

The Sands of Manzanar

Japanese American Confinement, Public Memory, and the National Park Service

Manzanar National Historic Site Administrative History



Theodore Catton and Diane L. Krahe



National Park Service
U.S Department of the Interior
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Report prepared for the National Park Service under cooperative
agreement with the Organization of American Historians

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Photographer Dorothea Lange captured this iconic image of Manzanar on July 3, 1942. She wrote of the scene: "The windstorm has subsided and the dust has settled." Lange, renowned for her work as a Farm Security Administration photographer during the Great Depression, covered the forced removal and confinement of Japanese Americans on assignment for the War Relocation Authority. Select photographs of Lange's, as well as those of Ansel Adams, are distributed through this report as illustrations of Manzanar National Historic Site's "Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories" interpretive concept. *Source: National Archives, Department of the Interior (DOI) War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C840].*

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This February 1943 painting of a Manzanar dust storm was created by twenty-two-year-old George Atsuro Yano. A *Kibei* (a second-generation Japanese American or *Nisei* educated in Japan), Yano lived in Block 36 at Manzanar. *Source: NPS/courtesy of Mary Smeltzer.*

Abbreviations

ACF*	Active Central Files
ASLA	American Society of Landscape Architects
AXPOW	American Ex-Prisoners of War
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
Caltrans	California Department of Transportation
CCSP	Challenge Cost Share Program
CDPR*	California Department of Parks and Recreation
CLR	cultural landscape report
ECM*	Eastern California Museum
EIS	environmental impact statement
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDR	President Franklin D. Roosevelt
FLREA	Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Act
FPHA	Federal Public Housing Authority
FTE	full time equivalent
FUDS	Formerly Used Defense Sites Program
FY	Fiscal Year
GLO	General Land Office
GMP	general management plan
HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
HAER	Historic Architectural and Engineering Report
H.R.	U.S. House Bill
I&M	inventory and monitoring
JACL	Japanese American Citizens League
LADWP	Los Angeles Department of Water and Power
MAD	Manzanar at Dusk (originally Manzanar After Dark)
MANZ*	Manzanar National Historic Site
MOU	memorandum of understanding

NCJAR	National Council for Japanese American Redress
NCRR	National Coalition for Redress/Reparations
NPS	National Park Service
POW	prisoner of war
RCF*	Retired Central Files
RMP	Resource Management Plan
S.	U.S. Senate Bill
SCA	Student Conservation Association
SHPO	state historic preservation officer
the Site	Manzanar National Historic Site
THPO	tribal historic preservation officer
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
VFW	Veterans of Foreign Wars
WACC	Western Archeological and Conservation Center
WCCA	Wartime Civilian Control Administration
WRA	War Relocation Authority
YCC	Youth Conservation Corps

*acronym used in footnotes only

Note on Terminology

For decades, the term “internment camp” was commonly used to identify the isolated sites across the West and Midwest where Japanese nationals and American citizens of Japanese heritage were held by the U.S. government during World War II. In recent years, the National Park Service often has chosen “confinement site” as a more accurate name for these places. Terminology surrounding the treatment of Japanese Americans in this era has been fiercely debated, especially the use of “concentration camp,” as this administrative history chronicles. Following NPS guidelines, the authors of this document use the terms “forced removal,” “incarceration,” and “confinement” to describe the Japanese American experience during the war. Use of the wartime terms “evacuation” and “relocation,” in identifying Japanese American policies, programs, and centers of the day, is limited mostly to historical references.



“Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories.” Young family in their barracks apartment: Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Tsurutani and their son Bruce. Source: *Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Ansel Adams, photographer, [LC-A351-3-M-28]*.

Introduction

In December 1969, two young civil rights activists, Victor Shibata and Warren Furutani, went looking for a Japanese American internment camp¹ that they knew by the name “Manzanar.” Together they hit upon the idea of organizing a march or pilgrimage to the site to raise awareness for the Asian American movement.² Preparatory to the event, they went to investigate what remained of the former camp where more than 11,000 people of Japanese ancestry had been forced to live during World War II. Setting out from Los Angeles in Shibata’s beat-up sports car, they had a notion that they would come to the site somewhere along the desolate stretch of U.S. Highway 395 between Lone Pine and Independence in Eastern California’s Owens Valley. Though they knew there was hardly anything left of the camp, they were confident they would be able to locate it from the presence of a big, pale-green auditorium building which they remembered passing every time they shot up the Owens Valley on their way to ski at June Lake or Mammoth Lakes. The solitary barn-roofed building stood out from the desert scrub like a beached whale.

Neither Shibata nor Furutani had a direct personal connection to this place, which twenty-five years earlier was the Manzanar War Relocation Center. Shibata was born on January 25, 1945 in Ogden, Utah, shortly after his parents’ release from the Rohwer War Relocation Center in Arkansas. The family returned to California a few years later, settling in the Seinan district of southwest Los Angeles.³ Furutani was born on October 16, 1947 in San Pedro, another Los Angeles community, more than two years after his parents’ release from the Jerome War Relocation Center in Arkansas.⁴ While neither man was old enough to have known life in the camps for himself, both came to believe that the World War II forced removal and incarceration experience had left a profound mark on Japanese American culture. As both Shibata and Furutani got involved with the civil rights and antiwar movements in the mid to

¹ “Internment camp” was the usual descriptor for Manzanar in the 1960s, but the term has since been replaced with “confinement site” or “incarceration site” by many. See “Note on Terminology” on previous page.

² Aligned with the larger protest movements of the day, the Asian American movement drew together individuals of multiple Asian ethnicities to take on pressing racial justice issues, such as employment and residential discrimination, and disparaging racial stereotypes. The movement also sought to launch ethnic studies programs in universities, advance the political power of Asian Americans in urban politics, and protest U.S. military involvements abroad.

³ “Obituary: Shibata, 67; A Founder of Manzanar Pilgrimage,” *Rafu Shimpo*, April 21, 2012, at www.rafu.com <March 26, 2015>.

⁴ Warren Furutani, interviewed by Diana Bahr, July 8, 2003, Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ) Oral History Collection.

late 1960s, each of them began to ask his elders probing questions about the older generation's civil rights struggles in the context of World War II. They found that the older generation did not want to talk about it. Their elders' reticence on the subject only made Shibata and Furutani and others like them more insistent on having answers. When the two young men conceived their plan of a march or pilgrimage to Manzanar, their goal was not just to confront the dominant society, but also to open a dialogue between the older and younger generations within their ethnic community. "The more they didn't want us to do it, the more we wanted to do it," Furutani would later say.⁵

Driving north on U.S. 395 that December day in 1969, Shibata and Furutani sighted the old auditorium building and pulled off the highway onto a dirt road. At first glance, little else of the World War II camp was left. Though the area once was covered with rows of barracks, latticed with streets, surrounded by barbed-wire fences and guard towers, and thronged with 11,000 occupants, now it was "totally overgrown with trees and bushes," Furutani later remembered.⁶ But then Shibata and Furutani spotted a white obelisk in the distance. "What the hell is that?" one of them said. Eager to discover what it was, they drove farther out the rough road in Shibata's little sports car, gunning their vehicle through the sand drifts, staring ahead as the obelisk got "closer and closer and bigger and bigger ... eroded and weathered ... starkly white, bone white."⁷

Shibata had called their mission a *hakamairi* – a pilgrimage, or a visit to a grave. They had imagined Manzanar as a metaphorical burial site, a place of unprecedented civil rights abuses, lives interrupted and in some cases permanently derailed. They were unaware that the site still contained actual graves. The obelisk marked a small cemetery. A few humble burial stones were visible near the monument but their engravings had been all but obliterated by years of exposure to windblown grains of sand. There was a broken-down fence around the cemetery plot, and strands of barbed wire lay tangled in the tall rabbitbrush all around. And yet the place had a terrible beauty. The eastern face of the Sierra Nevada rose up like a tsunami a few miles to the west. Besides the weathered auditorium, not a house or building of any kind was visible in any direction. When Furutani looked closely at one of the cemetery headstones, he saw that a baby boy had been buried there. An image came to him. As the winds of time blew the sand away, a small face appeared out of the shallow grave, looking up, asking questions. Out of that grave would come stories.⁸

Later that month, on December 27, 1969, Shibata and Furutani returned to Manzanar with about 150 others. The participants in the pilgrimage honored not just the dead but also the living who had endured confinement at Manzanar. Indeed, there was a prevailing sentiment that the deaths at Manzanar – real and metaphorical –

⁵ Warren Furutani, interviewed by Theodore Catton and Diane Krahe, December 3, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁶ Furutani interview (2003).

⁷ Furutani interview (2014).

⁸ Furutani interview (2014).

haunted all Japanese Americans including those born in the postwar era. One of the participants, Jim Matsuoka, said to the gathering: “When people ask me, ‘How many people are buried in this cemetery?’ I say a whole generation is buried here. The Nisei Americans lie buried in the sands of Manzanar.”⁹

The pilgrimage in 1969 marked the beginning of a social movement by Japanese Americans to make Manzanar a symbol of the whole forced removal and incarceration experience. Altogether there were ten camps where approximately 120,000 people were incarcerated during the years 1942 to 1946. Largely a result of the succeeding annual pilgrimages back to the Owens Valley, Manzanar would become the most well known. The Manzanar Pilgrimage would anchor a wider program of teach-ins, lectures, and films aimed at re-examining Japanese American identity in light of World War II events.

The social movement to make Manzanar a focal point for dialogue soon took on the added goal to preserve Manzanar as a historic site. Furutani and Sue Kunitomi Embrey cofounded the Manzanar Committee in 1971 to pursue this goal. Recognition of Manzanar’s historical significance first came in 1972 in the form of a California Historical Landmark designation. That was followed in 1976 by its listing on the National Register of Historic Places, in 1977 by the City of Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Board declaring Manzanar a City Historic Landmark, in 1985 by its designation as a National Historic Landmark, and then by the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site, a unit of the National Park System. The unit (hereafter referred to as the Site) was authorized by an act of Congress on March 3, 1992.

Even as the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) took over responsibility for preserving and interpreting Manzanar for the American public, those who were incarcerated at Manzanar and their descendants remained key stakeholders. Congress mandated that the secretary of the interior appoint a Manzanar Advisory Commission to provide the NPS with direction in the Site’s development and interpretation. Japanese Americans were appointed to a majority of the seats on the commission, with representatives of other constituencies with a stake in the Site – including local Native Americans, county government officials, and valley ranchers – holding the balance. The establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site literally nationalized the former camp in the sense that it helped make the story of Japanese Americans’ civil rights abuses into a national parable about the importance of upholding the civil rights of *all* Americans and the constitutional rights of *all* persons within the United States. Yet the Site’s transcendent importance to Japanese Americans lived on.

The approximate one square mile of land needed for the Site had to be acquired from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP). Land acquisition was arranged through a three-way land exchange between the LADWP, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), and the NPS. Another act of Congress,

⁹ Quoted in “The Manzanar Pilgrimage: A Time for Sharing,” 1981, copy in Manzanar Collection, Eastern California Museum (hereafter ECM), Independence, p. 12.

passed in November 1996, approved the arrangement and expanded the Site to 814 acres. Meanwhile, the NPS completed a general management plan (GMP) for Manzanar National Historic Site in August 1996.

Conversion of the historic auditorium into the Site's visitor center commenced in May 2002, at which time development of interpretive exhibits was already underway. While the building's historic fabric and exterior appearance were preserved as much as possible, the interior was extensively remodeled. The renovated building came to include a bookstore, a large interpretive exhibit space, two theaters, a reference library, and staff offices. On April 24, 2004, an estimated 2,500 people attended the grand opening of the Manzanar Interpretive Center.

Today, Manzanar National Historic Site contains the former camp area plus a bit more land. Site boundaries lie near the original security fence line around two sides of the nearly square camp area and enclose more acreage beyond the camp perimeter to the southwest and southeast. (The Manzanar War Relocation Center boundaries took in a much more extensive area; the enclosed residential camp was but one-tenth of its total acreage.) The Site includes the historic auditorium, the cemetery and monument, and two stone sentry posts built by men incarcerated at Manzanar. Other physical remains of the camp include many visible traces of the historic road grid and numerous foundation slabs and pier blocks of the barracks, latrines, mess halls, administrative buildings, hospital, and other support structures. In addition, eleven ornamental gardens and other landscape features have been excavated from the sand infill, and several historic orchards, dating from the 1920s, have been stabilized or restored. Other cultural resources include prehistoric sites and remnants of the John Shepherd ranch, dating from the late nineteenth century.

With strong input from the Manzanar Advisory Commission and the Manzanar Committee, the National Park Service decided that reconstruction of some buildings and structures was necessary to enhance visitor understanding of the camp experience. To date, the NPS has completed reconstruction of two barracks, a latrine, a guard tower, a fire station exhibit, the perimeter security fence (a modern boundary fence has also been constructed), the camp entrance sign, a small ornamental fence around the cemetery, and wooden footbridges in Merritt Park. A World War II-era mess hall from the former Bishop Army Airfield was moved to Manzanar in late 2002 and eventually restored.

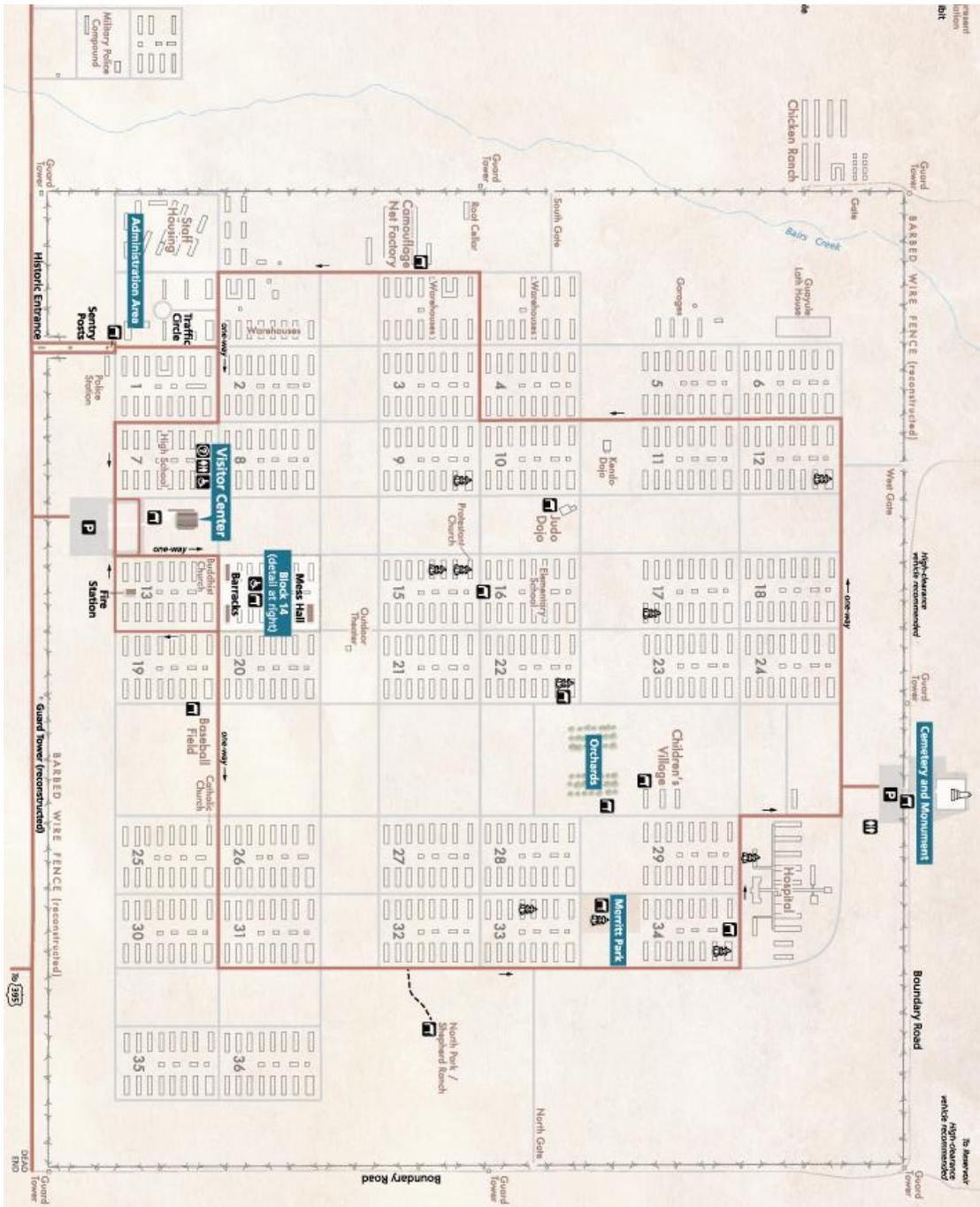
In the public debate leading to the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site, local residents pointed out that the tragic story of relocation here was not limited to the Japanese American experience during World War II. In the mid nineteenth century, the area's indigenous peoples, the Paiute and the Shoshone, were forced by the U.S. Army to relocate after European American settlers moved into the valley. Later on, in the first few decades of the twentieth century, interested parties were invited to purchase farms in a planned agricultural community known as Manzanar (the Spanish word for "apple orchard"). These farmers, too, had no choice but to relocate when the City of Los Angeles tapped the Owens Valley for its water supply, making the short-lived agricultural development untenable. Therefore, it was vital that Manzanar National Historic Site tell these stories, too, both indigenous and

nonindigenous locals stipulated. The National Park Service agreed that it would include these “layers of history” in its interpretive scheme for the Site. “In addition to the internment era,” Manzanar’s *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement* affirmed, “the Site would also interpret earlier historic eras, including Native American use, and pioneer ranching and farming in the area, including the early twentieth century agricultural village of Manzanar.”¹⁰

The following report is an administrative history of Manzanar National Historic Site. Our task is to provide a factual narrative of how this unit of the National Park System originated and how it has been managed to 2016. We focus on issues of most concern to unit managers, and we try to put the issues in context with wider historical developments, government initiatives, and agency policies. In Chapter One, we begin with the long history of the area, before the start of the campaign to preserve Manzanar as a historic site, giving primacy to the Japanese American experience during World War II because that is what made the Site nationally significant. In Chapters Two and Three, we detail evolving conceptions about the place from 1969 to 1978, among Japanese American, local, and tribal communities and within the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the NPS. Chapter Four describes the movement to bring Manzanar into the National Park System. Chapters Five and Six cover the Site’s early years to 2004, when it was acquiring a land base, a visitor center, and a staff. Chapter Seven deals with the fully fledged Manzanar National Historic Site and addresses the various functions of resource management, interpretation, maintenance operations, and administration.

More than is true of administrative histories of many other units within the National Park System, the story of how Manzanar National Historic Site was established, developed, and managed to the present grows organically out of the Site’s pre-establishment history. That is because Japanese Americans long provided – and still provide – crucial energy and focus in making the Site what it is.

¹⁰ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site, California* (Oakland: National Park Service, 1996), 2.



Map 1. Manzanar National Historic Site. Source: Official park map, Manzanar website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/planyourvisit/upload/MANZ-Park-Map.gif>.

Chapter One

Layers of History

The Owens Valley is a place of bold relief and stark beauty. Bounded by the Sierra Nevada on the west and the White and Inyo mountains on the east, the valley is about ten miles wide and nearly one hundred miles long. The elevation on the valley floor ranges from 4,150 feet above sea level at Bishop in the northern part to 3,600 feet at Owens Lake in the southern part. A number of summits in the Sierra rise above 14,000 feet, with Mount Whitney, the highest mountain in the contiguous United States, reaching 14,505 feet. Across the valley, White Mountain Peak also exceeds 14,000 feet. Massive alluvial fans spill into the valley along the base of the mountains, displaying in their awesome stillness the dynamic effects of tectonic uplift and water erosion played out over millions of years.

Lying in the rain shadow of the towering Sierra, the Owens Valley receives a miniscule five inches of annual rainfall on average. Today the landscape is mostly dry, brown, and barren of trees. Yet the west side of the valley is well watered by creeks bringing snowmelt down from the mountains. Fed by the snowmelt, the Owens River flows south through the valley and terminates at Owens Lake. Before the valley was tapped for water by the City of Los Angeles, the Owens River was a clear, substantial stream of around fifteen feet of depth for most of its course. Now that the Los Angeles aqueduct interdicts many of the tributary creeks, the Owens River is much smaller, and Owens Lake has all but disappeared. Yet, in the past and still today, the runoff from the Sierra Nevada makes the Owens Valley an “amply watered glen” compared to the arid valleys east and south of it. The neighboring Saline, Panamint, and Eureka valleys are home to only a very small number of people today.¹

So important is the water resource in this region that nearly all of Inyo County’s population of around 18,500 reside in the Owens Valley. Most of the population is concentrated in the towns of Bishop, Big Pine, Independence, and Lone Pine. To put this sparse population in perspective, it may be noted that Inyo County, which takes in all the Owens Valley together with all the territory eastward of the valley to the Nevada state line, covers a land area the size of Massachusetts with its 6.7 million people.

¹ Sven Liljeblad and Catherine S. Fowler, “Owens Valley Paiute,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 11, *Great Basin*, edited by Warren L. D’Azevedo, series edited by William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 413.

The physical setting of Manzanar National Historic Site is characteristic of the Owens Valley. While the Site lies near the center of the valley, the ground tilts perceptibly uphill toward the Sierra, rising to meet the broad, coalesced alluvial fans that pour from the mountains' canyons. Directly to the west towers 14,379-foot Mount Williamson. From Manzanar, it looks as if it is only a mile or two away, but the vast scale of this desolate landscape is deceiving: in fact, the foot of the mountain is six miles from the Site's western boundary and a thousand feet higher in elevation. Just north and south of the Site, the waters of Shepherd and George Creeks cut deep gullies across this slope in their rush to attain the Owens River. Bairs Creek, an intermittent stream, cuts across the southwest corner of the unit.²

The precious water resource frames much of the human story of the Owens Valley. Each community that lived here has left behind traces of its own distinct habitation of this arid environment, just as rain events and other geologic forces have slowly chipped away at the mountains, adding bit by bit to the alluvial fans that rim the valley.

Ancestors of today's Paiutes and Shoshones occupied the Owens Valley for centuries. They utilized the water by building diversion dams and ditches to flood the meadows during spring runoff and to increase production of bulbous plants and other wild crops. The indigenous waterworks have been described as a complex network extending for sixty miles, built by "communal labor and managed under the direction of a head irrigator who was elected by the tribe."³ The first wave of European Americans to the Owens Valley were prospectors and miners, soon followed by settlers and their cattle. The settlers built their homes and ranches wherever they could claim a water supply, usually on top of existing indigenous waterworks. Often, they employed local Indians to rehabilitate irrigation systems developed long before, even as the newcomers claimed water rights for themselves according to the western water-rights doctrine of "first in time, first in use."

The ranchers eventually sold their lands and water rights to a new wave of homesteaders who were intent on using the land and water to raise commercial crops. These people occupied the area under the auspices of the Owens Valley Improvement Company, forming the town of Manzanar. The agricultural community in turn sold its land and water rights to the City of Los Angeles, which augmented its water supply through construction of the monumental Los Angeles Aqueduct. When the U.S. Army selected the former Manzanar town site as a Japanese American confinement center, it did so in part with a view to utilize the water resources for local crop production once more, to make the camp somewhat self-sufficient.

The Japanese Americans who were incarcerated at Manzanar from 1942 to 1945 were part of the largest forced movement of population in the United States in

² Jeffery F. Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California*, Part 1, Publications in Anthropology 67 (Tucson, Ariz.: Western Archeology and Conservation Center, National Park Service, 1996), 5-8.

³ Jenna Cavelle, "A Paiute Perspective on the LA-Owens Valley Water Story: Jenna Cavelle in conversation with Alan Bacock and Harry Williams," *Arid: A Journal of Desert Art, Design and Ecology* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2013) at <http://aridjournal.com> <March 30, 2015>.

the twentieth century. The dislocation they endured at Manzanar differed in important ways from the consecutive displacements of peoples which had occurred there in earlier times. They were an incarcerated group, not original inhabitants or new settlers. They were brought in, displaced from elsewhere. And yet, many among the transitory community of 10,000 who occupied Manzanar for nearly four years did try to make the place their home, and they did leave pieces of their lives behind when the camp shut down. The Japanese American experience at Manzanar left another imprint on the landscape, another layer of history, another trace in the sand.

Indigenous Peoples

Paiute and Shoshone Indians inhabited the Owens Valley for many hundreds of years before the arrival of European Americans. They formed a relatively stable, semi-permanent population of around 1,000 people. They subsisted on a variety of food sources, chief of which was the pine nut, the seed of the piñon pine (*Pinus monophylla*). They lived in camps or villages, which were occupied intermittently throughout the year as the people pursued their seasonal rounds. Villages may have numbered around five to twenty families each. They placed their villages by the streams flowing out of the High Sierra and, in the northern part of the Owens Valley, they made them in the swampy meadows found along the Owens River as well.⁴

The indigenous peoples' troubles with European Americans began in 1859 when Captain J. W. Davidson entered the valley with a military escort, responding to reports of Indian depredations occurring on the western slope of the Sierra. Davidson found no evidence that the Paiutes were involved in raids across the mountains. However, anticipating a movement of white miners and ranchers into the area, he recommended that the government reserve some of the area to protect the Paiutes within their homeland. An area of 22,300 acres was withdrawn near present-day Independence pending a decision to establish a reservation.⁵ That same year, a first pulse of prospectors and cattlemen came into the valley.

In 1861, fighting broke out between the Paiutes and the growing numbers of cattlemen as the latter tried to take control of the better-watered sites. The Paiutes banded together and succeeded in forcing settlers to group for defense at a single ranch on Independence Creek. In March 1862, Colonel George Evans and a small militia arrived in the valley to suppress the Indians, but they were unsuccessful and within a month they withdrew, along with dozens of settlers. With a larger force of soldiers, Evans soon returned and founded Camp Independence as a military outpost on July 4, 1862. As raiding and skirmishing continued, the military destroyed the Indians' food caches and burned their vacant homes, awaiting the Indians' surrender following a desperate winter. On June 4, 1863, about 400 people surrendered at Camp Independence, with more coming in afterwards. On July 11, 1863, over 900 Indian men, women, and children were removed from the valley on a forced march to Fort

⁴ Liljeblad and Fowler, "Owens Valley Paiute," 414-16.

⁵ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 123; Liljeblad and Fowler, "Owens Valley Paiute," 430.

Tejon, about 175 miles to the south. Many perished along the way. After three years of confinement at Fort Tejon, the displaced Paiutes trickled back to the Owens Valley, where they found their best lands now firmly in the whites' control.⁶ It is striking how the Paiute experience of removal parallels the later Japanese American experience of incarceration, piecemeal return to their homes, and mass theft of their property during their exile. The parallels did not go unnoticed by these Paiutes' descendants when they came to consider the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site more than one hundred years later.

Many of the Paiutes survived by working on ranches, in mining camps, and in the emerging towns, and by intermarrying with whites. At the same time, they preserved their culture by continuing to gather native foods and practicing their own traditions. A number of Paiutes settled around Fort Independence (as Camp Independence was renamed), where they obtained food and supplies and individual land allotments. Others lived in camps of shacks and willow shelters near the other white settlements. The Paiutes became nominal wards of the federal government, being under the supervision of the Fort Independence commander initially, and then, after the military left, under the jurisdiction of an Indian agent located far away. The government opened Indian schools in the towns of Bishop, Big Pine, and Fort Independence in the late 1890s. By executive order in 1912, President William H. Taft established reservations at four locations north of Fort Independence to Bishop, totaling about 2,520 acres. In 1915 and 1916, President Woodrow Wilson set aside an additional 360 acres as the Fort Independence Indian Reservation.

During the 1930s, when the City of Los Angeles stepped up its efforts to acquire land and water rights, the Paiutes faced more hardship as many of their white employers sold out and left the valley. The City of Los Angeles lobbied for the federal government to consolidate Indian land and water rights in the valley through a land exchange. By a law enacted by Congress on April 20, 1937, the secretary of the interior was authorized to affect the desired exchange. Although the law required the consent of the Indians, the government used coercive tactics to get some Indians to sell. In total, the government swapped about 3,000 acres of Indian land for 1,400 acres of city-owned property with the promise of providing new irrigation works and housing projects on the consolidated tracts. The Bishop, Big Pine, and Lone Pine reservations, and the federally recognized tribes that are resident on each reservation, date from this period. The Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians refused to enter into an agreement for a land exchange and did not form a tribal government until later.⁷

⁶ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 124-25; Liljeblad and Fowler, "Owens Valley Paiute," 430.

⁷ Liljeblad and Fowler, "Owens Valley Paiute," 431; Jane Wehrey, *The Owens Valley* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2013), 60; William Howard Taft, "Executive Order 1496 – Reserving for Indian Purposes Certain Lands in the State of California," March 11, 1912, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project* at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu> <March 30, 2015>; Charles H. Kappler, comp., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), 1012-13.

The Paiutes and Shoshones persisted on their four small reservations in spite of ongoing pressures put on them to leave the Owens Valley. Adapting to the changing times, a number of tribal members worked on construction of Manzanar War Relocation Center in 1942, held jobs at the camp during its operation, and took part in the dismantlement of the buildings in 1945.⁸ Some went into the armed services, while many went to work in motels and restaurants and other businesses that grew up around the valley's tourist trade. A new federal assimilation program that sought to relocate Indian peoples from reservations to urban areas, where there were more employment opportunities, may have drawn some Owens Valley Indians to Los Angeles or San Francisco in the postwar years. (This nationwide initiative proved to be a failure, as most relocated Indians did not receive the vocational training they were promised, and many were soon lost among the urban poor. Only after about 1970, when tribes prevailed on the federal government to pledge support for tribal self-determination, did this latest threat of relocation finally recede.)⁹

The Paiutes' experiences with forced removal in the 1860s established a pattern of community displacement that was repeated again and again in the Owens Valley. To be sure, other communities that were driven from the valley did not suffer disruption and loss in the same way that the Paiute did. Yet there were commonalities in the human experience that tied these episodes together in ways that would come to matter in the late twentieth century. For one, Paiutes and Japanese Americans shared the bitter experience of being targeted by the dominant society based on their racial identities. Descendants of displaced Paiutes still live with that pain. "Up until the 1960s let's just say they called us the 'Indian problem,'" said Harry Williams, a tribal elder of the Bishop Paiute Tribe. Speaking of how the Paiutes lost their land and water, he said it was a result of a "colonial attitude" on the part of the U.S. government and the dominant society. "First you come in and change everything, change the religion, change the rules, say that you're less than me and since you're less than me, I have a right to kill you if you disagree with me, and that's kind of like what we're just getting over today."¹⁰

The Paiute and Shoshone peoples retain their reverence for and traditional uses of this unique valley, their homeland. Today, the Bishop Paiute Tribe has about 2,000 members and ranks fifth in population among California tribes. The Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley has about 600 members, two-thirds of whom live on the reservation. The Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community number about 350 members. The Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians has around sixty members.¹¹

⁸ Larry Van Horn, "American Indian Links to Manzanar," *CRM* 24, no. 5 (2001), 17.

⁹ Troy R. Johnson, *The American Indian Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Red Power and Self-Determination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 8-11.

¹⁰ Cavelle, "A Paiute Perspective on the L.A. Owens Valley Water Story" 4-5.

¹¹ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Manzanar National Historic Site, California, Foundation Document*, August 2016 at https://www.nps.gov/manz/getinvolved/upload/MANZ_Foundation_Doc_for-web.pdf <June 19, 2018>; "Tribal History," at www.bishoppaiutetribe.com <March 30, 2015>; "Home," at www.bigpinepaiute.org <March 30, 2015>; "Home Page, Lone Pine

Ranchers

When cattlemen first entered the Owens Valley, they found among the scattered Paiute villages one settlement of about one hundred inhabitants located on the creek just south of what is now Manzanar National Historic Site. They called the village's headman Captain George, and they named the stream George's Creek (now George Creek). A stage stop was built there in 1860, and in the following year John Kispert located 400 acres for a ranch and claimed all the water rights to the creek. Kispert built a small house and planted barley to sell to the new mining camps.¹²

John Shepherd arrived in 1864 and homesteaded 160 acres about two miles north of the Kispert place, giving his name to Shepherd Creek. He brought in cattle and grew alfalfa for his livestock as well as food crops for supplying miners. Shepherd employed a growing force of Paiute men and women to tend his livestock, irrigate the fields, process the grain, and perform domestic chores. By 1900, he had become the biggest landowner in the vicinity with 1,300 acres. Meanwhile, George's Creek and Shepherd Creek had become small white settlements made up of numerous ranches, small herds of cattle, some sheep, a variety of irrigated crops, and many different fruit trees.¹³

As the Owens Valley's economy came to revolve around ranching and mining in the latter part of the nineteenth century, new settlements sprang up at Lone Pine, Big Pine, and Bishop. The town of Independence was settled three miles south of the Fort Independence Paiute community. A wagon road was built along the gently sloping west side of the valley, zigzagging a bit to connect the string of settlements. By the 1870s, there were toll roads radiating out to mining camps located in the Panamint and Saline valleys. In 1883, the Carson and Colorado Railroad laid tracks into the Owens Valley. In 1887, ranchers formed a partnership and began work on a ditch to carry water from the Owens River down the dry east side of the valley. Six years later the Stevens Ditch, named for its principal builder, Colonel Sherman Stevens, extended for fifteen miles and served ranches in an area east of the George's Creek settlement. The *Inyo Register* claimed that by 1901 Owens Valley ranchers had constructed more than eighteen ditches and canals totaling nearly 200 miles in length. Irrigation was most extensive in the northern part of the valley, and the principal crop was alfalfa.¹⁴

Ranchers introduced other changes to the landscape. They introduced black locust trees into the valley in the late 1860s to provide a source of wood for fencing

Paiute-Shoshone Reservation," at www.lppsr.org <March 30, 2015>; "Our Native Heritage," at www.fortindependence.com <March 30, 2015>.

¹² Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 127-29.

¹³ Jane Wehrey, *Manzanar* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 9; National Park Service, Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site* (Seattle: National Park Service, 2006), 13-15.

¹⁴ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 127; Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 15; Robert A. Sauder, "Owens Valley's Abandoned Landscapes," *The California Geographer* 32 (1992), 70.

the range. They planted cottonwoods in many places for the same purpose. They planted shade trees in the settlements and wind rows along some of the roads.¹⁵

As ranchers accumulated a bit of wealth, some built large wood-frame houses to replace the small adobe brick cabins they started with. After his original cabin was destroyed in a massive earthquake that shook the valley in 1872, John Shepherd constructed a two-story, nine-room dwelling that some locals considered “the showplace” of the valley. It was built in an ornate Victorian style, with decorative gables and gingerbread corbels over the pillared front porch. It had water piped to the kitchen from an artesian well outside. The grounds surrounding the house were planted with cottonwood, black walnut, willow, poplar, and apple trees.¹⁶

Ranchers occupied the area that became Manzanar National Historic Site for approximately forty years. They managed to prosper from their own toils as well as from the toils of displaced Indians who went to work for them. (Shepherd was said to have employed as many as one hundred Indians at one time.) Eventually, most ranchers sold their land and water rights to the next wave of agriculturalists and moved on to other business pursuits or retirement. Unlike the Paiutes before them or the farmers who came after them, many ranchers made the transition without hardship or bitterness.

The Owens Valley Improvement Company and the Town of Manzanar

In 1905, California land developer Charles Francis Chaffey bought the Shepherd Ranch, with water rights to Shepherd and Bairs Creeks, for \$25,000. Chaffey and his family lived on the ranch until 1907, when he turned over management of the property to a ranch superintendent. In the meantime, he interested his older brother George in the area, and together the brothers formed the Sierra Securities Company, with George as president, and began purchasing neighboring ranches. By 1910, the company held title to about 3,500 acres, with water rights to all of Shepherd and Bair Creeks, two-thirds of Independence Creek, and one-third of George Creek. They transferred the property to a new company, the Owens Valley Improvement Company, and began building elaborate irrigation works made of concrete pipes and a gravity-flow distribution system. Soon they subdivided the land holdings into parcels of ten, twenty, and forty acres, which they advertised for sale through agents in Los Angeles and San Francisco under the name of Manzanar Irrigated Farms. One quarter section near the center of the development was subdivided into 312 lots of about one-half acre apiece. These were advertised as town lots in the town of Manzanar.¹⁷

The Canadian-born Chaffey brothers had many years’ experience in developing similar planned agricultural communities. George and another Chaffey

¹⁵ Sauder, “Owens Valley’s Abandoned Landscapes,” 68-69.

¹⁶ Wehrey, *Manzanar*, 12; Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 15.

¹⁷ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 134-37.

brother, William, founded their first “irrigation colony,” Etiwanda, near Riverside, California, in 1881. The town of Ontario was their second. Both are now part of the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. George and William went to Australia in 1886 at the invitation of the governments of Victoria and New South Wales, where they started irrigation colonies at Mildura and Renmark. While William stayed in Australia, George returned to Southern California in 1898, where he was soon involved with further water development projects. He built a canal for bringing water from the Colorado River to a section of Southern California then called the Colorado Desert, which he renamed the Imperial Valley. A self-educated engineer, he showed a genius for developing hydroelectric systems using mountain water and organizing agricultural communities around mutually held water rights.¹⁸

The Chaffey brothers had initial success selling lots and building up farming operations under the Owens Valley Improvement Company. Water rights were controlled by a subsidiary, the Manzanar Water Company, and each parcel of land came with ownership of one share per acre. Some people bought shares in the development with no prior agricultural experience. People came from as far away as Missouri and Indiana, and from as nearby as Lone Pine and Independence. Emphasis was put on growing apples, but a variety of other fruit trees were planted as well. Other agricultural products included alfalfa, poultry, and honey.¹⁹

The town of Manzanar began to take shape. By around 1912, it had a general store, blacksmith shop, community hall, and two-room school. By the 1920s, there was a post office, automobile garage, cannery, lumber yard, ice cream stand, and some twenty-five homes. Other dwellings were spread out on the surrounding farm lots. Roads were laid out in a grid pattern at one-mile intervals across the whole development, and streets were laid out in a tighter grid within the town site. The 1920 census recorded 203 residents in Manzanar, and 7,031 residents in all of Inyo County. Of the 203 who were listed in Manzanar, nine identified themselves as Indian and the rest as white.

In 1912, a good, straight road was constructed from Manzanar to Independence, more or less on the alignment of the future U.S. 395. The road went down Francis Street, through the center of the town. A promotional brochure issued by the Manzanar Commercial Club noted that California voters passed a bond issue in 1916 to pave the road all the way from the Owens Valley to Los Angeles.²⁰

After a promising start, however, the Manzanar Irrigated Farms development struggled. By 1920, fewer than half the subdivision lots and just one-third of town lots had been sold. Agriculture throughout the Owens Valley grew at a modest pace during the second decade of the twentieth century. While the number of farms rose

¹⁸ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 134; Peter Westcott, “Chaffey, George (1848-1932),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography* at www.adb.anu.edu.au/biography <March 31, 2015>.

¹⁹ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 137; Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 19.

²⁰ Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 20; Manzanar Commercial Club, “Manzanar, Owens River Valley, Inyo County, California,” undated pamphlet, Harlan Unrau research files, Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ) library.

from 438 to 521, improved agricultural land increased by only 3 percent. Owens Valley farmers obtained good prices for their produce, but they faced exorbitant transportation costs relative to other fruit growing areas in the San Fernando Valley and elsewhere. More ominously, they faced growing competition for water rights from the booming city of Los Angeles.²¹

The Owens Valley Water Wars

The water wars between Owens Valley farmers and the City of Los Angeles that broke out in the 1920s had rather quiet origins in the early 1900s. Even before the Chaffey brothers formed the Owens Valley Improvement Company, the newly created U.S. Reclamation Service proposed a project to impound water in the upper Owens Valley and bring large areas of the valley under irrigation, with a view to attracting a sizeable population of farmers who would “make the desert bloom.” Early in the planning for that project, city engineers became interested in a rival scheme to build an aqueduct that would bring Owens Valley water to Los Angeles. The federal government abetted the city’s plan by providing opportunities for the city to acquire both the right-of-way for the aqueduct and land and water rights in the Owens Valley at bargain prices. Construction of the aqueduct began in 1905 and reached completion in 1913. Meanwhile, in 1907, the Reclamation Service quietly shelved its proposed reclamation project for Owens Valley farmers.²²

The presence of the Los Angeles aqueduct in the Owens Valley might have been a signal to the local population that they had trouble ahead, but the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power managed to soft-pedal the threat that city water rights posed to valley residents. For the first decade after the aqueduct became operational, the LADWP took only surplus water from the Owens River. However, in the early 1920s the growth of Los Angeles together with prolonged drought compelled the LADWP to change course. City officials began looking at the need to make additional use of the Owens Valley water supply. At first the LADWP began installing wells on city-owned land in the valley to extract groundwater and obtain groundwater rights. Then it began buying up additional land and water rights with the aim of reducing water consumption by farmers and diverting that water to Los Angeles. In an effort to justify their actions, city officials claimed that Owens Valley farmers made prodigious use of water compared to other farmers in the state, irrigating five or six times more often. Owens Valley water would be put to far better use by supporting the growth of Los Angeles, they insisted.²³

Belatedly, Owens Valley residents recognized that the city’s plans might soon destroy their agriculture-based economy. Landowners were divided on how to respond. Some decided it was better to acquiesce and sell out to the city right away

²¹ William L. Kahrl, *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles’s Water Supply in the Owens Valley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 225-29.

