His observations there about the pattern of Buddhist beliefs and practices are relevant as well for the situation prevailing at all of the other WRA centers.

Tanaka, Stefan Akio. "The Nikkei on Bainbridge Island, 1883-1942: A Study of Migration and Community Development." Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1977. Provides useful background information on one of the earliest Japanese American communities to be excluded and detained at the Manzanar center, where they occupied several blocks until their relocation in early 1943 to the Minidoka center in Idaho.

Tashima, Nathaniel. "Amaeru: A Japanese American Context for Interdependence." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1985. Study discusses the Pomona Assembly Center in Los Angeles County which, like Manzanar, was populated heavily by Japanese Americans from the city of Los Angeles.


**AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS**

Photographic Collections

Visual Communications. Los Angeles, California. Archives contain the most comprehensive collection of photographs, films, videotapes, slides, and other visual material relative to Asian American studies and the Japanese American experience.

Sound Recordings


Films


United States in Europe and the Pacific while their families faced racism, discrimination, and internment at home. They became liberators of Nazi-oppressed people in Italy and France, and served as interpreters, propaganda agents, and combat intelligence gatherers against the Japanese in the Pacific area. Includes former Nikkei soldiers recalling their wartime experiences.


*Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo.* 27 min. San Francisco: Mouchette Films/Steven Okazaki, 1991. Biographical documentary about a Caucasian woman who was interned at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, based on her writing and art work. Film won Academy Award for best short documentary.

*From a Different Shore.* 1 hr. Los Angeles: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1993. Interviews with former internees; opening ceremonies of Manzanar reunion weekend.


*Nisei Soldier-Standard Bearer for an Exiled People.* 30 min. San Francisco: Vox Productions, 1984. Documentary on exploits of 100th/442d Regimental Combat Team during World War II.


Title from cassette label. Unedited copy. Sponsored by the Asian American Studies Center, UCLA, and the Asian American Studies program of the Department of Ethnic Studies, UCB.


Without Due Process. 55 min. Redding, Calif.: Jerry Griffiths/KIXE-TV, 1990. Documentary with archival footage and interviews produced for California Department of Education. Due to protests from Asian American community, film was rejected by the state. Griffiths was allowed to keep rights to film and to distribute it.


ORAL HISTORIES


California State Archives. State Government Oral History Project. Sacramento, Calif. Includes a lengthy 1989 taped interview with Paul T. Bannai done through the Oral History Program at the Claremont Graduate School. The bound transcript, entitled Oral History with Paul T. Bannai, covers Bannai's family background, World War II internment at the Manzanar center, volunteer service in the 442d Regimental Combat Team, and role as an interpreter in the Pacific Theater. It also covers Bannai's postwar business career as a realtor in Gardena, California, his election to the California Assembly, his brief service as executive director of the Commission of Wartime Relocation of Civilians, and his 1981-1986 stint as chief director of the Memorial Affairs Department of the Veterans Administration in the Memorial Affairs Department of Washington, D.C.

Chicago Japanese American Historical Society. War Relocation Authority Resettlement Program. Chicago, Ill. Files include 50 oral interviews (English and Japanese translated into English) with internees from Manzanar and other WRA centers who resettled in Chicago.
Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles. Oral History Program. Los Angeles, Calif. Houses a substantial 1971 interview with John F. Aiso, a distinguished Nisei associated with the Los Angeles area who during World War II directed the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Service Language School. The interview, completed under the auspices of the UCLA Oral History and bound under the title of *Observations of a California Nisei*, discusses Aiso's childhood in Los Angeles, his military service, and his postwar judicial career in Southern California as a superior court judge. Additionally, there is a substantial interview with Carey McWilliams, the edited transcript of which is bound as *Honorable in All Things: The Memoirs of Carey McWilliams* (1982). Therein McWilliams, author of *Prejudice: Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (1944) and longtime editor of *The Nation*, discusses his life as a writer and social reformer in Los Angeles and New York, including his involvement with the Japanese American Evacuation and the Manzanar center.

Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton. Japanese American Project. Fullerton, Calif. Includes tapes and transcripts of interviews with many southern California Japanese Americans, attending particularly to their World War II experiences.


**PERIODICALS**

*Kashu Mainichi [Japan-California Daily News]*. Los Angeles, Calif. ca. 1931-. This Los Angeles vernacular began publishing an English-language section from its beginning as a newspaper. Several Manzanarians, including *Manzanar Free Press* editor Roy Takeno and Manzanar documentary historian Togo Tanaka, were affiliated with this newspaper during the prewar period.

*Pacific Citizen*. San Francisco, Calif.; Salt Lake City, Ut.; and Los Angeles, Calif. 1930-. Official newspaper of Japanese American Citizens League. Feature articles and obituaries are regularly devoted to former Manzanar internees.

*Rafu Shimpō [Los Angeles Japanese Daily News]*. Los Angeles, California. 1903-. Founded in 1903, the weekly English sections first appeared on 21 February 1926 and became a daily feature on 11 January 1932. Togo Tanaka, who was interned at Manzanar, was the English-section editor from 1936 until 1942.

*Tozai Times*. Los Angeles, California. 1983-. Monthly tabloid gives extensive coverage to Japanese American life in southern California, including numerous articles featuring the history of the Manzanar center and the activities of its former internees.
GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Members of the 442nd Combat Team. *The Story of the 442nd Combat Team*. N.p.: Education Section, MTOUSA, n.d. Details the story of the segregated Japanese American combat team and the battles in Italy and France in which they participated.

*Papers of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Frederick, Md.: 1984. The microfilm edition of the public testimony provided by nearly 700 Japanese and Japanese American internees, government officials, and others before the commission in its 1981 hearings held in cities around the United States.


U.S. Headquarters Western Defense Command. "Public Proclamation No. 21." San Francisco, 17 December 1944. 3-page typed. Press release by Major General H. G. Pratt rescinding Public Proclamation Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11; also Civilian Exclusion Orders 1-100 opening up the West Coast to Japanese and Japanese Americans.

U.S. Office of War Information. "War Relocation Authority Press Release." Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943. 6-page typed report. WRA Director, Dillon Myer, reporting on activities at Tule Lake Segregation Center between November 1 and 4, 1943, gives background of what groups were sent there.

U.S. War Relocation Authority. Press Branch, War Department. "100th Battalion Has Fought on Virtually All Fronts in Italy." 1-page, typed, press release. Location and description of battles in which 100th Battalion participated in; citation received from Lt. Gen. Mark Clark; decorations received; all-Japanese American unit.