²² Marc Reisner, *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 79-83.

²³ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 145; Kahrl, *Water and Power*, 254-57, 284-85.

rather than wait until the value of farm properties tumbled. Others thought they had a chance to turn back the city's land grab, or at least get just compensation for their property investment. By standing together with their neighbors and refusing to sell, these farmers believed, they would have strength in numbers and would either get help from the state or would be able to wring concessions from Los Angeles in the form of reparations for putting so many rural residents out of business. Owens Valley landowners found themselves pitted against each other as the valley began losing population, real estate values slumped, and banks stopped making loans. Valley residents "lost control of the ability to direct their own lives; they could only respond to the city's actions," wrote geographer Robert Sauder.²⁴

Some angry farmers resorted to sabotage, dynamiting a section of the aqueduct on May 21, 1924. More valley residents joined in an act of mass protest six months later, on November 16, when they took control of a set of flood gates in the Alabama Hills (south of Manzanar), opened the gates, and diverted all the water in the aqueduct back to the Owens River. The illegal act managed to stir some public sympathy, or at least curiosity, in part because a large Hollywood film crew that was filming a Western nearby joined the protesters, turning the act of defiance into a four-day party and media event.²⁵

City officials vaguely promised the protesters they would consider a change of policy but nothing more of it. Over the next two years, the LADWP and the valley residents fought a public relations battle, with city officials characterizing the protesters as benighted hicks and hooligans, and opinion leaders in Inyo County blasting the LADWP for its sinister, duplicitous takeover of their life-giving water.²⁶

The violent confrontations subsided through 1925 and 1926 as above-average rainfall provided a little reprieve. When drier conditions returned in 1927, the LADWP deployed a force of 500 armed guards to protect its property in Inyo County, and dissidents made at least ten more attacks on the aqueduct. By then, however, many Owens Valley farmers had capitulated and sold their land to the City of Los Angeles. The resistance movement collapsed when two brothers who had been prominent in organizing the protests were suddenly charged with bank fraud. As president and treasurer of the Inyo County Bank, Wilfred and Mark Watterson were found to have embezzled \$800,000 in bank funds to shore up their family's failing business enterprises around the Owens Valley. Adding insult to injury, much of the embezzled money was cash their friends and neighbors had deposited after receiving one-time payments from the City of Los Angeles for their landholdings, and now that money was irretrievably lost. The public disgrace of these two local heroes came as a demoralizing blow to the community.²⁷

The number of farms in Inyo County dropped from 521 in 1920 to 201 in 1935. Some of the displaced population left the area. Others stayed in the valley,

²⁴ Sauder, "Owens Valley's Abandoned Landscapes," 64.

²⁵ Reisner, *Cadillac Desert*, 94-95.

²⁶ Kahrl, *Water and Power*, 298.

²⁷ Reisner, *Cadillac Desert*, 96-97; Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 145-46; Wehrey, *The Owens Valley*, 54.

moving to the towns of Bishop, Big Pine, Independence, and Lone Pine, where men and women took jobs in the service sector in the valley's changing economy. Many of the people who stayed in the valley formed a deep mistrust of outsiders and government entities – the LADWP, the U.S. Reclamation Service, the U.S. Forest Service, state government officials, all of whom had colluded with the city in one way or another.

As Los Angeles bought up Owens Valley farms, the LADWP removed vacant buildings, plowed up abandoned crops, and bulldozed or chopped down desiccated fruit trees. The city's purpose, the geographer Sauder wrote, was to obscure evidence of the Owens Valley's former agricultural economy so as "to hide from passing motorists the despoliation it had wrought." Despite the city's efforts to edit the cultural landscape, however, the valley's farming past remained legible. It was still dotted with abandoned farm houses and buildings, empty school houses, and remnant orchards.²⁸

The town of Manzanar was too young and small to survive the Owens Valley's transition to a tourism-based economy. In January 1924, the Owens Valley Improvement Company sold its remaining subdivisions to the City of Los Angeles and went out of business. The purchase price of \$320,220 for 2,270 acres amounted to about \$141 per acre. As the sale by the land company gave the City of Los Angeles a majority of shares in the Manzanar Water Company, it sealed the fate of the town of Manzanar. After the parent land company sold out, most of the residents sold their subdivision lots to Los Angeles for whatever terms they could get. Sale prices ranged from \$110 to \$650 per acre. Some residents held out a while longer, but finally sold their property in 1927 or soon thereafter.²⁹

As the new landowner, Los Angeles leased some of the property back to farmers and maintained the orchard business for a few years in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The city employed a farm supervisor, hired local and out-of-state workers to work in the packing house, and shipped fruit out of the valley under its own label. While the long-range goal was to take the water and allow the land to revert to desert, in the short term it continued to operate and maintain the irrigation works. LADWP employees even replaced one faulty mile-long section of pipeline with a concrete-lined ditch. With the onset of the Great Depression in the 1929, the LADWP finally abandoned the orchard business.³⁰

Japanese American Identity before the War

Japanese immigration to the United States began in the 1880s as a tiny trickle of mostly upper-class students and businessmen. It turned into a small stream of a few thousand immigrants per year in the 1890s as farmers, laborers, and craftsmen found

²⁸ Sauder, "Owens Valley's Abandoned Landscapes," 66.

²⁹ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 146-47, 150.

³⁰ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 149.

means to go abroad to find better paying work than was available in Japan.³¹ Most of these Japanese entered the United States as sojourners, hoping to accumulate a bit of wealth (or education) and then return to their homeland, though a substantial majority of them ended up becoming permanent residents. Although the Japanese in America represented a very small group in a nation of immigrants, they encountered strong anti-Asian feeling that had built up around the more significant Chinese immigrant population in the decades before the Japanese began to arrive. The anti-Asian feeling was strongest on the West Coast and especially in California, where most of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants settled.³²

Race prejudice against the Japanese gave rise to legal and social barriers aimed at excluding Japanese immigrants from participating in much of American life. They were excluded from becoming U.S. citizens, from pursuing certain types of work, from owning real estate, and from marrying Caucasians. Ultimately, the U.S. Congress excluded further Japanese immigration in the Immigration Act of 1924. By then the Japanese immigrant population was lopsidedly male, and many of the men had been forced by circumstance to remain single into middle or old age. Women began emigrating in significant numbers only after 1900. Among first-generation Japanese immigrants, known as *Issei*, many marriage partnerships formed between older men and younger women. The 1920 census recorded 110,010 “Japanese” living in the mainland United States, with most of that population concentrated in California. Of that number, 29,672 – or about one-fourth – were *Nisei*, or second-generation immigrants. That is, *Nisei* were the first generation of Japanese Americans born in the United States.³³

By the time the United States and Japan went to war in 1941, the population of Japanese Americans in the mainland United States had increased to 127,000, while the percentage of American-born *Nisei* in the population had risen to about two-thirds of the total. Among all ethnic groups in the United States who began as a minority population of immigrants, the second generation is characteristically transitional. Often, members of the first generation hold on to cultural traditions of the old country, while members of the second generation are much more inclined to assimilate into the majority or “dominant” culture. Among Japanese Americans, the distinction between first-generation *Issei* and second-generation *Nisei* was even sharper. The discrete time period of Japanese immigration from about 1891 to 1924 strongly affected the demographics of the Japanese American population. In 1942, the median age of *Nisei* was just seventeen years old, with few individuals as old as forty. *Issei* were an aging population of about forty years old on up. Many *Nisei* had parents, especially fathers, who were a long generation older than they. *Nisei*, being American-born, enjoyed

³¹ In the late nineteenth century, Japan was experiencing rapid modernization and industrialization. Much of the rural peasantry moved to cities to work in factories. Although literacy rose dramatically during the Meiji Restoration, the common people suffered repressive political and economic policies as Japan began its ascent to becoming a major world power.

³² Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 1-15; Robert A. Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1980), 28-57.

³³ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 56-57; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 79-105.

basic rights as U.S. citizens, such as the right to own a home or business. Issei were still denied the privilege to become naturalized U.S. citizens. Because Issei were required by U.S. law to live in the country as foreign nationals, many of them registered their property in the names of their Nisei children.³⁴

Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the tense foreign relations between the U.S. and Japan were mirrored within some Japanese American communities and within some Japanese American families as Issei and Nisei held divergent views. Some Nisei sided with mainstream American public opinion in condemning Japan's takeover of Manchuria in 1931 and Japan's invasion of China in 1937. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), which Nisei formed in 1930 for the defense of Japanese American civil liberties, was strongly anti-fascist and anti-communist and critical of Japan's rising militarism. Issei, for their part, had wide ranging opinions. Some Issei were skeptical and even critical of Japan's aggressive foreign policy, while others were neutral or quietly sympathized. Having endured many years of racial discrimination by Caucasians, some Issei thought it fitting that Japan should try to oust the Western colonial powers from the Far East and establish its so-called Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.³⁵

Starting in the early 1930s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to keep files on hundreds of Issei men who were regarded as being "potentially dangerous aliens" in the event of war between Japan and the United States. Ironically, the U.S. exclusionist policies served to heighten suspicion toward the Japanese American population. Not only did the Issei retain the status of foreign nationals as a direct result of being denied access to U.S. citizenship, often, too, they spoke in their native language almost exclusively because of limited educational opportunity to become proficient in English, and often they worked in Japanese-owned businesses because of job discrimination.³⁶ Many Issei sent their English-speaking Nisei children to Japan to learn Japanese so they could return to the U.S. and work in those same Japanese firms. The Nisei who received a formal education in Japan were called *Kibei*. With their closer cultural ties to Japan, the *Kibei* formed a distinct subset of the Nisei population.³⁷

³⁴ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 160-85. Also see Daisuke Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1967), 7-39, especially 34-39. Kitagawa described his Japanese American community in the White River Valley in Washington State as being typical of the peculiar demographics of the Japanese in America on the eve of World War II: "Among the Issei we did not have a single man less than fifty or a woman less than forty. Among the Nisei, on the other hand, most were in the fifteen-to-twenty age group. The number of Nisei children in grade school was conspicuously small; and not a single child of Nisei parents had reached kindergarten. Most of the youth attended junior and senior high school or college. A few college graduates were just beginning to become economically independent, and only a handful of Nisei were married." (pp. 7-8)

³⁵ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 185-87.

³⁶ Louis Fiset, *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 27-30.

³⁷ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 166-67.

Relocation and Incarceration

Within hours of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, orders went out from Washington, D.C. to FBI agents in California, Oregon, and Washington State to arrest every Issei man who was listed in FBI files. With the help of local police forces, the FBI made 1,300 arrests by nightfall of the next day. The dragnet eventually widened to 12,000 arrests. Not one of those individuals would ever be convicted of espionage. Most of them had come under suspicion in the first place for no other reason than that they belonged to a Japanese American fraternal society, or taught martial arts or Japanese language classes, or ran a Japanese-language newspaper, or served as a Shinto or Buddhist priest, or were in some other way “guilty by association.” After the attack on Pearl Harbor, most of these Issei men were sent to detention centers for incarceration and questioning until officials were satisfied that they were not a threat to national security. Besides the trauma and anxiety that the mass arrests caused for the men and their families, it had another lasting effect on the whole Japanese American World War II experience: at this moment of crisis, it removed most of the internal leadership from Japanese American communities. By the time these men were released from the detention centers and allowed to rejoin their families in relocation centers such as Manzanar, others – mostly Nisei – had risen to take their place as community leaders.³⁸

After this initial roundup of suspects on December 7 and 8, several weeks followed in which government officials, politicians, and most West Coast newspapers urged the public to be tolerant and fair minded toward Japanese Americans. By early January, however, unfounded reports of Japanese American collusion with the enemy became rife. The delay in this so-called “war hysteria” is significant. Historian Allan R. Bosworth interpreted it as evidence that the rumors, erroneous radio and newspaper reports, and baseless charges made by public officials against Japanese Americans were manufactured by the same groups that had pushed for Japanese exclusion in the 1920s. “When war finally came,” Bosworth wrote, “the pressure groups in California had been generally inactive for a decade, but they had not been disbanded.” In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, these groups saw an opportunity to “evacuate or permanently get rid of the Japanese.” A spokesperson for Native Sons of the Golden West declared, “This is our time to get things done that we have been trying to get done for a quarter of a century.”³⁹

The nativists found an ally in Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command, who recommended that “all alien subjects fourteen years and over, of enemy nations” must be evacuated from the West Coast. Probably influenced by rumors in the press, DeWitt suggested that subversive radio transmissions were going out from U.S. port cities to aid the enemy in making submarine attacks on U.S. coastal shipping.⁴⁰ Yet DeWitt’s suspicions fell harder on Japanese foreign nationals than on

³⁸ Allan R. Bosworth, *America’s Concentration Camps* (New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), 45-46; Fiset, *Imprisoned Apart*, 28-29.

³⁹ Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II* (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986), 81.

⁴⁰ Bosworth, *America’s Concentration Camps*, 56-57, 62-63.

their German and Italian counterparts. “A Jap is a Jap,” he later said, with obvious racist overtones. Repeating the hateful phrase with a variety of embellishments over the following months, DeWitt ensured that his anti-Japanese rhetoric became widely quoted in the press.⁴¹

President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, authorizing the War Department to establish military areas for the protection of ports and other facilities and to evacuate civilians from those designated areas. As interpreted and implemented by the War Department, the scope of the evacuation was broadened from Japanese American “aliens” (that is, Issei, who had never been allowed to become naturalized U.S. citizens) to “all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien” (that is, including Nisei, who were, of course, U.S. citizens).⁴² The evacuation order violated those citizens’ basic constitutional rights: the Fifth Amendment right to due process and the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection under the law.

The Manzanar War Relocation Center

The relocation of people of Japanese ancestry began with a period of “voluntary” evacuation in March 1942, followed by a period of mandatory evacuation in April and May. Japanese Americans were directed to assembly centers pending the construction of camps where they would be confined for an indefinite period. It was a frightening, disorienting time for Japanese Americans. In their initial, panicked response to the news of Pearl Harbor, many took the precaution of destroying every Japanese artifact in their homes, fearing that the items could be interpreted as evidence of loyalty to Japan and disloyalty to the United States. Some of them wondered, as they were being forcibly removed from their homes, whether they were actually being taken away for execution in reprisal for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Even as the evacuation orders became better understood, Japanese Americans felt tremendous anxiety and uncertainty over what to expect. Officials advised them to pack only a few essential belongings, yet rumors flew that whatever property they left behind would be stolen or lost or even purposely destroyed.⁴³

Yet in spite of all the fear and uncertainty, Japanese Americans by and large cooperated with the evacuation orders to show their loyalty, patriotism, and willingness to “do their part” for the war effort. Many boarded buses and trains without knowing their destination. The bus and train windows were usually covered

⁴¹ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 81; John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 81.

⁴² Western Defense Command and Wartime Civil Control Administration announcement quoted in Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 195.

⁴³ Janice L. Dubel, “Remembering a Japanese-American Concentration Camp at Manzanar National Historic Site,” in *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*, edited by Paul A. Shackel (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 88-89; Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei*, 61-62.

so that, among other reasons (including public animosity), passengers would not know where they were when they arrived at their new locations.⁴⁴

Most assembly centers were hastily put together at fairgrounds and racetracks. They were administered by the Army-controlled Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA). People experienced frightfully unhealthy and demeaning conditions in the assembly centers. Historian John W. Dower has described some of the most abominable cases:

In the state of Washington, two thousand Japanese-Americans were crowded into a single filthy building in the Portland stockyard, where they slept on gunnysacks filled with straw. In California, evacuees were squeezed into stalls in the stables at racetracks such as Santa Anita and Tanforan. At the Santa Anita assembly center, which eventually housed eighty-five hundred Japanese-Americans, only four days elapsed between the removal of the horses and the arrival of the first Japanese-Americans; the only facilities for bathing were the horse showers, and here as elsewhere the stench of manure lingered indefinitely. Other evacuees were initially housed in horse or cattle stalls at various fairgrounds. At the Puyallup assembly center in Washington (which was called Camp Harmony), some were even lodged in converted pigpens. The only redeeming touch of grace in these circumstances lay in the dignity of the victims themselves.⁴⁵

On March 18, 1942, President Roosevelt (FDR) issued Executive Order 9102, establishing a civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), to take over responsibility for the whole relocation program. Construction of the Manzanar camp began under WCCA auspices and was initially called the Owens Valley Reception Center. It was turned over to the WRA on June 1, 1942, and named the Manzanar War Relocation Center.⁴⁶

The whole facility encompassed approximately 5,700 acres, while the camp, encircled by barbed-wire fencing, covered about 540 acres at the core of the project. The camp portion was laid out on a grid pattern of roads and firebreaks that divided the area into sixty-seven blocks, including thirty-six residential blocks, two staff housing blocks, an administrative block, two warehouse blocks, a garage block, and a hospital block. The remaining blocks were left vacant to serve as firebreaks. The complex aligned with and partially overlapped the one-square-mile of the abandoned Manzanar town site. The entire camp was built on land owned by the City of Los Angeles. The WRA leased the land from the LADWP for \$25,000 per year.⁴⁷

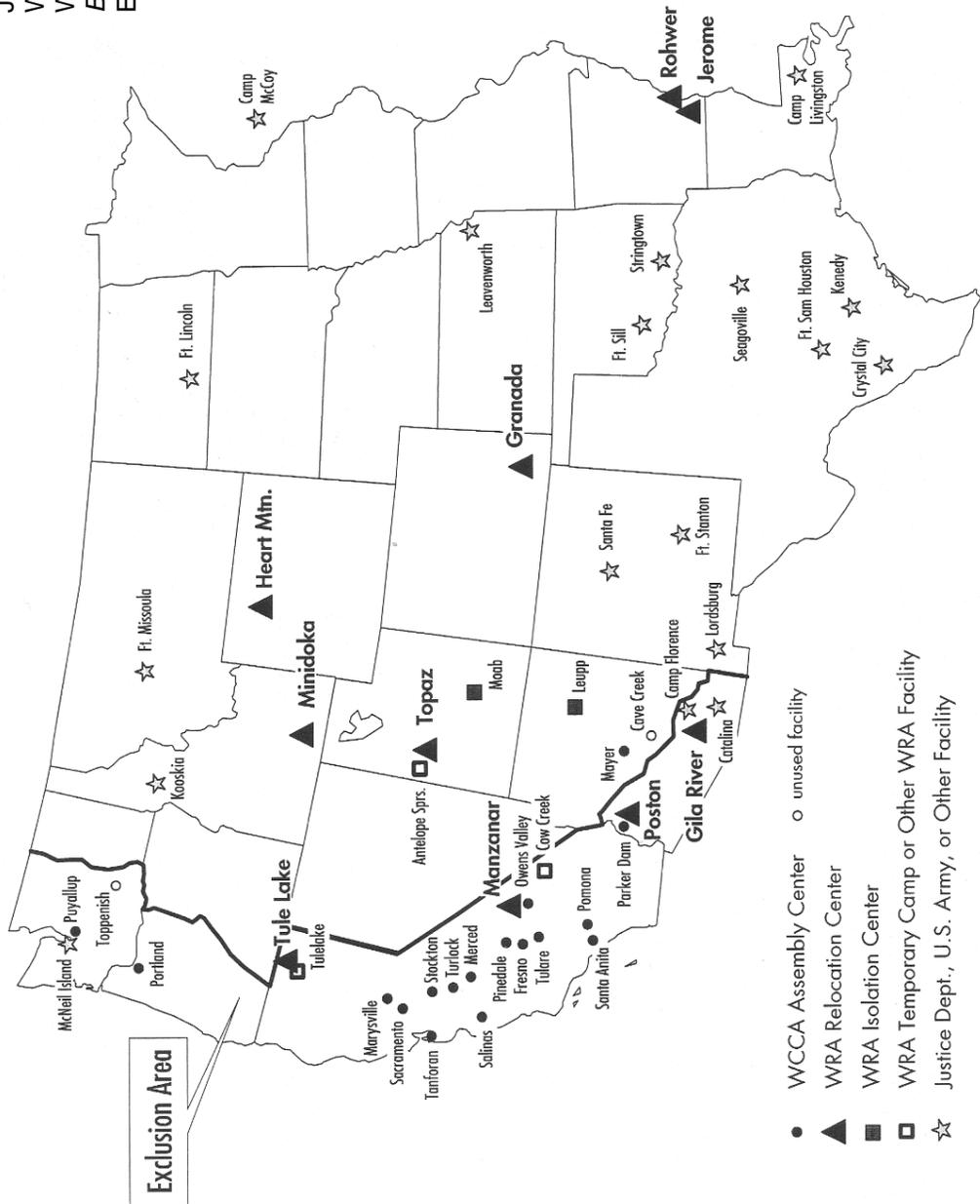
⁴⁴ Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei*, 60, 74.

⁴⁵ Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 82.

⁴⁶ Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Publications in Anthropology 74 (Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1999), 162.

⁴⁷ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 45-46; Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 163.

Map 2. Sites in the western U.S. associated with the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. Manzanar was one of ten WRA relocation centers. Source: Burton et al., Confinement and Ethnicity.



The main construction at Manzanar consisted of rows and rows of barracks. The standard residential block contained two rows of seven barracks, with a mess hall and recreation building at the west end of the block, and a men's latrine, women's latrine, laundry room, and ironing room located down the center. Construction of the camp's eight guard towers began in June 1942, and a barbed-wire fence completely enclosing the camp along its perimeter was completed by the end of the year.⁴⁸

After initial construction, more buildings were added using paid labor among the incarcerated population. These additional structures included eighteen residential buildings for camp personnel, the high school auditorium, two sentry posts (one utilized by U.S. Army soldiers and the other utilized by the camp's internal police), among others. Outside the camp area, the Manzanar War Relocation Center included a chicken farm, a hog farm, agricultural fields, and a major expansion of an existing reservoir development on Shepherd Creek.⁴⁹

Camp Life

The first Japanese Americans, mostly young Nisei, arrived at Manzanar by bus from Los Angeles on March 21, 1942. Called "volunteers" at the time, these eighty-one individuals had agreed to come early to help with camp construction. Another 800 or so workers came within a few days. In the following weeks, people arrived by train and bus, and the population shot up to 7,000 in late April and reached nearly 10,000 by July. The Japanese Americans quickly set to work organizing the community; many volunteered to greet newcomers and assist them with needs ranging from clothing to marital dispute mediation. On April 11, 1942, they began publication of a camp newspaper, the *Manzanar Free Press*. In that first issue appeared an announcement that parents should register toddlers for preschool, which began four days later. Initially, young adults tutored children and teenagers in their studies, helping them finish course work following their midsemester removal from their schools at home. The Japanese Americans soon opened camp schools for these students even before the War Relocation Authority hired a superintendent of schools that June 15.

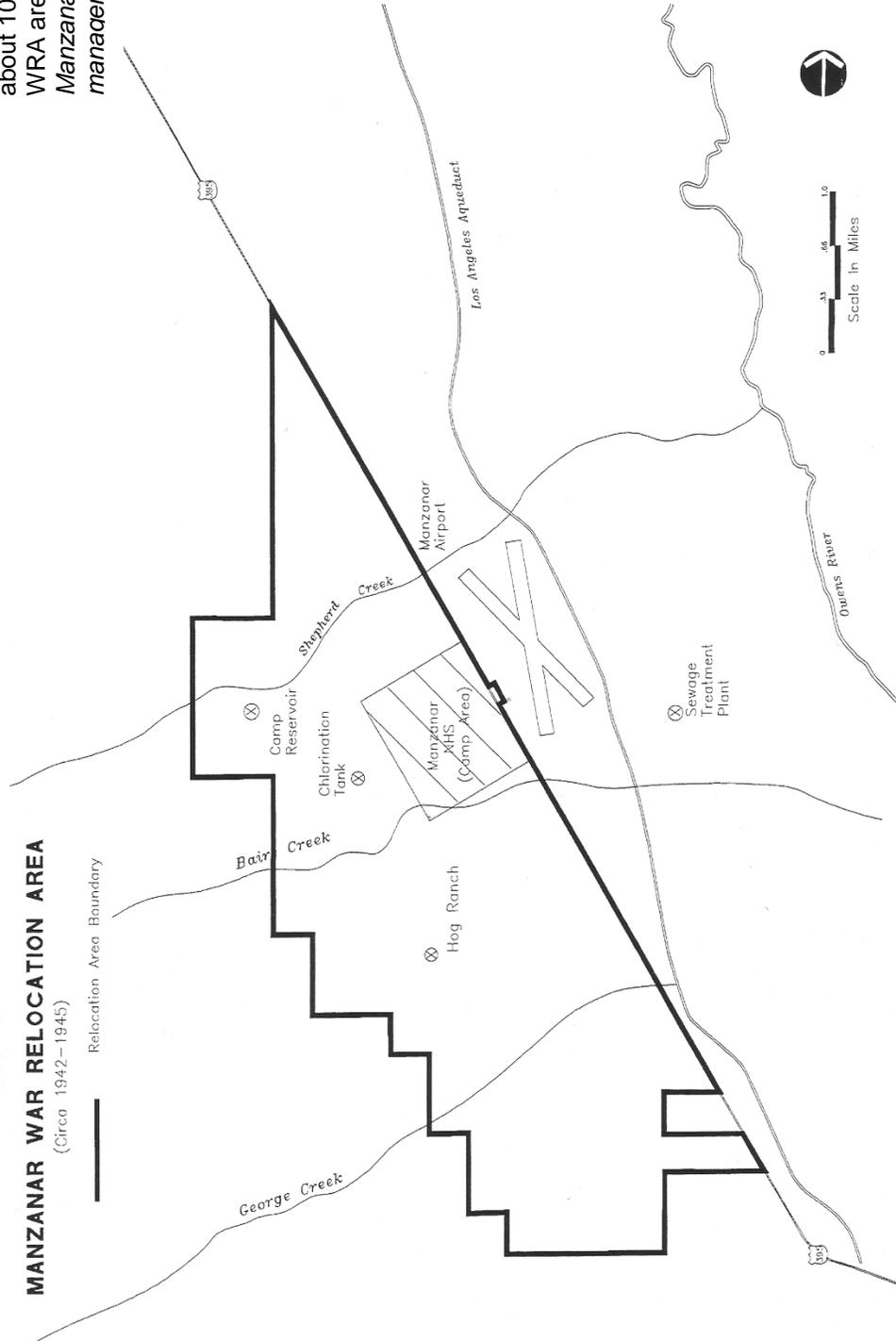
After the WRA took over administration from the War Department on June 1, 1942, the independent agency focused on making the camp as self-sufficient as possible. Japanese Americans planted and cultivated agricultural fields outside the barbed wire, provided medical and dental care, and worked in mess halls, in schools, and in every other facet of community life.

Many people incarcerated at Manzanar found its environmental setting to be challenging. Most of them had come from Los Angeles, with smaller contingents from the California towns of Stockton and Florin and from Bainbridge Island,

⁴⁸ Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 163.

⁴⁹ Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 163-71.

Map 3. Manzanar War Relocation Center, 1942-1945. The barbed-wire enclosed camp comprised about 10 percent of the total WRA area. *Source: Manzanar general management plan, 1996.*



Washington. The desolation and emptiness of the Owens Valley formed a striking contrast with the greener and much more populous West Coast, heightening their feelings of exile and confinement. In summer, the hot, dry winds blew dust through the cracks in their cheaply built barracks. In winter, cold temperatures made living in primitive, close quarters even more uncomfortable. Despite these hardships, many Japanese Americans took satisfaction in growing their own food in Victory Gardens and agricultural fields, and in nursing fruit trees back to health. Many also invested considerable labor in beautifying their blocks with numerous ornamental gardens and rock-lined paths.

Whole Japanese American communities were relocated to Manzanar and packed into confined spaces right next to each other. For example, strawberry farmers from Bainbridge Island came to occupy Block 3 adjacent to fishermen's families from Terminal Island, Los Angeles, who were housed in Blocks 9 and 10. Each barracks building originally was divided into four apartments, and each apartment was intended to house eight people. Early on, some families had to share space with nonfamily members, or in some cases families had to split up, until apartment partitions were adjusted to better accommodate specific family sizes. Eventually most barracks contained five smaller but more private apartments. All children of Japanese ancestry in the West Coast evacuation area who were orphaned before or during the war were sent to Manzanar; a total of 101 children, plus staff, lived in a three-building complex known as the Children's Village.⁵⁰

The Caucasian WRA staff of around 300 lived in quarters within the camp's barbed-wire perimeter, with most residing in separate housing erected, in time, in the southeast corner of the camp that was known as the administration area. Referred to by some incarcerated people as "Beverly Hills," the staff housing was built to a higher standard with better amenities. There was some socializing between WRA families and the Japanese Americans, especially between staff children and the younger Nisei, but the military police who were housed outside the barbed wire were ordered "not to talk to their charges." Originally about one hundred soldiers were assigned to the camp, although this number fluctuated over time.⁵¹

The WRA and many of the those incarcerated aimed to make Manzanar function as much like an ordinary municipality as possible. Manzanar had a fire department and an internal Japanese American police force, overseen by WRA officers. There was also a public works department, an education department (serving the camp's preschool through adult education needs), a recreation department, and the

⁵⁰ Wehrey, *Manzanar*, 43; NPS reviewers' comments, November 28, 2016. Of the ten World War II camps, Manzanar was the only one to operate an orphanage. Some of the orphans at Manzanar had been removed from their adoptive non-Japanese-American homes by the federal government, powerfully illustrating that the incarceration of Japanese Americans was driven not by military necessity but by racism. Others were orphaned during the war because of circumstances spawned by incarceration, such as forced or voluntary parental separations or deaths. Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

⁵¹ Wehrey, *Manzanar*, 43, quotation on 56.

camp newspaper. There were four churches: one Catholic, one Protestant, and two Buddhist, ministering to four sects – Shinshu, Nichiren, Shingonshu, and Zenshu.⁵²

Friction developed around the WRA's efforts to establish an elected government at Manzanar. Top officials in Washington, D.C. tried to make U.S. citizenship a requirement for holding elective office in the WRA camps, which some incarcerated people felt blatantly discriminated against Issei. Efforts to form a charter and elect a legislative body foundered, and all Manzanar achieved in the way of elective government was a system of block managers in which each block manager was elected by block residents. Block managers could be, and often were, Issei. The block manager had responsibility for supervising grounds and maintaining buildings, distributing supplies, and communicating block residents' worries and complaints to WRA staff. As the people confined in Manzanar had many grave concerns about what would happen to their property on the West Coast, and other related matters, it fell to the block managers to relay those concerns to the camp administrator. When the system proved inadequate to deal with those issues, many took the view that the block managers were acting as "stool pigeons" for the WRA administration, collaborating with the oppressor. Objections to the WRA's use of block managers, and resentment of some of the individuals holding those positions, raised tensions among factions with differing views on how best to navigate life in a confined community.⁵³

Similar tensions developed around employment in the camp. While most incarcerated workers were in the fields and mess halls, the WRA and Manzanar Cooperative Enterprises established a few industries at Manzanar to provide more people with opportunities to earn income. Individual responses to work offerings varied widely. While many, especially Issei women, found the workplace uplifting, others, especially Issei men, thought the combination of living behind barbed wire and working for wages was too much to bear. Some refused to work, and some passed the time by gambling and drinking. One person later wrote that the Issei men "looked as if they had suddenly aged ten years." The breakdown of morale among Issei men affected the whole population of people incarcerated in the camp.⁵⁴

The camp's camouflage net factory presented a unique problem, as it was making a type of war materiel, a product to be used directly on the battle fronts. Citing the Geneva Convention of 1929, the WRA staff ruled that those factory jobs were only available to U.S. citizens. Under convention terms, prisoners of war (POWs) could not be employed in making war materiel, since it could directly harm their fellow nationals. The WRA held that the Issei, as Japanese nationals, came under the protections of the Geneva Convention and therefore could not work in the camouflage net factory. The ruling upset many in the camp community who objected to Issei being equated with prisoners of war. Others thought that the policy discriminated against the Issei from a labor standpoint, as the net factory paid as well

⁵² Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, 76-81; NPS reviewers' comments, November 28, 2016.

⁵³ Lon Kurashige, "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest," *Pacific Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (August 2001), 391.

⁵⁴ Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei*, 91-92.

as any job in camp. It was outrageous, they believed, that those jobs were filled by young unskilled Nisei when the Terminal Island fishermen, who had worked with nets for many years, had to take menial jobs outside the factory.⁵⁵

By early December 1942, stressors of camp life – “growing grievances about the injustice of confinement, harsh living conditions, uncertainty of the future, suspicion of those in power, and building tensions between factions of Japanese Americans,” as NPS interpreters would describe them seven decades later – came to a head. The evening of December 6, a crowd of 500 men gathered at the Manzanar police station to demand the release of popular camp activist Harry Ueno, who was accused of beating Fred Tayama the night before. (Tayama, a man reviled by many, was rumored to be an FBI informant.⁵⁶) Some demonstrators hurled rocks at the military police outside the station. When the mass of men refused to disperse after several hours, military police threw tear gas canisters into the crowd. In the ensuing chaos, some fleeing the gas ran toward the police line, and privates Tobe Moore and Roman Cherubini fired their weapons. James Ito, 17, and James Kanagawa, 21, were killed, and nine others were injured in what came to be known as the Manzanar “Riot.” Extensive historical analysis has been done of this tragic, confounding incident. The Manzanar “Riot” evinces that the Japanese American relocation program was fraught with conflict, in this case with lethal consequences.⁵⁷

In early 1943, as a precursor to recruiting incarcerated individuals for military service and releasing others from confinement, the U.S. Army and the WRA forced all adults held in the camps to respond to loyalty questionnaires. Questions 27 and 28 – one asking incarcerated individuals if they would serve in the U.S. military and the other asking if they would denounce Japan and swear total allegiance to the United States – created havoc for all those Japanese Americans who felt alienated, or at least deeply ambivalent, over the government’s policy of relocation. Those who answered the two questions in the negative were labeled the “no no’s” and were moved to the Tule Lake Segregation Center in Northern California; some of these individuals chose to be expatriated or repatriated to Japan, which commenced after the end of the war. The loyalty questions further exacerbated tensions at Manzanar, within the incarcerated population and between incarcerated individuals and WRA administrators.

Still another unfortunate aspect of camp life for many was the breakdown of traditional familial relationships. The mess halls were especially corrosive of family structure. Mothers lost the nurturing role of preparing meals for the family, and fathers lost the dignified role of presiding over the head of the table. Teenage Nisei often sought out different mess halls from the ones where their elders ate. As teenagers typically ate their meals with each other and apart from their parents, the

⁵⁵ Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 102-03; Harlan Unrau, *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: Historical Study of the Manzanar Relocation Center* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1996), 432-33.

⁵⁶ He was eventually exposed as such.

⁵⁷ Text from the two draft Manzanar “Riot” wayside exhibits in development at MANZ, provided by Patricia Biggs, November 28, 2016; Kurashige, “Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest,” 387-417.

mess hall routine further undermined Nisei respect for the older generation. Many people who lived through the camp experience found that it did irreparable damage to family relationships.⁵⁸

Schools were organized early on at Manzanar. Rose Hanawa Tanaka, who was school age when her family arrived at Manzanar in July 1942, remembered that the first schools were primitive, without desks, chairs or books. She admired the teachers who volunteered to come to the camps. One teacher did her the kindness to get her a prom dress on a trip to the city, since Tanaka was unable to shop for one on her own. There were three high school graduations at Manzanar but the middle one, the Class of '44, stood out. While the Class of '43 barely had time to get to know one another, students in the Class of '44 shared camp life over a span of two years and graduated in the new auditorium building. By graduation time in the following year, the population of Manzanar was dispersing, so the Class of '45 was smaller and less cohesive again.⁵⁹

The camps were set up under the assumption that they were for the short term, and the WRA had to improvise and adjust as the time lengthened. In 1943, the WRA developed a system for reducing the numbers of incarcerated Japanese Americans. Individuals who found someone outside the camp to sponsor them, and whose new place of residence would be outside the West Coast evacuation zone, were allowed to go to their sponsor and take a job or enter a college or university in the sponsor's location. The younger generation pursued those opportunities most aggressively, with many leaving the camps in 1944 and early 1945.⁶⁰

Camp Dismantlement and Site Vacancy, 1945-1969

On December 17, 1944, with the tide of war decisively turned and FDR's victory in the 1944 Presidential election complete, the government announced that the exclusion orders were being lifted and that the camps would be closed within one year. While many people had already left the camps by then, all those who were still incarcerated in 1945 were told to make plans to return to their former homes on the West Coast or look for a new situation elsewhere. As people departed the camps, the WRA provided them bus or train fare and a few days of per diem to reach their destination. Some found it difficult to leave the camps, knowing that another round of challenges awaited them on the outside. Elderly persons in particular were fearful of how they would be treated by the communities they had left behind in 1942. The exodus from the camps reached 15,000 a month by the fall of 1945, but the WRA had to cajole the last of the residents to leave. Nine of the ten relocation camps, including Manzanar, were entirely depopulated by the end of the year. Tule Lake, because it

⁵⁸ Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1973; reprint, New York: Ember/Random House, Inc., 2012), 35-46; Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei*, 86.

⁵⁹ Rose Hanawa Tanaka, interviewed by Alisa Lynch, August 2011, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁶⁰ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 83.

held many incarcerated people awaiting repatriation and expatriation to Japan, was not completely emptied until March 20, 1946.⁶¹

As the relocation centers were emptied of their former residents, the WRA turned its attention to disposing of camp buildings and assisting its 3,000 employees in finding other jobs. Together, the WRA facilities contained an estimated \$100,000,000 worth of government property. About one-third of that total was in moveable assets and about two-thirds was in fixed assets. The WRA turned over a fraction of the moveable assets to the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) and the rest to the War Assets Administration. The fixed assets – the buildings and infrastructure contained in all the camps – were transferred from the WRA to various other federal agencies. The WRA was liquidated by executive order on June 30, 1946, with a majority of its personnel receiving transfers to other federal agencies.⁶²

The last Japanese Americans left Manzanar on November 21, 1945. The WRA took a few months to dispose of misplaced or abandoned personal property found in the barracks, perform other site cleanup, and liquidate the camp's moveable assets. Then it transferred administration of the site to the General Land Office (GLO) in the Department of the Interior. Since the government had taken control of the site in June 1942 under a condemnation decree, the GLO assumed the role of a temporary custodian of the site while the War Assets Administration completed the job of disposing of surplus property and preparing the site for transfer back to its owner, the City of Los Angeles.

Manzanar's vast rows of barracks and most other structures were dismantled and hauled away or demolished during the summer and fall of 1946. In the first phase of the project, thirty-six buildings were transferred to the FPHA to help meet the housing needs of returning veterans. Eleven buildings were trucked away, and the other twenty-five buildings – the former WRA staff quarters – were kept on site as a temporary Manzanar housing project. In the second phase, the remaining buildings together with all other infrastructure such as the water system were advertised for sale in fifteen sale units. Only nineteen bids were received and ten were accepted. Successful bidders removed a total of ninety buildings from the site. Some of these buildings were put to use as motel units and for other purposes; others were turned into salvage lumber. In the third phase, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was called upon to develop plans for demolition and salvage of approximately 742 buildings still on the premises. Under the Corps' plans, each set of barracks was flattened, dismantled into salvage material, and advertised for sale, with veterans being offered a preferential price of \$333.13. The package of salvage material included "8000 square feet of seasoned pine and redwood lumber, 1000 square feet of wallboard, 22 slide windows, four interior doors, 200 feet of wiring and six electrical outlets." The package came with a set of floor plans for building a small house from the material. In November 1946, a special sale was held for veterans and more than a hundred were sold. Most of the packages went to veterans in Bishop, Independence, and Lone Pine;

⁶¹ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 43.

⁶² Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 797-99, 805.

a dozen were shipped as far as Los Angeles. Other packages of salvage material were sold to veterans' hospitals and the newly formed Inyo County Hospital Association.⁶³

The fourth and final phase of demolition and cleanup targeted the rest of the camp's infrastructure: various utility buildings including the large auditorium building, water system components, electrical system poles and wiring, concrete slabs on which buildings had stood, the sewer system, barbed-wire fencing, fifteen miles of oiled roadway, and more. However, the City of Los Angeles agreed to accept the property being returned to it with all those fixtures and facilities "undisturbed and in place." As part of the settlement, the city also received rent for the many months that the GLO held the site beyond the term of the original condemnation decree. The settlement was entered in court on April 1, 1947, on which day the property reverted to the City of Los Angeles under control of the LADWP.⁶⁴

In the fall of 1946, while the site still belonged to the GLO, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) Post 8036 of Lone Pine expressed interest in acquiring the auditorium for use as a club house and meeting hall. U.S. Senator William F. Knowland (R-California) asked the War Assets Administration to consider disposing of the building to the VFW for less than the GLO's asking price of \$6,250. Although the VFW was unsuccessful in buying the property, Inyo County purchased it for \$6,500 and leased it to the VFW for a period of five years, which saved it from demolition. When the five-year lease was up, Inyo County started using the building as a repair and storage garage for its road maintenance vehicles.⁶⁵

The other surviving camp buildings, the former WRA staff quarters, were put to use for temporary veterans housing by 1947. Evidently the LADWP leased the premises to the FPHA or some other administrative entity. An LADWP memo dated October 8, 1947, which referred to the matter of water billing, stated that there were then 178 people living in the Manzanar housing project and that the population had dropped from a peak of 225. Altogether there were sixty-four apartment units in twenty-five buildings. Besides veterans and their families, the tenant population included LADWP employees. The Manzanar housing project seems to have remained in use until the end of the decade. In 1951, the housing project was terminated and the buildings were vacated. In January 1952, the LADWP advertised for bids for the removal of the surplus buildings.⁶⁶

⁶³ Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 813-15.

⁶⁴ Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 807, 818; *United States of America vs. 5,700 acres of land*, Stipulation for Amendment of Second Amended Final Judgment and Decree in Condemnation and Judgment for Deficiency and Order Thereon, April 1, 1947, and Cecil A. Borden to Clyde Errett, August 15, 1947, Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP) files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop, Calif.

⁶⁵ John McMurray to Senator William F. Knowland, September 27, 1946, and John J. O'Brien to Knowland, October 17, 1946, Harlan Unrau research files, MANZ library; Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 814-15; Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 107.

⁶⁶ T. R. Silvius to B. S. Grant, October 8, 1947, and Notice Inviting Sealed Bids for Purchase and Removal of Surplus Buildings at Manzanar, Inyo County, California," January 30, 1952, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop.

With the camp nearly obliterated, the City of Los Angeles leased most of the area to local ranchers for grazing use. The LADWP also did some grading and ditching in the area as part of its strategy of “water spreading” to increase capture of groundwater. Over the years, the former camp’s defunct streets and fire lanes became partially obscured by drifting sand and vegetation. Abandoned gardens built by Japanese Americans dried up and filled with sand. Fruit trees that Japanese Americans had nursed back to health were once again denied the life-giving water that they required, and many withered and died, though a surprising number survived due to the high-water table.

The surviving fruit trees attracted local fruit pickers. Townspeople sometimes went on group outings to Manzanar to harvest apples and pears from the two kinds of tree that still produced fruit. They also harvested wild asparagus and collected firewood. The LADWP apparently permitted locals to help themselves to trees that were dead and down.⁶⁷

Prior to the camp’s construction, an airport was built just east of the Manzanar site in 1941, with federal funds and for defense purposes, on leased land that today is separated from the national historic site by U.S. 395. A pilot training school operated there during the war years. The airport was abandoned in 1956. The paved runways were used for experimental tests by Aerojet General of Downey, California during the winter of 1968-69.⁶⁸

While not much else remained of the World War II-era relocation camp, a cemetery still existed on the west edge of the former camp perimeter. According to a camp record made in June 1945, the cemetery reportedly contained eighty burials at one time. But Manzanar’s director, Ralph Merritt, contradicted this record in a memorandum written six months later when he stated that the number of burials reached no more than twenty-eight. According to Merritt, over 135 people died during nearly four years of operation of the camp but in most cases the remains of the deceased were sent elsewhere to be buried. As the camp population dispersed in 1945, most of the burial remains in the Manzanar cemetery were exhumed for reburial someplace else. The camp record made in June 1945 stated that only fifteen of the graves were still there at that time, and Merritt stated in his memorandum that the number of remaining burials in January 1946 stood at six. Relatives of two of the deceased had expressed their wishes that the gravesites not be disturbed, and no relatives of the other four deceased had been found. Merritt’s instructions to the senior engineer of public works were to place markers on those six permanent graves and build a “three-wire fence, with posts 4 feet high, around the smallest area of the Manzanar Cemetery necessary.” Those six graves, a bit of broken-down fencing, and one stout obelisk standing over the site were all that remained of the cemetery in 1969.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Robert Gracey, interviewed by Richard Potashin, June 24, 2002, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁶⁸ Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 820. Also, the airstrip was used for car racing in 1971 and 1972.

⁶⁹ Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 802-03; Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar* Part 1, 81.

Chapter Two

Return to Manzanar, 1969-1973

On December 27, 1969, about 150 people met at Manzanar for what would become known as the first Manzanar Pilgrimage.¹ The group was made up mostly of young people of Japanese ancestry from Los Angeles and the Bay Area. They arrived in cars and buses at the Manzanar cemetery, where they stood in a cutting wind, took in the scene, swapped stories, made speeches, and recalled the infamous mass incarceration during World War II. Twenty-four years had elapsed from when the Manzanar relocation camp was shut down to when these individuals gathered together at the Manzanar cemetery. A generation had passed. Many of the Issei who had been incarcerated were now elderly or deceased. The Nisei who in the time of World War II were young adults and children were now well into middle age. It was mostly *Sansei*, or third-generation Japanese Americans, yet unborn in 1945, who participated in the pilgrimage.

These young Japanese Americans traveled to the Owens Valley to learn about their past and to better define who they were, knowing simply that they were a distinct ethnic group shaped by their Japanese heritage and their unique history in the United States. Their immediate aim was to provoke a dialogue within their own ethnic community, chiefly between Nisei and Sansei, concerning what had happened to them as a people during World War II. The leaders of the pilgrimage had a larger aim, to make Manzanar a symbol that would help Japanese Americans find their place in the civil rights movement. Historic preservation was not their initial goal, but they soon came in contact with a local preservation group in the Owens Valley and with officials in state government who were considering some kind of landmark or historic site designation. Soon after the first pilgrimage, this group of Japanese Americans wanted to pursue some form of tangible commemoration for Manzanar as well, with a view to making the Japanese American story there into a valuable history lesson for all Americans.

Japanese American Issues in the Postwar Era

The Sansei who were born after World War II were part of the baby boom generation who reached adulthood in the late 1960s. The values of many Sansei reflected the values of other young Americans in their same age cohort. Among these like-minded Sansei, many shared in the anti-establishment mood of their generation.

¹ Estimates of the number who attended vary from 150 to 250.

They were dubious about the world order they had inherited from the Second World War. They felt empowered by the counterculture. They rejected their parents' materialism, as well as their parents' slavish attitude of having a career and becoming financially secure. They were drawn to the mass protest movements of the times, especially the antiwar and civil rights movements since these movements had special significance for them as Asian Americans.

Most Sansei in the late 1960s had only a vague knowledge of the forced removal and incarceration experience that their parents and grandparents had been through. It was hard for them to get information about it. School textbooks ignored the subject, and very few history books had been written on it. (One of the first popular accounts, *America's Concentration Camps*, by Allan R. Bosworth, was published in 1967.) Young Japanese Americans' knowledge about these events came mostly from stories told in the home and in bits of overheard adult conversation. Older Japanese Americans of their parents' generation often talked about life in the camps as part of polite conversation when getting acquainted with other Japanese Americans. "What camp were you in?" "Did you and your husband meet in camp?" "Did you know so-and-so who lived in Block x?" The camp years were a common frame of reference, a familiar touchstone, and oddly, the camp stories many Sansei grew up with were often happy ones. Stories about baseball games, dances, fishing. To many Sansei, it seemed as though camp life was being remembered like it had been a summer vacation. As these Sansei came into their teens and early twenties, they began to suspect that the nostalgic tone of these stories was a cover for darker things not spoken of. The Sansei wanted a more frank and honest telling of events. And they were frustrated when the Nisei generation demurred, saying they did not want to dwell on the past.²

Social science research has shown that the World War II camp experience inflicted psychological trauma on the people incarcerated, that the victims carried these psychological wounds for many years afterwards, and that these wounds sometimes were passed on unwittingly to the next generation. Psychologists and mental health professionals came to adopt the term "historical trauma" to describe these cross-generational psychological wounds borne by a whole people.³ These concepts did not yet exist in 1969. But many young Sansei were familiar with the idea of repressed emotions, and they recognized shame and guilt. And it tormented some when their parents evaded their inquiries or tried to discourage them from asking questions. Edison Uno, a civil rights activist and professor who spoke at the 1969

² Furutani interview (2014); Bruce Embrey, interviewed by Theodore Catton and Diane Krahe, December 1, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection; Gann Matsuda, "Manzanar Committee Statement on the Passing of Victor H. Shibata, One of the Founders of the Manzanar Pilgrimage" (2012), at <http://blog.manzanarcommittee.org> <September 15, 2015>.

³ See Donna K. Nagata, *Legacy of Injustice: Exploring the Cross-Generational Impact of the Japanese American Internment* (New York: Springer, 1993); E.R. Apfelbaum, "And Now What, After Such Tribulations? Memory and Dislocation in the Era of Uprooting," *American Psychologist* 55 (2000): 1008-1013; Nagata, Jackie H.J. Kim, and Teresa U. Nguyen, "Processing Cultural Trauma: Intergenerational Effects of the Japanese American Incarceration," *Journal of Social Issues* 71 (2015): 356-370.

pilgrimage, likened the Nisei's silence on the subject to a rape victim's reluctance to report an assault.⁴

Other conceptual tools for understanding the trauma of the forced removal and incarceration were then coming into currency through the burgeoning civil rights movement. Warren Furutani, one of the two primary organizers of the 1969 pilgrimage, recalled acquiring a critical insight when he attended a rally in Los Angeles organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC. There he heard the black civil rights activist Stokely Carmichael speak. Furutani heard Carmichael say, "The most important thing for black people to do is to define themselves *for* themselves and *by* themselves." A few days after he heard the speech, Furutani had an epiphany. Change the word "black" to "Asian American," he realized, and the statement spoke directly to him, for it came to the same thing. Every minority group could be empowered by defining itself rather than allowing itself to be defined by the dominant society's assumptions, prejudgments, prejudices, or racism.⁵

Student activists were then calling for new academic studies programs to bring these new perspectives into greater clarity. A student strike at the University of California, Berkeley resulted in the establishment of a black studies program in April 1968. Another student strike at San Francisco State University that same year brought forth the nation's first ethnic studies program, embracing black, Chicano, American Indian, women's, and Asian American studies. The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) formed the UCLA Asian American Studies Center during the 1969-1970 academic year, the first of its kind in the nation. Scholars described this new interdisciplinary form of intellectual discourse and political activism as "identity politics." The black civil rights movement sowed the seeds for a sudden flourishing of identity politics in California and across the nation in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The same fertile ground that sprouted new Asian American studies programs on university campuses up and down the West Coast from San Diego to Seattle also stimulated the movement to remember Manzanar.

As some Sansei of the baby boom generation took part in the student insurgency of the late 1960s and 70s, they found themselves on the cutting edge of a radical or "New Left" critique of the U.S. policy toward Japanese Americans during World War II. According to the "Consensus" school of America history that prevailed in the 1950s and early 1960s, the U.S. government did not have much to apologize for. Its forced evacuation, incarceration, and resettlement policies were not thought to be an egregious breach of civil rights, given the national emergency and the temper of the times. Consensus historians suggested that political leaders, the U.S. Army, and the War Relocation Authority acted within a reasonable framework and performed their duties conscientiously. Moreover, they found the attitude of cooperation shown by the majority of incarcerated Japanese Americans to be praiseworthy.

⁴ Furutani interview (2014).

⁵ Furutani interview (2014).

New Left historians rejected this view, as they rejected the Consensus school's one unified narrative of American history overall. Many New Left historians chose to focus on one segment of the American populace that previously had been marginalized in academic scholarship: African Americans, women, labor, to name a few. Individuals from these Americans subgroups themselves were among this new generation of historians, including Asian Americans. Scholars writing about Japanese American history began to present a very different story of the War World II era, one that lauded those Japanese Americans who resisted incarceration and stood up for their civil rights. The New Left interpretation saw the World War II policy less in terms of wartime exigency and more in terms of anti-Asian, anti-ethnic cultural and institutional patterns that were rooted deep in the nation's past. This emerging new perspective on World War II history appealed to some Japanese Americans and was unsettling to others.⁶

In particular, it touched a nerve with past and present leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League. In March 1942, the JACL leadership had made the controversial decision to urge cooperation with the U.S. government's evacuation and relocation policy. The aim was to secure the JACL's presumed leadership over the Japanese American population and influence the U.S. government to implement the wartime policy in a benevolent manner. When a handful of civil rights cases wended their way to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1943 and 1944, testing the constitutionality of the evacuation order, the JACL provided legal support as an *amicus curiae*, a friend of the court. In these cases, the highest court upheld the wartime policies. Thus, the JACL's position looked like collaboration with the oppressor and was an embarrassment to many Nisei both at the time and in the decades afterward.⁷

After the war, the JACL established offices in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle to assist families returning home, and the organization soon had a multitude of local chapters. The fight for Japanese Americans' civil rights continued. In 1946, the JACL fought a California ballot initiative, Proposition 13, that would have reinforced the state's alien land law of 1913, essentially legitimizing innumerable cases of property theft perpetrated by Caucasians against people of Japanese ancestry while they were incarcerated. Thanks in part to JACL's principled stand against Proposition 13, and in part to changing racial attitudes among the general population, Californians voted down the measure by a solid margin. The JACL also fought for repeal of anti-miscegenation laws in California and other states, and it pushed the U.S. Department of Justice to fulfill the terms of the Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, which was supposed to compensate Japanese Americans for property lost in the evacuation.⁸

The JACL's top priority after World War II was to win repeal of the 1924 Immigration Act so that Issei could at long last apply for U.S. citizenship. Conservative members of Congress attached provisions to the immigration reform

⁶ James P. Shenton, "Ethnicity and Immigration," in *The New American History*, edited by Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 262-263.

⁷ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 249-55; Kurashige, "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest," 391-92; Bruce Embrey interview (2014).

⁸ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 256-60.

legislation that were aimed at preventing Communists from entering the country and gaining citizenship. Liberals strongly opposed these riders as posing a threat to civil liberties. The proposed legislation divided the Japanese Americans, with some arguing that they should stand in defense of universal civil liberties and hold out for immigration reform without the riders, and others saying that they must secure the right of citizenship for Issei without further delay. The JACL adopted the latter position, once again putting pragmatism ahead of principle. The law was passed in 1952, and some 46,000 Issei eventually acquired U.S. citizenship under its onerous terms.⁹

Other barriers to Japanese Americans finally came down with the repeal of California's alien land law in 1956, the repeal of Washington State's alien land law ten years later, and passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which finally abolished the nationality-based quota system that had severely restricted Japanese immigration since 1924.

The 1969 Pilgrimage and Origins of the Manzanar Committee

Warren Furutani and Victor Shibata conceived of the pilgrimage to Manzanar on a weekend morning in December 1969 when they were making their way to an antiwar rally in Oceanside, California. At that time, there were still nearly half a million U.S. troops in Vietnam; the My Lai Massacre had been made public the previous month. The assembly point for the rally was the Green Machine, a coffeehouse located just outside a U.S. Marine Corps base, Camp Pendleton. Known as a "G.I. aid center," the coffeehouse was a place where disillusioned recruits were invited to go for support and advice on how to quit the military and join the antiwar movement. Furutani and Shibata were among about 250 young people, mostly UCLA students, who drove from L.A. to Oceanside to join in the demonstration. Also in the crowd was Angela Davis, the prominent civil rights activist and then assistant professor of philosophy at UCLA. On the street outside the Green Machine the demonstrators combined forces with about 750 Marines from Camp Pendleton who were prepared to march with them and renounce the Vietnam War. As the thousand-strong group of demonstrators marched through downtown Oceanside, they clashed with townspeople and riot police. Objects were thrown at them. Death threats were made against Davis. At the end of the march, Davis made a rousing speech, surrounded by Black Panthers to protect her from the hostile crowd. It was "a really emotional day," Furutani recalled, and it was the event that inspired the Manzanar Pilgrimage.¹⁰

⁹ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 277-79; Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Unquiet Nisei: An Oral History of the Life of Sue Kunitomi Embrey* (New York: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2007), 104.

¹⁰ Furutani interview (2014); Oceanside Chamber of Commerce, "History of Oceanside 1963-1987," at www.oceansidechamberofcommerce.com <September 15, 2015>; "Military Moritorium Huge Success – 1000 Marines March at Oceanside," *Attitude Check* 2, no. 1 (1969) reproduced at www.sirnosir.com <September 15, 2015>.

The idea for the pilgrimage came to Furutani and Shibata over breakfast on their way to the rally. Driving home from the event, they talked some more about organizing a march for Japanese Americans. A march was an effective way to galvanize an oppressed people and capture attention, they agreed. Latino civil rights activist and labor leader Cesar Chavez had led migrant farm workers in a march to Sacramento. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference had organized the Poor People's March on the nation's capital. Where were the Japanese Americans to march? They thought of the World War II camps and Manzanar. Of the ten camp locations, Manzanar was the closest one to L.A. It could serve as "our iconic place to make a statement about our oppression as a community," Furutani said. But when they considered Manzanar's remote location in the Owens Valley, an actual march did not seem feasible. Shibata suggested that instead of a march they call it a pilgrimage or *hakamai*, a return to a sacred place, a familiar feature of Japanese religious practice. Soon after their inspirational day in Oceanside, the two made their reconnaissance trip to Manzanar.¹¹

Furutani and Shibata shared their idea with a group of activists, the Organization of Southland Asian American Organizations, a coalition of groups representing Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Americans in Southern California, and their idea received a strong endorsement. Then, keen to start a dialogue with the older Nisei, they reached out to a number of Nisei whom they knew from their community organizing work and antiwar and civil rights activities. These people included the San Francisco State University professor Edison Uno and his sister Amy Uno Ishii; James Hirabayashi, a professor of ethnic studies at the same institution (brother of Gordon Hirabayashi, whose wartime legal challenge to Japanese American policies rose to the U.S. Supreme Court); Yoritada Wada, a civic leader and social activist in San Francisco; and Jim Matsuoka, a somewhat younger Nisei who was active with youth groups in Long Beach, California.¹²

Sue Kunitomi Embrey, a forty-six-year-old Nisei who had been incarcerated at Manzanar during World War II, was invited to the pilgrimage by a fellow student driving her home from the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. Embrey took part in the event and would soon step forward to lead the Manzanar movement. The precise details of how Furutani and Embrey first became acquainted Furutani could not recall. They may have met for the first time on the day of the pilgrimage. Or they may have already been passing acquaintances through their mutual antiwar activities. Whatever the case may have been, Furutani knew her reputation as a progressive Nisei and he sensed that she would be a strong asset in forming a bridge to the older generation.¹³

Sue Kunitomi was born and raised in Little Tokyo near downtown Los Angeles. After her father died in 1937, her mother purchased a grocery store that she

¹¹ Furutani interview (2014); Matsuda, "Manzanar Committee Statement on the Passing of Victor H. Shibata."

¹² Furutani interview (2014); Furutani interview (2003).

¹³ Furutani interview (2014); Furutani interview (2003); Bruce Embrey review comments, November 28, 2016.

operated with the help of her four teenage children. Sue graduated from Lincoln High School in 1941. Sue wanted to go to college but her mother requested that she stay at home and help run the family store until her younger sister graduated from high school, too. Sue was working in the store when she heard the news over the radio of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Under the strain of the evacuation order three months later, the family sold their business at a loss to a Mexican American family. In the meantime, Sue's brother Hideo was among those who volunteered to help with construction of the Owens Valley Reception Center.¹⁴ Sue was incarcerated at Manzanar from the spring of 1942 until the fall of 1943. During this year and a half, she worked at the camouflage net factory and at the *Manzanar Free Press*, serving as editor for a time. Upon her release from camp, she went to Madison, Wisconsin to take a job in a cheese factory. In 1944, she moved to Chicago, where she got a job at the Newberry Library.¹⁵

In Chicago, Sue Kunitomi was drawn to literature and left-wing politics. She shared a house and close friendships with two women, one Caucasian and the other African American. These two women helped propel her into a cosmopolitan social life. In 1948, she worked on Henry Wallace's presidential campaign. She moved back to Los Angeles where she met her husband, Garland Embrey, a Caucasian from Texas, at a Henry Wallace fundraiser. They were wed in 1950 over her mother's and other relatives' objections to her marrying a man who was not of Japanese ancestry. Sue and Garland's interracial marriage was unusual for the times; California had only just repealed its anti-miscegenation law.¹⁶ Garland worked as a welder, teacher, and union organizer, and was a member of the Young Communist League for a time (until the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in 1956). Meanwhile, Sue became more and more involved in Democratic Party politics. She and Garland had two children, Gary and Bruce, and as soon as the children were of school age, Sue embarked on her long-delayed college education. By the late 1960s, she had been doing college coursework for a number of years and was active in the antiwar movement, the civil rights movement, and local politics.¹⁷

On the day of the first Manzanar Pilgrimage, Sue, accompanied by Garland, made her first visit to the site since leaving the camp in 1943. Although the return to that place filled her with an overwhelming sense of bleakness, the gathering of young people inspired her and she was glad to address the group as one with firsthand knowledge of the camp experience. Indeed, it was the first time in her life she spoke publicly about the camps. Sue's biographer, Diana Meyers Bahr, described what occurred that day in *The Unquiet Nisei: An Oral History of the Life of Sue Kunitomi Embrey*:

¹⁴ Soon renamed the Manzanar War Relocation Center.

¹⁵ "Sue Kunitomi Embrey," *Densho Encyclopedia*, at <http://encyclopedia.densho.org> <September 15, 2015>.

¹⁶ In the 1948 case *Perez V. Sharp*, the California Supreme Court declared the state's code forbidding the issue of marriage licenses to mixed couples to be unconstitutional.

¹⁷ Bruce Embrey interview (2014); Bahr, *Unquiet Nisei*, 112.

While the young people were passing out shovels and other tools to clean the areas around the cemetery and the entrance, Warren asked Sue ...to talk to the media. Sue remembered: “The media people asked us: ‘Was it always this cold?’ They had all gone to Lone Pine to buy mufflers and gloves and knitted hats. I was prepared. I knew it would be cold. It turned out to be the coldest day in Owens Valley that year and people got a better understanding of what camp life was like.”

When questioned about food, living quarters, and employment in the camp ... Sue ...talked about how dreadful conditions had been. Tricia Toyota, who had been recently hired as a television news reporter, interviewed Sue, and the interview was broadcast on the 6 o’clock news. Sue was confronted later by angry members of the community who complained: “How come you are still talking about the camps? Don’t bring up the past.”¹⁸

Embrey’s desire to speak out came from two decades of political activism going back to the Wallace campaign in 1948, and even prior to that, to things she wrote and said while working for the *Manzanar Free Press*. The fact that she was Nisei made her an ideal match with the Sansei who were then leading the movement to remember Manzanar. Bahr quoted Furutani on Embrey’s vital contribution not only in breaking her generation’s silence, but also in giving the younger generation a needed dose of humility:

A lot of us younger people said: “We never would have gone. Why did you go?” Sue gave us a reality check: “If your family was from Terminal Island, what would you have done if in 48 hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor they told you to get out? How would you have dealt with the reality that within the first twenty-four hours the leaders of your community were arrested by the FBI?” This was the first time we’d heard some of those things, because there were no books to read. It was quite a leap from summer camp, where your mom and dad met and enjoyed dances and the guys played baseball with their buddies every day.¹⁹

The young organizers of the pilgrimage were also humbled to learn that their 1969 pilgrimage was not the first. In fact, two or three ministers and their families had been paying a visit to the cemetery every year since the end of World War II. The Buddhist Reverend Shinjo Nagatomi led two busloads of people to the Manzanar cemetery in 1946, and he went every year thereafter until 1957, when he became ill. He died in 1959. During the war, Nagatomi was instrumental in raising the subscription for construction of the obelisk at the cemetery, and it was he who created the calligraphy that was molded into its east face. The Japanese characters are often translated as “soul-consoling tower.”²⁰ Two other ministers, the Reverend Sentoku

¹⁸ Bahr, *Unquiet Nisei*, 118.

¹⁹ Bahr, *Unquiet Nisei*, 120. The 48-hour notice for families to ready themselves for evacuation actually came later, after FDR’s executive order of February 19, 1942.

²⁰ Japanese characters on the west side of the obelisk read “erected by the Manzanar Japanese, August 1943.” Jeffery F. Burton, Jeremy D. Haines, and Mary M. Farrell, with contribution by Kari Coughlin, *I Rei To: Archeological Investigations at the Manzanar Relocation Center Cemetery, Manzanar*

Mayeda and the Reverend Shoichi Wakahiro, one Buddhist and the other Christian, also took part in the annual visits and kept the tradition alive into the 1970s.²¹

One week after the 1969 pilgrimage, Embrey wrote to the famous photographer Ansel Adams, whose book, *Born Free and Equal*, featured images of Manzanar War Relocation Center and the people forced to live there. Adams had produced the book in 1944 to portray the people confined at Manzanar as individuals rather than “as an abstract, amorphous, minority group.”²² The publication failed to have much impact on public opinion at the time. Now Embrey urged him to seek another printing of the twenty-five-year-old book.²³ The letter may have been Embrey’s first action on Manzanar after returning home from the pilgrimage. She wrote to Adams:

On December 27, 1969, a group of approximately 200 young people, mostly Asian Americans, made a pilgrimage to the former site of Manzanar Relocation Center. They cleared out the area of the cemetery of sagebrush and tumbleweeds, repaired the fence posts, painted the monument and held a dedication service. Many of these people are actively campaigning for the repeal of Title II of the 1950 McCarran Act which authorizes the setting up and use of these camps. Most of them are college students who are anxious that the history of the Asians in America is well-documented and taught in the schools at all levels, from elementary to college curriculum.²⁴

Whether she knew it or not, this letter signaled Embrey’s budding interest in providing direction to the Manzanar movement. Her interest was basically twofold: to bring public recognition and proper care to the site itself, and to make the site into a symbol that would help the American people – and young Japanese Americans in particular – understand the real story of Japanese American confinement so that such an oppressive act would never happen again.

Manzanar Becomes a Symbol

Shortly after the 1969 pilgrimage, Japanese American activists made common cause with a group of Owens Valley residents who were interested in preserving the local history of the Owens Valley. The latter group was organized as the Eastern California Museum Association. Even before the 1969 pilgrimage gave the Manzanar

National Historic Site, California, Publications in Anthropology 79 (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001), 9.

²¹ Shirley Nagatomi Okabe, interviewed by Alisa Lynch, January 30, 2013, MANZ Oral History Collection; Bahr, *Unquiet Nisei*, 119.

²² Ansel Adams, *Born Free and Equal* (New York: U.S. Camera, 1944), 9.

²³ Another printing of *Born Free and Equal* did not happen in Adams’s lifetime. It was reprinted by Spotted Dog Press of Bishop, Calif. in 2002.

²⁴ Sue Embrey to Ansel Adams, January 2, 1970, Frame 1841, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, Western Archeological and Conservation Center (hereafter WACC), Tucson, Ariz. Title II of the 1950 McCarran Act, also called the Internal Security Act of 1950, gave the president powers to detain individuals suspected of espionage or sabotage.

site sudden media attention, this group had initiated an effort to make the site into a national historic landmark. Around 1966 or 1967, the association formed a historical landmarks committee to draw up a list of potential landmark designations in Inyo County. The committee included Manzanar on its list of proposed sites. Given the controversy that would soon develop around Manzanar's landmark designation at the state level (with national recognition coming later), it was significant that this local group was already on record in support of such a move.²⁵

In 1969, the Eastern California Museum Association already had a long and distinguished presence in the valley. Founded in 1928 on the initiative of a group of young men who were struck by the rapid changes overtaking the Owens Valley, the association had an early focus on preserving artifacts of regional American Indian culture and documenting the pioneer history of Inyo County. Through the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, the Eastern California Museum Association stored its growing collections in two rooms in the basement of the Inyo County Courthouse in Independence. In the mid-1960s, donors financed the construction of a new building on the northwest edge of Independence to house the collections. The association outfitted the Eastern California Museum with display cases for its impressive array of American Indian basketry and began to construct a pioneer village on the property. At the same time, the Inyo County Board of Supervisors gave the association an annual budget of \$5,000 with which to employ a professional staff. By 1970, the museum's director, Henry Raub, was keen to follow through with the idea of officially commemorating the Manzanar site. At Raub's urging, the Inyo County Board of Supervisors appointed a new landmarks committee to pursue an appropriate historic site designation for Manzanar. Frank Parcher, one of the original founders of the Eastern California Museum Association and its first curator, chaired the committee.²⁶

In April 1970, Raub wrote to Arnold B. Larson, a friend and journalist with close ties to Asian American groups in Los Angeles, asking who the county might approach "with the object in view of forming a committee of people of Japanese ancestry." Describing the county's aspirations of creating a "historic landmark area which might take on the appearance of a small park," Raub noted that "the Japanese would probably have deep feelings on this project and have valuable suggestions to make." Larson conveyed Raub's message to the West Los Angeles chapter of the JACL, who communicated the information to Harry Honda, editor of the *Pacific*

²⁵ Henry Raub, Director, for Chalfant Press, no date, File labeled "Henry Raub, director," Series 4 – Early Efforts to Gain Recognition for Manzanar 1970-1979, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Jessie A. Garrett and Ronald C. Larson, eds., *Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley* (Van Nuys, Calif.: Delta Lithograph Company for California State University, Fullerton, Japanese American Oral History Project, 1977), 25-28.

²⁶ "Eastern California Museum History," at www.inyocounty.us/ecmsite/history.html <September 21, 2015>; Garrett and Larson, eds., *Camp and Community*, 25-28; Henry Raub to Arnold B. Larson, April 30, 1970, File labeled "Henry Raub, director," Series 4 – Early Efforts to Gain Recognition for Manzanar 1970-1979, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

Citizen, the official publication of the JACL, who passed it along to the JACL's national leadership as well as its Southern California Regional Office.²⁷

Warren Furutani and Victor Shibata both worked for the JACL Southern California Regional Office. They had been recruited by Jeffrey Matsui, a progressive Nisei who strongly believed the JACL needed to bring Sansei activists into the organization to bridge its generation gap and keep the JACL relevant in the changing times. Matsui wrote editorials in the *Pacific Citizen* calling to task his fellow Japanese Americans for being “one of the last minorities to know our place.” He applauded the student radicals' desire to inquire into the past and shake things up. Furutani, for his part, thought the JACL provided the student left a “legitimate front” for putting across their ideas and initiatives. His job title with the JACL was “field director of special projects,” and the Manzanar project fit squarely under his purview. Furutani persuaded the JACL to support the historic landmark designation wherever it might lead.²⁸

Furutani wrote to Frank Parcher, the Inyo County landmarks committee chair, “I am very pleased to see the enthusiasm you and your committee are exhibiting in order to establish Manzanar as a historical landmark.” He confirmed that a group in Los Angeles was interested in the same thing, and added, “Possibly with our combined efforts, our expectations will be realized.”²⁹

In June, Furutani led a small delegation to the Owens Valley to meet with Inyo County officials. Curt Phillips of Bishop was the newly appointed chair of the landmarks committee, as Parcher had to be away for several months. The two groups agreed on roles and responsibilities. The Owens Valley group would prepare a National Register of Historic Places nomination form for Manzanar and pursue the landmark designation after that. The Japanese Americans would design a bronze plaque and base for a monument, and they would be in charge of landscaping and planning for any park that might materialize. These arrangements were discussed further at a second meeting held on October 24, 1970, in which the circle of invited participants was considerably enlarged. An invitation for the second meeting was sent from California Assemblyman Eugene Chappie (R-6th District) to JACL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, the LADWP, the California Division of Highways, the Inyo County Board of Supervisors, Inyo Associates, the Eastern California Museum, and others, although it is not known who actually attended.³⁰

The Inyo County group completed its National Register site nomination in July 1970. The document was certified by the state liaison officer on October 16, 1970,

²⁷ Harry Honda to Arnold B. Larson, May 6, 1970, File “Henry Raub, director,” Series 4 – Early Efforts to Gain Recognition for Manzanar 1970-1979, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

²⁸ Lon Kurashige, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival, 1934-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 160; Furutani interview (2014).

²⁹ Warren T. Furutani to Frank Parcher, May 12, 1970, File labeled “Henry Raub, director,” Series 4 – Early Efforts to Gain Recognition for Manzanar 1970-1979, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

³⁰ Warren T. Furutani to Frank Parcher, May 12, 1970, and Henry Raub to Chalfant Press, no date, and Assemblyman Gene Chappie to Furutani et al., October 8, 1970, File labeled “Henry Raub, director,” Series 4 – Early Efforts to Gain Recognition for Manzanar 1970-1979, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

and stamped “received” by the National Register on January 25, 1971. The dates are significant because the keeper of the National Register had the nomination for fifteen months and finally rejected it in a letter dated April 21, 1972. By that time, Americans of various backgrounds had become more invested in the site through another pilgrimage to Manzanar and a groundswell of public indignation about what had been done to people of Japanese ancestry in World War II. The keeper commented in his rejection letter that the site no doubt deserved recognition, but the nomination could not be approved on account of its being written “in a fashion that Americans of Japanese descent might find offensive,” and because it gave insufficient attention to the “constitutional question raised by the relocation policy.” Thus, the effort begun by local historic preservationists was overtaken by unfolding events. The social movement initiated by young Japanese Americans to define their ethnicity for themselves rather than accept the dominant society’s description of who they were actually made the National Register nomination for Manzanar into an early test case of Japanese American self-determination. Wisely, the nomination was handed over to the Japanese Americans to be thoroughly rewritten.³¹

At some point, probably in the first quarter of 1971, Embrey and Furutani cofounded the Manzanar Committee, and soon thereafter Embrey took over its leadership. A Los Angeles attorney by the name of Rose Matsui Ochi helped Embrey set up the group as a nonprofit organization. During this embryonic period in the life of the Manzanar Committee, the records of the committee are sparse and incomplete. What is known about the leadership transition is that Embrey was involved with Furutani in planning the next formal pilgrimage, which took place in April 1971, and that she took the lead role in organizing a teach-in on the World War II confinement sites around the same time. During this period, she was representing the “Manzanar Pilgrimage Committee,” whose name was soon shortened to the Manzanar Committee. In a printed announcement dated July 1971, the committee was identified as the “Manzanar Committee of the Japanese American Citizens League.” However, if the Manzanar Committee and the JACL were ever truly connected, the connection was brief. Embrey was always dubious about the JACL, regarding it as too establishmentarian for her form of political activism. From 1972 onward, the Manzanar Committee’s official address was the same as Embrey’s Los Angeles home

³¹ William J. Murtagh, Keeper of the National Register, to William Penn Mott, Jr., Director, Department of Parks and Recreation, April 21, 1972, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee, Los Angeles, Calif. The original National Register nomination prepared by the Inyo County Landmarks Committee, dated July 9, 1970, and the revised National Register nomination prepared by Sue Kunitomi Embrey for the Manzanar Committee, dated July 31, 1975, are found in File Manzanar 537-14, Administrative Records, California Department of Parks and Recreation (hereafter C DPR), Sacramento. What was potentially offensive in the 1970 nomination was the “we” and “them” language, and the presumption that Japanese Americans were better off when they assimilated on the dominant society’s terms, e.g.: “We like to think that we held them in ‘protective custody’ and no doubt we did protect them, and sent them out to live among Americans, not in groups carrying on Japanese customs as many of them had done, but to live as Americans. No stigma is attached to them today, and our Government can well be proud of this so called minority group who perhaps had a greater cause to protest than any other, but instead, entered into every phase of American life, holding positions in business, labor, and industry.” The nomination also described the camp as being more comfortable and harmonious than it actually was.

address. A briefing statement put out by the Manzanar Committee many years later stated that it was a “Los Angeles based nonprofit educational organization, which has been in existence since 1971.” The document also stated that Embrey cofounded the committee with Furutani “in an effort to educate the public and to apply to the State of California for recognition of Manzanar as a state historic landmark.” Embrey and Furutani were listed on correspondence as co-chairs of the committee through 1971 and 1972, during which time Embrey took the lead and Furutani gradually stepped back.³²

The first teach-in was held on Sunday, April 18, 1971, at the Senshin Buddhist Church in Los Angeles. It featured four speakers: Roger Daniels, a leading historian on Japanese American evacuation and relocation and author of *The Politics of Prejudice*; Gordon Hirabayashi, well known for his challenge to the curfew and evacuation orders in 1943, and a sociologist at the University of Alberta; Mary (Yuri) Kochiyama, coordinator for Asian Americans for Action in New York; and Embrey herself, speaking from her own experience of living behind barbed wire and working on the editorial staff of the *Manzanar Free Press*. The teach-in drew an overflow crowd to the church’s auditorium.³³

In preparing her own material for the teach-in, Embrey researched the *Manzanar Free Press* and the *Inyo Independent*, as well as the Manzanar high school annual for 1944 titled *Our World*, and secondary works including Ansel Adams’s *Born Free and Equal*. It was the start of thirty-five years of steeping herself in historical source material on the camps. She approached the teach-in not only as a scholar and educator, but also as an activist and mother. She told the audience, “I strongly believe that we need to transmit our culture to our succeeding generation – we need to teach the history of evacuation and place it in historical perspective so that the Sansei may have necessary tools to protect themselves against discrimination and racism which are inherent in American society.” Addressing the Nisei in the room, she said: “We need to answer the plea of the Sansei who by their actions are saying, ‘Dear Mom and Dad, your silence is killing me.’ We need to tell them that we are proud for having endured beyond endurance, for having survived an experience which was both intense and traumatic.”³⁴

More teach-ins followed in the summer of 1971. Meanwhile, Embrey continued her involvement in other causes: walking picket lines at Safeway stores in solidarity with the United Farm Workers, going to antiwar rallies, and supporting the Asian American movement. Embrey’s son Bruce remembered being on a stage with her when she spoke to an enormous crowd of protesters. The occasion was probably in April 1972, when an Asian American contingent of antiwar activists joined a demonstration of many thousands of people in Los Angeles’s MacArthur Park to

³² Manzanar Pilgrimage Committee, “For Immediate Release,” no date, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; untitled announcement, July 1971, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC; Manzanar Committee, “Sue Kunitomi Embrey,” no date, File labeled “Auditorium, Interpretive Division files, Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ); Bruce Embrey interview (2014).

³³ Sue Kunitomi Embrey, “Special to the Crossroads,” no date, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

³⁴ Untitled typescript, undated, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

protest the U.S. bombing campaign in North Vietnam. Bruce recalled that some young people who were on stage with them urged his mother to be more militant and dramatic in addressing the crowd, when her style was to be more expository and professorial.³⁵

Also in the summer of 1971, Embrey prepared an application for the California Department of Parks and Recreation to declare the Manzanar site a state historical landmark. (This was altogether separate from Inyo County's nomination to list Manzanar on the National Register of Historic Places, which was then awaiting a response from the keeper of the National Register.) By fall, Embrey was actively seeking support for this action in the name of the Manzanar Committee. Professor Edison Uno promised Embrey he could deliver the support of several state senators and assemblymen in the Bay Area for such a designation. Arthur Hansen, a history professor at California State University, Fullerton, wrote to Embrey that he was collecting several letters of endorsement for the project. At the same time, Furutani was working from within the JACL to ensure JACL support for the measure. The close working relationship between the Manzanar Committee and the JACL at this stage led to confusion down the road as to which entity had initiated the state application. It seems that the application was revised and resubmitted in early January 1972 bearing the signature of a local JACL representative. Moreover, as the landmark designation became contentious over the next several months, state officials showed a preference for negotiating with JACL representatives over the more hardline Manzanar Committee. At the end of the process, the Manzanar Committee and the JACL were clearly separate entities, with the former accusing the latter of attempting to take all the credit for obtaining the state historical landmark designation. All of that should not obscure the fact that Embrey prepared the original application and the Manzanar Committee spearheaded the effort from start to finish.³⁶

The state landmark designation became contentious because the parties could not agree on wording of an inscription to go on a bronze plaque to be mounted at the site. In particular, the term "concentration camp" stirred up controversy. The Manzanar Committee's original text, and state officials' suggestion to soften the language, provoked a public dialogue over the meaning of the mass incarceration during World War II. The debate over the inscription was a seminal event not only on

³⁵ Bruce Embrey, interviewed by Diana Bahr, April 24, 2003, MANZ Oral History Collection; Bruce Embrey review comments, November 28, 2016.

³⁶ Untitled announcement, July 1971, and Edison Uno to Sue Embrey, October 16, 1971, and Art Hansen to Sue Embrey, January 5, 1972, and Manzanar Committee, untitled announcement, January 1972, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC; untitled timeline concerning the state historical landmark designation, undated, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, C DPR; Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Ellen Endo, November 6, 1972, and Edison Uno to Sue Embrey, December 3, 1972, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee. The Manzanar Committee's July 1971 announcement stated that the application was on file with the California Department of Parks and Recreation. The C DPR timeline stated (apparently erroneously) that the "original application" was received December 1971. It went on to state that the application was accompanied by letters of support, and that due to improper form, the application was revised by the staff and resubmitted in early January 1972 bearing the signature of Michio Suzuki, a local representative of the JACL. This submittal contained proposed wording for the plaque that was identical to the wording that the Manzanar Committee cited in its July 1971 announcement – proof that the Manzanar Committee was actually driving the process.

the long road to making Manzanar into a national historic site, but also in making Manzanar into a symbol and focal point for the Japanese American civil rights movement, a movement that would culminate many years later in redress.³⁷

The Fight over the Inscription

Embrey's original text, which she prepared in the summer of 1971, was identical to what went into the application signed by a JAACL representative in January 1972. It read as follows:

FROM WAR HYSTERIA, RACISM, AND ECONOMIC GREED 110,000
PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY WERE DIRECTED BY
PRESIDENTIAL ORDER ON FEBRUARY 19, 1942, TO LEAVE THEIR
HOMES AND TO RELOCATE IN AMERICA'S CONCENTRATION
CAMPS.

MANZANAR WAS THE FIRST OF SUCH CAMPS BUILT DURING
WORLD WAR II BOUNDED BY BARBED WIRE AND GUARD
TOWERS IN A MILE SQUARE CONFINING 10,000 MEN, WOMEN,
AND CHILDREN OF WHOM THE MAJORITY WAS AMERICAN
CITIZENS.

THIS PLAQUE IS LAID IN THE HOPE THAT THE CONDITIONS
WHICH CREATED THIS CAMP WILL NEVER EMERGE AGAIN – FOR
ANYBODY, AT ANY TIME.