**MANUSCRIPT AND RECORD COLLECTIONS**

**Manuscripts**


Cannon-Walker Family. "Papers." 1891-1950. 3 linear ft. Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific. Series 3 contains research materials and a draft of Donald B. Walker's "Race Relations and Specialty Crops: A History of San Joaquin County Agriculture, 1900-1925" (1992). The Cannon-Walker family have been active in mining, agriculture, and public affairs in California since 1860. They are represented in this collection by the papers of men from three generations: Marion Cannon, 1834-1920; Marion R. Walker, 1915-; and Donald B. Walker, Ph.D., 1941-.

Hirakawa, Kihachi. "Papers." 1897-1940. 0.5 ft. Special Collections Department, Library, University of Washington. Autobiography, sermons, and letters, relating to Hirakawa's activities at Port Blakely Mill Company, 1890-1905; Japanese Baptist Church, Seattle, 1905-1908; William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo., 1914-1918; Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Ill., 1919-1922; Tacoma Baptist Mission, 1923-1925; and as founder of Winslow Japanese Baptist Church, Bainbridge Island, Washington, in 1925. Several blocks at Manzanar in 1942 were constituted of Bainbridge Island Japanese Americans.


Seko Family. "Papers." 1937-1982. 1.5 ft. Special Collections Department, Library, University of Washington. Biographical material, correspondence, financial records, writings, books, and ephemera. This Japanese American family operated Bainbridge Gardens, a nursery on
Bainbridge Island, Washington, until they were evacuated during World War II to the Manzanar center.

Wax, Rosalie H. "Field Notes and Reports Concerning the Tule Lake Relocation Center." 1944-1945. Typescript. 3 boxes. 1.25 linear ft. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Anthropologist Wax retained carbon copies of these papers from which she later made an edited set. Wax was a field worker at Tule Lake from February 1944 to May 1945 on the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study, which was directed by the sociologist Dorothy Swaine Thomas. Wax's notes record statements, mostly verbatim, of approximately 30 Japanese Americans she visited weekly or fortnightly (at least one, Joe Kurihara, was a former Manzanarian), giving their views and opinions on current, past, and future events. Also recorded, some verbatim, are interviews with members of the administrative staff of the War Relocation Authority (including Assistant Director Paul Roberson, who was a close associate of several former Manzanarians interned at the Tule Lake Segregation Center). Wax described what she saw and heard as she walked about camp or attended classes, staff meetings, or Japanese ceremonies. Until 2008, permission of the Director of The Bancroft Library is required for access. Those granted access are required to protect the confidentiality of individual names, and photocopying is prohibited without special arrangement.

Records

Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Records. 1941-1953. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Consists primarily of surplus copies of War Relocation Authority documents (including publications, staff papers, reports, correspondence, memoranda, press releases, photographs, films, etc.) and materials collected and/or generated by the Evacuation and Resettlement Study. ERS was directed by University of California, Berkeley, sociologist Dorothy Swaine Thomas and staffed largely by U.C. Berkeley social-science graduate students (Japanese American and non-Japanese American). Although Manzanar was not one of the main ERS research sites, participant-observers were stationed at that center and submitted a few reports. Nonetheless, the work done at the Tule Lake center, where many Manzanarians resided after its transformation from a WRA relocation center into a segregation center, and the other principal ERS research sites (Minidoka, in Idaho; Gila and Poston, in Arizona) produced documentation that is of considerable value to understanding events and people at Manzanar.

Japanese American Research Project. Collections. Ca. 1866-present. Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Includes fairly complete files of selected Japanese-language newspapers on the mainland and in Hawaii; five sets of diaries (101 volumes); books written by Issei (about 250 volumes); relocation center newspapers and periodicals; personal papers and memoirs of Japanese families; Japanese Foreign Ministry archival materials relating to emigration to the United States (about 50 reels); and oral history tapes on which the project staff have recorded the recollections of more than 300 Issei, Nisei, and others involved in the wartime internment
experience (about 300 reels). All of the collections are housed in Special Collections, with the exception of the newspaper collection housed in the newspaper stacks in the Powell Library, the books written in Japanese by Issei, which have been incorporated into the Oriental Library holdings, and the Japanese Foreign Ministry archival materials documented on microfilm in the Microform Reading Service in the Research Library. A very useful collection pertaining to Manzanar is the Frank F. Chuman Papers. Chuman served as the director of the Manzanar hospital during World War II and in the postwar years wrote a legal history of Japanese Americans for the Japanese American Research Project, *The Bamboo People*. This collection includes: correspondence, speeches, business papers, minutes, legal documents and case papers, cassette tapes, and research material regarding Chuman’s activity in the Japanese American Citizens League and the Japanese American Research Project.

U.S. War Relocation Authority. *Carey McWilliams Collection*, 1942–1946. Department of Special Collections, Honnold-Mudd Library, Claremont Colleges. Assorted WRA publications. The most significant holding is the annotated bibliography covering all of the reports prepared by social scientists in the 10 camps for the agency’s Community Analysis Section. Additionally, there is a variety of documentation—e.g., correspondence (some with Manzanar internees), book reviews of works on Japanese American history and the internment experience, newspaper clippings—associated with Carey McWilliams’s 1944 publication *Prejudice: Japanese Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance*.

**ARTIFACTS AND EPHEMERA**

**Artifacts**

Japanese American National Museum. Los Angeles, Calif. Opened in 1992 in a historic church in the heart of the Little Tokyo district of Los Angeles, this museum’s growing collection includes a variety of artifacts, a still and motion picture archive, and an extensive library of oral histories, books, and papers.

**Ephemera**


WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

REFERENCE SOURCES


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books


Issei, Nisei, Kibei: Fortune Magazine Reviews the Program of the War Relocation Authority and the Problems Created by the Evacuation from the West Coast of 110,000 People of Japanese Descent. New York: Time, 1944.


Spicer, Edward H. et al., Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1969. Written by the head of the Community Analysis Section of the WRA and three other members of that unit who did field work among Japanese Americans within WRA centers during World War II.


Articles

Bloom, Leonard. "Prisonization and the WRA Camps." Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society (1943), in Research Studies of the State College of Washington 12 (1944), 29-34. Author compares prison and camp life against Donald E. Clemmer's concept of "prisonization"; concludes that prisonization is a societal phenomenon, not a legalistic one, and the concept is applicable to situations, like the WRA centers, where criminality is not a factor and indeed where legal considerations are in doubt.

Bogardus, Emory S. "Culture Conflicts in Relocation Centers." Sociology and Social Research 27 (May 1943): 381-90. A distinguished University of Southern California sociologist acquainted with many internees at the Manzanar center provides a wartime perspective on a problem endemic to all of the WRA facilities.

_____. "Relocation Centers as Planned Communities." Sociology and Social Research 28 (January 1944): 218-34. Discussion relates chiefly to the WRA centers during their first
year of operation and encompasses the topics of housing, food, employment, business, education, religion, welfare, citizenship, and resettlement.

Danovitch, Sylvia E. "The Past Recaptured? The Photographic Record of the Internment of Japanese Americans." *Prolonge* 12 (2, 1980): 91-103. Value of photographs as historical documents is discussed through an analysis of the 12,500 WRA photographs housed at the National Archives. Article, replete with photographs and notes, clarifies the rationale for the WRA photography program and emphasizes images of the Manzanar and Tule Lake camps.


Spicer, Edward H. "The Use of Social Scientists by the War Relocation Authority." *Applied Anthropology* 5 (Spring 1946): 16-36. Former head of Community Analysis Section and distinguished anthropologist discusses the origins, rationale, and development of the WRA’s
employment of social scientists to facilitate the governance of its ten centers for interned Japanese Americans.

Spickard, Paul R. "Injustice Compounded: Amerasians and Non-Japanese Americans in World War II Concentration Camps." Journal of American Ethnic History 5 (2, 1986): 5-22. Demonstrates that thousands of non-Japanese Americans, primarily the spouses and children of Japanese Americans, were imprisoned in detention camps during World War II, in direct contradiction to federal policy, until the WRA gave them the option of release in 1943.

Starn, Orin. "Engineering Internment: Anthropologists and the War Relocation Authority." American Ethnologist 13 (November 1986): 700-20. Describes the involvement of ethnographers in the 10 WRA centers, noting their good intentions of improving camp conditions and defusing anti-Japanese public opinion as well as the largely unintended effects their writings had in legitimating relocation and promoting racial stereotypes.

_____. "A Retrospective Analysis of a Wartime 'National Character' Study." Dialectical Anthropology 5 (1980): 33-46. Contends that the head of the Community Analysis Section at the Topaz War Relocation Center, anthropologist Weston LaBarre, prepared a 1945 article in the journal Psychiatry on the Japanese national character—based upon very scanty fieldwork in the Utah camp—that owed more to ideology than social-scientific inquiry.

Wollenberg, Charles. "Schools Behind Barbed Wired." California Historical Quarterly 55 (3, 1976): 210-17. Surveys, through an analysis of contemporary written and visual sources, the public school system set up by the WRA during World War II for the 25,000 Japanese American school-age children. Contends that despite imprisonment because of race and shortcomings in the schools, most Nisei remained committed to the ideals of assimilation and education.

Theses and Dissertations


Blanchard, William Chandler. "A Thematic Analysis of Administration in a Cross Cultural Situation: An Inquiry into the Relationship of Themes to Social Action." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1952. Based on data generated by the Bureau of Sociological Research at the Poston center in Arizona during 1942-1943, the author applies the conceptual tool of thematic analysis developed in 1945 by anthropologist Morris Opler (the head of the Community Analysis Section at Manzanar and a postwar Cornell professor) to study the "culture" of the WRA administrators.

War II." Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1980. Manzanar is one of the centers assayed as to internee responses during policy formation and implementation phases of 2 major WRA programs: community government and mandatory registration.

Jackman, Norman Richard. "Collective Protests in Relocation Centers." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1955. This sociological study, directed by former Evacuation and Resettlement Study staff member Tamotsu Shibutani, analyzes both the causes of dissent within the WRA centers and the administrative responses to it. Manzanar is given extensive treatment by the author.

Light, Jerome T. "The Development of a Junior-Senior High School Program in a Relocation Program for People of Japanese Ancestry During the War with Japan." Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1947. Author maintains that the WRA program for teaching democracy, Americanism, and assimilation in schools that were planned to be "community schools" was successfully implemented in the camps.


Regalado, Samuel O. "Incarcerated Sport: The Experience of Nisei Women and Recreational Activities within the Internment Camps." Master's Thesis, California State University, Stanislaus, 1991. Observes that while the WRA encouraged recreational activities, many internees—including those at Manzanar—needed little prodding in the pursuit of sport. The "block" system lent itself to community teams, and intense rivalries, some carried over from pre-camp existence, again emerged. Camp officials, for the most part, directed much of their attention toward males. However, women, too, participated in such sports as basketball, softball, and volleyball. For the Nisei women, participation in sports helped to build and expand on newfound freedom from family constraints and cultural roles.

Sady, Rachel Reese. "The Function of Rumors in Relocation Centers." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1947. Utilizing data collected by the Community Analysis Section of the War Relocation Authority, which placed social-scientific analysts in each WRA camp, the author—herself an analyst for a brief time at the Jerome center in Arkansas—tests the thesis that rumors functioned in the centers to express basic anxieties. Directed by the former head of the Community Analysis Section, Edward Spicer, the study relies heavily on the documentation provided by Manzanar analyst Morris Opler.

Turner, Albert Blythe. "The Origins and Development of the War Relocation Authority." Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1967. Author argues that the conflict between federal officials in the executive branch of the U.S. government and the anti-Japanese pressure groups and politicians, primarily on the West Coast, resulted both in the creation of the WRA and in a kind of compromise in formulating policies and administering the relocation process. He concludes that, had Japanese Americans been treated as the pressure groups wished, they would have suffered more indignities than was the case under the WRA’s sympathetic program at Manzanar and the other nine centers.


Wax, Rosalie Hankey. "The Development of Authoritarianism: A Comparison of the Japanese-American Relocation Centers and Germany." The author, based upon field work done for the University of California, Berkeley-sponsored Evacuation and Resettlement Study at the Gila and Tule Lake centers, concludes that resistance activity followed a pattern akin to what occurred during the transformation of the Weimar Republic into the Third Reich.


ORAL HISTORIES

California State University, Fullerton. Oral History Program. Japanese American Project. Fullerton, Calif. Contains tapes and transcripts of interviews with a number of former WRA officials, including three individuals who served as assistant directors at Manzanar (Lucy Adams, Robert Brown, and Ned Campbell). Another interview is with Paul Robertson, wartime director of the Leupp Isolation Center and assistant director of the Tule Lake Segregation Center—both of which held former Manzanar internees.

Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Earl Warren Oral History Project. Berkeley, Calif. Included are tapes and transcripts of interviews with selected U.S. government officials impinging upon the Manzanar center as well as ones with individuals significant to that site’s administration and documentation like Dillon Myer, WRA director, and Dorothea Lange, a WRA photographer.