THEN MAY THIS PLAQUE ALWAYS BE A REMINDER OF WHAT
FEAR, HATE AND GREED WILL CAUSE MAN TO DO TO OTHER
MEN.

TONDEMONAI!³⁸

State officials offered a shortened and watered-down text that replaced the term “concentration camps” with “relocation centers.” It also omitted the reference to barbed wire and guard towers, and attributed the episode wholly to “the hysteria of the

³⁷ Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, editors, *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (revised edition, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 161, 188. A letter from Service for Asian American Youth to William Penn Mott, Jr., director of the Department of Parks and Recreation, dated December 27, 1972, described Manzanar's emerging symbolism most directly: “Manzanar as the first ‘concentration camp’ built during World War II in the United States stands as a symbol of the prejudice, discrimination and segregation that Asians have faced since their arrival in America. It is not only a symbol to young Asians but also a link to their past that has been traditionally denied them by the educational institutions. In searching for an identity, they have turned toward Asian American history and culture. We at SAAY feel that the Manzanar Committee and their text is providing a vehicle for young Asians to express themselves. We fully support their wording and question the ‘semantic game’ that the Historical Landmarks Committee is playing with the Asian community. The struggle for justice and equality did not end with the closing of Manzanar.” (File Manzanar 537-14, Administrative Records, CDPB.)

³⁸ Tondemonai has many meanings depending on context and is variously translated as “outrageous!,” “ridiculous!,” “no way!,” etc.

early days of World War II” instead of the multiple factors of “war hysteria, racism, and economic greed.” On top of that, it alluded to the cooperation of the people incarcerated, a point that the original text studiously left out in deference to Japanese Americans deep ambivalence over what some had characterized then, and others interpreted in retrospect, as collaboration with the oppressor. The state’s version read as follows:

AS A RESULT OF THE HYSTERIA OF THE EARLY DAYS OF WORLD WAR II, 110,000 PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY WERE INTERNED IN AMERICA’S RELOCATION CENTERS BY PRESIDENTIAL ORDER NO. 9066, ISSUED ON FEBRUARY 19, 1942.

MANZANAR, FIRST AND LARGEST³⁹ CENTER, A SELF-CONTAINED CITY DEVELOPED BY 10,000 CITIZENS AND ALIEN INTERNEES, REMAINS IN MEMORY OF THEIR SACRIFICE AND PERSEVERANCE.

MAY THESE CONDITIONS NEVER EMERGE AGAIN FOR ANYBODY, AT ANY TIME.

TONDEMONAI!

The Manzanar Committee and the JACL immediately rejected the state’s version. Most offensive was the statement that Manzanar was a “self-contained city” developed by the Japanese Americans. This was a whitewash of the political reality of camp administration, and a misleading view of the physical and psychological conditions that had existed. Also unacceptable was the state’s use of the term “relocation centers,” a euphemism for “concentration camps.” Embrey reported that one member of the State Landmarks Advisory Committee objected to this criticism, believing that the term “concentration camp” was “a dirty word.” If so, Embrey pointed out, then it had been a dirty word ever since December 1944 when Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts used the term in a dissenting opinion in the Fred Korematsu case. Roberts asserted that the evacuation order was a violation of Korematsu’s civil rights as it required him to submit to “imprisonment in a concentration camp.”⁴⁰ Indeed, the term appeared fairly often in official correspondence in the period 1942-44.

Dozens of individuals and groups all over the nation responded to the Manzanar Committee’s appeal to write letters to California state officials and demand that the Manzanar story not be whitewashed. Most of the letters expressed indignation over officials’ reluctance to use the term “concentration camp.” Sumiko Kobayashi of Philadelphia, who had been incarcerated at Topaz, Utah, said it most plainly: “Let’s call a spade a spade, a concentration camp a concentration camp, and not pussyfoot around an unpleasant fact of history.” One letter sent by a group of Asian Americans in Chicago put the problem most eloquently: “This is hardly a game of semantics. The present lives of an entire people have been based upon a very real and painful past. The future of our lives as well as those of our children must be based upon *truth*, as it

³⁹ Manzanar was not, in fact, the largest of the ten WRA centers. Tule Lake, Poston, Gila River, and Heart Mountain all had larger peak populations than Manzanar. And many camps had more acreage.

⁴⁰ Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Ellen Endo, November 6, 1972, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

should be with all peoples.” Many letters were personal and emotional. Arlene R. Iwamoto of Los Angeles wrote to say that she did not learn much about the mass incarceration while she was growing up, but having reached adulthood she now had a much better understanding of the World War II camps. Her parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, had all been “confined behind barbed wire fences from three to four years,” while she and several of her cousins were born in the camps. “The stigma that we have to bear for having spent time behind barbed wire is bad enough but when the State wants us to accept the kind of wording that they suggest, it is truly an injustice,” she wrote.⁴¹

The fight over wording on the plaque went on for fifteen months as state officials dug in their heels and the Manzanar Committee refused to yield on the term “concentration camp.” The impasse may have been even longer depending on whose records are accurate as to when it began. According to the records of the California Department of Parks and Recreation, the application was not filed until January 1972, at which time it did not include the inflammatory text. The department approved the application in short order, designating Manzanar as State Historical Landmark No. 850, and the impasse over the wording on the plaque reportedly began later that month when the Japanese Americans submitted their text. However, according to the Manzanar Committee’s records, the proposed text was on file with the California Department of Parks and Recreation as early as July 1971. Regardless of when the quarrel over wording began, the issue was not resolved until March 1973, and the plaque was not finally installed until April 14, 1973.⁴²

The Manzanar Committee cut its teeth on this long, grueling battle with state officials. Early on, Embrey turned to prominent Japanese American opinion leaders to help mobilize support. These included Edison Uno, who was active in the JACL, and his sister Amy Uno Ishii, who joined the Manzanar Committee. Embrey also turned to academics involved with Asian American studies and allied fields. These included Art Hansen, the California State University professor who began an oral history study on the Manzanar experience at this time, and UCLA anthropologists and filmmakers Don and Susan Rundstrom,⁴³ who became long-time members of the Manzanar Committee. And Embrey enlisted help from state and local politicians, including Assemblyman Bob Moretti (D-42nd District). Moretti held the powerful position of speaker of the assembly in the California legislature and was well known in the state for his vociferous criticism of Governor Ronald Reagan. The son of Italian and Armenian immigrants, he was a strong friend of his Japanese American constituents.

⁴¹ Sumiko Kobayashi to William Penn Mott, Jr., January 15, 1973, and Asian American Study Group to California Historical Landmarks Advisory Committee, December 3, 1972, File Manzanar 537-14, Administrative Records, CDPR.

⁴² Untitled announcement, undated, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; untitled timeline concerning the state historical landmark designation, undated, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, CDPR. See also Nadine Ishitani Hata, *The Historic Preservation Movement in California, 1940-1976* (Sacramento, Calif.: California Department of Parks and Recreation/Office of Historic Preservation, 1992), 168-72.

⁴³ Susan Rundstrom’s parents, George Stanicci and Margaret Ichino Stanicci, were incarcerated in Manzanar.

The state's opposition to the proposed wording on the plaque centered in two individuals: John H. Michaels, executive secretary of the State Landmarks Advisory Committee, and William Penn Mott, Jr., director of the Department of Parks and Recreation. The Japanese Americans found Michaels difficult to work with and eventually insisted on going over his head to the department director. They met with Mott for the first time in November 1972. After an hour-long discussion, Mott offered a compromise: the term "concentration camp" would be inserted not as a label but as a descriptor at the end of the text, thus: "May these concentration camp conditions never emerge again." After due consideration, the Japanese Americans found the compromise language was still waffling and rejected it.⁴⁴

Mott did not explain his opposition other than to insist that the term "concentration camp" was too severe or negative, as were the words "greed" and "racism."⁴⁵ A biography of Mott by Mary Ellen Butler makes no mention of Manzanar; the landmark designation was barely a blip on the radar screen for the head of an agency managing nearly a million acres of parks, historic parks, reserves, beaches, and recreation areas across the third largest state in the nation. Butler writes that Mott "stands as one of the most outstanding directors in state park history." Serving as parks and recreation director through Reagan's two terms as governor, Mott's reputation rests on having greatly expanded the state park system, introducing many innovations in park administration, and mostly avoiding partisan politics in a time of significant political change in environmental and cultural affairs.⁴⁶ Mott would have more to do with Manzanar later in its history when he became director of the National Park Service in the Reagan administration.

Whatever principles were involved in his taking a hard line on the controversial text, Mott thought he could outlast the Japanese Americans through their protracted negotiations. Another meeting between the Manzanar proponents and the State Landmarks Advisory Committee took place on February 2, 1973, at which time most of the final wording was agreed upon. In the first paragraph, the term "relocation centers" was used. The second paragraph incorporated the description of Manzanar as "bounded by barbed wire and guard towers." The third and last paragraph read: "May the injustices and humiliation suffered in these concentration camps as a result of

⁴⁴ Sue Embrey to John H. Michaels, October 6, 1972, and Embrey to Michaels, February 23, 1973, and Michaels to Embrey, November 22, 1972, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; untitled timeline concerning the state historical landmark designation, undated, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, CDPR.

⁴⁵ William Penn Mott, Jr., to Robert Moretti, February 21, 1973, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, CDPR. Mott's staff prepared the timeline referenced above to accompany this letter. A year later, when Mott once more conceded to use of the term with reference to the Tule Lake site, he wrote: "I well agree that originally the camps were set up as 'relocation centers.' However, it was pointed out to the Historical Landmarks Advisory Committee, and to several legislators conducting hearings on the subject that the dictionary definition of 'concentration camp' in almost every instance is a place in which 'political prisoners' were detained. I think you will agree, for the most part, internees were 'political prisoners;' therefore, the words 'concentration camp' were not thought to be improper." (Quoted in Hata, *Historic Preservation Movement in California*, 171.)

⁴⁶ Mary Ellen Butler, *Prophet of the Parks: The Story of William Penn Mott, Jr.* (Ashburn, Va.: National Recreation and Park Association, 1999), 121-25.

racism, hysteria, and greed never emerge again.” When the text was presented to Mott, he said he could not agree to the words “racism” and “greed.”⁴⁷

Embrey asked Mott to explain his objections in writing to the Manzanar Committee but he never did. She wrote to U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and other members of Congress, informing them of the controversy and inviting them to attend the upcoming pilgrimage in April. She called on her friends in the state legislature to put pressure on the parks and recreation director. California Assemblyman Alex P. Garcia (D-40th District) came to the Manzanar Committee’s aid by arranging a meeting with the Japanese Americans in the office of State Senator Mervyn M. Dymally (D-29th District).⁴⁸ At this meeting on March 19, members of the Manzanar Committee pointed out to the state officials “their chauvinism in trying to define for us what terms would best describe our experience.”⁴⁹ At last Mott relented, and the two sides agreed to the wording that went on the plaque:

IN THE EARLY PART OF WORLD WAR II, 110,000 PERSONS OF
JAPANESE ANCESTRY WERE INTERNED IN RELOCATION CENTERS
BY EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 9066, ISSUED ON FEBRUARY 19, 1942.

MANZANAR, THE FIRST OF TEN SUCH CONCENTRATION CAMPS,
WAS BOUNDED BY BARBED WIRE AND GUARD TOWERS,
CONFINING 10,000 PERSONS, THE MAJORITY BEING AMERICAN
CITIZENS.

MAY THE INJUSTICES AND HUMILIATION SUFFERED HERE AS A
RESULT OF HYSTERIA, RACISM AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION
NEVER EMERGE AGAIN.

The plaque was installed during the 4th annual Manzanar Pilgrimage held on April 14, 1973. Ryozo Kado, a stonemason who had been incarcerated at Manzanar, participated in the pilgrimage that year and had the honor of cementing the plaque into place. Kado imbedded the bronze plaque in a stone-and-concrete monument structure that he affixed to an exterior wall of the larger of the two sentry posts, both of which he had built thirty years earlier.⁵⁰ During his incarceration, Kado had created a number of iconic stone and concrete structures in the camp, including the cemetery obelisk. Although the state landmark plaque would later be removed from the sentry post and relocated, it would remain within Kado’s masonry base.

Mott was invited to participate in the plaque ceremony, but strong winds that day grounded the small aircraft that was going to take him and three other state

⁴⁷ Untitled timeline concerning the state historical landmark designation, undated, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, CDPR.

⁴⁸ Sue Embrey to Alex Garcia, April 3, 1973, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

⁴⁹ Manzanar Committee, *The Manzanar Pilgrimage: A Time for Sharing* (Los Angeles: The Manzanar Committee, 1981), 9.

⁵⁰ An irony recognized by many, this was the entryway post used by U.S. Army soldiers while those 10,000 persons were incarcerated at Manzanar.

officials from Sacramento to the Owens Valley. Despite the windy and cold conditions, about 1,000 people attended the pilgrimage and saw the plaque installed.⁵¹



“Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories.” In the mess hall line: women and girls await their midday meal in the hot July sun. *Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C672].*

⁵¹ William S. Briner to David Ushio, April 19, 1973, and Sue Embrey to Robert Moretti, April 23, 1973, and Embrey to William Penn Mott, Jr., April 24, 1973, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

Chapter Three

The State Park Movement, 1973-1978

The state landmark designation was the Manzanar Committee's first political victory. Even before it was achieved, Embrey had begun to form a picture of how the Manzanar Committee's dual efforts toward public education and historic preservation would proceed. Without missing a beat after the landmark designation, Embrey immediately pushed to make Manzanar into a state park. Each time the Manzanar Committee obtained some kind of site designation, it became a stepping stone toward another designation at a higher level. Each step along the way kindled more public interest, more historical debate, and more activism by Japanese Americans. Thus, efforts toward historic preservation kept bringing more attention to Manzanar, increasing its symbolic value as an icon of the World War II forced removal and incarceration experience.

Preservation and commemoration may have been two separate and distinguishable things in a narrow, literal sense. But preservation and commemoration both drove at the same goal: to create a useable past, a public memory, a civics lesson for the nation. So in a broader, political sense, preservation and commemoration were one and inseparable.¹

A Broadening of Public Interest

At the Manzanar Committee's urging, Assemblyman Bob Moretti introduced a resolution in the state legislature in June of 1972 requesting that the Department of Parks and Recreation consider making Manzanar into a state park. The resolution did not mince words:

Whereas, A shameful chapter in American history was written during World War II, when thousands of American citizens were locked up in concentration camps without a trial – their only crime being that they were born of Japanese ancestry; and

Whereas, Because of the trauma caused by the disaster at Pearl Harbor, reason was driven from the minds of many American people, and liberals and conservatives alike demanded the imprisonment of the Japanese-Americans without trial; and

¹ Bruce Embrey interview (2014).

Whereas, One of the most notorious of the concentration camps was Manzanar near the town of Lone Pine; and

Whereas, Rather than allowing Manzanar, and what it stood for, to fade into the forgotten past, a portion of it ought to be preserved and restored to a monument of what can happen in America to Americans; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California, the Senate thereof concurring, That the Department of Parks and Recreation is requested to conduct a study, and develop a plan, for the acquisition and preservation of a portion of Manzanar Internment Camp as an historical unit of the state park system; and be it further

*Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Department of Parks and Recreation.*²

Almost a year later, after the installation of the state landmark plaque at the 1973 Manzanar Pilgrimage, Embrey inquired with the parks and recreation director what his department was doing in response to the resolution. William Mott replied that the state budget for the current fiscal year had not allowed the department to undertake a feasibility study yet, but the next year's budget did include those funds and he expected to assign planning personnel to the Manzanar study in July. Internal department correspondence outlined a modest study plan for \$10,000 that was to include historical research, state park development alternatives, and inquiry into the cost of acquiring the land.³

The state park initiative went forward against a backdrop of growing public interest in Manzanar and the experiences of Japanese Americans during World War II. Three individuals may be mentioned in this connection to highlight what was happening both as cause and consequence of the changing climate of opinion. The first person was Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, whose memoir *Farewell to Manzanar*, cowritten with her husband James D. Houston, was published in 1973. The book sold well, appealing especially to young people, and it was made into a TV movie three years later. Jeanne Houston succeeded like no other storyteller had in making the history of Japanese Americans' forced removal and incarceration accessible to the American public at the level of an individual's lived experience. Her memoir appeared at a time when Americans were avidly reading other books about oppressed minorities in the nation's history – for example, Dee Brown's bestseller, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1970) and Alex

² California Legislature, 1972 Regular Session, "Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 99 Introduced by Assemblyman Moretti," June 12, 1972, copy in File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR. The resolution (ACR 99) was entered in the *Assembly Journal* in November 1972. The following spring, Assemblyman Eugene Chappie sponsored another resolution (HR 128) calling for the same thing, and Moretti reintroduced his resolution (renumbered HR 135), which was enacted some time prior to July 1973.

³ William Penn Mott, Jr. to Sue Kunitomi Embrey, May 22, 1973, and Robert F. Uhte to Robert H. Meyer, May 18, 1973, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR.

Haley's phenomenally popular historical novel, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976), which was made into a television miniseries the next year.

Jeanne Wakatsuki was born in 1934 in Inglewood, California, and she had just turned seven when the attack on Pearl Harbor came. Her father, because he was a fisherman working out of Terminal Island, was arrested by the FBI in December 1941 and sent to a Department of Justice camp for aliens. The family then moved from Ocean Park to Terminal Island, only to be forced out with the rest of the Japanese American fishing community in February 1942. The Wakatsukis were sent to Manzanar, where most members of the large family remained until early October 1945, two months after the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. Houston did not return to Manzanar until she made her own pilgrimage with James and their children in April 1972. In the foreword to her book, Houston talked about pondering the idea to coauthor her memoir with her husband, a successful novelist. Houston wrote that as she and James looked at old photos together, "I began to dredge up feelings that had lain submerged since the forties. I began to make connections I had previously been afraid to see. It had taken me twenty-five years to reach the point where I could talk openly about Manzanar."⁴ Many Japanese Americans who were both older and younger than Houston could relate to that experience.

Another person who had lived behind barbed wire in Manzanar, Shiro ("Shi") Nomura, took a very different approach to remembering the camp years. Almost singlehandedly he started his own historic preservation effort, collecting memorabilia and creating an exhibit within the Eastern California Museum in Independence.

Shi Nomura was born in 1920, two decades after his parents had emigrated from Japan to California. They had a productive farm outside of Los Angeles at the onset of World War II, when the family was forced to relocate to Manzanar. Nomura met his future wife Mary Kageyama while they were confined in Manzanar. There, she was known as the "Songbird of Manzanar." After the war, the young couple returned to the Los Angeles area, eventually settling in Garden Grove where they bought a fish market. In the late 1960s, the Nomuras revisited Manzanar with their children. Shi asked Henry Raub why the Eastern California Museum's coverage of the Manzanar camp was so scant. Raub invited him to remedy that. Nomura began collecting artifacts from family and friends who were in Manzanar. The artifacts collection included many photos, letters, and other print material, as well as physical objects that were reminiscent of camp life. Around 1973, Raub invited Nomura to establish a permanent Manzanar exhibit within the museum. Today, the exhibit features a mock-up of a barracks room as well as panels of photographs and documents. A talented writer, Nomura wrote all the exhibit text and photo captions.⁵

⁴ Houston and Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar*, x.

⁵ Jerry Stanley, "I am an American: a True Story of Japanese Internment," *Alex's Bookshelves*, November 8, 2010, at <http://thechildrenswar.blogspot.com> <September 26, 2015>; Mary Kageyama Nomura, interviewed by Arthur A. Hansen, February 20, 1997, Eastern California Museum Oral History Collection; Bill Michael, interviewed by Kari Coughlin, July 29, 1999, MANZ Oral History Collection.

Nomura served as a volunteer curator at the Eastern California Museum for the next decade and more. He and Mary bought an apartment in Lone Pine and drove from Garden Grove to the Owens Valley sometimes as often as twice a month, leaving their fish market in the care of their family, so that they could tend to the museum exhibit. The Nomuras had limited association with Sue Embrey and the Manzanar Committee. Shi Nomura and Embrey were different personalities and held divergent political views. Yet, as part-time residents of the Owens Valley, Shi and Mary Nomura were important liaisons to the local population in the movement to establish a state park.⁶

The third person to enter conspicuously into the public discourse surrounding Manzanar at this time was a Caucasian woman by the name of Lillian Baker. From the standpoint of those who wished to commemorate and preserve Manzanar, Baker was the fly in the ointment. She fervently believed the United States was beyond reproach in its treatment of people of Japanese ancestry during World War II. In her view the evacuation order was militarily justifiable, and the relocation centers were benign places, in no way comparable with the horrific concentration camps set up under Adolf Hitler's Germany or Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union. Baker's sense of history told her that in the context of the times the Japanese Americans had not suffered racial discrimination or undue infringement of their civil rights. She emphasized the wartime U.S. Supreme Court decisions that upheld the constitutionality of the government's actions.⁷ Moreover, she believed the current effort by Japanese Americans to shine a light on those past events involved a falsification of history as well as a manipulation of the political process for historic preservation.

Baker mistrusted the whole idea of re-examining the past from the perspective of modern-day values, or from the vantage point of subsequent political, economic, and social developments. "I firmly believe that a historic plaque should be historically accurate, and should not reflect hindsight but the truth *of the times*," she wrote California Parks and Recreation Director Mott. "Leave hindsight to the historians!"⁸ That was a strange remark coming from a person who styled herself a historian. Outraged by the state historical landmark designation at Manzanar, she embarked on a crusade to have the landmark status rescinded and the offending words "concentration camp" expunged. Her strong convictions eventually led her to found an organization called Americans for Historical Accuracy, and to write several books about the Japanese American experience in World War II. As time went on she claimed to be a historical expert, boasted of book awards received from conservative organizations, and attracted a considerable following.

⁶ Sue Embrey to Shi Nomura, April 17, 1983, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

⁷ Lillian Baker to Governor Ronald Reagan, February 7, 1944, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDP.

⁸ Lillian Baker to William Penn Mott, Jr., July 13, 1973, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDP.

Lillian Baker was a political conservative and the widow of a World War II veteran.⁹ After the war, she and her husband bought a house in Gardena, a community in southwest Los Angeles County. During the 1970s, the racial makeup of Gardena began to change significantly. Many African Americans, Japanese Americans, and Latino Americans moved into the community, while the Caucasian population shrank. When someone accused Baker of once petitioning to stop a Japanese American family from moving into her neighborhood, Baker said the accusation was a slanderous untruth and directed her attorney to challenge it. When she protested Manzanar's state historical landmark designation, she strongly denied bearing any ill will toward people of Japanese ancestry.¹⁰

The State Park Proposal

In the fall of 1973, Sue Embrey turned to another resident of Gardena for assistance: California Assemblyman Paul Bannai (R-67th District). A contemporary of Embrey, and like her a Nisei, Bannai was well connected to the large Japanese American population in Gardena. Bannai had been incarcerated in Manzanar with his parents and siblings, but gained his release for college in January 1943. He enlisted in the Army, learned Japanese, and served with the Military Intelligence Service in Indonesia. Bannai returned from the war only to confront racial discrimination in his native California when he tried to buy his first house in Gardena. The home seller told him he would not sell to Japanese Americans because he did not want them moving into the area. The experience prompted Bannai to go into the real estate business and encourage more Japanese Americans to settle in Gardena. Eventually he helped to build a Japanese American community center there. Bannai was elected to the Gardena City Council in 1971 and then to the California state assembly in 1973, becoming the first Japanese American to serve in the state legislature. Bannai was deeply offended when he heard Lillian Baker speak out against the Manzanar site on KNX Los Angeles radio. When Embrey asked Bannai for help in pushing the California Department of Parks and Recreation to move forward on the state park study, he did not hesitate to put his shoulder to the wheel.¹¹

Parks and Recreation Director Mott gave tepid support to the state park proposal. His department finally assigned one associate landscape architect, Kenneth W. Collier, to visit the site, do some historical research, and make a preliminary recommendation. When Collier made his first trip to the site, he found it to be unremarkable and rather bleak, with disappointingly little visible in the way of physical remains of the camp. The initial in-house memo sent by his division to the

⁹ Born in 1921, Baker was a young adult during World War II.

¹⁰ Lillian Baker to William Penn Mott, Jr., July 13, 1973, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR. Baker wrote: "We purchased our home in Gardena (the most populated Japanese community in the USA) by *choice*. This ought to tell you something about my supposed 'anti-Japanese' feelings."

¹¹ Paul Bannai, interviewed by Alice Ito, December 29, 2000, Densho Digital Archive, at <http://archive.densho.org> <October 5, 2015>; Sue Embrey to Paul Bannai, November 4, 1973, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

deputy director presented a negative finding: “It is our opinion that the values at Manzanar do not warrant the establishment of a State Park System Unit. The story of Manzanar may be told in ways which are less demanding of Departmental capabilities.”¹² A second in-house memo offered a “revision.” It stated: “Rather than oppose the acquisition and development of this property, we would like to modify our statement to suggest that the subject property might lend itself well to development as a Wayside Campground.” This second memo noted that the airfield across the highway might be activated so that people could land small aircraft there and camp overnight. In a subsequent letter, Collier stated that the Department of Parks and Recreation was considering four alternative levels of development: (1) no further development beyond the installation of the state historical landmark plaque; (2) construction of a rest stop, picnic area and interpretive wayside exhibit; (3) construction of a campground; or (4) restoration of some buildings with interpretive exhibits inside. Two months later, in January 1974, Mott met with staff and decided that the department would propose developing Manzanar as a historical unit of the State Park System with memorialization and interpretive exhibits in combination with rest stop and picnic area facilities. Possibly one or two barracks would be reconstructed.¹³

From the fall of 1973 through the spring of 1974, the Manzanar Committee kept pressure on the Department of Parks and Recreation to share its preliminary ideas and to complete the mandated feasibility study. In letters to Collier and Deputy Director William S. Briner, Sue Embrey insisted that Japanese Americans must be afforded strong input on site development, that the site must be developed for educational purposes, and that the Manzanar Committee was adamantly opposed to any commercialization of the place. At one point she requested a meeting between the Manzanar Committee and state officials in Sacramento; however, state officials declined to pay the committee’s travel expenses and no meeting in the state capital took place. Collier made one visit to Los Angeles to meet with the Manzanar Committee and the JACL regional director, Craig Shimbukuro. Embrey was unimpressed by Collier, especially when she challenged him on his command of historical facts surrounding the WRA confinement camps and he replied in his own “defense” (her word) that he was only in elementary school when the World War II incarceration happened.¹⁴

Collier went to Independence to discuss the project with the Inyo County Planning Commission. After the meeting, the Inyo County Board of Supervisors passed a resolution in support of a small “recreation site at Manzanar,” with “rest stop,

¹² Kenneth W. Collier to Sue Kunitomi Embrey, July 11, 1973, File 319.0-4 Part 1, Administrative Records, C DPR.

¹³ Anonymous, “Resource Report Manzanar Relocation Center,” October 2, 1973, and James P. Tryner to Kenneth W. Collier, October 25, 1973, and William S. Briner to Sue K. Embrey, January 21, 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, C DPR.

¹⁴ Sue Embrey to Department of Parks and Recreation, July 30, 1973, and Embrey to Kenneth W. Collier, October 18, 1973, and Embrey to Collier, February 26, 1974, and Embrey to William S. Briner, November 24, 1973, and Embrey to Briner, January 6, 1974, and Embrey to Briner, February 9, 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, C DPR. Embrey described her face-to-face meeting with Collier in Sue Embrey to Paul Bannai, November 4, 1973, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

picnic and overnight rest facility, historical interpretive area, [and] sanitary dump.” The board noted that the county used the auditorium building as a vehicle maintenance facility and alternative arrangements would have to be made if the county had to vacate that building. Embrey wrote to Collier to say that the Manzanar Committee did not receive notice of the “public hearing” in Independence and the committee would appreciate being advised of all future communications between state and county officials on this matter. Collier testily replied that his purpose in going to Independence was to canvas local opinion only, not to engage the Manzanar Committee in a dialogue.¹⁵

Returning from Inyo County, Collier prepared a draft feasibility study report in late February 1974. This preliminary document proposed that the state would acquire 495 acres covering the main residential area of the camp together with the cemetery. A road would be developed through the site to the cemetery following the original road grid. Two barracks would be reconstructed in an isolated area, while physical remains throughout the camp such as foundations, roads, gardens, and trees would be interpreted but not rehabilitated. The primary purpose for the state park would be historical interpretation, while a secondary purpose would be to provide a place for solace and reflection as well as a resting place for the traveler. This developed space would consist of a restored garden and adjacent shelter. No commercialism was intended. Once the state park was developed, it would be staffed by one full-time ranger and one seasonal aid.¹⁶

While Embrey pressed department officials for an opportunity to review and comment on the draft report, Collier and his superiors refused to share it with her at this time. Department officials including Mott believed that Embrey was merely a front for a younger generation of radical activists who were the true spirit behind the Manzanar Committee. The state bureaucrats thought the Manzanar Committee did not represent the larger Japanese American population, most of whom, it seemed to them, took a more philosophical or accepting view of what had happened during World War II. The individuals behind the Manzanar Committee, they believed, were radical third-generation Sansei who wanted to politicize the site to advance their political agenda. Mott agreed with the advice of Russell W. Porter, chief of the Grants and Statewide Studies Division, that the Parks and Recreation Department should discreetly solicit feedback on the draft report from more moderate Nisei individuals whose thinking would reflect “the general feeling of the Japanese community” before the department issued its final report on the feasibility study. Two confidential copies of the draft report were sent to Frank Ogawa, vice mayor of Oakland, and Masamori Kojima, executive assistant to the mayor of Los Angeles, to get their input on how further involvement with the site by the Department of Parks and Recreation would play among older Japanese Americans who had firsthand memories of the camps. Mott

¹⁵ Sue Embrey to Kenneth W. Collier, February 26, 1974, and Collier to Embrey, March 6, 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR; Motion by Board of Supervisors of County of Inyo, February 4, 1974, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop.

¹⁶ Kenneth W. Collier, “Manzanar Feasibility Study,” (draft report), March 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR.

was anxious that the state's historical interpretation at the site should not fall under the influence of "the radical young group that is most desirous of presenting Manzanar in a way that would exaggerate the actual conditions that existed there."¹⁷

Ogawa shared his confidential copy of the draft report with David Ushio, national director of the JACL, who wrote to Mott on May 10, 1974. Ushio stated that the proposal was sound, the report was solid, and the department ought to send it to as many Japanese American entities as possible, including activist groups such as the Manzanar Committee, national civic organizations such as the JACL, Japanese American veterans' organizations, and Japanese American churches. "By widening the scope of input and actively soliciting positions from various groups the unreasonable demands of a small segment of vocal individuals will be placed in perspective," he wrote reassuringly.¹⁸

Department of Parks and Recreation officials remained dubious. Before distributing the draft report, they considered making a change to the recommendations section indicating an official position that the park was "feasible but not recommended."¹⁹ This negative language was not inserted; instead the language remained neutral. The draft report was distributed to a list of state legislators, state officials, and Japanese American groups at the end of June, and comments received were generally supportive. The department issued a final report in September 1974 with the recommendations section altered so that it began with the simple declarative statement: "Manzanar should be incorporated into the State Park System to interpret a significant aspect of California history."²⁰ Yet in spite of its now positive recommendation, Mott's department had no intention of going forward with it. The official reason given was that the department had no funds for this new park. The feasibility study was put on the shelf to gather dust.²¹

Listing on the National Register of Historic Places

The Manzanar Committee's next project was to get Manzanar listed as a national historic landmark or, short of that, to have it enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic site. Indeed, Embrey did not wait for the California Department of Parks and Recreation to complete the feasibility study before embarking on this next campaign. While the National Register process was not especially visible to the public, it was an important step because it raised the issue of Manzanar's significance to the federal level. Since the National Park Service is

¹⁷ William Penn Mott, Jr. to Masamori Kojima, April 3, 1974, and Mott to Frank Ogawa, April 3, 1974, and Mott to Russell W. Porter, April 16, 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR.

¹⁸ David Ushio to William Penn Mott, Jr., May 10, 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR.

¹⁹ James P. Tryner, Chief, Resources Management and Protection Division, to Robert F. Uhte, Chief, Design and Construction Division, June 27, 1974, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR.

²⁰ California Department of Parks and Recreation, *Manzanar Feasibility Study* (Sacramento: California Resources Agency, Department of Park and Recreation, 1974), page 9, Administrative Records, CDPR.

²¹ Herbert Rhodes to Paul T. Bannai, June 27, 1975, and Rhodes to Larry Chimbole, December 8, 1976, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, CDPR; Hata, *The Historic Preservation Movement in California*, 172.

charged with administering the National Register of Historic Places, this designation process involved the NPS with the Manzanar story a full decade and a half before Manzanar National Historic Site became a unit of the National Park System.

Embrey first approached the task of pushing for historic preservation at the federal level by writing to her congressman, Edward R. Roybal, a Democrat representing California's 30th district, which covers part of Los Angeles. Embrey asked that Roybal's office provide the Manzanar Committee with information on how it might register Manzanar as a national historic landmark or site. Embrey had previously worked on Roybal's political campaign, and she had invited him to the most recent pilgrimage. Roybal duly forwarded Embrey's letter to the National Park Service for a response. NPS Director Ronald H. Walker acknowledged the inquiry, and a week later NPS Associate Director Ernest Allen Connally wrote a detailed reply. Connally stated that the NPS was "familiar with Manzanar" (among other things, it had already received the National Register site nomination prepared by Inyo County a few years earlier), and he provided instructions for Embrey to explain her view of what gave the site national significance. He cautioned that the National Register normally did not include properties that had achieved historic significance within the past fifty years. It only broke from that rule when the property was associated with "persons or events of transcendent national significance." Moreover, national historic landmarks (as opposed to sites) were normally selected in the course of making a thematic study of a distinct aspect of American history, such as Revolutionary War sites.²²

Embrey did not pursue the matter further until the state completed the feasibility study. Then she sent a copy of the feasibility study together with some photographs to NPS Director Walker, requesting that the National Park Service consider designating Manzanar a national historic landmark or historic site on the National Register of Historic Places. In reply, the National Park Service's Cornelius W. Heine, chief of the Historical and Architectural Surveys Division, reiterated that national historic landmarks were normally investigated within the framework of a theme study and were rarely considered when they were less than fifty years old. Theme studies connected with the World War II era would not be undertaken for some years. "When the study of properties associated with this era is undertaken," Heine wrote, "we will be pleased to include Manzanar." In the meantime, if Embrey wanted to request that Manzanar be considered for enrollment on the National Register as a historic site, she should pursue it through California's historic preservation officer.²³

Embrey set to work preparing a new National Register site nomination to replace the one written by Inyo County officials in 1970. It will be recalled that the

²² Sue K. Embrey to Edward R. Roybal, September 12, 1973, and Roybal to Director, Office of Congressional Liaison, September 18, 1973, File Manzanar 537-14, Administrative Records, CDPR; Ronald H. Walker to Roybal, September 25, 1973, and Ernest Allen Connally to Roybal, October 3, 1973, and Roybal to Embrey, October 4, 1973, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Bruce Embrey interview (2014).

²³ Cornelius W. Heine to Sue Kunitomi Embrey, January 16, 1975, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

keeper of the National Register had rejected the earlier nomination with the recommendation that people of Japanese ancestry should be more closely involved in describing the site's significance. Embrey's statement of significance began: "Manzanar Relocation Center represents a lamentable period in American history during which over 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, the majority of them American citizens, were held captive by their own nation." In five short paragraphs, neatly typed in the three-quarters-of-a-page square box on the nomination form, she summarized the evacuation, construction of the camp, living conditions there, and the U.S. Supreme Court decisions, and concluded with the statement: "Manzanar is an important symbol to most Japanese Americans today, as it re-creates for them that moment in their lives when all the world was enclosed within this one-mile square." Embrey submitted the form to the California Department of Parks and Recreation on July 31, 1975. At the department's request, Embrey submitted maps and a boundary description for the site on October 31, 1975. The State Historical Resources Commission staff recommended approval of the revised boundaries of the nomination, and the state historic preservation officer, or SHPO, approved the nomination and submitted it to the keeper of the National Register the following June. The Manzanar Committee announced in a press release the following year that the Manzanar War Relocation Center was listed on the National Register on July 30, 1976. There it rested for several years, until the National Park Service took up a theme study of World War II in the Pacific and considered Manzanar for national historic landmark status.²⁴

The seed was planted for the National Park Service's theme study of World War II in the Pacific in 1978 when Congress enacted Public Law 95-348, which established new units of the National Park System in Guam and the Virgin Islands. War in the Pacific National Historical Park, located on the island of Guam in the western Pacific Ocean, was created for the purpose of honoring "the bravery and sacrifice of those participating in the campaigns of the Pacific theater of World War II." The act also provided for an NPS study of additional sites associated with the Pacific campaigns of World War II, including a description, evaluation, and estimated cost of acquisition for each site. Eventually the NPS decided that the meaning of "Pacific campaigns" and "Pacific theater of World War II" were elastic enough to include the Japanese American relocation experience on the U.S. mainland. Consequently, the study mandated by P.L. 95-348 came to encompass the thematic framework that was necessary to consider national historic landmark status for Manzanar. The national historic landmark designation would finally come in 1985 – strangely enough, when Ronald Reagan occupied the White House and William Penn Mott, Jr. was director of the National Park Service. The relationship between War in

²⁴ National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination for Manzanar, July 31, 1975, and Dr. Knox Mellon, Executive Secretary, State Historical Resources Commission, to Clement W. Meighan, State Historical Resources Commission, October 30, 1975, and Sue Embrey to James M. Doyle, Assistant Executive Secretary, Department of Parks and Recreation, History Preservation Section, October 31, 1975, and Mellon to Dr. William J. Murtagh, Keeper of the National Register, June 2, 1976, File Manzanar 537-14, Administrative Records, CDPR; Manzanar Committee, Press Release (no date), Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

the Pacific National Historical Park and Manzanar National Historic Site is discussed further in the next chapter.²⁵

Backlash

Lillian Baker, the staunch defender of war relocation centers and self-appointed guardian of “historical accuracy,” began giving interviews on local radio stations in the L.A. area in 1973. Over the air waves, she lambasted the Department of Parks and Recreation for sanctioning use of the words “concentration camps” on the bronze plaque at Manzanar. When the Tule Lake camp in Northern California received nearly the same recognition as Manzanar in 1974, it added grist to her mill. Over the winter of 1974-75, Baker informed her radio listeners that she was trying to get California Assemblyman Michael D. Antonovich (R-41st District) to sponsor a bill in the state legislature that would remove the plaque at Manzanar.

Concerned Japanese Americans swung into action to stop Antonovich from introducing the bill. Amy Uno Ishii of the Manzanar Committee wrote Antonovich a strong letter in which she declared:

I am very much interested in this subject of America’s Concentration Camps as I spent many months behind barbed wire and guard towers here in California and in the States of Wyoming and Colorado. I was married behind barbed wire and our child was born in a Concentration Camp of America. My uncle, who was a Veteran of World War I, who served this country with the Rainbow Division back in 1915, 1916, and 1917 in France, died behind the same barbed wire Camp in Wyoming. . . . We feel that Manzanar stands for all ten of the Concentration Camps throughout the country and is a part of America’s history and our children’s heritage.²⁶

A Sacramento representative of Japanese Americans lobbied Antonovich to drop the measure, and in early 1975 his office confirmed that he would desist.²⁷

There were other disturbing signs of backlash. California Assemblyman S. Floyd Mori (D-15th District), the second Japanese American to be elected to the California legislature,²⁸ received a letter from a constituent who visited the Manzanar site and was dismayed to find that someone had vandalized the bronze plaque with a

²⁵ Public Law 95-348, August 18, 1978, 92 Stat., 487.

²⁶ Amy Uno Ishii to Mike D. Antonovich, February 3, 1975, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

²⁷ Ruth Abraham, American Civil Liberties Union, to Amy Uno Ishii, January 27, 1975, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

²⁸ A JACL chapter president, Mori went on to serve as the league’s national president and national executive director.

pick axe or some kind of other sharp, heavy tool. To this person it also appeared that someone had thrown acid on the plaque.²⁹

In 1976, the conservative former president of San Francisco State University, S. I. Hayakawa, ran for the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket and won. While some Japanese Americans rejoiced over the fact that a solid majority of California voters had cast their ballots for a Japanese American, others were troubled by Hayakawa's conservative stand on many issues that were important to their community, including the movement for redress. Hayakawa made political hay with conservative voters when he argued that relocation had actually helped many Japanese Americans rise out of ethnic enclaves and assimilate. According to Lillian Baker, who worked on his Senate campaign, Hayakawa once wrote to the director of the Department of Parks and Recreation: "the use of the term *concentration camp* is highly propagandistic and makes a mockery of what happened to the Jews under Hitler."³⁰ Hayakawa's critics reminded people that he did not speak about the camps from personal experience, as he had lived in Chicago through the war years.