U.S. National Archives and Records Service. Dillon Seymour Myer. Washington, D.C. Myer, interviewed by an unidentified NBC newsman in 1943, discusses the relocation of approximately 110,000 Japanese-Americans from the West Coast to 10 relocation centers in 7 states.
GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS


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MANUSCRIPT AND RECORD COLLECTIONS

Manuscripts


Doub. "Papers." 1930-1973. 6 cubic feet. American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. Collection contains manuscripts and related materials for speeches and articles by Doub, a small amount of correspondence, legal files (including briefs), newspaper clippings, and photographs. As an assistant attorney general in charge of the civil and claims divisions of the U.S. Department of Justice from 1956 to 1961, Doub was involved in the redress of claims by Japanese Americans arising from their wartime evacuation and internment.


Light, Jerome T. "Jerome T. Light Papers. 1942-1948. 2 boxes. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Covers educational program at the Minidoka center in Idaho where Light was a WRA employee.


Service, the War Relocation Authority, the Federal Public Housing Authority, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

**Records**


_____. "Pertinent Facts about the War Relocation Authority." 1944. N.p. Typescript. Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles. Speech by Dillon S. Myer, WRA director, before Los Angeles Town Hall on August 21, 1944 covers the operation of the WRA, the policy of segregation, the Manzanar Riot of December 6, 1942, and the assorted Tule Lake disturbances.

_____. Records. 1941-1947. 2,990 cubic ft. National Archives, Washington, D.C. This record group (Record Group 210) includes headquarters records, 1941-1947 (3,458 linear ft.), field records, 1942-1946 (344 linear ft.), records of other agencies, such as the Wartime Civil Control Administration, 1942-1947 (2 linear ft. and 60 rolls of microfilm), and audiovisual records, 1942-1945 (12,632 items).

_____. Records. 1942-1946. 9 ft. and 4 reels. Special Collections, Library, University of Arizona. Contains correspondence, reports, publications, photographs, and other papers from the files of Edward H. Spicer, head of WRA's Community Analysis Section. (Also included are selected documents relating to the Gila River Relocation Center in Arizona.) The largest group of material encompasses Community Analysis Section reports from the individual WRA centers for Japanese Americans plus the facility the WRA operated in Oswego, N.Y. for war refugees from southern Europe. The next largest group of materials is comprised of official WRA pamphlets, as well as typescript studies by various WRA personnel, including Spicer. These studies are often concerned with sociological issues such as racism, the effects of center life on the evacuees, and their attitudes about Japan. Incoming and outgoing correspondence relates both to Spicer and John F. Embree, Spicer's predecessor as head of the Community Analysis Section, and Dillon S. Myer, WRA national director. Some letters are from the community analysts informally reporting events at the different relocation centers. Statistic reports include relocations by state, and returns to the West Coast by city. Government documents relate to House and Senate bills and resolutions, cases before the Supreme Court, the administration of alien property, and hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among the miscellaneous items are maps, organizational charts, the official administrative manual, information on Buddhism, transcripts of speeches and radio broadcasts, bibliographic citations, and poetry written by internees at the WRA centers. Black-and-white photographs are well-identified by place.
photographer, subject, and often individuals' names. They depict the centers, WRA officials, soldiers of the all-Japanese American 442nd Combat Team at Camp Shelby, Miss., and center residents engaged in resettlement, work, educational, and social activities.


UNITED STATES ARMY

REFERENCE SOURCES


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books


Articles

Fox, Stephen C. "General John DeWitt and the Proposed Internment of German and Italian Aliens During World War II." *Pacific Historical Review* 57 (4, 1988): 407-38. Based chiefly on the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians Papers, War Department and other U.S. government document collections, and interviews, the author notes that the attack on Pearl Harbor was received by Americans with great apprehension. Among the reactions was the internment of Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. There was also considerable thought given to treating the thousands of German and Italian aliens in the United States in like fashion. The most persistent, though unsuccessful, advocate of such a sweeping internment policy was Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, commanding general of the Western Defense Command.

Grodzins, Morton. "Making Un-Americans." *American Journal of Sociology* 60 (May 1955): 570-82. Former assistant director of U.C. Berkeley's Evacuation and Resettlement Study and author of *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (1949) contends that the War Department prompted declarations of "disloyalty" from internees when it conducted a registration of the adult camp population in early 1943 and asked interned Americans of Japanese ancestry if they were willing to forswear allegiance to the Japanese emperor.
Kashima, Tetusden. "American Mistreatment of Internees During World War II: Enemy Alien Japanese." In Daniels, Roger, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds., Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 52-56. Covers the incarceration and internment of the Japanese enemy aliens, focusing on some abuses, threats of physical harm, physical beatings, shootings, and actual killings that occurred in some of the 34 detention stations and camps created by the Justice Department and the military to house them.

**Theses and Dissertations**


Clark, Paul F. "Those Other Camps: An Oral History Analysis of Japanese Alien Enemy Internment during World War II." Master's thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1980. Studies the network of camps operated by the Department of Justice and the U.S. Army that confined Japanese alien enemies, as well as other Axis nationals, considered "potentially dangerous." Many of the internees at these facilities, after being cleared through hearings, were transferred to WRA centers such as Manzanar. This study includes an interview with Tom I. Yamamoto who ended up working in Manzanar's general store after his transfer to that camp from the internment center in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

**ORAL HISTORIES**

Bancroft Library. Oral History Collection. University of California, Berkeley. The Regional Oral History Office published a 2-volume work, Japanese-American Relocation Reviewed, based upon interviews it did between 1969 and 1976 with officials, including military personnel, involved in the evacuation of people of Japanese ancestry from the California coastal area to inland internment centers during World War II.

California State University, Fullerton. Oral History Program. Japanese American Project. Fullerton, Calif. Contains several interviews with former members of the military police stationed at the Tule Lake Segregation Center in California, where ex-Manzanarians deemed disloyal were incarcerated after the Army and the War Relocation Authority administered a controversial loyalty registration for adult internees in 1943 at all 10 of the WRA camps. There are also a few interviews in the collection with former administrators, including Richard S. Dockum, at Army-run alien enemy internment camps, such as that located at Lordsburg, New Mexico.
PERIODICALS


---, *Manzanar Semry*. 1942-1945. Provides coverage of the activities of the Army's military police escort company charged with external security for the Manzanar War Relocation Center in California.


GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS


Korematsu, Fred. *In the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1943, no. Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu, Petitioner (Appellant Below), vs. United States of America, Respondent . . .* San Francisco, Calif.: J. H. Ralston, 1943. Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu was arrested on May 30, 1942, for violating the Army's exclusion order for people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast. He then became a test case to challenge the forced removal of Japanese Americans from the designated military zone established by Army proclamation. On December 18, 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Korematsu's conviction by a 6 to 3 vote.


---, *Western Defense Command and Fourth Army Proclamations, Exclusion, Restrictive Orders and Collateral Documents*. Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Office of Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division. San Francisco, Calif.: Wartime Civil Control Administration, 1942.


**MANUSCRIPT AND RECORD COLLECTIONS**

**Manuscripts**

Cook, Lyle E. "Lyle E. Cook Papers." 1938-1945. 1 box. U.S. Army Military Institute, Penn. Contains personal correspondence (1942-1962); official correspondence (1938-1945); lectures (1942-1962); a magazine (1942); clippings (1941-1973). Official correspondence includes Public Proclamations and Civilian Exclusion Orders prepared by the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army regarding the internment and release of Pacific Coast Japanese Americans, the California Preservation League, and martial law in the Territory of Hawaii. Lectures include one prepared by then Attorney General of California Earl Warren on martial rule. The magazine contains Cook's article on General John DeWitt's Japanese-American internment proclamation. Clippings about Executive Order 9066 dated December 12, 1941. Cook served as an army officer with the ranks of captain (1942) through lieutenant colonel (1945). In March 1945 he was assigned to the Western Defense Command, Review and Hearing Board Section.

Executive Order 9066 records. 1942-1945. 1 box. California Historical Society. Official compilation of military orders, notices, and directives, including supporting data, concerning the relocation of Japanese Americans, promulgated in the name of the commanding officer of the 4th Army at the Presidio. Includes extensive statistical analyses of the Japanese population of the West Coast, prepared by the Army, all exclusion orders, press releases, maps, and posters.

Tomita, Hideo H. Correspondence. 1942-1945. 170 items. Oregon Historical Society. Letters from Tomita to Cora B. Oliver, his former teacher, describing his experiences being evacuated from Portland to a relocation camp in Idaho, U.S. Army basic training, and life at the front in Italy and France. Served with the U.S. Army 442d Infantry Regiment in Europe during World War II.

**Records**


OWENS VALLEY

REFERENCE SOURCES


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Alexander, Joseph A. The Life of George Chaffey: A Story of Irrigation Beginnings in California and Australia. Melbourne: Macmillan and Co., 1928. Focused mainly on Chaffey's Australian developments, it briefly discusses the Owens Valley venture (Owens Valley Improvement Company) at Manzanar and the resulting litigation with the City of Los Angeles over the water rights to Cottonwood Creek.

Austin, Mary. Earth Horizon. 1932. Reprint. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991. Book Four of her autobiography details Austin's years in the Owens Valley, including 1893, when the Austins lived at George's Creek. Descriptions of the Indians there offer a unique literary perspective of their culture.

Bettinger, Robert L. The Archaeology of Pinyon House, Two Eagles, and Crater Middens: Three Residential Sites in Owens Valley, Eastern California. Anthropological Papers of the
American Museum of Natural History No. 67. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1989. These Paiute sites in the Big Pine area provide a comparative analysis with reference to elevation and stream and forest proximity for the Manzanar site.


Chalfant, W. A. The Story of Inyo. Rev. ed. Bishop, Calif.: Chalfant Press, 1933. The first written history of the Owens Valley and still an essential source for its geology, early history of the Paiutes and conflicts with white settlers, and political and social developments. Chalfant's sources include both documents and individual recollections which are now lost. Added chapters on the land purchases in the revised edition are vociferously anti-Los Angeles and contrast with the attitude of calm and goodwill towards the aqueduct which characterized the final chapters of the first edition and which prevailed in the valley until the second round of land purchases began in the early 1920s. Contains no notes, index, or bibliography.


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DeDecker, Mary. Mines of the Eastern Sierra. Glendale, Calif.: La Siesta Press, 1966. Despite the absence of footnotes and lack of historical context, this work by a local author is the only one to describe the development of the rich strikes in eastern California.

Earl, Guy Chaffee. The Enchanted Valley and Other Sketches. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1976. The author spent his boyhood in the Oak Creek area near Independence and went on to become a regent of the University of California. His sketches of going to the Owens Valley and his friendships with the Indians and other aspects of life there, 1865-1922, are warmly and descriptively conveyed.


Garrett, Jessie A. and Ronald C. Larson, eds. Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley. Fullerton: California State University, Japanese American Oral History Project, 1977. Short interviews with residents of the Owens Valley communities relative to their reactions to the World War II Manzanar internment camp and the placing of a controversial commemorative plaque there in 1973. Includes an in-depth interview with Robert L. Brown, former Manzanar reports officer and assistant project director, who was involved in the negotiations that led to the siting of the camp in the Owens Valley. Historical and contemporary photographs and documents, as well as a critical introductory essay, grace this contested volume, though it lacks maps, a bibliography, and an index.

Gorman, John. I Remember Manzanar. Bishop, Calif.: Pinon Press, 1967. This small volume of personal recollections by the farm superintendent for the DWP properties at Manzanar, 1929-1935, includes descriptions of community life, operations of the orchards and packing house. Also useful is the final chapter which reveals the author's mind set towards the Japanese camp. Numerous inconsistencies of chronology and detail are apparent when compared with other sources.

Inyo County Board of Supervisors. Inyo, 1866-1966. Bishop, Calif.: Chalfant Press, 1966. Contributing authors write on a broad range of subjects relative to the county's one-hundred-year history. Of interest are the articles on Indians, Camp Independence, mining, county formation, railroads, Mary Austin, agriculture, City of Los Angeles, livestock. Contains historic photographs.

Inyo Register. Inyo County, California, Anno Domini 1912: Beautiful Owens Valley. Bishop, Calif: Inyo Register, 1912. Excellent primary document for its descriptions and photographs of early Owens Valley climate, agriculture, commerce, irrigation, transportation, and
development of individual communities. Includes a lengthy section on the Manzanar agricultural area.


Kahrl, William. *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. This analytical work examines the Owens Valley water controversy in detail. In tracing the development of irrigation in the Owens Valley, the author discusses the Chaffey development at Manzanar briefly within the context of appropriation of water rights by the City of Los Angeles. Also interesting is the author’s discussion of the camp experience in a context of valley attitudes towards the City of Los Angeles. Though tinged with an anti-City of Los Angeles bias and containing numerous inconsistencies and factual errors, it is among the most valuable sources on the topic.


McGrath, Roger D. *Gunfighters, Highwaymen and Vigilantes: Violence on the Frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. In Chapter 2, McGrath recounts in detail the Anglo-Indian conflict in the Owens Valley, drawing upon a variety of primary sources, including accounts in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Post*. His rich descriptions and analysis make this an excellent source for this part of the valley’s history.


Riddell, Harry S. *The Archaeology of a Paiute Village Site in Owens Valley.* Papers on California Archaeology No. 15. Berkeley: University of California, 1951. The site is in Cottonwood Canyon, south of Manzanar.


Southern Inyo American Association of Retired Persons. *Saga of Inyo County.* Covina, Calif.: Taylor Publishing Co., 1977. Large anthology of recollections by Owens Valley residents is an invaluable primary source for its broad spectrum of informative descriptions, observations, and cultural contextual material on life in early Inyo County. Relevant subjects are Paiute life, the Manzanar agricultural area, reflections on the camp.


Owens Valley communities, including those of the native Paiutes, are examined from pre-contact to the present and analyzed in the context of conflict and accommodation to the influences and hegemony outside the local society. Attitudes of the local population toward the camp are examined. Also valuable is the discussion of Indian culture and labor. This is a seminal source for the valley's social and cultural history.


Articles


Bettinger, Robert L. "The Development of Pinon Exploitation in Central Eastern California." Journal of California Anthropology 3 (1, 1976): 81-95. Discusses timing and development of procurement system for nuts of the pinon tree, a staple of the Paiute diet. This activity relates to the formation of social structures and migratory patterns.


Bouey, Paul D. "Population Pressure and Agriculture in Owens Valley." Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology 1 (1, 1979): 162-70. Population of aboriginal culture in Owens Valley was an important but not direct cause in the development of agriculture there.

Dykstra, Clarence A. "Owens Valley: A Problem in Regional Planning." *Community Builder* 1 (February 1928): 9-12. A former Water and Power Bureau member, Dykstra suggests two plans for the Owens Valley following the takeover of most of its land by the City of Los Angeles in the 1920s. The article indicates the city's desire both to protect its watershed and landholdings and to "rehabilitate" the area's economy.

Finlay, Harold. "Los Angeles Makes Hay in the Owens Valley." *Los Angeles Times Farm and Orchard Magazine*, 13 June 1926. This in-depth article explains the reasons behind Los Angeles's policy of maintaining the orchards and farms at Manzanar following its buy out of most properties, and its ambitious program of leasing land back to the farmers.

Grosscup, G. L. "Notes on Boundaries and Culture of the Panamint Shoshone and Owens Valley Paiute." *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility*, No. 35 (1977), 109-50. Discusses differing views and criteria for determining boundaries (in southern Owens Valley) and interaction between the two groups.


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"Joseph Barlow Lippincott and the Owens Valley Controversy: Time for Revision." *Southern California Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1972): 239-54. Hoffman's discussion of the historiographic controversy surrounding the Owens Valley-aqueduct conflict and his survey of works to date on the topic, both in the text and footnotes, make this article a useful complement to other sources.

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"The Los Angeles Aqueduct Investigation Board of 1912: A Reappraisal." *Southern California Quarterly* 62 (4, 1980): 329-60. Describes the efforts of the Los Angeles Aqueduct Investigation Board to find malfeasance and graft in the construction of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Aqueduct. The board noted minor irregularities, but found no evidence of graft. The arguments surrounding the investigation left a residue of bitterness in the city and polarized aqueduct supporters and critics.

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"Owens Valley Asks Right to Live, In 6-Point Plan." Owens Valley Progress-Citizen, 20 March 1936. Ralph Merritt, then member of Inyo Associates, offers plan to DWP for co-existence, following its buy-out of Owens Valley properties.


"Sod Land Versus Sagebrush: Early Land Appraisal and Pioneer Settlement in an Arid Intermountain Frontier." *Journal of Historical Geography* 15 (4, 1989): 402-19. An analysis of the relationship between land cover and early land selections in Owens Valley, California, indicates that the valley's grasslands were initially favored over sagebrush-covered habitats. It later became apparent that sagebrush land was often equally productive and more easily worked than sod land. The delayed "sagebrush settlement" in the arid intermountain West parallels the delayed "prairie settlement" process documented in humid environments.

Smythe, William E. "The Social Significance of the Owens River Project." *Out West* 23 (October 1905): 443-53. In this article, Smythe explains the need for irrigation waters to be directed towards the great cities of the future, thus dooming communities such as Manzanar.

Van Norman, Blanche. "George's Creek." *Inyo Register*, 11 March 1948. Local historian describes the area just south of Manzanar and recalls its early families, many of whom later moved to Manzanar.

Von Blon, John L. "Los Angeles Finds Farming a Hard Game." *Los Angeles Times Farm and Orchard Magazine*, 20 November 1927. This largely pictorial article depicts Manzanar farming area after it had been taken over by the City of Los Angeles and describes how the city continued to operate the farms and orchards formerly owned by the Owens Valley Improvement Company.


"The Isaac Harris Family of Independence, Inyo County, California." *Western States Jewish History* 19 (October 1986): 32-37. This and the preceding article provides details about Inyo County Jewish families, their hotel and general store business successes and civic and Masonic involvements, 1870-1947.

"Jap Resettlement Camp for Valley." *Inyo Independent*, 6 March 1942. This and related articles, including editorial comment, provided first news of camp to valley residents.

This article provides details about Inyo County market owner’s business experiences and civic involvements, 1870-1947.

**Theses and Dissertations**


Michael, William. "At the Plow and in the Harvest Field: Indian Conflict and Accommodation in the Owens Valley, 1860-1880." Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1993. Examines the development of Indian wage labor system unique to the Owens Valley which enabled the Paiutes to end conflict with the white settlers and selectively adopt elements of white culture while retaining desired elements of their own native culture. Indian groups at George’s Creek and Shepherd Ranch are cited.


AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

Maps


_____. Lone Pine to Bridgeport, California. Los Angeles: The Club, [1943?]. Scale ca. 1:250,000.

_____. Lone Pine to Bridgeport, California. Los Angeles: The Club, [1952?]. Scale ca. 1:250,000.

California. State Board of Equalization. Land Identification Map. No. 872-14-23: Right of Way and Track Map, Mina Branch of Central Pacific Railway Company Operated By Southern Pacific Company. N.p., N.p., ca 1925. Scale: 1"=400'. Map includes the line between Township 13 & 14 South, Range 36 East, MDBM, and identifies right of way, road crossings, stations, and railroad facilities, including those at the Manzanar station.