Raw feelings over offending words flared up in still other connections. The Department of History at California State University, Fullerton completed its three-year oral history project involving interviews with Owens Valley residents and prepared to turn the interviews into a book. These were interviews with Caucasians, primarily, whose memories of the camp were from the perspective of outsiders looking in. During the war, many locals had referred to the place as "Jap Camp." Art Hansen, the history professor in charge of the oral history project, decided to use that unvarnished term of yesteryear for the title of the book. The prospective title ignited vociferous opposition from Japanese Americans who insisted that printing such a racist epithet on a book jacket, regardless of the book's contents, would bring pain and discomfort to people in their community. The book's editors and publishers agreed to change the book's title to *Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley*.³¹

In this charged atmosphere, the California Department of Parks and Recreation revisited the dormant state park proposal once again. The department had undergone a change of leadership following the election of Governor Jerry Brown, a Democrat, in 1974. Herbert Rhodes, a Vietnam War veteran from the Bay Area, took Mott's place as director of state parks. The new leadership wanted California's historical state parks system to reflect the state's diverse ethnic heritage.³² As the Manzanar feasibility study had not generated much controversy in 1973-74, department officials were completely unprepared for the strong opposition that emerged when they unveiled their new plan for a Manzanar state park in the fall of 1978. Conservative

²⁹ S. Floyd Mori to Russ Cahill, Director, Department of Parks and Recreation, March 22, 1978, enclosing an undated, unsigned letter with accompanying photographs, File 319.0-14 Part 1, Administrative Records, C DPR.

³⁰ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 292; Hayakawa quoted in Lillian Baker to Russell Cahill, Director of Department of Parks and Recreation, September 18, 1978, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, C DPR.

³¹ "Publisher's Note," in Garrett and Larson, *Camp and Community*, i-iv.

³² Herbert Rhodes to Paul T. Bannai, June 27, 1975, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

Inyo County residents were dead set against establishing a state park. Living on the other side of the Sierra Nevada from all the identity politics that had been roiling urban communities and college campuses for the past decade, a majority of Inyo County residents were uninterested in bringing those identity politics into the Owens Valley. They had no desire to host such a polarizing debate in their own backyard.

Conservatives also opposed the state park based on their commitment to smaller government. In June 1978, Californians went to the polls to vote on a ballot initiative known as Proposition 13. The measure put a cap on property tax and placed stringent guidelines on how the state budget was prepared. Passed by a wide margin, Proposition 13 became part of the state constitution. The thunder clap from Proposition 13 was still reverberating when two park planners left Sacramento in October to hold a series of workshops in the Owens Valley and Los Angeles in which they explained the department's plan for Manzanar and invited feedback. What they presented to their audiences was that the state would acquire 495 acres at the site of the Manzanar camp and develop historical exhibits to inform park visitors about this dark chapter in the state's history. The plan offered three alternative levels of development. At the high end, the state would rebuild the barbed-wire perimeter fence, one or two guard towers, and all the barracks in one block. Conservatives were flabbergasted. One person wrote scornfully to the Department of Parks and Recreation: "Your plan to 'reconstitute' (or whatever it is called) Manzanar is not only stupid but is extremely untimely. Haven't you heard of Proposition 13 and the taxpayer's revolt?" The letter writer speculated that maintaining all those buildings would cost taxpayers "millions" of dollars. "Some think that your department should be overhauled for even suggesting the proposition."³³

For some people, a painful memory or a national shame was better left alone. Even if they did not engage in the debate over whether or not Manzanar was a concentration camp, these people found the idea of partially reconstructing such a sad place just plain distasteful. The camp was "something that should be forgotten," a couple from Glendale, California wrote. "Spending thousands of tax dollars to make sure that horrors are remembered is hardly the task of Parks & Recreation." In a different vein, a man who had been confined in Manzanar thought the site ought to be commemorated with a cultural center but deplored the idea of reconstructing barbed-wire fences, guard towers, and barracks. This person noted that he liked to go fishing and camping in the Owens Valley and preferred to enjoy the natural scene. "It's really not in good taste to rebuild it up again and say 'that's a historical monument to man'.... Let's keep the environment natural," he wrote. "Let's keep the peace."³⁴

The Inyo County Board of Supervisors turned against the state park proposal in steps. In November 1978, it voted to reaffirm the action it had taken in 1974, that

³³ J. Stanley Brill to Department of Parks and Recreation, October 17, 1978, File State Planning Study (79-80), Administrative History 1978-1995 files, Retired Central Files (hereafter RCF), Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ).

³⁴ Carole Colvin and John Colvin to Judy Chan, October 6, 1978, and Joe Fuchita to Department of Parks and Recreation, April 5, 1979, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ.

being to support the development of a rest stop and interpretive area not to exceed five acres. (In other words, it did not support a 495-acre state park.) In June 1979, it went further and passed a resolution flat out opposing the state's proposal to reconstruct the World War II camp. The resolution asserted that "the overwhelming sentiment of the citizens of Inyo County is in opposition to such a plan," and it observed that five local organizations – Lone Pine Chamber of Commerce, American Legion Mt. Whitney Post, Independence Civic Club, Inyo County Cattlemen's Association, and Owens Valley Tribal Elders – were now on record against it.³⁵

What finally sank the state park proposal was the state's inability to acquire the land. The land still belonged to the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. At the outset, the plan called for acquiring those 495 acres by purchase or lease. However, state officials much preferred to purchase the land in order to protect the state's investment in park facilities. The LADWP waited to see how the public responded to the state park proposal. As opposition to the park mounted, the LADWP refused to sell the property. The Department of Parks and Recreation negotiated with the LADWP over terms of a lease through the fall and winter of 1978-79, but state officials ultimately balked at developing a state park on leased land. The department quietly shelved the proposal in 1979.³⁶

The opposition to the park proposal by Owens Valley residents in the 1970s cannot be quantified, but there can be no doubt that it was real and widespread. Scores of letters and petitions were sent to the Department of Parks and Recreation and printed in the local newspapers. Locals who opposed building a state park around a partial camp reconstruction did so for a number of reasons. First, residents of the Owens Valley were mostly politically conservative, and they were leery of supporting state government projects that did not seem necessary. Second, there were ranchers in the community who balked at the idea of terminating a valley resident's grazing lease and converting that grazing land into a public park. Third, a significant number of World War II veterans lived in the valley who were opposed to making any sort of public apology for U.S. actions in the wake of Pearl Harbor. A few of these veterans became quite vocal in their opinions, and veterans' groups closed ranks around them. And finally, many longtime residents felt a vague sense of shame over the existence of the World War II camp. The federal government had imposed it on them and they had had absolutely no say in the matter. The high-handed actions by the U.S. War Department in establishing the Manzanar War Relocation Center in their valley was a reminder of how powerless local residents had been to stop the Los Angeles water

³⁵ Inyo County Board of Supervisors, Motion, November 7, 1978, and Resolution 79-56, June 12, 1979, File County of Inyo, Series 4 – Early Efforts to Gain Recognition for Manzanar 1970-1979, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

³⁶ James F. Wickser, December 14, 1978, enclosing proposed lease, and James P. Tryner, Chief, Resource Preservation and Interpretation Division, to Jack Harrison, Chief, Acquisition Division, January 9, 1979, and Richard A. May, Development Division, to Harrison, January 24, 1979, and Frank Lortie, State Historian, to Tryner, August 27, 1979, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, CDPR. Another factor in the decision to drop the initiative was the budget squeeze resulting from Proposition 13.

diversion in the 1920s. The people of the Owens Valley had a long history of feeling victimized by outside forces beyond their control.³⁷

Many Native American residents objected to the state park proposal on still other grounds. The focus on the Japanese American experience illuminated the fact that the indigenous peoples' long history in the valley was largely ignored or forgotten. "Indians have suffered longer injustices," wrote Blanche Shippentower, a member of the Owens Valley Tribal Elders. During the painful episode of forced removal in the 1860s, Indians had been driven right past the Manzanar site under a soldier guard. The forced march had cost many lives. Indeed, the entire valley was covered with burial grounds from long ago. "We oppose the Japanese American desire to press for a full scale project at Manzanar," Shippentower affirmed. "They suffered only a short term confinement during World War II."³⁸

Native American opposition culminated with a petition sent to the county supervisors by the Owens Valley Tribal Elders bearing forty-seven signatures, followed by a meeting between tribal representatives and state officials in Sacramento on May 8, 1979. The tribal elders asserted that Manzanar was a historical, cultural, and spiritual place for their people, too. They recommended that the proposed park be reduced from 500 acres down to just one acre covering the state historical landmark plaque and parking area. The tribes' opposition dealt a heavy blow to the state's proposal, as the Department of Parks and Recreation did not want to alienate the state's newly established Native American Heritage Commission.³⁹

The Manzanar Committee Carries On

In February 1975, Sue Embrey wrote a letter to John Dean III, the former White House counsel who turned star witness in the Watergate hearings. It was less than a year since Nixon's resignation, and Dean had just completed his prison term for his role in the Watergate cover-up. Dean had spoken to the press about doing research on the government's treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II and possible reparations. Interested in cultivating a connection with the former White

³⁷ Scores of letters expressing individuals' and organizations' opposition went into the files of the California Department of Parks and Recreation (File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, C DPR). See also copies of letters collected in Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ. On valley residents' sense of "shame" over Manzanar, Jane Wehrey, interviewed by Theodore Catton and Diane Krahe, November 10, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection. Local opposition is also described in two articles in the local newspaper, "Tax money to impose a sense of guilt?" *Inyo County Newsletter*, March 25, 1979, and "Manzanar Memorial: Prayers...and politics," *Inyo County Newsletter*, May 15, 1979.

³⁸ Blanche Shippentower to Department of Parks and Recreation, October 16, 1978, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, C DPR.

³⁹ Petitioners to Wilma Muth, County Supervisor, March 12, 1979, and George Rackelmann, Senior Landscape Architect to Richardo Ramirez, Deputy Director, Department of Parks and Recreation, April 9, 1979, and Owens Valley Tribal Elders to Inyo County Board of Supervisors, May 22, 1979, and Russell W. Cahill, Director, Department of Parks and Recreation, to Richard Engel, Chairman, Board of Supervisors, June 29, 1979, and James P. Tryner, Chief to Neil Johannsen, Deputy Director, August 1, 1979, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ.

House counsel, Embrey sent him materials about Manzanar. She described what had been accomplished thus far in getting the state historical landmark designation, and she stated that the Manzanar Committee was “basically an educational committee now that our first goal of historical recognition has been accomplished.” She explained how the committee sponsored annual pilgrimages to Manzanar to clean up the cemetery area and hold a combined Buddhist and Protestant religious service, and she cordially invited Dean to attend the upcoming one.⁴⁰

In her letter to Dean, Embrey gave an accurate though modest description of the Manzanar Committee’s activities. Its educational services were wide ranging, and there was much more to sponsoring the pilgrimages than she let on. By way of educational services, the Manzanar Committee sponsored teach-ins and film screenings, and it pursued a reprinting of Ansel Adams’s *Born Free and Equal*.⁴¹ It established a film library for use by public schools and community centers. Embrey edited a volume of historical documents, *The Lost Years: 1942-1946*, which was published in 1972. Embrey and Ishii created a slide show that they brought to schools, as well as a teacher’s guide for teaching about the incarceration of Japanese Americans.⁴²

In the fall of 1975, the Manzanar Committee helped arrange a pilgrimage to another former camp at Poston, Arizona. The camp was located on the Colorado River Indian Reservation near the Arizona-California state line. Part of the history of this camp was that the Colorado River Indian Tribes tried to prevent the camp from being located there, as the tribes wanted nothing to do with the U.S. government’s forced removal and confinement of another people, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs and WRA overruled the tribal council. The pilgrimage was organized as a cultural exchange between the Japanese American and tribal communities, scheduled to occur during a three-day Indian cultural festival. At Embrey’s invitation, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley sent a statement and the Los Angeles City Council passed a resolution in support of the cultural exchange event. The Poston pilgrimage and cultural exchange was repeated for the next two years.⁴³

The Manzanar Committee’s core program was to organize and oversee the Manzanar Pilgrimage. Each year’s event required elaborate preparations. Each one featured a theme, a roster of speakers, and a group activity such as a tour of the gardens. Embrey urged public figures to come, and she also aimed to get older people, Issei and Nisei who had experienced the camps firsthand, to make the pilgrimage. The latter involved considerable logistics. At the Manzanar Committee’s instigation, the City of Los Angeles began providing buses and drivers for anyone to ride free from Los Angeles to the Owens Valley and back in a day. Buses departed from the Los Angeles City College at 6 a.m. and returned around 9:30 p.m. Another large contingent drove over from the Bay Area, and other groups came from colleges,

⁴⁰ Sue K. Embrey to John Dean III, February 8, 1975, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC. It is not known if Dean responded to Embrey’s invitation.

⁴¹ See footnote 99.

⁴² “Our History,” *The Manzanar Committee* at www.manzanarcommittee.org <October 9, 2015>.

⁴³ Tom Bradley to Friends, September 23, 1975, and Manzanar Committee press release, October 6, 1975, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

universities, and churches located around the state and region. Sometimes a crew of workers went one day in advance to prepare the site for the large gathering. On the day of the pilgrimage the formal program on site included speeches, a religious service, and a traditional Japanese dance called Ondo. After the formal program, participants were asked to partake in a general cleanup.⁴⁴

Embrey asked various public agencies for assistance with the pilgrimage. She requested that the LADWP grade the road to the cemetery, and she asked the Inyo County Parks and Recreation Department to provide portable toilets and picnic tables on the day of the event. She called on the California Division of Highways to place signs for Manzanar on U.S. 395. She worked with the Los Angeles mayor's office to obtain grants to cover the bus service. Eventually the grants would go up to \$10,000, enough for three charter buses.⁴⁵

Embrey enjoyed a personal friendship with Mayor Tom Bradley, the five-term mayor of Los Angeles from 1973 to 1993. She appreciated him not only for his politics, but for what he stood for as a person of color. The son of sharecroppers and grandson of slaves, Bradley was the first African American elected mayor of a major U.S. city without a majority black population. Embrey met him when she worked on his unsuccessful first campaign for the mayor's office in 1968. Four years later, Embrey organized an Asian Women's Democratic Caucus and got it to throw its support behind Bradley in his second run for office. In exchange for the caucus's support, she extracted a promise from the candidate that he would give women in city government equal pay with men. After his election, Bradley asked Embrey to serve on the city's new Council on the Status of Women to implement the change in city employees' compensation she sought. Embrey remained an ardent supporter of Bradley through his long mayoral career, and as the years passed he called on her to perform other odd jobs around city hall. The experience gave her insights into city government that were a big asset when it came to promoting Manzanar, especially in the Manzanar Committee's dealings with the LADWP.⁴⁶

Pursuant to its ongoing responsibilities to organize and oversee each year's Manzanar Pilgrimage, the Manzanar Committee, together with the JACL, entered into a license agreement with the LADWP for restoration and maintenance of the cemetery, obelisk, and two sentry posts. The license agreement delineated two separate tracts totaling about five acres. The license agreement was initiated by the JACL, and the Manzanar Committee signed on when the two-year agreement came up for renewal in June 1974. The license agreement was a personal, revocable permit that gave the JACL and the Manzanar Committee stewardship over the site's primary

⁴⁴ Los Angeles City College Associated Student Body and LACC Asian Student Alliance, "Manzanar Pilgrimage," April 27, 1974, Series 2, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁴⁵ Sue Embrey to William S. Briner, Deputy Director, Department of Parks and Recreation, February 9, 1974, and Embrey to Rick Carunchio, County of Inyo Department of Parks and Recreation, March 20, 1975, File 319.0-14, Administrative Records, CDPR; Embrey to Friends, March 15, 1993, Box 2, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

⁴⁶ "Tom Bradley Biography," *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*, at www.mayortombradley.com <October 9, 2015>; Bruce Embrey interview (2014).

historic resources as well as access to the cemetery through LADWP property. It was not a lease, which would convey an interest in the land and would be transferable. Although the license agreement did not cover the former auditorium building, since it was used by Inyo county, Embrey made it clear to the LADWP that that building was a historic resource, too.⁴⁷

The Manzanar Pilgrimage and other actions by the Manzanar Committee raised awareness about the camps among Japanese Americans and among the whole American people. The pilgrimage is credited as being one of the important catalysts of the movement to seek an official apology by the U.S. government for the incarceration of Japanese Americans in World War II.⁴⁸ The movement for redress, as it became known, in turn, had a crucial effect on the process of how Manzanar became a national historic site. The relationship between redress and historic preservation was indirect but potent nevertheless. The main objective of redress was reparations, not commemoration. Yet the redress movement's overarching goal was to strengthen American democracy by remembering a dark episode in the nation's past. The reparations that the movement sought would not only consist of a one-time per capita distribution of money to all surviving victims of World War II forced relocation, but would entail an educational component as well. The educational piece would be directed toward ensuring that the lessons of the past were heeded by the American people in the future. The redress movement's reformist vision gave greater meaning to the mostly abandoned sites of Japanese American incarceration during World War II.

While the redress movement gained national attention in the early 1980s, the National Park Service began work on its theme study of historical sites associated with World War II in the Pacific. Activism on the part of Japanese Americans persuaded NPS officials to focus the theme study on World War II confinement sites, and more specifically on the sites of the ten WRA relocation camps, starting with Manzanar.

⁴⁷ Sue Embrey to James F. Wickser, Northern District Engineer, LADWP, February 28, 1974, and David Ushio, National Director, JACL, to Wickser, March 8, 1974, and Wickser to JACL, March 12, 1974, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; License Agreement, June 17, 1974, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC. The distinction between a license and a lease is defined in Duane D. Buchholz to Dan Olson, September 22, 1987, LADWP files.

⁴⁸ Daniels, Taylor, and Kitano, editors, *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, 188.

Chapter Four

Campaign for a National Park System Unit, 1978-1992

Multiple organizations and multiple individuals were responsible for the success of the redress movement, which culminated in the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. Within this large, diverse pool of redress activists was John Tateishi of the JACL's National Committee for Redress. Born in Los Angeles in 1939, Tateishi spent three years of his early childhood, from age three to six, incarcerated with his family at Manzanar. Among his camp memories are the words his father spoke to John and his brothers on the occasion of the family's release from Manzanar: "Never forget this place. If you ever have the opportunity to make it right, you have to do it."¹

Tateishi recalled in a 2013 interview that when he reached middle age he was very reluctant to return to Manzanar, even as he read in newspapers about the Manzanar Committee and the pilgrimages:

I had this thing about camp. I didn't want to be part of it. I didn't want to have anything to do with it. When I was younger we lived in L.A. and we'd drive up from L.A. to Bishop and we'd pass by Manzanar. Never stopped. Not a single time. Never even thought about stopping. I would be with my brothers and we all knew there was nothing there. We would drive by, we'd be goofing around and doing whatever kids do. And then we'd pass by Manzanar and there'd be this silence, this total quiet in the car for maybe twenty minutes. It was like a bad memory or a bad dream starting to come back, except by not talking about it you keep it at bay.²

By the 1970s, Tateishi had a wife and children and a tenured teaching position at City College in San Francisco. He was active in the JACL. Just once, in 1975, he decided to return to Manzanar by himself. It was a thing he needed to do in private. At the end of his solitary seven-hour drive from San Francisco to the Owens Valley, he drove his car out onto the desolate patch of ground at the site of the former camp and switched off the engine. He listened to the enormous stillness. After a while the wind began to rise and kick up little clouds of dust here and there, and wherever the dust swirled and danced through the rabbitbrush he could almost hear the voices of kids shouting to one another as they ran between the barracks and across the

¹ John Tateishi, "Growing Up in Sawtelle," *Pacific Citizen*, October 17, 2014, at www.pacificcitizen.org/growing-up-in-sawtelle/ <January 18, 2016>; quote taken from Deanne Stone, "John Tateishi (September 2014)," at <https://oli.berkeley.edu/john-tateishi-september-2014> <January 19, 2016>.

² John Tateishi, interviewed by Rose Masters, November 7, 2013, MANZ Oral History Collection.

firebreaks. Such were his early childhood memories of living behind barbed wire. As the day turned to dusk, he decided he could not go check into a motel. He stayed until dark and slept in his car.³

Years later Tateishi would describe that overnight visit as an important experience in his growing commitment to the redress movement in the 1970s. It touched him deeply even if it did not overcome his aversion to going back there again. One return to Manzanar was enough for him.⁴ Although in his decade of service to the redress movement Tateishi eschewed the Manzanar Pilgrimages, communicated very little with the Manzanar Committee, and had no real involvement in establishing Manzanar National Historic Site, he is relevant to this history for his national role in redress. Many others played key roles in the movement as well.⁵ Redress changed the national consciousness about the World War II years in ways that made commemoration and preservation of Manzanar possible. Fittingly, Tateishi's return to Manzanar in 1975 urged him along the path of seeking redress just as the words of his Kibei father had pointed him in that direction decades before.

The Movement for Redress

Tateishi rose to prominence shortly after the JACL's national convention in 1978. That year, the organization voted unanimously to pursue redress as a major objective. Dr. Clifford Uyeda, the newly elected president of JACL who was himself a leader in the redress movement, selected Tateishi to chair the organization's National Committee for Redress. Although many Nisei in the JACL wanted one of their own generation to head the effort, Uyeda's influence prevailed.⁶

The goals of the committee were two-fold: to wage a campaign for public engagement on the issue, and to promote legislation for redress in Congress. Redress would be on the basis of a monetary payout to every Japanese American who had been

³ Tateishi interview.

⁴ Tateishi did finally return to Manzanar again in 2012, almost by accident, after agreeing to participate in a Kansha Project tour. The Kansha Project is a youth-oriented program of the JACL Chicago chapter that seeks to inculcate awareness of the Japanese American mass incarceration and its legacy. The Kansha tour started in Los Angeles and included a trip to Manzanar. By this time in his early 70s, Tateishi drove the van. Finding some satisfaction in observing how the young people responded to the national historic site, he did it again the following year. Tateishi interview.

⁵ Besides the JACL, the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR) and the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR) advocated for redress, each employing a different approach, as described briefly further in this chapter. For a concise overview of these various approaches, see "Redress Movement," *Densho Encyclopedia*, at http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Redress_movement/ <February 1, 2017>.

⁶ Clifford Uyeda, "Appointing John Tateishi As National JACL Redress Chair," interview by Mitchell Maki and Darcie Iki, July 1-2, 1998, at www.discovernikkei.org/en/interviews/clips/973/ <January 19, 2016>.

incarcerated during World War II and was still living. At the 1978 convention the JACL set the bar at \$25,000 for each person.⁷

The demand for redress was not new; indeed, it was a continuation of arguments that were first raised inside and outside the camps during the incarceration. However, until the 1970s the JACL national leadership refused to take it up, seeing it as a wedge issue among Japanese Americans. Many older people did not want to bring up the past. Many of the more conservative Japanese Americans opposed the idea of reparations to a minority group, thinking it would set an unfortunate precedent or stigmatize the group. Some, such as Senator Hayakawa, insisted that Japanese Americans were a “model minority” who had achieved high levels of education and wealth. Taken as a group they did not need the money. Proponents of redress countered with the argument that nothing short of a monetary settlement would get national attention and achieve the desired level of atonement by the U.S. government. Although the per capita sum was probably considerably less than the amount of actual damages for most individuals, the money had important symbolic value. Moreover, thousands of elderly Japanese Americans did stand in need of compensation for their extraordinary losses many years earlier.

Edison Uno introduced a resolution at the JACL’s national meeting in 1970, calling on the JACL’s national leadership to stand up for redress. A similar resolution was introduced two years later, and another in 1974, at which time the leadership finally agreed to put it on the organization’s agenda. Proponents of redress kept pushing the JACL officials to do more. When the JACL formed a national committee on redress, some proponents, including Sue Embrey, who had formed her own small group in Los Angeles to push national redress, worried that the JACL was merely trying to co-opt the movement so as to steer it in a more conservative direction.⁸

Tateishi faced down those charges the year after he assumed leadership of the JACL’s National Committee for Redress. At that time there was debate within the redress movement over whether to push Congress for reparations or file a massive class action in federal court. The JACL committee conferred with four Japanese American members of Congress, as well as various lobbyists and civil rights activists, and decided to pursue legislation rather than do battle in court. Moreover, the committee followed the congressmen’s advice and did not ask for a reparations bill right away. Rather, it asked Congress to form a federal commission on redress to gather the facts. The commission’s findings would lay the groundwork for Congress to take up the desired legislation later on. Of course, the cost of this slow and deliberate strategy was that many elderly Japanese Americans would not live to see the day when redress was achieved. But JACL leaders saw a need for an impartial body to conduct an official review in order to dispel the myth that the injustices

⁷ John Tateishi, “The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress,” in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (rev. ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 192.

⁸ Tateishi, “The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress,” 191; Bruce Embrey interview (2014).

perpetrated against Japanese Americans in the years 1942-46 had been justified by military necessity. “We placed our faith in the truth and in the facts,” Tateishi later wrote, “and we were convinced that those facts would generate tremendous media attention and public awareness about the issue.”⁹

The idea that it was necessary to establish a truth commission was a hard pill for many Japanese Americans to swallow because they were already quite clear in their own minds that the wartime policies were both unjust and unnecessary. Many abhorred the prospect of Japanese Americans having to testify to a federal commission about their shameful experience in the war. On the other hand, Tateishi and others in the JACL saw an upside in this process for those who were incarcerated. Beyond simply meeting the political necessity to educate members of Congress and the general public, the federal commission’s public hearings would provide a valuable forum for victims to tell their stories. It could provide a catharsis for dealing with pain that had been bottled up for forty years.¹⁰

Many Japanese Americans, particularly in the Pacific Northwest, believed the JACL approach was hedging and too slow. Some refused to accept JACL’s leadership on the issue and formed their own organization, which they called the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR). William Hohri, who had been incarcerated at Manzanar with his family and was a member of Manzanar High School’s Class of 1944, was called on to lead the Seattle-based group. The NCJAR drafted legislation to obtain reparations immediately. U.S. Representative Mike Lowry (D-Washington) took up their cause and introduced a bill in the House in November 1979, but Lowry’s bill died in committee. The NCJAR then turned to judicial means to pursue redress. Hohri was lead plaintiff in a class action filed in 1983 that sued the U.S. government for \$27 million in damages. The lawsuit proceeded through the courts for five years, reaching the U.S. Supreme Court once in 1986 and again in 1988, when it ultimately was declined a second hearing after a lower court’s dismissal of the case. Despite the failure of the NCJAR class action, publicity surrounding it helped to advance redress toward its ultimate success.¹¹

The JACL’s more cautious strategy calling for a congressional fact-finding commission on redress began to bear fruit at the start of the 1980s. On August 7, 1979, Daniel Inouye introduced U.S. Senate Bill (S.) 1647 to establish the commission. Six weeks later, a companion bill was introduced in the House. After a six-month pause, the Senate took up S. 1647, approved it by unanimous consent, and sent it to the House. The House Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Relations held a hearing on the bill on June 2, 1980 and reported on it favorably. The House of Representatives passed the legislation by a vote of 279 to

⁹ Tateishi, “The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress,” 192.

¹⁰ Tateishi, “The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress,” 195.

¹¹ William Hohri, “Redress as a Movement Towards Enfranchisement,” in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (rev. ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 196-99; “William Hohri,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, at <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/William%20Hohri/> <February 2, 2017>.

109 on July 21, and President Jimmy Carter signed it into law on July 31, 1980. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was chartered.¹²

The commission of nine members included three former members of Congress, a former Supreme Court justice and U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, three distinguished leaders in civil rights, and two clergymen. It was chaired by Joan Z. Bernstein, former general counsel of the Department of Health and Human Services.¹³

The commission held a series of public hearings at which a grand total of 750 witnesses were invited to testify. Two hearings were held in the nation's capital, and one each was held in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Anchorage, Chicago, New York City, and at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The hearings began in July 1981 and concluded in November. Besides turning up a mass of testimony and facts, the hearings generated national publicity.¹⁴ Still, critics of the JACL's approach to redress argued that the witness lists were biased and the process was undemocratic. The Sansei-led National Coalition for Reparations/Redress (NCR), which included Manzanar Committee members, pushed to diversify the pool of people permitted to testify at the commission hearings. Thanks to the NCR, more working class and non-English-speaking individuals were able to participate. Sue Embrey, among those who testified, was not entirely satisfied with the commission's final report, noting that it demurred from using the term "concentration camps" despite use of that term in U.S. government documents during the 1942-46 period.¹⁵

The commission issued its report to the president and Congress on February 22, 1983, under the title *Personal Justice Denied*. The report found that Roosevelt's order was "not justified by military necessity" and that a "grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry" during the war. The government's decisions surrounding the "exclusion" and "detention" of these people (1980s terminology) were based on "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership," the report read. To John Tateishi, the report was "unequivocal" in its conclusion.¹⁶

The commission hired a consulting firm to estimate economic losses for all Japanese Americans as a result of exclusion and detention. The researchers' gross estimates combined loss of income and loss of property and adjusted the amounts for inflation plus 3 percent accrued interest. The total came to an estimated \$3.4 to \$4.2 billion. The commission also appointed a panel of sociologists and one historian to evaluate the psychological impact of the mass incarceration. The panel suggested that

¹² Tateishi, "The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress," 193.

¹³ Tateishi, "The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress," 193-94.

¹⁴ Tateishi, "The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress," 194.

¹⁵ "Redress Movement," *Densho Encyclopedia*, at http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Redress_movement/ <February 1, 2017>; Sue Embrey to Harry Karahawa, May 12, 1981, and Embrey to Ed Bearss, September 19, 1984, Box 1, Series 1, NPS/Manzanar Committee Collection, WACC.

¹⁶ Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, "Summary," *Personal Justice Denied*, page 18, at <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/japanese-americans/justice-denied/summary.pdf> <February 1, 2017>; Tateishi, "The Japanese American Citizens League and the Struggle for Redress," 194.

the experience had inflicted historical trauma on the population but there was no easy method of measurement of its effect on a collective basis. The commission incorporated these findings with its own findings into its final recommendations to President Ronald Reagan and Congress. It called for a payment of \$20,000 to each living survivor of the forced removal during World War II (for an estimated total of \$1.2 billion based on perhaps 60,000 such persons alive in 1983), as well as the establishment of an education fund.¹⁷

It would be over five years until legislation was passed to implement the commission's recommendations. The NCCR organized a huge letter-writing campaign in support of redress, and NCCR activists traveled to Washington, D.C. to visit congressional offices. In time, proponents of redress were confident that a majority of members in both houses would support the measure, but the Reagan administration continued to oppose reparations of any kind. Therefore, Congress deferred action until it appeared that majorities in both chambers would be of sufficient size to override the president's veto.

In the meantime, the redress movement outside the JAACL took another tack when it brought legal challenges to the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of 1943 and 1944 that had upheld the constitutionality of the exclusion and detention orders when they were contested during World War II. The most important case was that of Fred Korematsu, which began anew when Korematsu's legal team filed a petition for a writ of error or *coram nobis* on January 19, 1983, seeking refutation of the Supreme Court's decision of forty years earlier. Judge Marilyn Hall Patel, U.S. District Court for Northern California, found that the government had submitted false evidence in the original case; therefore, Korematsu's conviction was vacated.¹⁸ Similar challenges to the wartime convictions of Minoru Yasui and Gordon Hirabayashi soon brought equivalent findings for those two cases. The re-examination of these three cases brought further media attention and kindled more public support for redress.¹⁹

Redress finally was achieved in the late 1980s. The U.S. House of Representatives took up the measure first, in 1987, and passed a redress bill by a vote of 243 to 141 on September 17. To the dismay of the bill's supporters, there were not enough yes votes to override the anticipated presidential veto. The Senate voted on it

¹⁷ Roger Daniels, "Effects of Incarceration Analyzed, Introduction," and "Redress Achieved, 1983-1990," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (rev. ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 148-49, 219.

¹⁸ As of 2016, the 1944 Supreme Court ruling on this case still stood, because the 1983 annulment of the Korematsu's conviction was made by a lower court. On July 26, 2018, the Supreme Court finally found an opportunity to overrule the Korematsu case, but many – including offspring of Korematsu, Yasui, and Hirabayashi – found the contemporary ruling to which this repudiation was attached deeply troubling and contradictory: the conservative majority's decision to uphold President Donald Trump's travel ban of citizens from several predominantly Muslim nations. Charlie Savage, "Korematsu, Notorious Supreme Court Ruling on Japanese Internment, Is Finally Tossed Out," *New York Times*, June 26, 2018; Karen Korematsu, "How the Supreme Court Replaced One Injustice with Another," *New York Times*, June 27, 2018.

¹⁹ Dale Minami, "Coram Nobis and Redress," in *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*, edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (rev. ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 200-01.

in the following spring and passed the bill by a solid majority of 69 to 27. Differences between the House and Senate versions were worked out in conference committee, and the bill was returned to both chambers for a final vote. Just before the House vote, President Reagan reversed his earlier opposition and sent a letter to Speaker of the House Jim Wright giving it his endorsement.²⁰ The turnabout enabled Reagan to get on board at last and curry favor among Japanese Americans at the bill's signing ceremony. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 became law on August 10. In 1990, President George H.W. Bush made a formal apology on behalf of the U.S. government to all Japanese Americans incarcerated during World War II and initiated a first wave of \$20,000 checks for restitution to the oldest survivors of the camps.²¹

Redress is significant to the administrative history of Manzanar not only in its own right as a turning point in Japanese Americans' struggle for civil rights, but also as a crucial factor in creating a sympathetic political climate for the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site. While redress occurred across a national stage, it was a game changer for efforts occurring on the ground in California to preserve and commemorate the site of the former Manzanar War Relocation Center. (Reciprocally, attention paid to Manzanar since the late 1960s had contributed to the advance of the redress movement as well.) Redress was a game changer for Manzanar because it produced a decisive shift in the public's grasp of the historical record. When the National Park Service brought forth its proposal for a national historic site in 1987, the proposal did not provoke strong opposition in the local population in the way that the state park proposal had some ten years earlier. In the intervening years, the redress movement had accomplished a great deal to set straight the historical record and likely tempered the views of at least some former opponents. Thanks to all the political and media attention focused on the redress issue from 1978 to 1988, the general public grew more astute about what had been done to Japanese Americans in the aftermath of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. While many people still questioned the merits of establishing a national historic site around a shameful episode in the nation's past, after redress far fewer Americans still wanted to argue that the government's incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II was justified by military necessity and therefore was without shame. When NPS historians and planners entered the Owens Valley to consider the Manzanar site in the mid-1980s, local

²⁰ One influence in Reagan's change of position on the redress issue was an old *Pacific Citizen* article faxed to him by City of Los Angeles attorney Rose Matsui Ochi, who had by this time become a key advocate for the preservation of Manzanar as a national historic site. The article reminded the president that in 1945, when he was U.S. Army captain, Reagan had participated in awarding a Distinguished Service Cross to the family of 442nd Regiment Staff Sergeant Kazuo Masuda, who was killed in action in Italy during the war. Masuda and his family had been incarcerated at the Jerome, Arkansas and then the Gila River, Arizona confinement sites, while his father was incarcerated at the Fort Missoula Alien Detention Center in Montana. "Kazuo Matsuda," *Densho Encyclopedia*, at <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Kazuo%20Masuda/> <February 3, 2017>; Rose Matsui Ochi, interviewed by Alisa Lynch, May 17, 2002, MANZ Oral History Collection.

²¹ Daniels, "Redress Achieved, 1983-1990," 221-22.

opposition to their efforts was less widespread and less intense than the pushback experienced by California Department of Parks and Recreation officials in the 1970s.²²

Sites of Shame

Soon after Manzanar National Historic Site was added to the National Park System on March 3, 1992, the distinguished historian and diplomat Robin Winks published an article in *National Parks* magazine entitled “Sites of Shame.” He noted that Manzanar brought into sharp focus a fundamental debate: should the National Park System commemorate and protect only places and events that contributed to national pride, or should it also include sites that reflected upon shameful episodes in the nation’s history? Winks clearly supported the latter course. “Each of the 367 units of the National Park System – the most intellectually elegant and the best administered system in the world – is a branch campus of our greatest national university,” he wrote. “No effective system of education can be based on unqualified praise, for all education instructs people of the difference between moral and wanton acts and how to distinguish between the desirable and the undesirable.” Therefore, it was imperative that the National Park Service “not omit the negative lessons of history.”²³

Arguably the National Park System included sites of shame long before Manzanar entered the system. Big Hole National Battlefield in Montana commemorates the tragic flight of the Nez Perce people and elicits strong sympathy for the persecuted tribe. The birthplaces of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver each honor men who rose from slavery; at both sites, NPS interpretation on slavery forms a grim backdrop to the illustrious lives of these two Americans. The moral stain of slavery, the ignominy of the Indian Wars, as well as other dark passages in American history form the context for a number of national historic sites. Winks is correct, though, in finding true “sites of shame” to be more overtly framed around “negative lessons of history.” Former NPS chief historian Dwight Pitcaithley has contended that the National Park System’s embrace of “sites of shame” dates to an act of Congress in 1991. In the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument Act, enacted December 10, 1991, Congress pointedly renamed the former Custer Battlefield National Monument and directed the NPS to redo memorialization and interpretation so as to give proper recognition to tribes’ perspectives. Over the next few years, Congress established three more national historic sites and one national historic trail that, in common with Little Bighorn Battlefield, pushed the NPS to engage more rigorously with what Pitcaithley referred to as the “New Social” history.²⁴ Besides Manzanar, the new units in the National Park System were Brown

²² Undoubtedly, this mellowing could be attributed at least in part to the additional passage of time since the war era and to the simple fact that some opponents to Manzanar’s recognition and preservation were no longer living.

²³ Robin Winks, “Sites of Shame,” *National Parks* 68, no.3/4 (Mar/Apr 1994), 22.

²⁴ New Social history, commonly defined as the history of “everyday” people, overlaps considerably with New Left history, in that both focus on segments of the American population beyond the wealthy, the privileged, and the powerful people who filled nearly all the pages of history books prior to the 1960s. Both subdisciplines fall under the larger umbrella of “New American History” of the late twentieth century and beyond.

v. Topeka Board of Education National Historic Site (1992), Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (1996), and Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site (1998).²⁵

The U.S. apology to all Japanese Americans incarcerated under FDR's Executive Order 9066 seemed to clear a path for the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site. Certainly the findings of government wrongdoing by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians made the task of interpreting Manzanar an easier one. The U.S. government had officially acknowledged that the exclusion and detention policies were a grievous mistake. The nation as a whole finally discredited aspersions about Japanese Americans' loyalty to the U.S. during World War II, made both then and after the war, although some individuals would continue to defy this national admission. Even as visitors to Manzanar National Historic Site would confront an ugly episode in the nation's past, they would find some compensating good in the fact that the nation owned up to its sin. As Winks wrote, sites of shame could be appreciated as evidence of a well-rounded National Park System and a "mature nation."²⁶

War in the Pacific National Historical Park

Just when the NPS became interested in Manzanar is difficult to pinpoint. The first official site visit occurred in 1984. The first official announcement that the NPS was considering the site for inclusion in the National Park System came in 1986. As the project gained momentum, proponents claimed over and over again that the NPS was studying the site under a directive from Congress. That was a stretch. The referenced legislative authority was found in a law that actually had nothing to do with Manzanar. It was the 1978 law that established War in the Pacific National Historical Park on the island of Guam. The ingenuity of the NPS in using the law to pursue establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site makes an interesting story. To place that story in proper perspective, it is necessary to go back a bit farther to 1972.

In 1972, NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. approved a two-part plan for the expansion of the National Park System. Part one addressed historical sites and part two dealt with natural areas. Director from 1964 to 1972, Hartzog presided over the biggest expansion of the National Park System since the Reorganization of 1933, when the NPS took over national cemeteries, battlefield parks, and national monuments formerly managed by the Department of Agriculture. During Hartzog's tenure, sixty-nine new units came into the system. Numerous units were established by congressional initiative in response to local constituents' demands, and the placement of some historical units was not ideal for the subjects they were meant to represent. Hartzog conceived the two-part plan of 1972 as a means of asserting more

²⁵ Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "Confronting Contentious Pasts: The Challenges of Interpreting 'Controversial' Subjects at America's Historic Sites," *Forum Journal* 18, no. 3 (Spring 2004), at www.forum.savingplaces.org <May 10, 2016>.

²⁶ Linda M. Rancourt, "Remembering Manzanar," *National Parks* 67, no. 5/6 (May/June 1993), 34; Winks, "Sites of Shame," 22.

bureaucratic control over the process of acquiring new areas. The history plan represented a comprehensive, categorical approach to filling out a National Park System that would represent the whole tableau of American history. A team of NPS historians distilled all American history into a comprehensive outline, or box diagram, of themes, subthemes, and major facets of subthemes. The many boxes in this three-tiered diagram were then populated by the National Park System's existing 172 historical units to show where gaps existed in the system's coverage of American history. The aim was to allow the NPS to preserve and interpret "through carefully selected monuments a noble panorama of the full sweep of that history for the benefit and inspiration of the United States."²⁷

Grand as the scheme was, it made scant allowance for the importance of multiculturalism in American life, much less for the subsequent development of "sites of shame." Almost in defiance of the rising identity politics of the 1960s and 70s, the authors of the plan included this terse statement at the foot of their summary outline of American history: "Note: The history of ethnic and racial groups, such as Negroes, Scandinavians, and Italians, is treated within the various themes in which they made significant contributions."²⁸ The 1972 plan was already out of date when it was adopted. It reflected the Consensus school of American history of the 1950s rather than the New Social history of the 1960s and 70s. More significantly, perhaps, the plan failed to accomplish its intended purpose of asserting bureaucratic control over how the National Park System would grow in the future. Congress continued to propose new units as Congress saw fit.²⁹

Congress did concede the need for standards in evaluating new area proposals, and it deferred to the agency to develop and apply those standards. As the number of new areas proposed by Congress continued to grow during the 1970s, the NPS faced a considerable burden in evaluating each one. In 1976, Congress established a line item in the NPS annual budget for new area studies. Congress initially funded the program at \$1 million. In response, the NPS established a branch of new areas/urban studies in the Special Programs Division of its Denver Service Center to tackle the workload. In 1977, the NPS sent to Congress a total of thirteen new area studies, and in 1979 the number increased to fifteen. Meanwhile, Congress reduced the funding level for the program year by year until it was running on fumes, and then, in 1980, it directed the NPS to scrap the 1972 history plan and prepare an entirely new one. By that time, NPS Director William J. Whalen was set to dissolve the branch of new areas/urban studies and reassign the task of studying potential new units to planners located in parks and regional offices, where the work would be accomplished alongside other

²⁷ Quoted in Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984), 136.

²⁸ National Park Service, *Part One of the National Park System Plan: History* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), viii; Robert B. Keiter, "Revisiting the Organic Act: Can it Meet the Next Century's Conservation Challenges?" *The George Wright Forum* 28, no. 3 (2011), 242.

²⁹ Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 86-87.

duties. Eight years after Hartzog's history plan was unveiled, the process of selecting new areas to make into national historic sites was as strained as ever.³⁰

The 1972 history plan contained a theme for "the nation's wars" with a subtheme for World War II. The subtheme of World War II was subdivided into three major facets: (1) the war in Europe, (2) the war in the Pacific, and (3) diplomacy and politics. Characteristically, the plan did not include a major facet for the home front, even though World War II was recognized by New Social historians as a transformative period for American society. Certainly there was no recognition in the plan of Japanese American confinement sites. Manzanar was clearly not on the NPS radar screen at that time. The National Park System had not yet acquired any units relating to World War II in 1972. The first efforts to include World War II sites in the National Park System came with War in the Pacific National Historical Park in 1978 and U.S.S. *Arizona* National Memorial in 1980.³¹

War in the Pacific National Historical Park was authorized by Public Law 95-348, which sanctioned various federal development projects in the U.S. territories of Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Virgin Islands. Formulation of this law was circuitous. U.S. Senator Henry Jackson (D-Washington) introduced S. 2821 at the request of the Carter administration in April 1978. In its original form the bill included a handful of projects, most of which focused on rebuilding infrastructure in Guam in the aftermath of a ferocious typhoon. In the House of Representatives, the bill was reported to the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, chaired by Democrat Phillip Burton, representative for the San Francisco area (5th District). Burton, a loyal friend of the NPS, was then involved with another piece of legislation, an omnibus measure that would add more than a dozen new units to the National Park System around the country. At Burton's initiative, a couple of units were moved from this omnibus bill to the Guam bill, and the latter legislation was redrawn in the form of a substitute bill and returned to the Senate. Thus, the House version now contained NPS-related items on Guam, Saipan, and the Virgin Islands (all the areas of interest to the NPS that were located in U.S. territories). Section 6 of the House bill called for establishment of War in the Pacific National Historical Park.³²

Jackson's Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources held a hearing on the House substitute bill on July 18. Guam's first delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, Antonio Borja Won Pat, a Democrat, testified that the War in the Pacific National Historical Park was needed because there were memorials to the Japanese dead in World War II on Guam, yet no such memorial to the American dead existed anywhere in the Pacific outside of Hawaii. Following the testimony of Won

³⁰ U.S. House, Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Hearing on the National Park Service's New Area Study Program*, 96th Cong., 1st sess., 1979, 1-4; Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 87.

³¹ National Park Service, *Part One of the National Park System Plan: History*, 29, 32.

³² *Congressional Record*, 95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978, 124, pt. 18: 24085-87; U.S. House, *Authorizes Appropriations for Certain Insular Areas of the United States, and for other purposes*, "95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978, H. Rept. 1112, 2-3.

Pat, NPS Director Whalen spoke. U.S. Senator James A. McClure (R-Idaho), following up on Won Pat's remarks that proper memorialization of U.S. sacrifices in the Pacific Theater was lacking, asked Whalen, "Could the Park Service use additional authority to identify and interpret additional sites of interest, or would you prefer to conduct a study and report back to Congress?" Whalen said his preference was that the NPS conduct a study of additional sites and report back to Congress in five years. McClure pressed him on whether the NPS needed five years for the study. Whalen responded that in light of the NPS's heavy workload in new area studies in recent years, five years was a realistic time frame. As the hearing came to an end, McClure noted that he wanted the NPS and other involved federal agencies to provide staff to assist the Senate committee in marking up the bill.³³

In the markup, Section 6 on the establishment of War in the Pacific National Historical Park was considerably fleshed out. Among other changes, Section 6 (h) was added, in which the NPS was tasked to prepare a general management plan for the new park in two years and a study of additional sites associated with World War II in the Pacific in five years. After the markup, U.S. Senator Clifford Hansen (R-Wyoming) laid the amended bill before the Senate, explaining the intent of Section 6 (h) as follows. In five years the secretary of the interior would transmit to the Congress a study of additional areas and sites associated with the Pacific campaign of World War II. The study would concentrate on Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands but would also investigate other sites within U.S. territories in the Pacific and elsewhere in the Pacific if practicable. Senator Jackson further explained that the requested study could range into other countries like Australia and New Zealand for a "truly international historical park."³⁴

With its backlog of other new area and historical studies, the NPS did not get going on the War in the Pacific study until four years after the passage of P.L. 95-348. In 1982, the NPS funded two concurrent historical studies in response to the 1978 legislation. One, a historic resource study centering on World War II sites in Guam, was assigned to NPS historian Charles Snell. The other, a national historic landmarks theme study of sites relating to World War II in the Pacific, was assigned to NPS historian Erwin Thompson. At the outset of these two parallel projects, Thompson spent three weeks on the island of Guam working closely with Snell. The two historians' collaborative efforts pointed to the need for major boundary revisions for the existing park on Guam, prompting a visit to Guam by Ed Bearss, the National Park Service's NPS chief historian. Bearss, a former Marine and World War II combat veteran, had a keen interest in the idea of expanding War in the Pacific National Historical Park to include other sites in the Pacific region. As Thompson proceeded to undertake his far-ranging survey of other war sites, it soon became evident to him and Bearss that the monumental scope of the Pacific Theater was too much for one study. At this critical juncture, Bearss appears to have been responsible for steering

³³ Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *Hearing on Bikini Atoll and Guam Authorizations Part 2*, 95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978.

³⁴ *Congressional Record*, 95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978, 124, pt. 18: 24081-87.

Thompson's study in a new direction. It would focus on the ten Japanese American relocation camps located on the U.S. mainland.³⁵

The National Park Service Considers Manzanar

The decision was notable in several respects. First of all, it was an internal decision by the NPS. There was no congressional direction to undertake the study apart from the broad authority in the 1978 act to survey additional sites relating to the War in the Pacific. The initiative came from the Office of History, and more specifically it was made by the chief historian. Second, Bearss used his discretionary authority to apply funds from the National Historic Landmarks Program to the study. This program was removed from the NPS and assigned to a different agency, the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, from 1978 to 1981. The Reagan administration abolished the short-lived agency and reassigned the landmarks program to the NPS – in the nick of time, it would seem, for making a study of Manzanar. Bearss thought of the national historic landmarks theme study as a useful tool for inventorying and evaluating potential sites for addition to the National Park System and he already had his sights on Manzanar as one such site. The third factor of importance was that the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians made its report to Congress and the president in 1983. Bearss directed Thompson to refocus his theme study on the ten Japanese American relocation camps only months after *Personal Justice Denied* made its appearance. As Bearss recalls, the NPS already knew about Manzanar from the publicity surrounding the pilgrimage, and so it seemed like the obvious place for Thompson to begin his study.³⁶

No official record of Thompson's site visit has been found but it may be assumed that he kept the field work to a minimum as he had nine more sites to inventory and evaluate after Manzanar. In January 1984, he wrote to the California Department of Parks and Recreation to consult with state officials on what they had found there. In the spring he made his Manzanar site visit, and by midsummer he had completed a national historic landmark nomination form and had sent it to Washington. Thompson did not consult the Manzanar Committee during his preparation of the nomination. A state parks official informed Sue Embrey of the nomination after it was done. Embrey wrote to Bearss on September 19, 1984, stating that she had recently learned of the nomination, that the Manzanar Committee wholeheartedly supported it, and that the NPS should plan for the dedication of the national historic landmark to take place during the next pilgrimage.³⁷

³⁵ Evans-Hatch & Associates, Inc., *War in the Pacific National Historical Park: An Administrative History* (Washington: National Park Service, 2004) at www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/adhi/index.htm <January 13, 2016>; Ed Bearss, National Park Service, telephone communication, December 16, 2015.

³⁶ Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 88; Ed Bearss, telephone communication, December 16, 2015.

³⁷ Eugene Itogawa to Shi Nomura, January 25, 1984, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ; H. B. Jeter to Duane D. Buchholz, May 14, 1984, LADWP files provided for review at the

The national historic landmark nomination revealed that the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power and the Los Angeles mayor had opposing views on whether the City of Los Angeles should support the NPS study. As the landowner at the Manzanar site, the LADWP did not want to support any federal designation that could lead to making Manzanar a national historic site, because it did not want to give up land that it used for water catchment. Furthermore, the LADWP sympathized with Owens Valley residents who were already on record against the development of a commemorative park or historic site. It was good public relations for the LADWP to oppose the federal initiative. Under the National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1980, the owner of the property in question could nix a national historic landmark designation if the landowner so wished, and in a letter to Bearss, LADWP general manager and chief engineer Paul Lane hinted that that was just what the LADWP would likely do. However, Mayor Tom Bradley was the boss of the LADWP, so a decision to nix the landmark designation was ultimately his to make. Bradley strongly supported the landmark designation and brushed aside the LADWP's opposition to it.³⁸ This division between the LADWP and the mayor would come to play a more significant role in the subsequent effort to establish Manzanar National Historic Site.

Mayor Bradley's support could be attributed simply to politics: the people of the Owens Valley did not vote in Los Angeles city elections, whereas thousands of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles did. Yet Bradley's support rested on his own deep personal convictions as well. He had supported the Manzanar movement in other ways for many years prior to the NPS getting involved. Bradley was informed of the NPS intent to consider Manzanar for national historic landmark status in a letter from Bearss in March 1984. Bradley finally gave his reply in a statesmanlike letter written some seven months later. His comments on the nomination began:

Let me state at the outset that I am strongly supportive of the proposal to designate the Manzanar site as a National Historic Landmark. This nation should not, and must not, forget the trials and tribulations and countless personal tragedies suffered by the more than 110,000 Japanese Americans who were forcibly removed from their homes and interned in some ten internment camps in various desolate areas of the United States during World War II. Manzanar, as the site of one of the first and largest of these camps, would stand not only as an important commemoration of this tragic episode in this nation's history, but also as a monument to the spirit, courage and perseverance of the Japanese Americans who survived the ordeal.³⁹

LADWP office in Bishop; Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Edwin C. Bearss, September 19, 1984, File Manzanar 537-14, Administrative Records, CDPR.

³⁸ H. B. Jeter to Duane D. Buchholz, May 14, 1984, and Paul H. Lane to Edwin C. Bearss, August 8, 1984, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; Rose Ochi to Bernadette Johnson, attaching notes on Manzanar National Historic Site Establishment History and Related Stories, May 29, 2015, (hereafter Ochi narrative), Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ).

³⁹ Tom Bradley to Edwin C. Bearss, October 17, 1984, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop. As explained in footnote 115, Manzanar was not the largest of the WRA centers.

Bradley then cited passages from *Americans Betrayed* by Morton Grodzins and President Harry S. Truman's Committee on Civil Rights to underscore that the injustices suffered by Japanese Americans during World War II had long been recognized, and he noted that Congress's establishment of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians and the findings in *Personal Justice Denied* had shown a spotlight on the historical event again. He concluded:

For all these reasons, I strongly urge the Advisory Board to take positive action on the proposal to designate Manzanar War Relocation Camp as a National Historic Landmark. Such action would be a small, but symbolically important, gesture by the U.S. government in recognizing the injustice perpetrated against Japanese Americans during World War II. And even more important, it would contribute in a significant way to the preservation and advancement of the democratic ideals and principles on which this great nation was founded.⁴⁰

Manzanar National Historic Landmark was dedicated on April 27, 1985 in a ceremony held during the Manzanar Pilgrimage. Associate Director Jerry Rogers represented the NPS and Department of the Interior. He gave an address and presented a bronze plaque to the Manzanar Committee and city officials. David Cunningham, a district supervisor, represented the City of Los Angeles on behalf of the mayor. Bradley was originally scheduled to attend but was kept away on other urgent business.⁴¹

In the following year Rose Matsui Ochi, acting on behalf of the Manzanar Committee, selected a suitable granite boulder from the alluvial fan uphill from the cemetery on which to mount the plaque. The LADWP, working with stone cutter Bob McGrew of Bishop, installed the boulder with the plaque at the front entrance to the former camp, near the historic sentry post on which the state landmark plaque was displayed at the time. The national historic landmark plaque was unveiled during the next Manzanar Pilgrimage on April 26, 1986.⁴²

The NPS Feasibility/Alternatives Study

In the spring of 1986, Dan Olson, a young planner in the NPS Western Regional Office in Oakland, California, was assigned the task to prepare a feasibility/alternatives study for Manzanar to consider its potential as a unit of the National Park System. Olson was one of a handful of planners and landscape architects who worked in the planning division of the regional office. It was a busy period for the division as Congress was still asking the NPS to do a lot of new area studies, and the NPS was trying to push some of the workload from the Denver

⁴⁰ Tom Bradley to Edwin C. Bearss, October 17, 1984, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop.

⁴¹ Karen Smith, "Call for justice in pilgrimage to Manzanar," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, April 28, 1985.

⁴² "Plans Solidified for Manzanar Pilgrimage," *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, April 23, 1986; Manzanar Committee, "Manzanar Pilgrimage 1986" (program), Manzanar Collection, ECM.

Service Center out to the regional offices. Wags in the regional office called Olson's planning division the "park-of-the-month program." He and his colleagues were primarily tasked to work alone to produce lean reports that got straight to the point. They could call on archeologists, historians, and others in the regional office for a little assistance, but they were not heading up study teams. Usually they began with a reconnaissance report and if the site met basic requirements for significance and integrity then they would follow up with a feasibility/alternatives study. Olson's boss, John Adams, planning division chief, told him to go straight to the second stage with Manzanar because it was already a national historic landmark.⁴³

Olson made his first field visit to the Manzanar site in the late spring or early summer of 1986. In an interview nearly three decades later, Olson remembered the day, or possibly two days, he spent looking around the place. He walked the road grid and poked around in the brush here and there, using a historic map and identifying various features. He was enormously impressed by the site: its few standing structures (the sentry posts, the auditorium building, the cemetery obelisk), the feeling of desolation, and "just the natural beauty of it, right at the foot of the mountains.... It was pretty much what the internees saw when they got there. The landscape was the same. The landscape in all directions, really, was pretty much unchanged." The near absence of visual intrusions on the scene gave the site superb integrity. He thought the site had a lot of potential.⁴⁴

After the visit, Olson wrote to the LADWP's northern district engineer, Duane Buchholz, whose office was located in Bishop, to inform him about the NPS study. Regional Director Howard H. Chapman wrote to Buchholz as well on the same day. Chapman explained that the study would evaluate the feasibility and desirability of designating the site of the Manzanar War Relocation Center as a unit of the National Park System. Chapman referred back to the 1978 law when he wrote: "Manzanar is one of several sites associated with the Pacific campaign of World War II being evaluated in response to a provision of Public Law 95-348, the legislation that established War in the Pacific National Historical Park."⁴⁵

About four weeks later, Olson received a reply from Buchholz that struck him as "very, very negative." Buchholz recounted the history of the California Department of Parks and Recreation proposal to establish a state park, reporting that local people and groups, including the local Paiute and Shoshone Indians, had found it undesirable

⁴³ Dan Olson and Ed Rothfuss, interviewed by Diane Krahe and Theodore Catton, June 13, 2015, MANZ Oral History Collection. Documentation on NPS consideration of Manzanar prior to Olson's assignment is sparse. The archivist at Death Valley National Park provided the authors with a copy of a memo written by Tom Mulhern, Chief, Park Historic Preservation, WR (Western Region) dated August 15, 1985. Mulhern had reviewed the state park proposal and was in communication with Eugene Itogawa of the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Mulhern argued that the site needed preservation and was probably suitable for the National Park System, so the NPS should investigate. He noted that California Governor Ronald Reagan and NPS Director William Penn Mott were both involved with Manzanar at the state level in 1973-74, and though they had been skeptical then, the passage of time had probably changed their views.

⁴⁴ Olson and Rothfuss interview.

⁴⁵ Howard H. Chapman to Duane Buchholz, June 25, 1986, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; Olson and Rothfuss interview.

and even offensive a decade earlier. “It seems to us that the citizens of Inyo County made clear their objection to monumenting Manzanar,” Buchholz wrote. “We have no reason to believe that attitude has changed; therefore, we do not think it appropriate to further consider the establishment of Manzanar as a National Historical Park.” To Olson, the message from the LADWP was loud and clear. In his paraphrasing, the LADWP told him, “It’s been brought up before and rejected, and there’s a lot of local antagonism related to this...why don’t you buzz off?”⁴⁶

Shortly after the exchange of letters with the LADWP, Regional Director Chapman received another very dubious letter from the director of the California Department of Parks and Recreation, William S. Briner. Briner did support the NPS initiative inasmuch as he thought Manzanar was a worthy site. He was dubious, however, that the proposal stood much of a chance because of the politics involved. There were too many opponents and the opposing sides were too upset with each other. Recalling what a bruising fight it had been in the 1970s, Briner expected that the NPS proposal would meet with the same contentious politics all over again.⁴⁷

Since Los Angeles Mayor Bradley had heartily supported the recent national historic landmark designation, the NPS called on his office once again for backing, especially since the unabashedly resistant LADWP was under the mayor’s purview. Rose Matsui Ochi, executive assistant to Mayor Bradley, who had already been involved in Manzanar matters for over a decade, was the obvious choice to serve as liaison. Chapman and Dan Olson both reached out to Ochi, and she was happy to help.⁴⁸

Rose Matsui Ochi was born Takayo Matsui; Rose is an adopted name and Ochi is her married name. Her father, whose American name was Roy Yoshiaki Matsui, was born in Japan around 1900 and immigrated to the United States as a young man soon after the First World War. Ochi’s father joined his father and brother who had come to the United States earlier and had worked for several years as laborers on railroads. In the 1920s Ochi’s father returned to his native city of Kumamoto, on the island of Kyushu, to marry Ochi’s mother through an arranged marriage, and the couple immediately boarded ship for the United States. Ochi’s mother’s American name was Grace Mutsuko Matsui. The couple settled in East Los Angeles, and Rose was born December 15, 1938. She was not yet three when the attack on Pearl Harbor came. Her only personal recollection of the forced removal consists of vague snatches of memory from the family’s long train ride east to Arkansas. Her family was incarcerated temporarily at the Santa Anita Racetrack before traveling to the Rohwer War Relocation Center, which was located in humid, swampy bottomlands bordering the Mississippi River, an area in southeast Arkansas known as the Arkansas Delta,

⁴⁶ Duane Buchholz to Dan Olson, July 15, 1986, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; Olson and Rothfuss interview.

⁴⁷ William S. Briner to Howard H. Chapman, September 23, 1986, and Briner to David Roberti, May 2, 1985, File 319.0-14 Part 2, Administrative Records, CDPR.

⁴⁸ Howard Chapman to Rose Matsui Ochi, July 30, 1986, File Manzanar Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Olson and Rothfuss interview; Rose Matsui Ochi, interviewed by Theodore Catton, June 17, 2015, MANZ Oral History Collection; Ochi narrative, MANZ.

where they remained until after the war. Her early childhood memories of the camp revolve around the barracks in Block 12 that her family shared with another family and catching turtles and snakes.⁴⁹

Ochi began her involvement with the Manzanar site after Sue Embrey contacted her in the early 1970s at Ochi's then place of employment, the Western Center on Law and Poverty. Embrey asked her to provide legal assistance in setting up the Manzanar Committee as a nonprofit entity so that it could fundraise, and thereafter Ochi provided the Manzanar Committee legal counsel. In 1974, Ochi went to work as an attorney in the mayor's office, and she saw from afar how "ugly" things got over Manzanar's state landmark designation and then the state park proposal. In 1985, Mayor Bradley asked her to represent the mayor's office in developing the inscription to go on the national historic landmark plaque. Determined to avoid a recurrence of the fight over the terms "concentration camp" versus "relocation center," Ochi "unilaterally" decided to simplify the issue, she later said, and opted for a one-word title for the site – "Manzanar" – on the plaque. According to Bruce Embrey, many on the Manzanar Committee were not happy with the result.⁵⁰

In the spring of 1987, as Dan Olson prepared his preliminary study report for Manzanar, he spoke with Ochi about the negative response he had received from the LADWP. Ochi consulted with Mayor Bradley and wrote a strongly worded letter to the LADWP requesting that it, as the mayor's representative, cooperate with the NPS study. The LADWP was one opponent to bring around, but over the course of their discussions, Olson and Ochi came to the agreement that their greater concern was winning the support of the Inyo County Board of Supervisors. Although admitting that Inyo County government was beyond her authority as a City of Los Angeles officer, Ochi offered to facilitate Olson's presentation on his Manzanar study to Inyo County, and Olson agreed it was a good idea. Ochi wanted to "begin a new chapter of cooperation, turning the page against old hostilities and antagonism" on the county level, and she sought to "affirmatively engage the Inyo County Board of Supervisors at the front end." She invited the county supervisors to join her for lunch at the Pines Café in Independence and discuss NPS plans.⁵¹

The crucial meetings took place in Independence on June 9, 1987: a series of four meetings, with different people in attendance at each one. Two memos about the meetings, written shortly afterward by LADWP representative LeVal Lund and NPS representative Ross Hopkins, confirmed the back-to-back meetings all in one day. The first meeting involved just the LADWP, Dan Olson, and Rose Matsui Ochi. The second meeting included additional participants from the NPS and the county but not the Inyo County Board of Supervisors, who were detained by other business. Ochi managed to bring the county supervisors into the discussion during an informal luncheon meeting at the Pines Café. And following the luncheon meeting, Ochi and Olson met again with the LADWP to discuss next steps. The June 9 meetings were

⁴⁹ Ochi interview (2002).

⁵⁰ Ochi interview (2002); Ochi narrative, MANZ; Bruce Embrey review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁵¹ Olson and Rothfuss interview; Ochi interview (2002); Ochi narrative, MANZ.

crucial in two respects. Most importantly, the day marked a real turning point in the politics surrounding the Manzanar proposal: Ochi's efforts to bring everyone together did initiate a "new chapter of cooperation" between Manzanar proponents and the county. And secondly, a very constructive dialogue unfolded in which the NPS learned of a number of conditions that had to be met to make the proposal succeed.⁵²

On the issue of Manzanar, at least, the undisputed leader of the five-member Inyo County Board of Supervisors was a man named Keith Bright. A former oilman from Southern California, he purchased a homestead in the Owens Valley in 1963 and moved there six years later to become a rancher. He ran about 200 head of cattle on his ranch. He was active in Republican Party politics for many years before running for election as county supervisor in 1986. He had been an outspoken critic of the Manzanar state park proposal in the late 1970s, being deeply offended by use of the term "concentration camp" on the state landmark plaque and fiercely opposed to the idea of reconstructing a barbed-wire fence and guard tower there. As described in the previous two chapters, many locals shared Bright's views about Manzanar in those earlier years.⁵³

In advance of the June 9 meetings, Ochi phoned Keith Bright directly to say she wanted to meet with him privately over lunch. As she has recounted their first meeting, it fell to her to take the initiative and establish that personal connection. After the morning meetings, as the county supervisors joined NPS personnel and Ochi at the Pines Café and the large group began to get seated, Ochi asked someone to point out who was Keith Bright. In Ochi's retelling of the event, she went straight up to him and said, "Let's step outside." Bright followed behind her. She then got up close to him – he was easily a foot taller than she – and asked, "What *don't* you want?" Momentarily taken aback, he quickly composed himself and replied, "I want no name calling or any political conflicts." She said, "I wholeheartedly agree." She quickly volunteered that she was there representing the mayor's office, not the LADWP with its history of conflict in the Owens Valley. Then she said, "Let's talk about what you need," and proceeded to state her ideas of how a national historic site would benefit the local economy.⁵⁴ Other sources agree that Ochi forged an enduring political partnership and friendship with Bright on that day.⁵⁵

Bright recollected that many more people attended the Manzanar meetings the NPS held in 1987 and 1988 than had attended the meetings of the California Department of Parks and Recreation in the 1970s. Bright thought some of the NPS meetings attracted upwards of 75 people, which for the sparsely populated Owens Valley constituted a large gathering. Some attending favored the idea of the NPS

⁵² LeVal Lund, "Proposal to Designate Manzanar as a Unit of the National Park System," June 16, 1987, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; Chief Park Interpreter to Superintendent, June 16, 1987, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁵³ Ochi narrative, MANZ; Keith Bright, interviewed by Kari Coughlin, August 18, 1999, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁵⁴ Ochi narrative, MANZ.

⁵⁵ Michael interview; Ross Hopkins, interviewed by Cherstin M. Lyon, September 11, 2012, MANZ Oral History Collection; Olson and Rothfuss interview.

taking over Manzanar; others did not. “My position,” Bright said in a 1999 interview, “was ‘it’s going to happen.’” He believed the 1978 act that authorized study of various sites associated with the Pacific campaign had set in motion the National Park Service’s acquisition of Manzanar, “and I couldn’t see that there was any way that Inyo County was going to have any effect on it.” What locals *could* influence was *how* the site would be developed, he told his constituents. Of utmost concern to all the county supervisors in the long run, Bright recalled, was the Manzanar auditorium. Inyo County leased the building from the LADWP, using it as a maintenance and repair facility for the county’s fleet of some 300 vehicles. Securing federal funds to relocate the county’s operations there to a new location was paramount to the supervisors.⁵⁶

Dan Olson’s preliminary report on Manzanar put forward three alternatives for site development. The first alternative would retain existing conditions, possibly with minor improvements in the vicinity of the sentry posts. The second alternative would establish a 40-acre historical park encompassing the sentry posts, the auditorium, and a representative portion of the former barracks and garden areas. It would involve construction of a visitor center, administrative offices, interpretive displays, and trails through a portion of the former barracks and garden areas. The third alternative would establish a historical park of more than 500 acres encompassing the entire fenced area of the camp. New developments would be the same as in the second alternative. Depending on the park’s size, it might be administered by a private organization or county, state, or federal government, or possibly by a mix of county and federal administration and funding.⁵⁷

During the June 9 meetings, Keith Bright and other county representatives insisted that site interpretation could not be “one-sided” in its portrayal of what the camp was like, nor could it convey heavy criticism of U.S. government policies immediately after Pearl Harbor. Someone commented that the perceived threat of subversive activities by people of Japanese ancestry living in California in 1941 had to be acknowledged as vital historical context, regardless of whether the threat had been real or not. The county representatives also stated that they wanted the park proposal to be resolved once and for all, because it was contentious. Some felt that no further consideration should be directed toward the California Department of Parks and Recreation because it had had its turn and had thoroughly alienated local residents with its plans to reconstruct barbed-wire fences and guard towers.⁵⁸

The county representatives talked about how a park would impact current use of the site. Local rancher Scott Kemp leased the land from the LADWP for cattle grazing. They raised the question whether a historical park could accommodate continued cattle grazing. They also discussed the county’s lease of the auditorium building; perhaps the cost of finding an alternative could be built into the park

⁵⁶ Bright interview.

⁵⁷ LeVal Lund, “Proposal to Designate Manzanar as a Unit of the National Park System;” Dan Olson to Rose Ochi, LeVal Lund, Paul Morrisson, and Duane Buchholz, July 7, 1987, enclosing National Park Service, “Preliminary Draft Study of Alternatives for Manzanar Internment Camp,” July 1987, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁵⁸ Chief Park Interpreter to Superintendent, June 16, 1987, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

proposal. On a positive note, someone in attendance pointed out that there were other historic buildings from the camp that were still in existence in the surrounding area. Some barracks and mess hall buildings had been hauled away and put to use elsewhere. Possibly some of those buildings might be repurchased, brought back to the site, and restored for exhibits.⁵⁹

Olson revised and expanded his report on the feasibility/alternatives study over the next eight months. It was released under the title “Study of Alternatives for Manzanar War Relocation Camp.” Olson, together with Ross Hopkins, supervisory ranger at Death Valley National Monument, presented the report at a public meeting held in the county courthouse in Independence on February 3, 1988. The report was generally well received. A trickle of written comments on the proposal reached the NPS over the next several months. After minor revisions were made, a final version of the feasibility/alternatives study was published in February 1989 under the title “Study of Alternatives for Manzanar War Relocation Center” (with the word “camp” in the title being changed to the technically consistent word “center”). This was the report that was sent to Congress.⁶⁰

The final report basically stayed with the original formula of three alternatives: the first involving no land acquisition, the second proposing a 40-acre historical park, and the third proposing a 500-acre historical park. There were some notable additions to the report that reflected the input of Inyo County representatives in the June 9 meetings and the follow-up to those meetings. In the third alternative, grazing would be allowed to continue over much of the site, while sensitive areas would be fenced to exclude cattle. In both the second and third alternatives, the auditorium building would be acquired from Inyo County and federal financial assistance would be provided to the county to develop an alternative maintenance facility. In all three alternatives there would be no attempt to recreate the overall historic scene through reconstruction of barracks, guard towers, or barbed-wire fences. There was one further important addition to the final version of the report that reflected input received during 1988 from both Japanese American participants and American Indian groups who were resident in the Owens Valley. This was the creation of a special commission to provide guidance to site managers: “An advisory group, consisting of former internees, local residents, and representatives of Native American groups, would be established early in the planning process to help guide development and interpretation on the site.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ Chief Park Interpreter to Superintendent, June 16, 1987, and Dan Olson to Rose Ochi, LeVal Lund, Paul Morrisson, and Duane Buchholz, July 7, 1987, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁶⁰ Bill Michael to Board of Supervisors, February 5, 1988, File Manzanar Park Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM. A copy of the final report is found in File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁶¹ National Park Service, “Study of Alternatives for Manzanar War Relocation Center,” February 1989, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

New Proponents

In 1988, as the NPS pushed the Manzanar feasibility/alternatives study through the public hearings process, other significant developments occurred. An informal connection began to develop between Manzanar and Death Valley National Monument. Death Valley, which became a national park in 1994, is located on the other side of the Inyo Mountains from the Owens Valley, and the unit's headquarters at Furnace Creek is 115 miles by road from Manzanar. The superintendent there was Ed Rothfuss. As a resident of Death Valley since 1982, Rothfuss had become curious about Manzanar from reading and hearing about it in the media. He had attended the pilgrimage for the first time in the mid-1980s, where he found himself being warmly welcomed as an emissary of the NPS by Sue Embrey and Rose Matsui Ochi. Rothfuss and his wife Marge returned to Manzanar every year thereafter for as long as he remained at Death Valley. Rothfuss encouraged his staff to visit Manzanar, and more than once he urged his boss, Regional Director Stan Albright, to give it more attention.

Rothfuss's enthusiasm for Manzanar rubbed off on his chief ranger, Ross Hopkins. Hopkins would later serve as Manzanar National Historic Site's first superintendent. A lanky, bearded, cantankerous fellow with an ironic sense of humor, Hopkins had built a career in the NPS around a lifelong enthusiasm for military history. His love of history stemmed in part from hero worship of his deceased father, a World War II fighter pilot who was killed when Ross was only five years of age. His father had trained pilots from Canada and other Commonwealth countries at Craig Field in Alabama in the early part of the war. His father's unit was preparing to transfer to Britain to fly escort for the 8th Air Force over Western Europe when his father's aircraft had a mechanical malfunction and crashed and burned. As a young man, Ross went to college on the G.I. bill under a program called Sons of Deceased Veterans. He was accepted into the United States Military Academy at West Point, but when he was told that his nearsightedness would limit his options in the military, he enrolled at Northwestern University instead and majored in history. Ross got his first NPS job at Mesa Verde National Park leading tours of the ruins. Thirty years and several parks later, he was at Death Valley, being pulled to Manzanar by its World War II history.⁶²

The longer the NPS considered Manzanar for addition to the National Park System, the closer Death Valley National Monument positioned itself to become the key park for Manzanar. As a key park, it would provide oversight of the area until Manzanar's status was determined by Congress, and then it would provide staff and logistical support to the new unit until Manzanar was fully staffed and funded in its own right. Precisely when Death Valley National Monument was officially assigned that role by the regional director is not known. It may not have occurred until sometime after 1988. But Rothfuss and Hopkins saw it coming. In 1987, Hopkins went to Independence for those pivotal June 9 meetings and reported on them to Rothfuss. In February 1988, Hopkins assisted Olson in presenting the study to a public audience in the Inyo County Courthouse. Sometime later – it may have been in

⁶² Hopkins interview.

1990 or 1991 – Rothfuss formally invited Hopkins to serve as “key man” for the future national historic site.⁶³

Another individual who was relatively new on the scene in 1988 was Bill Michael, director of the Eastern California Museum. As an Inyo County employee, Michael was in a strong position to influence the local community as it considered acquiring the NPS as a new neighbor. When Michael stepped into his job on April 1, 1985, he immediately took an interest in the Manzanar exhibit that Shi and Mary Nomura had developed within the museum over the preceding decade and a half. He recognized the former camp as being the one nationally significant piece of history in the area, and he was philosophically disposed to bring that story forward as a valuable lesson of history. At the same time, as a member of the local community and public servant, it was his job to be sensitive to, or at least form an understanding of, the local feeling about the history of the Owens Valley. For example, there were local museum patrons who wanted more museum space given to the history of Owens Valley pioneer days and development of the valley’s towns. Some of them complained to Michael about the museum’s Manzanar exhibit, saying that it overshadowed all the other stories that were part of the local heritage. Michael sought to support the efforts to preserve and commemorate Manzanar without alienating any segment of the Eastern California Museum’s local patrons.⁶⁴

Local Veterans Opposed

A number of World War II veterans spoke out against the Manzanar proposal in this period. Some of these veterans had expressed the same opposition in the 1970s when Owens Valley residents reacted with such dismay to the state park proposal. This time around, however, World War II veterans emerged as the die-hard resistance when other pockets of dissent melted away. Some spoke out on their own and some registered their opposition through their local chapters of veterans’ organizations. Their main argument was patriotic: the nation had fought a righteous war and it had nothing to be ashamed of in its treatment of Japanese Americans. Some went further than that, recalling Japan’s atrocious mistreatment of U.S. POWs and objecting that the focus on mass incarceration of Japanese Americans would somehow diminish condemnation of Japan’s war crimes. The anti-Japanese sentiments they expressed seemed antiquated at best. Certainly their views were callous toward Americans of Japanese ancestry. Most of these World War II veterans were getting up in years – many were now in their seventies or eighties – and as a group they had not yet experienced the lionization that World War II veterans would receive in the following decade. (Two major markers of that national adoration, Tom Brokaw’s bestseller, *The Greatest Generation*, and the World War II memorial on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. would only appear in 1998 and 2004, respectively.) The veterans’ views had to be taken seriously and given due respect, especially since the NPS

⁶³ Olson and Rothfuss interview; “Manzanar’s historic site to seek national park status,” *Inyo Register*, May 22, 1991.

⁶⁴ Michael interview.

Manzanar proposal had been inspired in the first place by the act establishing War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

As the aging World War II veterans came to the fore, both sides in the debate over Manzanar sought to enlist vets in their cause for or against creating a commemorative historical park. In preparation for the second-round public meeting in Inyo County held in February 1988, Rose Matsui Ochi reached out to Nisei vets for a bit of timely and much-needed support. She went to a meeting of the 442nd Veterans Club at the New Otani Hotel in Los Angeles to ask for help. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team was the famous unit made up of Japanese Americans who volunteered or were drafted for duty even as their families remained incarcerated in relocation centers. Two veterans of the 442nd, Hiro Takusagawa and Hideo Okanishi, agreed to appear at the coming meeting in Independence. Ochi later recalled that when she pulled up at the Inyo County Courthouse for the February 3 meeting, she saw the two veterans standing on the courthouse steps dressed in their American Legion uniform jackets with ribbons and metals emblazoned across their chests. A moment later, another World War II veteran, Mel Bernasconi, arrived in the parking lot as well. A retired county school superintendent, Bernasconi had written numerous letters and made a number of public statements against the NPS plan for Manzanar. As Ochi well knew, opponents of the proposed historical park had invited Bernasconi to attend the meeting and speak on behalf of World War II veterans. Ochi saw Bernasconi stop “dead in his tracks” when he, too, saw the two Japanese American gentlemen standing in uniform on the courthouse steps. After a long moment he exclaimed, “You are Americans!,” Ochi recollected. Bernasconi then hailed Takusagawa’s and Okanishi’s patriotism and claimed that he had never known until that moment that young Japanese American men in the camps had volunteered to join the Army.⁶⁵

Keith Bright also recalled that the interaction between these three veterans that day was pivotal. “The more they talked to each other, the less objection that the local one had,” Bright said, as their common war experiences became more evident. Takusagawa and Okanishi “did a great deal to increase the possibility of Manzanar moving forward, without major local objection,” Bright reflected.⁶⁶

Inside the courthouse, Hiro Takusagawa waited quietly for his cue to address the crowd of about forty people who were attending the NPS presentation and public meeting. At the opportune time, he stood and introduced himself as “Hiro,” adding that he was not a “hero” but just one of thousands of Japanese American soldiers who had fought courageously in the segregated 442nd Regiment. Takusagawa’s speech, together with the dignified presence of his companion, Okanishi, had a profound effect on the people in the room. Nobody raised a peep of protest. As the meeting came to a close, Keith Bright asked for a show of hands by those who supported the historical park. An overwhelming majority raised their hands.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ochi narrative, MANZ.

⁶⁶ Bright interview.

⁶⁷ Ochi narrative, MANZ; Bill Michael to Board of Supervisors, February 5, 1988, File Manzanar Park Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

Besides the February 3 public meeting in the courthouse, another meeting was scheduled for that evening in the American Legion Hall in Independence, home to the Mt. Whitney Post 265. The LADWP had managed to round up several of its employees who were Vietnam War veterans and who were expected to stand with the older World War II veterans against the proposal. As Dan Olson remembered it, he did not expect to get a very friendly reception in the legion hall but agreed to the second meeting anyway. Opponents must have thought they were luring the innocent NPS into the lion's den, but Ochi knew better. Takusagawa and Okanishi brought a 50-minute documentary film about the 442nd Regiment called "Yankee Samurai," which was shown prior to Olson's presentation of Manzanar alternatives. Afterwards, when the floor was opened for questions and comments, the veterans just swapped war stories. "Nobody said diddly in opposition," Olson recalled.⁶⁸

Two days after the February 3 meetings at the Inyo County Courthouse and the American Legion Hall, Bernasconi wrote a long letter to the NPS in which he appeared to soften his resistance, if only a bit, to making Manzanar a national historic site. While he defended the government's wartime treatment of Japanese Americans and argued against rebuilding the camp, he did not explicitly oppose the establishment of a National Park Service unit at Manzanar, given the valley's wealth of natural, recreational, and historical attributes. But the Manzanar War Relocation Center "should not be the main reason for a National Park," Bernasconi believed. He concluded his letter by expressing acceptance of the NPS moving forward:

Dan Olson of the National Park Service said that he has studied the Eastern Sierra Region, and is knowledgeable about the background and potential of the 520 acres at Manzanar for a historic National Park. Supervisor Keith Bright said, "Let's go ahead with the Park now." The large audience from various parts of Inyo County...agreed.⁶⁹

But these meetings did not turn the tide for local veterans on the Manzanar issue. Within the week, on February 9, 1988, members of the Mt. Whitney Post 265 in Independence passed a resolution opposing the creation of a national monument at Manzanar and sent the resolution up to the district level. By the end of the month, District 27 of the American Legion responded by passing its own resolution of opposition, which it sent to the U.S. representative for its district and California's two senators. There followed another resolution by the Veterans of Foreign Wars District 10. However, efforts to bring the matter to a vote at the American Legion and VFW state conventions fell short, in part because some World War II veterans who were Nisei began writing letters to those organizations to head off the opposition.⁷⁰ The Nisei vets' involvement is but one example of what Bruce Embrey would later

⁶⁸ Michael interview; Olson and Rothfuss interview.