_____. Historical Land Title Map of Owens Valley-South Half. N.p.: N.p., 1960. Scale: 1"=2000'. Shown are entry dates from 1905, dates of patent to private owners and City of Los Angeles, lands involved in Indian Exchange, boundaries and dates of purchases by City of Los Angeles, boundaries of water rights acquisition only.

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**Manzanar Irrigated Farms, Inyo County, California.** Los Angeles: Van Bokken Bros., 1910. Plan of early subdivisions of Chaffey project; shows lot numbers, acreage.


Ritch, P. E. and J. E. Phillips, comps. *Book T6S to T14S of Maps Showing Classification and City Ownership of Lands in Owens River Valley.* Los Angeles: DWP, 1931. Pages by section name property dimensions, owners, and selling price at time of purchase by City of Los Angeles (1906-1930). Also shown is land use, location of fences, wells, ditches, roads, and other aspects of built environment, excluding structures. Volume cited includes Manzanar area.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. *Irrigation Map of Southern California.* Unpublished. 1922. Large area map provides some detail on lands under irrigation and cultivation.


**Photographic Collections**


Eastern California Museum. *Photograph Collection.* Manzanar and related subject headings. 1890-1994. 1200 photographs. Photographs relate to Manzanar site, including Shepherd Ranch to present; indexed by topic and/or family name. Shiro Nomura and Pete Merritt collections constitute bulk of camp collection. See also subject headings on Paiute Indians (including family names; this collection includes A. A. Forbes’ photographs), Los Angeles Aqueduct, Carson and Colorado Railroad, general Owens Valley.


Lenbeck Family Photo Collection. Private collection of Martha Lenbeck Mills, Box 364, Lone Pine, Calif. 63545, and Lena Lenbeck Sluyter, Independence, Calif. 1905-1935. This family lived at Manzanar from its inception and was one of the last to leave. Photos show farms and orchards.

Los Angeles. Department of Water and Power, Bishop, Calif. Subdivided Properties #1 and South District #4. These albums include a 1929 inventory of structures on properties in the Manzanar town and surrounding areas purchased by the City of Los Angeles. Photographs of each structure accompany the listings, which are by seller and lot number, and give details of size, condition, and eventual disposition. The collection includes the town hall, store, garage, and approximately 30 residential and farm properties.

Smith Family Photo Albums. Private collection of Petrina Rich, 7313 Spicer Dr., Citrus Heights, Calif. 95621. Ca. 1902-1924. This family settled in Manzanar area ca. 1902; grandfather was an early postmaster at Thebe (later Manzanar).


Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, Calif. Photographic Archives. 1901-ca. 1950. On video disc. Collection includes Mark Herrington photographs of Owens Valley Paiutes at San Fernando Mission Fiesta demonstrating basket-making, dances, other customs. Also in the collection are 35 mm. slides and photographs of Paiute and Shoshone baskets, ca. 1901, and miscellaneous photos of Panamint (Shoshone) Indians.


Sound Recordings


Films

Land of Little Rain. Film. 1 hr. Denver: Denver Center for the Performing Arts; U.S. West and Mountain Bell, 1988. Film version of Mary Austin's classic 1903 work of reflections and descriptions of Owens Valley.

ORAL HISTORIES

Eastern California Museum. Oral History Collection. Independence, Calif. 1967-1994. Selected interviews, out of the total 332 on deposit, allude to various aspects of the Manzanar site history, usually through direct personal experience or the related stories of other family members. The collection is largely untranscribed; topic outlines are available for many interviews.

Museum of Anthropology, Ethnological Documents. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Interviews with John Shepherd (212.2) and other early Owens Valley Paiutes.

Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton. Japanese American Project. Fullerton, Calif. Includes numerous interviews with Owens Valley residents focused on their World War II reaction to Manzanar internment center.

PERIODICALS

Album, Bishop, Calif. 1988-. Nicely formatted local history journal; published quarterly from 1988 to 1993, now published annually. Contains writings on wide range of Owens Valley history topics; includes first-person recollections, historic photographs, and editorial comments.


Inyo Register. Bishop, Calif. 1885-.


GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS


Ford, A. J. Owens River Valley, California, Indian Problem. Los Angeles: DWP, 1930. Report made following the buy-out of most Owens Valley lands by the City of Los Angeles. Based on reports such as this one, proposals were made concerning the fate of the Indians, resulting in the Land Exchange of 1937.


MANUSCRIPT AND RECORD COLLECTIONS

Manuscripts


Cotton, J. S. "Agricultural Conditions of Inyo County, California." 1905. Typescript. Eastern California Museum. This short report provides an invaluable and detailed assessment of Owens Valley agriculture of this period before the building of the Los Angeles Aqueduct.


Indian Legends. Vol. 1. 1936. Eastern California Museum. Legends taken verbatim from Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones, including some at Manzanar and George's Creek area.


Wehrey, Jane Phillips. Layers of Meaning in a Place and Its Past. 1994. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program. Using interviews from family members, the author documents their various roles at the Manzanar site: her mother's girlhood in the town, her father's visits to the town as a young man and his later work designing the water supply system for the internment camp, and her own recollections of growing up in the post-World War II Owens Valley. Includes a brief history of the agricultural community with notes.

"Report on Manzanar Pre-Camp Period: Data and Sources and Suggestions and Sources for Further Research on Attitudes of Owens Valley Townspeople During Manzanar Camp." 1993. California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program. Prepared by a writer whose family roots are in the Manzanar site, this report includes a pre-camp chronology, an inventory of photographs, illustrations of structures, and a bibliography.


Records

Eastern California Museum. Independence, Calif. Subject Heading and Family History Files.

"Manzanar Town 1906-1935." 150 leaves. Contains numerous personal recollections, correspondence, originals of promotional materials, hand-drawn and other maps, reports to Improvement Company, school data. Also useful are files on Deeds, George's Creek, Earthquake 1872, School Districts, Publications, Department of Water and Power.


ARTIFACTS AND EPHEMERA

Artifacts

Eastern California Museum. Index to the Great Register [of Voters], 1908-1922.

_____ Baskct and Indian artifact collection. Includes extensive basketry, beadwork, pottery, arrowhead and point collections from Owens Valley Paiute and Panamint-Shoshone Indians.