⁶⁹ Melvin Bernasconi to National Park Service and Inyo County Board of Supervisors, February 5, 1988, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁷⁰ Frank R. Little to Pete Wilson, July 4, 1988, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; Bill Michael to Ross Hopkins, April 11, 1988, enclosing Resolution 4-88, and Hiroshi Takusagawa to Hopkins, July 9, 1988, and Hideo Okanishi and Takusagawa to Rose Ochi, September 1, 1988, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

describe as “careful, deliberate” outreach on the part of his mother and other Manzanar advocates to convince people of all stripes that preserving Manzanar served the best interest of the nation as a whole.⁷¹

Inyo County supervisor Keith Bright did succeed, in short order, in persuading his larger constituency to back the establishment of a national historic site. On March 1, 1988, Bright led the Inyo County Board of Supervisors in passing a resolution in support of the NPS proposal. It was a dramatic turnaround from a decade earlier when the county supervisors voted against the state park proposal. In the new resolution, Inyo County conditioned its support on three points: (1) that Inyo County government be involved in all stages of the planning process, (2) that provisions be made to relocate the county maintenance facility, and (3) that a Citizens Advisory Committee representing all interested parties be appointed to participate in the project.⁷²

The Manzanar Committee believed that Bright’s support in the late 1980s was so vital that it would choose to honor him with the one of the first Sue Kunitomi Embrey Legacy Awards, in 2010.⁷³ At the age of 95, Bright died on April 6, 2010, just weeks prior to the Manzanar Pilgrimage and scheduled award ceremony, so the honor was bestowed on him posthumously. Eastern California Museum director Bill Michael, another key Owens Valley advocate of Manzanar, also received a Sue Kunitomi Embrey Legacy Award that year.⁷⁴

The Legislative Campaign: The House Bill

The NPS sent its “Study of Alternatives for Manzanar War Relocation Center” to Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, who sent it to Congress in the spring of 1990. Rose Matsui Ochi contacted U.S. Representative Mel Levine of West Los Angeles (27th District), a Democrat, and asked him to sponsor a bill. Representative Levine introduced U.S. House Bill (H.R.) 543 in October 1990. Levine served on the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and the bill was put on the calendar for a hearing by the subcommittee the following May.⁷⁵

Four individuals were selected to testify on a panel on behalf of the bill: Sue Embrey representing the Manzanar Committee, Ochi representing the Office of the Mayor of Los Angeles, Hiro Takusagawa representing the National Japanese American Historical Society, and Paul Morrisson, who held the office of assistant

⁷¹ Bruce Embrey review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁷² Inyo County Board of Supervisors Resolution No. 88-13, March 1 1988, File Manzanar Park Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁷³ The Manzanar Committee created the Sue Kunitomi Embrey Award after Embrey’s death in 2006. It soon acquired the nickname of the “Baga Guts” Award. The term, loosely defined as having courage and perseverance no matter the odds, has been used to describe Embrey in her decades-long dedication to Manzanar’s commemoration and preservation.

⁷⁴ “Keith Bright to Receive Manzanar Committee’s Sue Kunitomi Embrey Legacy Award Posthumously,” no date, File Manzanar Committee, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁷⁵ Sue Kunitomi Embrey, “Behind the Passage of the Manzanar Bill,” *Nikkei Heritage* 15, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2003), 5.

county administrator, representing Inyo County. Other witnesses included Jerry Rogers, associate director for cultural resources, representing the NPS, and two other California congressmen, Republican William M. Thomas (20th District) and Democrat Norman Y. Mineta (13th District).⁷⁶

Embrey, Ochi, and Takusagawa flew to Washington together for the May 21 hearing. To their astonishment, William Yoshino of the JAACL came to the hearing also to testify on a companion bill that they had not been informed about. Accompanying Yoshino was David Simon of the National Parks and Conservation Association. The companion bill was H.R. 2351, to authorize a study of nationally significant places in Japanese American history. The short title of the proposed legislation was the Japanese American National Historic Landmark Theme Study Act. The theme study was to identify key sites in Japanese American history representing the period 1941-1946. This bill had been recently introduced by Representative George Miller (D-California's 7th District), who was also on the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands. The panelists who were there on behalf of the Manzanar bill were not philosophically opposed to the other bill, but they were concerned that it might detract from their bill, which assumed that the NPS had already studied the major confinement sites and had determined that Manzanar was the most suitable one to make into a national historic site.⁷⁷

It came as a surprise to the NPS as well as Embrey and Ochi when H.R. 2351 was introduced just three days prior to the scheduled hearing on H.R. 543. NPS chief historian Ed Bearss offered a possible explanation for the second bill's last-minute appearance. Occasionally the NPS Office of History was called upon to respond to what Bearss indelicately referred to as "nut letters." More than a few of these letters were concerned with exposing "historical facts" about the attack on Pearl Harbor and its aftermath. Bearss remembered that one such whacky letter forwarded to him claimed that on December 7, 1941, "whole battalions" of Japanese soldiers were lying concealed in fishing boats in the harbor of San Pedro and these soldiers were prepared to come ashore and seize the port of Los Angeles in case the Japanese naval command should order the Japanese warplanes sent to raid Pearl Harbor to continue onward to the U.S. mainland. Bearss answered this letter forcefully, as he did all such "nut letters." But for some reason Bearss's strongly worded reply to this particular letter was brought to the attention of the U.S. congresswoman from Hawaii, Patsy Mink, a liberal Democrat and a Japanese American herself, who found the chief historian's response letter "exceptional." Moved by this latest evidence that some Americans still held conspiracy theories about Japanese collaborators operating in the U.S. in 1941, Mink went straight to her colleague on the national parks subcommittee and asked him to get the Japanese American theme study into a bill for consideration alongside the

⁷⁶ U.S. House, Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Hearing on H.R. 543, To Establish the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for Other Purposes, and H.R. 2351, To Authorize a Study of Nationally Significant Places in Japanese American History*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., May 21, 1991.

⁷⁷ Embrey, "Behind the Passage of the Manzanar Bill," 5.

Manzanar bill. At the eleventh hour, Representative Miller did just that and introduced a separate bill.⁷⁸

NPS Associate Director Rogers's prepared statement for the subcommittee addressed the Manzanar bill but not the theme study bill. In his oral statement to the subcommittee, Rogers asked for a couple of weeks to provide a substantive recommendation on H.R. 2351 since the measure had only been introduced a few days prior to Manzanar hearing. In response to the subcommittee's questions on a theme study of Japanese American confinement sites, Rogers allowed that the NPS did not want to repeat its earlier work on the ten relocation centers, nor did it want to undertake a theme study that would overlap with another theme study about ethnic history sites that the NPS National Historic Landmarks Program already had underway. He pointed out the danger in focusing the Japanese American theme too intensively on the 1941-1946 period, because Japanese American history was obviously much broader than that. Representative Miller stated that his bill was intended to complement the Manzanar bill, not compete with it, and its intent was to "reinforce our commitment to civil liberties and to the importance of our Constitution." As for the risk that the theme study might lead to an overemphasis on one period of the whole Japanese American experience, Miller said he wanted to "make it very clear that when the Congress passed the reparations bill this whole incident in American history took on new meaning, both to the Congress and to the people of this country."⁷⁹

Other members of the subcommittee seemed to have no difficulty with passing legislation that would require the NPS to extend and expand a theme study that was originally called for in the 1978 legislation. It was frankly acknowledged that the earlier effort was not as robust as the theme study described in the present bill, nor was the earlier effort completed. Not all of the ten relocation centers were field inspected, and no comprehensive report was ever produced. So the Manzanar bill was simply amended by attaching the second bill to the end of it. After the subcommittee rewrote the bill, the Manzanar provisions appeared as "Title I – Manzanar National Historic Site" and the theme study provisions appeared as "Title II – Japanese American National Historic Landmark Theme Study."⁸⁰

Leading up to the hearing there were numerous meetings and negotiations between the NPS, the Office of the Los Angeles Mayor, and the LADWP over land acquisition and water rights, as well as negotiations between the NPS, Inyo County

⁷⁸ Ed Bearss, telephone communication, December 16, 2015. A letter matching the one described by Bearss exists in the files. The letter is addressed to Jerry L. Rogers at the Department of the Interior. However, the letter is dated May 23, 1991, two days *after* the hearing on H.R. 2351. It would appear that a chain of events along the lines of what Bearss remembered did occur, in which case either the date on this letter is wrong or another similar letter precipitated the action by Representative Mink. See Louis M. Hess to Jerry L. Rogers, May 23, 1991, File H34, Active Central Files (hereafter ACF), Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ).

⁷⁹ U.S. House, *Hearing on H.R. 543 and H.R. 2351*, May 21, 1991, Miller quotations on pp. 14 and 34.

⁸⁰ U.S. House, *Establishing the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for other purposes*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, H. Rept. 125, 1. Title II served as the justification for funding Jeff Burton et al.'s *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, published in 1999.

officials, and Inyo County's congressional representative, William Thomas, over the need to compensate Inyo County for loss of its maintenance facility. By the time of the hearing, all the parties appeared to have achieved a fairly solid consensus on a blueprint for action. After the hearing, however, the LADWP's president, Mike Gage, suddenly threw a wrench in the works when he insisted that his department lacked authority under its charter to donate land for the national historic site. Intensive negotiations ensued between the NPS and the LADWP over how to work a deal for an eventual land exchange and transfer of water rights. Representative Levine requested a postponement of the committee's final markup while the NPS and the LADWP resolved these issues. Finally, the subcommittee made minor changes to the bill, and then the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported the bill to the whole House. Representative Bruce Vento (D-Minnesota) introduced H.R. 543 as amended on the House floor on June 24, 1991.⁸¹

In the House bill's Title I, Section 101 on establishment provided for a land base covering the whole fenced camp area of the former Manzanar War Relocation Center (Alternative 3 in the alternatives study). Section 102 on administration made the Manzanar site a unit of the National Park System. It authorized the secretary of the interior to acquire donations of funds, property, or services consistent with the purposes of the act and to enter into cooperative agreements with the state. It stipulated that the water rights of the City of Los Angeles would not be affected by the conveyance of the land to the United States, except to the extent that water was needed to fulfill the purposes of Manzanar National Historic Site and protect natural and cultural resources. It dealt with the grazing issue by providing that anyone holding grazing privileges on lands immediately adjacent to the Site would be permitted to move livestock across federal land managed by the BLM in order to get their livestock around the Site. (On this matter the NPS prevailed and Inyo County people yielded, as everyone recognized that the allowance of cattle grazing within the national historic site would contradict NPS policy and impair resources.)⁸²

Section 103 addressed how the land would be acquired and how the county would be compensated for the loss of its vehicle maintenance facility. With regard to land acquisition, the secretary of the interior was directed to use the authority of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 to enter into a land exchange with

⁸¹ Rose Matsui Ochi to Tom Bradley, June 6, 1991, File 2, Box 4328, Tom Bradley Papers, University of California, Los Angeles (hereafter UCLA); "Plans for Manzanar's Historic Site Recognition Hits Snag with LA DWP," *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, June 13, 1991; "Manzanar National Site is edging nearer reality with land squabble settlement," *Inyo Register*, June 19, 1991; *Congressional Record*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 137, no. 98: 4890.

⁸² On the provision for grazing, see the statements by Jerry Rogers and David Simon in U.S. House, *Hearing on H.R. 543 and H.R. 2351*, May 21, 1991, 22, 65. See also Judy Hart to Files, no date, summarizing discussion following the hearing, in legislative history file, superintendent's office documents library, Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ). On the grazing issue: "Apparently one person has an existing lease. All present seemed to agree that the cattle could damage the existing resources, and the cattle being moved could as easily go around the 500 acres as well as through it, considering danger from depressions and holes at the site. Paul Morrison [sic] was to follow through with the lease holder to see if this is acceptable."

the City of Los Angeles. The public lands exchanged for the Site must be located within Inyo County and identified as suitable for disposal by the BLM. Priority must be given to lands identified for disposal in the Bishop Resources Area Resource Management Plan and lands immediately adjacent to the Site. (This provision was necessary because the LADWP was prohibited by its charter from simply donating the land, which was appraised at just \$80,000. Moreover, Inyo County did not want any reduction of taxable land.) As for the maintenance facility, the secretary was authorized to compensate Inyo County \$1.1 million.⁸³

Section 104 established an advisory commission to be known as the Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission. It was to consist of formerly incarcerated Japanese Americans, local residents, representatives of Native American groups, and the general public. Members would be appointed for two-year terms. The secretary of the interior, acting through the director of the NPS, would consult with the commission at least semiannually concerning development and interpretation of the Site. (This feature was included in the alternatives study from the beginning. The commission was critical to Inyo County residents because of a widespread, deep-seated mistrust of government entities there, among both Native Americans and Caucasians, as described in Chapter One. Of course, Japanese Americans had their own historical reasons to wary of the federal government.)

After Vento introduced the bill to the whole House, five representatives from California rose to speak in support of the measure. They were Republican Robert Lagomarsino (19th District), Mel Levine, Norman Mineta, William Thomas, and George Miller. In addition, Republican Don Young of Alaska rose to remind everyone of the fact that the U.S. government forcibly removed Aleuts from their homes on the Pribilof Islands and put them in camps as well, and Congresswoman Mink of Hawaii rose to express her “strong support” for the bill to designate Manzanar National Historic Site. “Perhaps the time has come to forgive the terrible mistakes made by misguided Government officials during the Second World War,” she said. “But while we can forgive, we must never forget. Manzanar and the other internment sites will always be remembered as the places where our Government ignored at home the very freedoms we were fighting to uphold around the world.” Following the speeches in support, there were no questions or objections. The bill was passed on a voice vote.⁸⁴

The Legislative Campaign: The Senate Bill

U.S. Senator Alan Cranston (D-California) introduced S. 621, a companion bill to H.R. 543, on March 12, 1991. Senators John Seymour (R-California) and Daniel Akaka (D-Hawaii) cosponsored the bill. The three senators introduced S. 1344, the

⁸³ On the provisions for a land exchange and compensation to Inyo County for the maintenance facility, see Representative Bruce Vento’s explanation and also Representative Robert Lagomarsino’s remarks in *Congressional Record*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 137, no. 98: 4890-91. See also Gracey interview; “Plans for Manzanar’s Historic Site Recognition Hits Snag with LA DWP,” *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, June 13, 1991.

⁸⁴ *Congressional Record*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 137, no. 98: 4890-93.

companion bill to Title II of H.R. 543, on June 20, 1991. After the House passed H.R. 543 on June 24, a Senate hearing on S. 621 was soon scheduled.⁸⁵

In the month between the House vote and the Senate hearing, a fissure opened up between the bill's supporters and the LADWP. The LADWP's Mike Gage had major concerns about protecting the water supply of the City of Los Angeles. Strange as it might seem that a transfer of the 500-acre Manzanar site in the Owens Valley would have so much significance for L.A. water, Gage was suspicious of the legal prerogatives that would accrue to the secretary of the interior under the law. The tract of land itself was minor, but the thought of the NPS getting a toe hold in the very midst of the LADWP's extensive landholdings in the Owens Valley raised some issues. Would Manzanar National Historic Site create an impediment to water-spreading activities by the LADWP on the LADWP's surrounding lands? Would the NPS or the secretary of the interior challenge the LADWP's groundwater pumping activities in the area? Would the NPS or the secretary of the interior demand that the LADWP go to greater lengths to mitigate the dust problem associated with the dry lakebed of the former Owens Lake? In the days surrounding the passage of the bill by the House, Gage told people that he would seek changes in the bill when the Senate took it up and if he did not get what he wanted he would kill it.⁸⁶

The bill's supporters were very concerned that Gage, as head of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, might actually succeed. The LADWP was a very powerful entity. It had its own office and attorneys in the nation's capital, and it could muster considerable influence in Congress through California's large congressional delegation. And Mike Gage was a fighter, a seasoned politician and bureaucrat. Before heading the LADWP, Gage had served as Mayor Bradley's chief of staff and deputy mayor. It was true that Mayor Bradley had forced the obstreperous LADWP into line on the Manzanar issue before, in 1985, when the site was designated a national historic landmark. Since then, however, Bradley's control over city government had slipped. In 1989 he had barely won re-election to a fifth term. Amidst persistent rumors that he would not run for a sixth term, city officials began to maneuver for the succession. As part of the political shuffle, Gage left City Hall and moved across the street to run the LADWP.⁸⁷

The Los Angeles City Council entered the fray when member Ruth Galanter drafted a motion to secure a council resolution calling on the LADWP to cooperate fully with the pending federal legislation. Ochi and Embrey went to City Hall to attend the vote on Councilwoman Galanter's motion on June 21, 1991. But through a

⁸⁵ U.S. Senate, *Establishing the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for other purposes*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, S. Rept. 236, 4-5.

⁸⁶ Statement of Dan Waters, General Manager, Department of Water and Power, City of Los Angeles, before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee on S. 621, July 25, 1991, and Martha Davis to Michael J. Gage, July 1, 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ; Sue Embrey to Gage, July 1, 1991, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

⁸⁷ Cathleen Decker and Jane Fritsch, "An Irreverent Gage Leaves L.A. City Hall Amid Mixed Reviews," *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1989; Bill Boyarsky, "An Old Hand Comes Back to City Hall," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1990.

last-minute parliamentary maneuver by one of the LADWP's partisans on the city council, the motion was sent to a committee for review instead of going directly to a vote.⁸⁸ According to Ochi, a triumphant Gage confronted Embrey outside the chamber afterwards, saying, "There will never be a federal designation." Then, in a supposed goodwill gesture, he offered a memorial in one of the Los Angeles city parks in lieu of Manzanar. Gage was known to play political rough-and-tumble, and he was built like a fullback. Embrey, unintimidated, retorted that it was the federal government that had incarcerated them; therefore, only a federal designation would do.⁸⁹

As it turned out, Gage was able to delay the City Council resolution but not defeat it. The committee held a hearing on the motion from Galanter early in July. In advance of the hearing, the Manzanar Committee made an appeal for city residents to send letters or contact council members by telephone.⁹⁰ At the hearing, council members heard emotional testimony from people who had been incarcerated in Manzanar during World War II, along with a strong statement from Representative Levine of West Los Angeles. Levine implored the council, "the future of my legislation is in your hands." Embrey had been corresponding with Levine's staff for a year and her persistence continued to pay off. Sharing Embrey's sentiment on where the responsibility lay for creating a memorial, Levine stated to the council committee:

The city of Los Angeles has a unique opportunity to contribute to the protection of this site and to the preservation of a record of the experiences of the internees. But these were federal policies, and only a federally controlled park would provide adequate recognition of the federal government's role in this grave injustice.⁹¹

The committee recommended the motion to the full council and the council then passed a resolution by a unanimous vote. The council went on record with its request:

...that the Department of Water and Power cooperate with the federal government and make the land on which the Manzanar camp site was located available at minimal cost allowed under law and in the swiftest possible fashion consistent with the full and complete protection of the City's water supply and water rights.⁹²

⁸⁸ Manzanar Committee, "Manzanar Committee Appeals or Support from Community to Fight DWP Objections to Manzanar Historic Site," news release, June 23, 1991, and Manzanar Committee, "Committee Meets Tuesday on Motion Supporting Manzanar Historic Site," news release, July 5, 1991, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Bruce Embrey review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁸⁹ Ochi narrative, MANZ; Ochi interview (2002); Ochi interview (2015).

⁹⁰ Sue Embrey to Friends, July 12, 1991, File L5, RCF, MANZ.

⁹¹ Statement of Congressman Mel Levine Before the Los Angeles City Council Committee on Commerce, Energy and Natural Resources, July 9, 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁹² Substitute Resolution, July 9, 1991, and "Council Backs Galanter Resolution in Support of Manzanar Historic Site," news release from Councilwoman Ruth Galanter, July 10, 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ; Takeshi Nakayama, "Council Votes to Cooperate with HR 543," *Rafu Shimpō, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, July 10, 1991.

Two days after the Los Angeles City Council passed the resolution, the Manzanar Committee learned that a hearing on the Senate bill was now on the calendar. The Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate's Energy and Natural Resources Committee would hear testimony on S. 621 on July 25. Hastily, Embrey and Ochi prepared to return to Washington, D.C., as they were now working as a team to shepherd the bill. The two combined their skills, connections, and fierce tenacity to get the legislation passed. In that effort, they also had the vital support and dedication of an ever-growing number of Manzanar advocates.⁹³

Upon their arrival in Washington, D.C., Embrey and Ochi learned that their troubles were far from over: Mike Gage had flown to the capital, too, and was spreading the idea that Los Angeles really did not want the legislation to pass. Just prior to Embrey and Ochi's arrival, the LADWP had put into circulation some proposed amendments to the bill, under the heading "Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute to HR 543," which would provide LADWP significant protections. The amendments would protect the city's right to groundwater pumping and foreclose the possibility that the NPS or secretary of the interior would require the LADWP to use any of its water for purposes of bringing back natural vegetation or treating dust that blew from the dry bed of Owens Lake. Instead of a land exchange, the land base might be secured by lease, remaining in LADWP ownership. And the actual grant of water rights would be as follows:

(d) WATER – (1) No water or water rights of the city of Los Angeles shall in any way be affected by the creation or administration of the site, nor is it the intent or purpose of this Act to abridge, interfere with, alter or modify, in any way, directly or indirectly, the water supply and water rights of the City of Los Angeles from and in the Owens Valley, Inyo County, California, or the ability of the City to take, control, transport or use said water supply and water rights as it chooses.

(2) Water supply for purposes of administration and management of the site may be made available pursuant to agreement with the City of Los Angeles.

At the subcommittee hearing on July 25, Senator Cranston testified that S. 621 still needed to be amended to include acceptable terms for land acquisition and water rights. He wanted to be clear that it was not the intent of the legislation "to provide new federal authorities over lands or activities outside the boundaries of the proposed national historic site." On the other hand, the bill had to be amended in such way that it did not "diminish or in any way affect existing state or federal statutes which may be applicable to such activities or lands or water management agreements with other agencies."⁹⁴ In other words, legislators had to take care that the bill as amended did

⁹³ Bahr, *The Unquiet Nisei*, 131.

⁹⁴ Statement by Senator Alan Cranston before the Energy and Natural Resources Committee Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests in Support of S. 621, To Establish the

not inadvertently grant the LADWP immunity from the operation of environmental laws.

Following the July 25 hearing, Cranston directed his staff to work with the LADWP on amending the bill. Kathy Lacey was a legislative assistant to Cranston. Martha Davis was executive director of the Mono Lake Committee, a nonprofit organization focused on protecting the ecosystem of the Mono Basin, which, like the Owens Valley, was affected by Los Angeles water rights and the Los Angeles aqueduct. These two women delved into the legal implications of the LADWP's proposed amendments. For Davis, the LADWP's effort to rewrite the Manzanar bill was reminiscent of its past success in downgrading environmental protections in what became the Mono Basin National Forest Scenic Area Act of 1984. She was convinced that the LADWP's intent was to insert provisions in the bill that would undermine enforcement of the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and other environmental laws in the Eastern Sierra.⁹⁵

Davis's concerns were soon shared by others, including the executive officer of the State Lands Commission, Charles Warren. The State Lands Commission had a major stake in addressing the problem of dust storms rising from the desiccated Owens Lake, because the commission was charged by law with the protection of public trust values in the beds of California's navigable waters, which included Owens Lake and the lower Owens River. Writing to Senator Cranston, Warren put his concern bluntly: "It is apparent that LADWP is seeking, by amendments it now urges on you, to muzzle any federal agency that might have the temerity to suggest mitigation of adverse conditions caused by the City's 'water gathering activities.'"⁹⁶

These concerns eventually reached the general public through an article in the *Los Angeles Times* by Robert A. Jones. The article carried the title "Manzanar and the Big Stall," and it set out to explain why the City of Los Angeles could be so stubborn about exchanging 500 acres of land to make a national historic site in the Owens Valley. Jones reminded readers that 70 percent of Los Angeles's water came from the Owens Valley, that the city had immense land holdings there, and that the LADWP "manages that land like England once managed India." It was no wonder, he wrote, that so many members of Congress found the city's position on Manzanar baffling. The article's thesis was that the LADWP was attempting to bamboozle Congress: the city would "spring Manzanar in return for an exemption from existing environmental laws in the Owens Valley."⁹⁷

The *Los Angeles Times* article finally persuaded a large number of people that the LADWP was overreaching. Cranston's office toughened its stance in negotiating with the LADWP's attorneys. By this time, Kathy Lacey and LADWP's lawyers were

Manzanar National Historic Site, S. 870, to Expand the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, and S. 1344, Japanese-American National Historic Landmark Study, July 25, 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁹⁵ Martha Davis to Mel Levine, July 29, 1991, and Frank Salas to Kathy Lacey, August 7, 1991, and Martha Davis to Kathy Lacey, September 30, 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

⁹⁶ Charles Warren to Alan Cranston, October 30, 1991, in binder labeled "Legislation Background Key People," superintendent's office documents library, MANZ.

⁹⁷ Robert A. Jones, "Manzanar and the Big Stall," *Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 1991.

wrangling over a document the LADWP referred to as “Working Draft Number Three.” Ochi kept sending memos to Mayor Bradley apprising him of the LADWP’s latest stall tactics. According to Ochi, the mayor at last reached the end of his patience with the LADWP after he had directed the LADWP to find an outside attorney to rewrite the language in the bill so that it was “neutral.” Ochi did some investigating and discovered that “Working Draft Number Three” was authored by someone inside the LADWP just like the previous versions had been. It was not prepared by a neutral outsider as the mayor had demanded. She called the mayor and informed him that the LADWP was deceiving him about the authorship of the latest iteration of amendments. On the other end of the phone Mayor Bradley just said, “Rose, call Cranston. It’s over.” The mayor signaled to the Senate that the city was done with haggling and it should bring the bill to the floor for a vote.⁹⁸

It fell to U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers (D-Arkansas), as chairman of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, to craft neutral language that would satisfy all sides. After all the negotiations, the final version of the bill as amended by the Senate carried three short provisions concerning the LADWP’s water rights. Section 103 (a) (3) stated: “The Secretary shall not acquire lands or interests therein located within the boundaries of the site which are owned by the city of Los Angeles until such time as the Secretary has entered into an agreement with the city to provide water sufficient to fulfill the purposes of the site.” Section 104 (a) (2) stated: “Nothing in this title shall create, expand or diminish any authority of the Secretary over lands or activities of the city of Los Angeles outside the boundaries of the site.” And Section 104 (e) read as follows: “Water – Except as provided in section 103 (a) (3) of this title, nothing in this title shall affect the water rights of the city of Los Angeles.”⁹⁹

The Senate passed the bill by a voice vote on November 26, 1991. The House took up the Senate version of the bill on February 18, 1992. As before, several speeches were delivered in praise of the measure. The following day, a vote was taken by electronic device, and the bill was passed, 400 yeas to 13 nays, with 21 not voting.¹⁰⁰ President George H.W. Bush signed it into law on March 3, 1992.¹⁰¹

The 23rd Manzanar Pilgrimage, held as usual on the last Saturday in April, drew a huge crowd of between 1500 and 1800 people, Death Valley Superintendent

⁹⁸ Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Michael Gage, August 11, 1991, and Gage to Embrey, August 21, 1991, and Michael Woo to Alan Cranston, November 12, 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ; Embrey to Jeff Matsui, September 3, 1991, and Rose Ochi to Tom Bradley, October 4, 1991, and Ochi to Bradley, October 29, 1991, and Ochi to Matsui, October 31, 1991, File 2, Box 4328, Tom Bradley Papers, UCLA; Embrey to John Ferraro, October 21, 1991, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Mark D. Fabiani to Wallace Tashima, November 14, 1991, File 6, Box 189, Tom Bradley Papers, UCLA; Ochi to Bradley, April 23, 1992, File Manzanar Day Speech 1992, Box 2207, Tom Bradley Papers, UCLA; Embrey, “Behind the Passage of the Manzanar Bill,” 5; Ochi interview (2002); Ochi interview (2015).

⁹⁹ Ron Deaton and Frank Salas to Jim Seeley, November 13, 1991, File 6, Box 189, Tom Bradley Papers, UCLA; *Congressional Record*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 137, no. 177 – pt. II: 18285.

¹⁰⁰ *Congressional Record*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 137, no. 19: 455-56.

¹⁰¹ Public Law 102-248, An Act to establish the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for other purposes, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 106 (1992): 40-44.

Rothfuss estimated. The *Inyo Register* cited an estimate of 3,000 attendees, the largest pilgrimage gathering to date. Twenty busloads of people came from Los Angeles, including four busloads of UCLA students. While the pilgrimage celebrated the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site, it was also commemorated the fifty-year anniversary of Executive Order 9066 and the opening of the Manzanar War Relocation Center. There were speeches by Tom Bradley, Keith Bright, Sue Embrey, Rose Matsui Ochi, Warren Furutani, and Ed Rothfuss, among others. Hiro Takusagawa led a color guard with other Nisei veterans. Mary Nomura sang an original song, “When I Can – Song of Manzanar.” Embrey led the Ondo dance. Mayor Bradley presented to Embrey a commendation to the Manzanar Committee for its many years of dedicated effort in bringing forth the preservation and commemoration of Manzanar.¹⁰²

Already the NPS was at work preparing to take on management of the unit. In the closing months of 1991, Rothfuss met with Inyo County officials to form a Manzanar working group, Ross Hopkins prepared an interim management and operations plan, and the NPS developed a list of candidates for appointment to the Manzanar Advisory Commission. Four days after the pilgrimage, Rothfuss wrote to his boss: “People are looking for NPS leadership now that the Congress has authorized the area.”¹⁰³ A simple statement, it would come to describe a sense of anticipation that would hover over Manzanar National Historic Site for the next half-decade.

¹⁰² Superintendent to Regional Director, April 29, 1992, File Manzanar Park Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Ted Geitner, “Thousands flock to Manzanar,” *Inyo Register*, April 26, 1992; Monica Fiscalini, “Manzanar national site designated,” *Daily Independent* (Ridgecrest, Calif.), April 26, 1992; “23rd Annual Manzanar Pilgrimage,” no date, File Manzanar Day Speech 1992, Box 2207, Tom Bradley Papers, UCLA.

¹⁰³ Ross Hopkins, “Interim Management and Operations Plan,” November 1991, File L58, RCF, MANZ; Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission, no date, File Manzanar Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Superintendent to Regional Director, December 9, 1991, and Superintendent to Regional Director, April 29, 1992, File Manzanar Park Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

Chapter Five

Halting First Steps, 1992-1997

For the first five years of Manzanar National Historic Site's existence the unit remained undeveloped and barely staffed. To the casual visitor, it appeared that not much was happening there. The only commemorative development at Manzanar during this period was the 1994 installation of a Blue Star Memorial Highway sign at its entrance. Garden clubs across the country had been erecting such highway signs as tributes to the U.S. Armed Forces since 1945. Rose Matsui Ochi's husband Tom suggested the placement of such a Blue Star along U.S. Route 95 at Manzanar might be fitting. This project was among the first Manzanar collaborations between Japanese Americans (in this case, the Manzanar Committee and a number of veterans) and local residents. Ridgecrest resident Margaret Peachie and the Oasis Garden Club of Indian Wells Valley led the effort. In addition to the standard Blue Star plaque recognizing all U.S. military personnel who have defended the nation, the group commissioned a second plaque honoring the Japanese American servicemen of the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team and the Military Intelligence Service during World War II. (The Blue Star sign was later moved to Manzanar's frontage road.)¹ In addition, in 1992 a local Boy Scout effort, supported by Death Valley National Monument, cleaned up the historic camp entrance, fixed the roofs of the two sentry posts, and covered the doors and windows of the two structures as well.²

Despite the scant on-the-ground evidence of NPS toils at Manzanar during this time, planners, archeologists, and historians were in fact working on a handful of essential plans and studies. As most of this early activity occurred off site and out of public view, some people came to believe that Manzanar was nothing more than a nuisance to the National Park Service: underrated, neglected, and even unwanted. Others believed quite the opposite, that Manzanar enjoyed star power and that certain aspects of setting up a new NPS unit were actually fast-tracked to meet a high level of

¹ Michael interview. For a time, the 442nd plaque was removed by the NPS after learning of vandalism threats. The NPS did not want a repeat of the defacement done to Manzanar's state landmark plaque in the 1970s. The 442nd panel was reinstalled on the Blue Star sign in 2005. Chief of interpretation Alisa Lynch explained how this collaborative but nonetheless controversial project has continued to touch a nerve with certain people: "I still have visitors tell me that Manzanar is an odd place to recognize the U.S. Armed Forces. Several have said they thought it was placed there by 'American' veterans who were opposed to Manzanar. . . . [The Blue Star sign] serves as a reminder that commemoration is not always understood as intended." Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

² Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

public anticipation. Oddly, there was truth in both assertions when it came to Manzanar's early development.³

On the slow end of things, land acquisition proceeded at a snail's pace. A three-way land exchange between the LADWP, the BLM, and the NPS took longer than many people expected and was finally completed on April 24, 1997, a little over five years after Manzanar National Historic Site was established by law. Until the NPS owned the land, visitor developments were slow to appear. On the other hand, the land swap eventually provided 814 acres for the Site (considerably more than the "approximately 500 acres" named in the establishing act). Limited renovations on the auditorium, the future visitor center, did get started in 1996 before the land deal was fully executed.

A park budget and staff were slow to materialize as well. Ross Hopkins was finally appointed superintendent in May 1994. The unit received an initial operating budget of \$232,000 in December 1994 and authorization for a staff of one: Hopkins. Only when the money came through was the Manzanar Advisory Commission activated. Though the eleven members of the commission were selected and appointed much earlier, they had to postpone any action until the Site got funded. The commission finally held its first meeting on April 28, 1995.⁴

The Manzanar Advisory Commission was made up of five Japanese Americans (all from the Los Angeles area), two local Native Americans, and four other Owens Valley residents. Commission members who had lived behind barbed wire at Manzanar as youngsters included chairwoman Sue Embrey; landscape architect Ronald Izumita, who was already involved in Manzanar's GMP process; and educator Mas Okui, who by this time had assumed Shi Nomura's role of collecting Manzanar materials for the Eastern California Museum and served as a volunteer tour guide at Manzanar. Rose Matsui Ochi and Gann Matsuda, a young Sansei activist, completed the Japanese American contingent of the commission. Recent UCLA graduate Matsuda, as a senior, had organized at the university a year-long commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Japanese American forced removal and incarceration. The commission's Native American representatives were Richard Stewart of the Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley and Vernon Miller of the Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians. Both men were docents for the Eastern California Museum. Inyo County supervisor Keith Bright, Eastern California Museum director Bill Michael (who served as vice chair), Mono Lake

³ For the argument that the unit was neglected, see Robert A. Jones, "Whitewashing Manzanar," *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1996 – "the park service has handled Manzanar like an unwanted guest at dinner"; Carle Nolte, "Lonesome Monument to a National Headache," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 13, 1997 – "perhaps the most neglected unit in the National Park Service"; Joe Hill, "Manzanar: Does it have a future?" *The Advocate* (Lone Pine, Calif.), January 1996. For the argument that the unit was in some ways fast-tracked, see "Manzanar national park battling logistics, protests," *San Jose Mercury News* (March 10, 1997); Olson and Rothfuss interview.

⁴ Resume of Ross R. Hopkins, December 10, 1996, File K1817 CLPEF Project, Manzanar Committee Reflections, Box 5, RCF, MANZ; R. R. Hopkins, "Justification for FY98 MANZ 1 Budget Request," August 22, 1996, File F3017, RCF, MANZ; Bill Michael to C. Brent Wallace, May 4, 1995, File Manzanar Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

Committee executive director Martha Davis, and Glenn Singley, northern district engineer for the LADWP out of Bishop, filled out the commission. The only turnover during the commission's ten-year existence was the replacement of Izumita by another landscape architect, Dennis Otsuji of San Diego, who served as president of the American Society of Landscape Architects. Also, the role of chairwoman passed from Embrey to Ochi in 1998, when Embrey began to face health challenges.⁵

While the appointed Manzanar Advisory Commission members had to sit tight for a full three years after Manzanar National Historic Site was authorized, the NPS expedited the Site's general management plan process. A GMP planning team was organized in 1993, and the team completed its work in 1996. Usually, a new unit in the National Park System would have to wait a long time to get a GMP. Getting a GMP in place so early was unusual and very advantageous.

Much archeological investigation and ethnographic and historical research was accomplished in the years 1993-96 as well, with personnel provided by the Western Archeology and Conservation Center, the Western Regional Office, and the Denver Service Center. The archeological, ethnographic, and historical studies helped form an important foundation for cultural resources management and interpretation once Superintendent Hopkins began hiring staff at the end of the decade.

The odd mix of fast-tracking and foot-dragging reflected Manzanar's controversial nature. The Manzanar Committee and other Japanese American advocates remained strongly committed to making sure that Manzanar received the protection and enlightened interpretation that they thought the place deserved. At the same time, a certain sector of the population railed against Manzanar National Historic Site, claiming that it was a disturbing case of political correctness and anti-Americanism. As before, World War II veterans were conspicuous among the unit's bitter opponents. Since the clash of opinions about Manzanar National Historic Site formed an important context for the Site's early development, this chapter starts with a summary of that war of words.

Backlash Redux

The hostilities began anew right after the dedication. Lillian Baker published an open letter in *Auto Club News* in response to a leisure travel piece about Lone Pine's charming local attractions. The acerbic Baker warned that the area's charm was now "threatened with extinction" by what the NPS had in store at nearby Manzanar. "This year, 1992, marks the date of infamy when our federal government has recognized a 'concentration camp' in our midst, that being Manzanar War Relocation Center," she wrote. Harkening back to FDR's "day of infamy" speech in response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, she went on to peddle a conspiracy theory of a "powerful Japanese lobby" using bribery and blackmail to accomplish a

⁵ Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission, list of members, undated, File MANZ Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; "Dennis Otsuji, Principal, RLA, FASLA," at <http://www.wyac.com/uploads/people/12/Dennis%20Otsuji.pdf> <February 7, 2017>.

present-day “takeover of this area.” The aim of this shadowy group, she indicated, was to convert the Owens Valley site “into a full-blown Japanese resort complete with golf course and modern hotels/motels.” Baker’s allegations were so outrageous and unfounded that Sue Embrey of the Manzanar Committee felt compelled to respond. Writing a rejoinder to Baker for publication in *Auto Club News*, she demanded that Baker either produce evidence or retract her words and make a public apology.⁶

Baker had been making racist allegations against the Manzanar Committee and its supporters for many years. Starting in the 1970s, this widow of a World War II veteran and one-time journalist built a second career as an independent historian researching and writing about the evacuation and relocation policies and their aftermath. In the late 1980s, she churned out one turgid book after another in support of her central thesis that Japanese Americans were attempting to falsify history. In *The Concentration Camp Conspiracy: A Second Pearl Harbor* (1987) she contended that the camps were benign and the evacuees had occupied them voluntarily. In *Dishonoring America: The Collective Guilt of American Japanese* (1988) she made a case for why the camps had been necessary and justified. In *American and Japanese Relocation in World War II: Fact, Fiction and Fallacy* (1989) she attempted to prove that “politically correct” historians were engaged in twisting the historical record to create a “revisionist” and (in her view) inaccurate version of the past. In *The Japanning of America: Redress and Reparation Demands by Japanese Americans* (1991), perhaps the most offensive of all her works, she contended that the redress movement had gamed the politically correct media and subverted the political system for the purely venal aim of enriching Japanese Americans at taxpayers’ expense.

Baker’s self-published books were dismissed by most professional historians as eccentric and amateurish, but the books nonetheless found an avid readership among the public, including in the Owens Valley. She formed an organization, Americans for Historical Accuracy, which she used to buttress her flimsy credentials as a historian. She sought the limelight where she was able. In 1981, she appeared at the Los Angeles hearing of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians; she presented her own testimony and documents, and she spoke on behalf of the former national WRA director, Dillon Myer. At the hearing, Baker was photographed tussling with a Nisei 442nd veteran as she tried to pull written testimony out of his hands. Baker would continue making her vitriolic attacks on Japanese Americans and historic preservation and commemoration at Manzanar almost until her death in 1996 at the age of 75.⁷

Baker had a number of followers or kindred spirits. Sometimes these people were called “internment deniers” and were compared with “Holocaust deniers.” The label and comparison were not quite fair, because Holocaust deniers claimed that the Nazi death camps never existed as such and that the historical fact of five to six

⁶ Lillian Baker to Richard and Donna Carroll, April 23, 1992, and Sue Embrey to Richard and Donna Carroll, May 11, 1992, File Manzanar Committee, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁷ Myrna Oliver, “Lillian Baker, Denied Japanese Incarceration,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1996; David C. Tsang, “The Real Lillian Baker: Historical Revisionism in Our Times,” *Subversities*, July 21, 2014 at www.subversities.blogspot.com/2014/07/the-real-lillian-baker-historical.htm <February 7, 2016>.

million lives destroyed in the Holocaust was a propagandistic lie. Baker and her ilk did not go to such an extreme in denying known facts. They did not deny that as many as 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry had been put in camps. Rather, they denied that conditions in the camps had been oppressive and constitutional rights had been violated. Broadly speaking, they did not deny facts so much as argue interpretation. Much like Holocaust deniers, however, the so-called internment deniers did believe in an international conspiracy. While Holocaust deniers believed that the Holocaust was a myth concocted by a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, so-called internment deniers believed that Japanese Americans and the Japanese government were in cahoots in pushing the U.S. Congress to apologize for what the U.S. government did during World War II. According to the conspiracy theory they put forward, Japanese Americans and the Japanese government were attempting to revise history in a way that would cause Americans to lose sight of Japan's own wartime aggressions and atrocities.