_____ Manzanar agricultural community artifact collection. Includes household and personal items, documents, letters.


Ephemera

Bishop Chamber of Commerce. Owens River Valley. Inyo County, California, the Field of Opportunity, the Land of Promise. Bishop, Calif.: Inyo Register Printing, ca. 1922. This illustrated pamphlet reflects confidence in the possibilities for agriculture which persisted in the valley up until the large-scale land purchases by the City of Los Angeles in the mid-1920s.


Owens Valley Ranch Leases. 3 vols., ca. 1955. Includes information about and date of original leases, starting 1924, for Manzanar area.

Manzanar Commercial Club. Manzanar: Owens River Valley, Inyo County, California. Manzanar, Calif.: n.p., ca. 1910. This brochure, replete with pictures and detailed text, provides one of the most complete descriptions of the young Manzanar farming area and its plans for future growth.

Owens Valley Chamber of Commerce. Inyo County, California: Inyo the Peerless. ... Bishop, Calif.: n.p., 1908.

Owens Valley Improvement Company. Fortunes in Apples in Owens Valley, Inyo County, California. Owens Valley Improvement Company, 1911. Small color brochure promoting apple growing at Manzanar.

William Penn Colonial Association of California. Los Angeles, Calif.; n.p., ca. 1902. Brochure describes a proposed and ultimately unsuccessful irrigation colony located directly east of Manzanar, which included 13,000 acres of patented land and 42 miles of proposed canals.
LOS ANGELES DEPARTMENT
OF WATER AND POWER

REFERENCE SOURCES


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books


Articles

Angeles’s transition from a largely entrepreneurial growth regime (1880-1906) to a more state-centered growth regime (1906-1932) highlights the role of powerful local bureaucracies, such as the Department of Water and Power, in shaping the region’s Progressive Era development. The building of the Los Angeles Aqueduct is used as an example of how the local state served as a key instrument of economic development throughout the urban West in the early twentieth century.

"The Bureau of Water Works and Supply is a Fruit Grower de Luxe." Intake (June 1927): 20. Gives description of large fruit crop realized by DWP as landowners at Manzanar and explains its policy in continuing to operate orchards there.

Theses and Dissertations

Miller, Gordon R. "Los Angeles and the Owens River Aqueduct." Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1977. This detailed and impartial study includes a comprehensive historiographical analysis of the conflict, including a bibliographic essay. Also useful is the discussion of California water law relative to the development of the Owens River water supply.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

Maps

Map Showing City Lands to be Leased for U.S. Army Reception Site For Japanese or Others in Owens Valley. Los Angeles: DWP, March 1942. Boundaries of lands leased to Inyo County for airport, to U.S. government for housing site and agriculture.

Photographic Collections


ORAL HISTORIES

University of California, Los Angeles. Oral History Program. Water For Los Angeles Oral History Collection. 1987-1988. The series includes interviews with former DWP General Manager and Owens Valley resident Robert V. Phillips, longtime Owens Valley resident and DWP employee Mona Osborne, and Gerald Jones, DWP employee. They discuss their backgrounds, DWP careers, DWP’s role in the Owens Valley and its relations with local residents, the Manzanar camp, and DWP’s role in Los Angeles city government and the growth of the southern California region.
PERIODICALS

*Intake*. Los Angeles, Calif. 1924-. Monthly in-house magazine contains news of current DWP events and issues.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

California. Legislature. Senate. *Letter of Transmittal and Report of W. F. McClure, State Engineer Concerning the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Controversy to Governor Friend Wm. Richardson*. Sacramento: State of California, 1925. This report was largely unfavorable to the DWP and became a rallying point in the increasingly bitter conflict between some Owens Valley residents and the City of Los Angeles.


Los Angeles. Board of Public Service Commissioners. *Complete Report on Construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct*. Los Angeles: Department of Public Service, 1916. Volume includes comprehensive and detailed overview of the aqueduct project from its inception to completion, and discusses relevant issues of Owens Valley population, antagonism to the project, government aid, as well as technical aspects, financing, organization, climate, soil, geology, etc. Includes numerous maps, charts, tables.

_____. *Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Water Supply. Including a Statement of Facts Omitted by the State Engineer in His Report to Governor Richardson*. Los Angeles: DWP, February 1925. The DWP replies to the McClure report in an effort to present an accurate assessment of its position in the Owens Valley relative to the total water supply situation of the state.


It includes correspondence, reports, the letter from President Theodore Roosevelt supporting passage of the Right-of-Way Bill, and the text of the bill (Public no. 395, June 27, 1906).


Packard, Walter E. Report on the Agricultural Situation in Owens Valley, as It Relates to the Agricultural Development of Lands Belonging to the City of Los Angeles. Los Angeles: Department of Public Service, 1925.


MANUSCRIPT AND RECORD COLLECTIONS

Manuscripts

Lee, Charles Hamilton. "Papers." 1912-1955. 18 manuscript boxes. Water Research Center Archives [WRCA], University of California, Berkeley. A hydraulic and soils engineer, Hamilton's papers contain correspondence, documents, maps, photographs, clippings, etc., pertaining to projects in hydraulics, sanitation, irrigation, and municipal water supply in California, particularly for the City of Los Angeles and the Owens Valley. Of special interest are the many documents, dated ca. 1906-1933, pertaining to agriculture, water resources, and land and water purchases in the Owens Valley during the period.

Means, Thomas Herbert. "Papers." 1905-1958. Ca. 4 feet. WRCA. Correspondence and reports of irrigation and soils engineer concerning the southern California water supply and various water projects, with some papers concerning the Owens Valley.
I. "Purchases of Water in Owens Valley by City of Los Angeles." August 1925. Typescript (carbon), bound. WRCA.

II. "Review of Appraisals, Manzanar Relocation Center." 1944. Typescript. WRCA.


III. "Matters and Correspondence (from December 24, 1930 to January 17, 1936): Pertaining to the Owens Valley, California, Indian Situation in Connection with Cooperation, etc., Extended by the Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles." 1937? 95 leaves in various foliations. California State University, Northridge.

Records


Los Angeles. Department of Water and Power. Los Angeles, Calif. Historical Records Program. Board of Water and Power Commissioners. The records and ephemera in this repository contain material on the Manzanar Relocation Center and its aftermath, as well as the previous town and agricultural area which was bought by the DWP in 1924. Included are inventories, correspondence between DWP, U.S. Army and WRA, records of litigation, documents, and reports.


VI. Lease Agreement. Perpetual between Manzanar Committee and Japanese American Citizens League and City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power for access to and use of former entrance to camp site and cemetery area. 1974.