These internment deniers – or more accurately, skeptics – belonged to a variety of organizations. William J. Hopwood, a retired naval commander and Florida resident, styled himself the East Coast coordinator for Baker's Americans for Historical Accuracy. In 1995, Hopwood published an article in *Conservative Review* under the title "The Myth of Manzanar." Gilbert M. Hair, a Miami, Florida resident, was executive director of the Center for Civilian Internee Rights, Inc., an organization claiming to represent 47,000 prisoners of war and civilian internees held captive by the Japanese in World War II. Hair charged the NPS with "assisting Japanese interests and Japanese-Americans in an attempt at historical revision." Walt Kendall, a resident of Sacramento, was with American Ex-Prisoners of War (AXPOW), a nonprofit, congressionally chartered veterans' service organization. Kendall was junior commander of the AXPOW 49ers chapter. Using AXPOW letterhead, he made vicious attacks against Manzanar in letters to U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-California), ABC anchorman Peter Jennings, and *Pacific Citizen* essayist Albert Muratsuchi, among others.⁸

And then there was William W. Hastings, a World War II veteran in Bishop who was not with any organization but had his own ax to grind. Born in Glendale, California in 1924, Hastings was 17 years old in 1941. In an oral history interview done in 2002, Hastings said he remembered seeing U.S. Army trucks parked outside of evacuees' grocery stores and fruit stands in his community shortly after the evacuation order was issued. Hastings held that there were weapons and ammunition stashed inside those shops that the Army was confiscating and loading onto the trucks. Hastings claimed that he peered through the window of one such shop and saw two women and four children inside the building hastily assembling heavy machine guns before the army truck arrived. In the 2002 interview Hastings also stated that his older

⁸ William J. Hopwood, "The Myth of Manzanar," *Conservative Review* 6, no. 1 (January/February 1995): 23; Hopwood to Roger Kennedy, April 22, 1996, File A3615, ACF, MANZ; Gilbert M. Hair to U.S. National Park Service, January 22, 1996, and Walt Kendall to Dianne Feinstein, March 30, 1996, and Kendall to Peter Jennings, July 30, 1995, and Kendall to Albert Muratsuchi, June 20, 1996, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ.

brother, an aircraft inspector for the Bureau of Naval Weapons, took him up in an airplane on the day after Pearl Harbor to show him where Japanese collaborators had mown or plowed directional arrows into farm fields pointing toward airfields, dams, electrical junction areas, and weapons factories. Asked what his brother did with the photographs, Hastings said he sent them back to the Bureau of Naval Weapons. (In fact, the Bureau of Naval Weapons did not exist in 1941; it was established in 1959.) Hastings also recalled visiting the Manzanar War Relocation Center in May 1943 at the invitation of a military friend stationed there. He said he remembered observing that the Japanese Americans were free to come and go from the camp and they were treated “like royalty.” Hastings said he enlisted as a marine in 1944, trained in San Diego, and fought in the battles of Saipan and Iwo Jima. In his interview, he stated that he received bullet wounds in the leg in Saipan and a knife wound from a Japanese soldier inside a cave on the island of Iwo Jima. After the war, Hastings went to college on the G.I. bill and then settled in Inyo County. The effort to preserve and commemorate Manzanar first came to Hastings’s attention in the 1970s, and he remained an implacable foe of the project for the rest of his life.⁹

These skeptics directed their attacks against Japanese Americans, the NPS, and any politician, bureaucrat, media outlet, or news reporter who expressed support for commemorating Manzanar as a site of shame where the U.S. government had violated the constitutional rights of its citizens. Their objections could be boiled down to two essential points. First, they believed that calling Manzanar a “concentration camp” or a “prison camp” set up a false comparison, or implied a moral equivalency, between the U.S. camps where people of Japanese ancestry were incarcerated and the Japanese prison camps, in which POWs and enemy aliens had been tortured and starved to death, or the infamous Nazi concentration camps such as Dachau and Auschwitz. And second, they argued that any condemnation of U.S. government policy on the home front was “defamatory” and “slanderous” toward the whole U.S. military effort in World War II and, therefore, was an insult to all men in uniform who fought.¹⁰

⁹ W. W. Hastings, interviewed by Richard Potashin, January 30, 2002, MANZ Oral History Collection. Potashin stated in his own oral history interview (2014) that the interview with Hastings was Potashin’s idea and was aimed at getting all sides of the Manzanar story. Potashin recalled that he deliberately avoided challenging Hastings’s more unbelievable statements, intending to do so in a follow-up interview. But Hastings died in May 2002, shortly after this interview, so there was no follow-up. Potashin stated in 2014 that he realized during his interview with Hastings that “this guy is coming from pain.” It presented Potashin with an epiphany: if he could feel the man’s pain, then he could understand him better and appreciate that he was not “a complete, true wacko.” Potashin: “I found out his hatred and bitterness was associated with his World War II battles. He fought in Iwo Jima. He showed me the little vial of black sand. He showed me some of his other souvenirs from that campaign. He lost his brother. And so the Japanese that he fought became the Japanese of Manzanar. He was still fighting the Japanese.” Richard Potashin, interviewed by Theodore Catton and Diane Krahe, November 25, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

¹⁰ Walt Kendall to *Mammoth Times*, July 29, 1994, and Ralph Willis to Ross Hopkins, June 26, 1995, and Lillian Baker to Stanley T. Albright, June 22, 1995, and Elbert L. Watson to Albert Muratsuchi, June 7, 1996, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ; Lillian Baker to *Seattle Times*, January 5, 1993, File L60, RCF, MANZ; W. W. Hastings to Bruce Babbitt, May 5, 1995 and June 12, 1995, File A16, RCF, MANZ.

Fallout

Even though this backlash against Manzanar was whipped up by a small number of people, it had negative consequences. For one thing, their attacks on Manzanar were so vitriolic that they inflamed various individuals in the population to join in the fray by making threats against officials, intimidating supporters, and threatening acts of vandalism. Superintendent Hopkins received death threats on his home telephone's answering machine. He had to change to an unlisted number. Once he was called a "Jap lover" when he entered a store in Bishop. Bill Michael faced demands that he be fired from his job as director of the Eastern California Museum. Manzanar National Historic Site received five anonymous threats that the old auditorium building would be burned to the ground. One old World War II veteran phoned the Site to say that he had been in the Bataan Death March and had suffered permanent physical impairment at the hands of his Japanese captors, which prevented him from driving much these many years later. But the coming weekend he was going to drive 173 miles from his home to Manzanar just to urinate on the new entrance sign. Hateful as this gesture was, Hopkins felt sorry for the man. "If that makes you feel good, go for it!" he said in reply. Although, to some degree, Hopkins thrived on the strong human emotions surrounding Manzanar, he also complained that the job soon turned his hair grey.¹¹

The harsh words from World War II vets undermined public support for Manzanar and probably slowed development of the national historic site by the NPS. At least one key official was leery of Manzanar in part because of the bitterness it stirred up. The official was Stanley T. Albright, western regional director from 1987 to 1997. Like his famous uncle, Horace M. Albright, the early cofounder of the NPS, Stan was born and raised in Bishop, California. Stanley had memories of Manzanar from when he was a preteen. In the war years, his father was coroner for Inyo County and the young Stan sometimes accompanied his dad to the camp hospital to collect the bodies of deceased persons. Many years later, when Albright was regional director, he kept in close contact with his best friend from childhood, Bob Tanner, who still lived in the Owens Valley. Tanner was a rancher and resort owner, a conservative Republican, and a Korean War veteran. Tanner kept Albright well apprised of the contingent of World War II veterans who disapproved of preserving and commemorating Manzanar.¹²

When Congress authorized Manzanar National Historic Site, Albright assigned Death Valley Superintendent Ed Rothfuss to look after the new unit and supervise his former ranger Ross Hopkins as Manzanar's fledgling superintendent. In an interview in 2015, Rothfuss remembered how Albright said "no, no, no, no, no" to his every request for Manzanar. Rothfuss recalled that one time as he made his way out of the

¹¹ Superintendent to Regional Director, November 25, 1997, File A36 Complaints, ACF, MANZ; Carl Nolte, "Lonesome Monument to a National Heartache," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 13, 1997; Hopkins interview. The earliest improvement made to the auditorium by the NPS was to install a sprinkler system, because of the anonymous threats to burn it down.

¹² Hopkins interview; Olson and Rothfuss interview.

regional director's office after one of these exchanges, he asked Albright's secretary, "What's wrong with Stan? Every time I mention Manzanar I get all this negativism." She said, "I'll tell you a secret." She confided to Rothfuss that every time he asked Albright for a meeting on Manzanar, Albright would call his friend Bob Tanner. And she would overhear her boss say, "Hey, that Rothfuss is coming in, and here's what he's after...." And then Tanner would rail against the national historic site designation and Albright would commiserate with him.¹³ (Like many local opponents, Tanner's views on Manzanar became much more positive in the ensuing years.¹⁴)

Hopkins recalled Albright's constant stonewalling on Manzanar as well. Once, when Hopkins was driving Albright to the airport – it was probably in 1991, just months before the Manzanar bill was enacted – the regional director said to him, "I don't know what's going to happen at Manzanar, but if you get an advisory commission, *drag your feet*." Five years later, when the process of devising a general management plan for Manzanar was nearing completion, this lack of enthusiasm from leadership in the regional office remained.¹⁵ NPS archeologist Jeff Burton relayed this story. Burton was at a GMP public meeting in Los Angeles with Hopkins. After the meeting, Rose Matsui Ochi asked the superintendent "seemingly out of the blue . . . with the most serious face I've ever seen, 'What do you need? What do you need me to do [for Manzanar]?'"¹⁶ Ross later told Burton that "when he needed something done he called Rose, because he was getting no support from region."¹⁶

When the NPS held multiple public hearings on the draft general management plan in 1996, ugly confrontations between the national historic site's supporters and skeptics reared yet again. At a hearing in Los Angeles, one man became so belligerent during his remarks that he had to be led out of the hall by security guards. At a hearing in Bishop, resentments built to a level that caused a split within the Manzanar Advisory Commission. Commission member Keith Bright, now a former county supervisor, proposed to remove the state landmark plaque. "A whole lot of us resent that plaque," he said. "Let's take a positive step to bring together the community and remove the plaque and destroy it." Of course, this was a direct challenge to the commission's chair, Sue Embrey, and it dismayed a number of Manzanar advocates, especially those who had lived behind barbed wire during the war. Wilbur Sato, a member of the Manzanar Committee, pleaded for understanding. "By calling it a concentration camp, they did not mean to demean the government; they did not mean to demean the people of this valley," he said. Following the meeting, 109 people

¹³ Olson and Rothfuss interview.

¹⁴ According to Bernadette Johnson, Manzanar's current superintendent: "When I took over as superintendent, each time I saw Bob Tanner, until he passed away, he would always ask me how things were going here. He would say he was happy that I was the superintendent and that visitation was increasing. He talked to me about grazing livestock in the area and taking down corrals (in the 1990s) in preparation for the site to be managed by NPS." Bernadette Johnson review comments, September 28, 2017.

¹⁵ In 1995, the Western Region was consolidated with the Pacific Northwest Region to become the Pacific West Region.

¹⁶ Hopkins interview; Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

signed a petition stating they did not want Manzanar “to be a monument for Japanese Relocation Camps.”¹⁷

Another consequence of the backlash against Manzanar was that it spread misinformation about the camp that could take years to straighten out. Lillian Baker frequently referred to the fence around the camp as “three strings of cattle guard,” which anyone could easily go through or over, but “nobody wanted to.” Such a claim undermined the NPS as it prepared to do a minimal amount of historical reconstruction to convey that Manzanar was a site of *confinement*. Research in the National Archives by NPS historian Gordon Chappell led to the finding that when the camp was set up, 5,000 linear feet of old fencing wire was removed and 18,871 lineal feet of five-strand barbed wire was strung around the perimeter of the camp. Yet the myth that Japanese Americans confined there were free to come and go persisted.¹⁸ Even more distracting was the claim, apparently started by Baker, that there were not eight guard towers around Manzanar, as many people reported, but just one or two towers and those served as fire watchtowers. Some Owens Valley residents concurred with this view based on their study of period photos dug out of old family scrapbooks or their own fallible memories. At one public meeting, when the contention that there were just two towers surfaced yet again, one Japanese American participant responded, “Why don’t you ask me? I was there. There were eight guard towers.” Debate over the number and purpose of the towers would continue for many years even in the face of solid archeological and documentary evidence that there were eight guard towers.¹⁹

The backlash ultimately had an impact on interpretation at Manzanar National Historic Site. The NPS disavowed use of the term “concentration camp” for

¹⁷ Martha Nakagawa, “Opponents of Manzanar Vocal at Commission Meeting,” *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, July 27, 1996; Julian Lukins, “Hearings strive to find common ground,” *Inyo Register*, March 15, 1996; “To: Ross Hopkins” (petition), April 30, 1996, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ. Note that this copy of the petition shows 22 signatures but the GMP (p. 59) states that the petition collected a total of 109 signatures.

¹⁸ Lillian Baker to Stanley T. Albright, June 22, 1995, and Gordon Chappell to Baker, August 7, 1995, Administrative History 1978-1995 files, RCF, MANZ. The existing fencing on the south and east boundaries of the site in the 1990s was indeed made of three-strand barbed wire, but it was thought not to be original. Some of the posts were original and some had been replaced. See Project Historical Architect to Superintendent, April 20, 2000, File H30 MANZ Hist. Fence Reconstruction, Box 9, RCF, MANZ. .” Jeff Burton noted that the camp’s five-strand barbed-wire fence did indeed allow passage of incarcerated persons to the outside, but only for the purposes of fishing nearby and collecting landscaping materials for camp gardens. Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

¹⁹ Naomi Hirahara, “Debate for ‘Truth’ Ensues Over Manzanar Historic Site,” *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, March 13, 1996; William W. Hastings, “Dispute raised over exact number of towers at Manzanar,” *Inyo Register*, November 24, 2001. This round of public rancor over Manzanar was debated at length on the opinion page of the *Inyo Register*, the local Owens Valley newspaper. “This ongoing discussion in the letters to the editor had a strong influence on local opinion” and public meeting discourse, said Bill Michael. Bill Michael review comments, November 28, 2016. Jeff Burton recalled: “At a GMP meeting in Independence, I was told that I should be ashamed to be misleading people; just because we found guard tower foundations didn’t mean they [the full towers] were built. So at the next meeting in Bishop, I also pointed out all of the tower shadows on the 1944 aerial photograph. Ross [Hopkins] later told me that we were accused of doctoring the photographs.” Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

Manzanar. A letter drafted by NPS historian Chappell for Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt made this declaration:

I can assure you that neither the Department of the Interior nor the National Park Service have now or ever had any intention of terming Manzanar a “concentration camp.” That term carries connotations of gas chambers for the extermination of people and ovens for burning bodies and brutal Nazi SS guards, and the term clearly does not apply to the relocation camps in which Americans of Japanese ancestry were interned along with Japanese enemy aliens during World War II.²⁰

The NPS later sought to position itself above the fray when it devoted a visitor center exhibit to the ongoing battle over terminology to describe the camps. It treated the state landmark plaque as a historical artifact. With its 1999 publication *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, the National Park Service adopted “confinement site” as its preferred term for the camps, believing it to be the most semantically correct option. Jeff Burton, future cultural resources manager at Manzanar, was lead author of *Confinement and Ethnicity*, which helped fulfill the national study requirement of Title II of the 1992 legislation that authorized Manzanar National Historic Site. As people continued to have differing opinions on the issue of terminology, the NPS did all it could to maintain a position of neutrality.²¹

The General Management Plan

In the final markup of the Manzanar bill in the Senate, a provision was added requiring timely completion of a general management plan: “Within 3 years after the date funds are made available for this subsection, the Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Commission, prepare a general management plan for the site.”²² Although Congress did not include funding for the new unit in the legislation, this provision was the next best thing. It kept development of Manzanar National Historic Site moving forward. The transition from the feasibility/alternatives study to site planning was almost seamless.

Rothfuss sought funding for a GMP in June 1992.²³ Not long thereafter, Dan Olson was informed that he would lead the GMP team, since he already knew the Site from his prior authorship of the alternatives study. For Olson, it was the only time in

²⁰ Bruce Babbitt to William W. Hastings, June 13, 1995, File A16, RCF, MANZ.

²¹ Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 18. See also Regional Historian to Field Director, August 11, 1995, File Manzanar GMP, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Minutes of the Meeting of the Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission to the Secretary of the Interior, April 26, 1996, File Manzanar Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 60, and Gann Matsuda to Bill Michael, April 24, 2000, File Eastern California Museum – Bill Michael, director, Series 4, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

²² *Congressional Record*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 1991, 137, no. 177 – pt. II: 18285.

²³ “General Management Plan for Manzanar National Historic Site” (Development/Study Package Proposal), June 30, 1992, File L58, RCF, MANZ.

his career that he got to follow up an alternatives study with a GMP for the same area. He assembled a GMP team that included Hopkins, Rothfuss, and seven others besides himself. He also enlisted several consultants, including Bill Michael and Sue Embrey. Most significantly, Olson added an advisory group to the GMP team made up of members of the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA). The advisory group was called the ASLA Manzanar Committee. The group comprised eight Japanese American landscape architects from all over the country, including Ronald Izumita and Dennis Otsuji, both of whom would also serve on the Manzanar Advisory Commission. The architects came together in 1992 to offer conceptual advice to the NPS. All eight members of the ASLA Manzanar Committee were Nisei who had been confined at Manzanar or one of the other camps.²⁴

Members of the GMP team met with the ASLA Manzanar Committee after the Manzanar Pilgrimage on April 24, 1993. Over the next few days, the large group toured the Site and held multiple brainstorming sessions. The Japanese American landscape architects contributed enormous depth of experience and feeling. One of them, Hideo Sasaki, assumed leadership of the group. A professor of landscape architecture at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design, he was a native of California who had passed the early years of World War II incarcerated with his family at the Poston War Relocation Center in Arizona. Sasaki was well known for his design of cooperate parks, college campuses, and urban public spaces. He was a juror for the Vietnam War Memorial competition in 1981. He had a strong sense of what was feasible for Manzanar in light of NPS budget constraints, and he effectively directed the group's brainstorming along productive channels.²⁵

One important concept that developed from these discussions was that there must be a small amount of historical reconstruction. A perimeter fence and one or two guard towers were key elements of the historic scene that must be reconstructed to convey a sense of confinement, the architects stressed. A representative camp block with barracks, mess hall, laundry, and latrine was probably needed as well to show what living conditions had been like. Olson incorporated these ideas into his early drafts of the GMP and the concept took hold. NPS policy generally discouraged historical reconstructions, and NPS Associate Director Jerry Rogers explicitly stated there would be no reconstructions when he testified in support of the Manzanar bill.

²⁴ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 61; Regional Director to Associate Director, February 4, 1993, File Manzanar GMP Meetings, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Sue Embrey to Jeff Matsui, December 4, 1992, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Dennis Y. Otsuji to Lewis Albert, June 2, 1992, File A16, RCF, MANZ; Olson and Rothfuss interview. According to Rothfuss, the eight landscape architects were brought together with the help of Deputy Director John Reynolds, who knew them through the ASLA.

²⁵ Ted Geltner, "Manzanar Pilgrimage: Site's history and future converge," *Inyo Register*, April 25, 1993; Sue Embrey to Dan Olson, May 10, 1993, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Olson and Rothfuss interview; Anne Raver, "Hideo Sasaki, 80, Influential Landscape Architect, Dies," *New York Times*, September 25, 2000 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/25/arts/hideo-sasaki-80-influential-landscape-architect-dies.html> <February 7, 2017>.

But the ASLA Manzanar Committee convinced the NPS planning team that it was necessary.²⁶

Other influences on the GMP came from archeological investigations, historical research, tribal consultations, and an ethnographic assessment, all of which the NPS conducted concurrently with the GMP effort. The archeology contributed to a growing appreciation for the number of Japanese gardens sprinkled around the Site. Most lay buried in sand and needed to be excavated. The Japanese gardens were an intriguing, appealing cultural resource. The archeology also highlighted the existence of certain camp features that lay outside the 500-acre unit envisioned by the legislation, as well the presence of rich prehistoric archeological resources in that same peripheral area. The archeology provided a strong impetus for the GMP team to recommend enlargement of the unit to around 800 acres.²⁷ Historical research, meanwhile, disclosed that WRA records in the National Archives were replete with camp construction data that would assist with historical reconstructions. It also showed that many historical artifacts relating to the camp experience were in the Eastern California Museum's collection, which pointed the GMP team toward a preliminary definition of the new unit's scope of collections. The NPS conducted formal government-to-government consultation with area tribes, interviewed tribal members, and prepared an ethnographic assessment. From these efforts the GMP team saw how the tribes' stories would be embraced within the Manzanar story. Neither the interviews nor a literature search indicated there were sacred sites to be considered.²⁸

The GMP took the form of a proposed plan and two lesser alternatives. The proposed plan (or preferred alternative) basically paralleled Alternative 3 in the alternatives study with a few significant augmentations to that earlier scheme. Manzanar National Historic Site would be managed as a cultural landscape relating to

²⁶ Don Kodak to Dan Olson, August 11, 1993, File Manzanar GMP Meetings, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Ted Geltner, "Planners hope to remain true to history," *Inyo Register*, April 30, 1993. Other concepts contributed by the ASLA landscape architects included: 1) need to stabilize site from further deterioration, 2) create a definable perimeter and enhance visitor entrance to be faithful to the history of the site, 3) adapt auditorium for use as visitor center, 4) identify and interpret camp features such as the hospital, gardens, and elementary school, 5) connect features by a system of paths, and by a shuttle bus for elderly and disabled, 6) highlight the presence of American Indians and European American settlers with wayside exhibits.

²⁷ From archeologist Jeff Burton: "I made the initial recommendation in *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site* [published in 1996] and in an earlier presentation to the Manzanar Advisory Commission at its first meeting [in April 1995]. Olson was initially against the enlargement saying there was no way it [such a sizable increase in acreage] could get through Congress. Ross Hopkins and the Manzanar Advisory Commission pushed for it, and Rose Matsui Ochi said she could get it done. Ross called me one day wanting a map to provide to Congress for the additional lands. He said he couldn't get anyone in the regional office to help him. We made the needed map." Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

²⁸ Project Archeologist to Dan Olson, September 10, 1993, File Manzanar GMP Meetings, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Lawrence F. Van Horn, "Draft Task Directive Native American Consultations, Ethnographic Assessment, and Ethnohistory Vicinity of Manzanar, Inyo County, California World War II Japanese-American War Relocation Center," July 1994, File D18, RCF, MANZ, p. 5; National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 12.

the World War II period. In terms of historic structures, the three existing buildings from the camp era – the two rock sentry posts and the auditorium – would be restored and preserved. The interior of the latter building would be adapted for use as a visitor center and administrative headquarters. A number of other remnant structures around the Site such as rock gardens, stone barbecues, walls, and steps would be preserved through regular maintenance. One or more barracks would be restored and reconstructed and possibly a latrine, mess hall, and laundry might be added as part of a “demonstration block” for interpretation. One guard tower would be reconstructed on the Site where it would be prominent to arriving visitors.²⁹

In terms of the cultural landscape, the NPS would rehabilitate the historic road grid to the extent that it could be recognizable as a visual element and portions of it made passable to vehicles. One or more rock gardens would be rehabilitated. Manzanar’s namesake apple orchards, dating from the early twentieth century, would be preserved and perpetuated through cuttings or seed propagation. Trees and shrubs that had grown up in other portions of the Site would be thinned or cleared to define the road grid and firebreaks of the camp era. The Bairs Creek drainage along the south edge of the Site would be managed as a natural area, providing opportunities for interpreting high desert natural resources phenomena and erosional processes.³⁰

Interpretation would focus primarily on the World War II period: the relocation program, the Manzanar camp experience, and the political, constitutional, and legal issues of relocation both during the war and after. American Indian habitation and use and early European American settlement and use would constitute secondary themes for interpretation. The Site’s interpretive center would be housed inside the auditorium building/visitor center and would include exhibits, a theater for showing an orientation film, staffed information desk, and bookstore. Visitors would be encouraged to begin their visit in the visitor center and then proceed to explore the Site using an interpretive brochure with camp map. Features around the Site would be interpreted through wayside exhibits and would be accessible by trails and one-way roads. Blocks 8 and 14, located immediately west of the visitor center, would be designated as one demonstration block and developed with appropriate reconstructions and signage.³¹

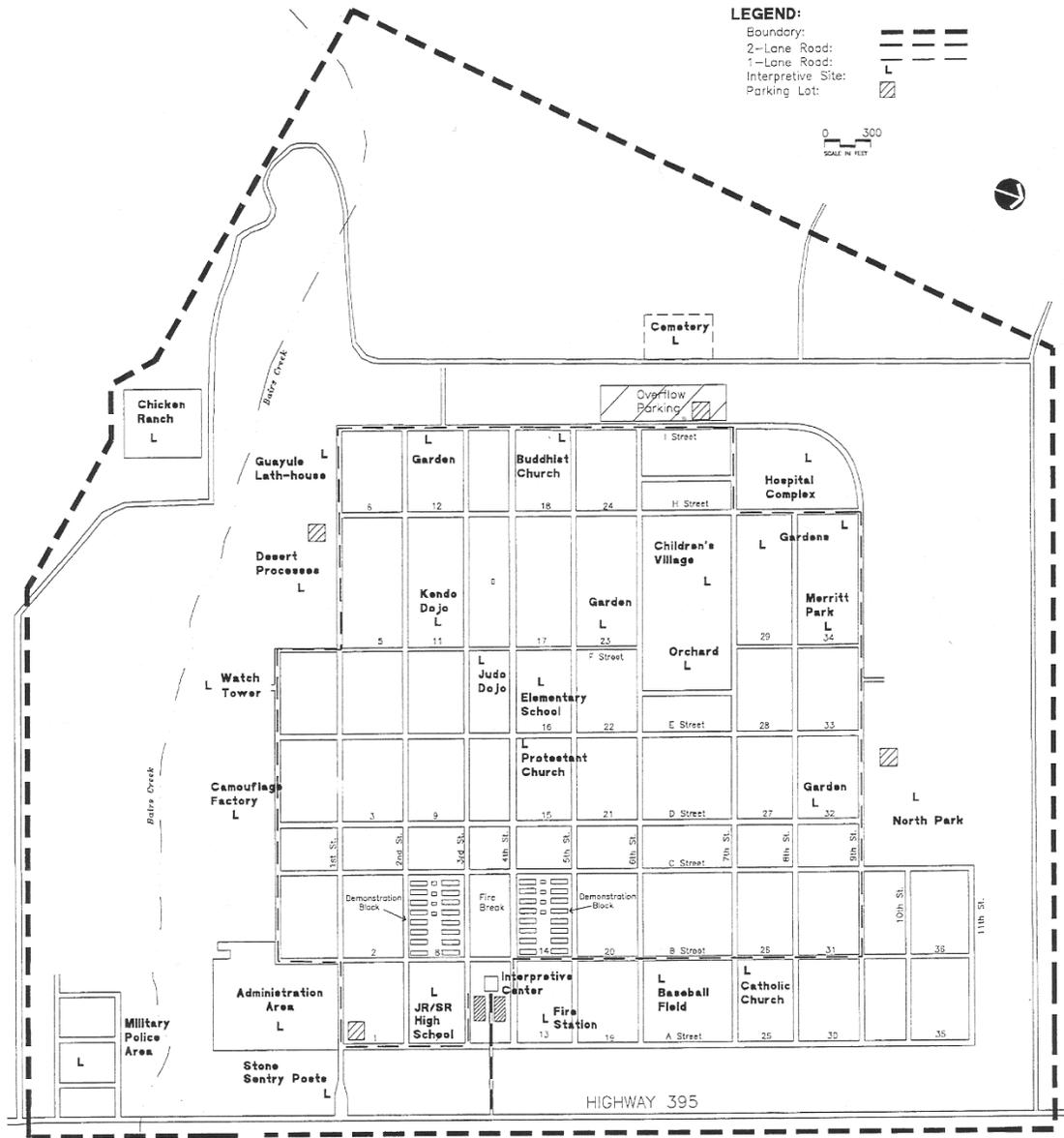
Visitor services would include guided walks by NPS interpreters and a shuttle system for taking people around the Site by vehicle. The primary visitor use would be historic appreciation. There would be no recreational picnicking or overnight camping facilities provided, and the Site would be open during daylight hours only. The NPS

²⁹ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 10-11. Construction and placement of the guard tower is described in the GMP as: “A single watchtower would be reconstructed based on original construction drawings (or other data available), and placed at the historic location for such a structure at the midpoint of the camp’s south boundary, or at another historic watchtower site on the camp perimeter easily seen by visitors.”

³⁰ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 11.

³¹ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 13-15.

MANZANAR NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN



Map 4. Manzanar National Historic Site as envisioned in the 1996 general management plan, with unit boundary. Note that the plan called for two demonstration blocks, 8 and 14, but the NPS would focus its attention on reconstruction of just one, Block 14.
 Source: National Park Service, General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site, California, 1996.

would cooperate each year with organizers of the Manzanar Pilgrimage, and it would explore the potential for other event days relating to the Site's secondary interpretive themes.³²

The land base for the Site would be increased from the approximate 500 acres contemplated by the authorizing legislation to more than 800 acres, so as to include the military police area, the chicken ranch, farm fields, and a protective zone around Bairs Creek, which contained not only riparian habitat but also a number of archeological sites, including the camp dump. The additional land area would require another act of Congress.³³

Besides the historical reconstructions and wayside exhibits, physical development of the Site would include a paved parking area in front of the visitor center and a paved two-lane entrance road from Highway 395 to the visitor center parking area. Additionally, there would be a graded parking area at the cemetery and two more at separate locations along the one-way road around the Site. Development of utilities would be minimal: water tanks would be installed with sufficient storage capacity to provide for domestic water use and emergency firefighting needs, and sewage treatment requirements would be met by septic tanks and leach fields.³⁴

The GMP team conferred with the Manzanar Advisory Commission as soon as the latter was activated by the secretary of the interior. The commission reviewed a draft of the GMP at its first meeting, in April 1995, and chose to support the proposed plan. At its second meeting, in July, it passed a resolution in support of the effort to acquire a larger land base.³⁵

The NPS issued a draft GMP with accompanying environmental impact statement (EIS) at the beginning of 1996, initiating a formal sixty-day comment period. The NPS held four public hearings in March: in Bishop, Independence, Gardena, and Los Angeles. The meetings drew a total of 178 persons, and the NPS received a total of 194 written communications on the GMP/EIS. The comments were highly polarized, with most either supporting the proposed plan or calling for abolishment of the national historic site. Olson and his team reviewed all this input and made some adjustments to the plan. They chose to keep the provision for the reconstruction of one guard tower, over the objections of a number of local residents.

³² National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 16-18.

³³ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 20-21; Resolution by the Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission, July 22, 1995, File A16 Manzanar Advisory Commission, ACF, MANZ.

³⁴ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 16-19.

³⁵ Ross R. Hopkins to Gann Matsuda, February 2, 1995, and Hopkins, "Thoughts on Initial Commission Meeting," February 8, 1995, and Resolution by the Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission, July 22, 1995, File A16 Manzanar Advisory Commission, ACF, MANZ; Minutes of the Meeting of the Manzanar National Advisory Commission to the Secretary of the Interior, April 26, 1996, File Manzanar Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

The finalized document, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, was printed in August 1996.³⁶

Archeology and Ethnography

Six months after Congress authorized Manzanar National Historic Site, in September 1992, regional archeologist Roger Kelly submitted a development/study package proposal for an archeological survey of Manzanar National Historic Site. In describing the project, Kelly was clear that the survey would focus on the physical traces of the war-era camp, although traces of prehistoric habitation would likely be found as well. If a World War II-era site seemed like a strange subject for archeological study, Kelly explained why it made sense. Remnants of the former camp lay scattered and partially hidden all over the 500-acre area. The crumbling infrastructure had been impacted over the years by natural erosion, installation of utility poles, cattle grazing, vehicular movement, and relic hunting. “Detailed inventory of historic extant features using archeological techniques is needed,” Kelly wrote, “to identify, assess condition, describe, and recommend preservation actions.”³⁷ George Teague, chief of the Division of Archeology at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC) in Tucson, Arizona, agreed with him. After visiting the Site with Ross Hopkins, Teague, whose specialty was historic rather than prehistoric archeology, wrote to the NPS chief archeologist in support of the survey proposal. “We at WACC... have no problem with treating any of the ruined or abandoned features at the site as archeological in nature, regardless of age or cultural affiliation,” he offered.³⁸ While many NPS archeologists were trained in prehistoric archeology, they often worked in historical archeology when they were called upon to conduct archeological investigations at Civil War battlefields, frontier military posts, and a variety of other historic sites. The World War II vintage of Manzanar merely brought the time horizon that much nearer to the present.

The funding request was approved and the work was handed to WACC. WACC was one of three NPS archeological centers in the nation. Its Division of Archeology was wholly responsible for archeological programs in twenty national parks and monuments in the Southwest, and it provided assistance to twenty-six others. WACC staff archeologist Jeffery F. Burton asked to be put in charge of the survey at Manzanar. Like most of his colleagues at WACC, he specialized in Desert

³⁶ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 57-60. Bill Michael recalled the guard tower issue this way: “When the General Management Plan came out and included a recommendation for reconstruction of a guard tower, there were discussions that this was in opposition to the many statements and promises to the local community that the site would not include guard towers. It was noted at the time that public input at the numerous public meetings leading up to the GMP made it clear that the single most important symbol of the camp to former internees was the guard tower.” Bill Michael review comments, November 28, 2016.

³⁷ Roger Kelly, “Assessment/Inventory of Hist. Archeo. Resources” (Development/Study Package Proposal), September 19, 1992, File D18, RCF, MANZ.

³⁸ Archeologist, Division of Archeology to Chief, Division of Archeology, November 5, 1992, File Archeology Reports and Surveys, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

Southwest prehistoric archeology but he was no stranger to historical archeology. Among his most recent NPS projects, Burton had just excavated and mapped two Spanish mission church sites. When he read about Manzanar becoming an NPS unit in 1992, he imagined that an archeological investigation there would be compelling, and he asked his boss George Teague to consider him for any assignment there because he had lived in Bishop, knew Owens Valley archeology, and loved the area. Burton had no idea how invested in the national historic site he would become.³⁹

A remarkable number of people involved in Manzanar National Historic Site's establishment, development, and management to the present have had some personal connection to the Japanese American experience during the World War II era. Burton was no exception; his connection was through his father, James H. Burton, a World War II veteran. Jeff, who would later lead excavations of gardens constructed by Japanese Americans at Manzanar during the war, had a longtime appreciation for Japanese gardens that originated with his father. "My dad was always building ornamental gardens and always took the family to see the Japanese flower gardens in Phoenix every year," Burton recalled. "Now I wonder if that had anything to do with him going to predominately Japanese American schools in downtown L.A. in the early 1940s." Jeff would eventually learn that classmates of his father were incarcerated at Manzanar, including individuals his father had worked closely with in student government. While working at the BLM's Bishop Field Office in the early 1980s, Jeff came across the Manzanar cemetery monument one day. "At the time, I thought it was a Japanese POW camp, as did most Owens Valley residents. That was my first introduction to Manzanar, a stark white obelisk seemingly forgotten in the desert," he said. "Yes, I was intrigued."⁴⁰

So rich were the archeological resources at Manzanar that Burton's survey turned into four separate projects over the next three years, all led by Burton himself, with many smaller projects following after those. The first project was conducted in April 1993 and covered 670 acres. As the project's field director, Burton supervised a crew of four project archeologists and two hardworking volunteers, Richard and Florence Lord. (The field crew was still on site in late April, so they attended the 1993 Manzanar Pilgrimage.) The area was intensively surveyed over a span of three weeks; thirty-seven separate archeological sites and hundreds of features were recorded. The second project took place over a three-week period in October and November 1993. Two more archeologists joined the previous crew and an additional thirty-six archeological sites were recorded in an area outside of and adjacent to the national historic site's proposed boundaries. Within the proposed boundaries, plane table and alidade mapping was performed for five camp features. Controlled surface collections were made in five residential blocks from the camp era and in two trash dumps from the town era (circa 1910-1930). Test pits were dug at four American

³⁹ Gloria J. Fenner, Lynn Mitchell, James Roberts, Johanna M. Alexander, A. Trinkle Jones, Susan J. Wells, Adrienne G. Rankin, and Jeffery F. Burton, "Hidden Heritage Resources of the Southwest: The Western Archeological and Conservation Center," *Archaeology in Tucson* 7, no. 2 (April 1993): 2-3; Jeffrey F. Burton, interviewed by Theodore Catton, November 6, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁴⁰ Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

Indian sites, four town-era sites, and three camp-era sites. Burton returned with the Lords in March 1994 to do some monitoring and additional site recording. And he returned again for two weeks in the spring of 1995, this time with two project archeologists and the same two volunteers, to conduct more plane table and alidade mapping of certain camp features.⁴¹

The survey led to a number of important findings. Even though the World War II camp occupied the same ground as the former town of Manzanar, the two consecutive developments had been laid out with distinct grids. The survey managed to distinguish between camp-era and town-era archeological resources. So, with American Indian sites included as well, there were three distinct archeological records present at Manzanar National Historic Site.⁴² Several features significant to the camp era were located outside the proposed boundaries, including the military police compound, chicken farm, hog farm, and reservoir, which presented a strong justification for seeking an enlargement of the boundaries. The presence of American Indian sites in the area added further justification for more acreage. The archeological resources had potential to yield valuable data about both prehistory and history. In terms of the World War II history, the archeological record could be used to address questions about the infrastructure of the camp that historical and photographic records could not definitively answer. For example, footings and foundations affirmed that there were eight guard towers. Close analysis of the archeological record could also shed light on such topics as daily life in camp and the experience of confinement.⁴³

Manzanar's archeological resources were prone to loss or destruction by theft, erosion, and other threats. Gullying through the hospital area, much of it the result of the LADWP's water-spreading activity, threatened to destroy what was left of the hospital complex. Burton's fourth project in 1995 focused on mapping and recording features in that specific area before they were lost. As this phase of his fieldwork coincided with the Manzanar Pilgrimage, he attended the event and afterwards led two tours, one for the Manzanar Advisory Commission and another for the general public.⁴⁴

Burton was the primary author of the three-volume report *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California*, published in 1996. This document provided a very detailed account of the extensive archeological work Burton led at Manzanar from 1993 to 1995, as outlined above. The report included two chapters Burton wrote with Jane C. Wehrey and Mary M.

⁴¹ Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, iv.

⁴² Burton said that he highlighted this capability to identify pre-camp resources at public presentations during the GMP process, which garnered considerable local support, he recalled. Early on, Superintendent Hopkins and the Manzanar Advisory Commission recognized the importance of this, he added. Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁴³ Archeologist, Division of Archeology, to Chief, Division of Archeology, May 20, 1993, File L60, RCF, MANZ; Archeologist, Division of Archeology, to Chief, Division of Archeology, May 22, 1995, File H2215, RCF, MANZ; Jeff Burton and Takeshi Inomata, "Life in Manzanar where there is a spring breeze: World War II Inscriptions at Manzanar National Historic Site," (pamphlet) 1995, 1; Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*, Part 1, 177-78.

⁴⁴ Archeologist, Division of Archeology, to Chief, Division of Archeology, May 22, 1995, File H2215, RCF, MANZ.

Farrell on history and prehistory, respectively, based on documents research and literature review.

While the archeological survey was in progress, the NPS conducted tribal consultations and an ethnographic assessment as part of the GMP effort. Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist with the Denver Service Center was assigned to do the study. Van Horn spent approximately three weeks in the Owens Valley during June and July of 1994. He interviewed fifty-seven Native Americans, some of whom he met with in group meetings, others in groups of two or three, and most in one-on-one interviews conducted in the interviewee's home or office. Their names are listed in Van Horn's final report, *Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment: The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley*, published in November 1995.⁴⁵

With this project, Van Horn aimed to accomplish several things at once. In conducting the study, he initiated a formal relationship between the new unit of the National Park System and four federally recognized tribes in the Owens Valley with cultural affiliation with Manzanar. Tribal leaders were receptive to the study and interested in furthering the relationship through Superintendent Hopkins. Van Horn's study also sought ethnographic information about the tribes' association with the Site. Van Horn reported that "Manzanar apparently was a traditional-use area in the sense that permanent camps or villages were located in the vicinity." Van Horn asked interviewees about possible sacred sites at Manzanar. While no site-specific information was forthcoming, he did learn from another source that a body of sacred, religious knowledge survived among the indigenous population in the valley, which the tribes did not want to share with non-Indians. The study also gathered information pertinent to the Site's forthcoming interpretation program. In his interviews, Van Horn probed whether there was an analogy from an American Indian perspective between the tribes' experience of being forcibly removed in the mid nineteenth century and the Japanese American evacuation and relocation in World War II. Were there parallels in civil rights or human rights violations? And more generally, he sought to learn how the Paiute and Shoshone wanted their story of long habitation and use in the area told to the visiting public. Finally, the interviews were an opportunity to develop information about American Indian connections to the World War II camp. One woman Van Horn interviewed had worked at the camp, while another woman he interviewed had been married to a military policeman stationed at Manzanar. Several of the interviewees had worked on construction of the barracks or dismantling of the facilities after the war. Van Horn also collected stories of two young Paiute boys from

⁴⁵ Lawrence F. Van Horn, "The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California: Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment in Relation to Manzanar National Historic Site, California" (Draft), September 1995, File H2215, RCF, MANZ; Lawrence F. Van Horn, *Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment: The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California, Manzanar National Historic Site, California* (Denver: National Park Service, 1995), 9-11.

Lone Pine who separately had snuck into the camp to play with Japanese Americans of their own age.⁴⁶

Historical Research, Oral History, and Initial Auditorium Restoration

Besides the archeology and ethnography reports, a historic resource study was completed for Manzanar National Historic Site at this time, too. As with the ethnographic assessment, the historic resource study was funded as a component of the GMP effort. The Western Regional Office worked with the Denver Service Center to get it done. Harlan D. Unrau was the historian at the Denver Service Center assigned to prepare the study. Unrau completed his voluminous report, *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: Historical Study of the Manzanar Relocation Center*, in 1996, the same year that Burton completed *Three Farewells to Manzanar*. (In fact, there was some duplication of effort between the two studies; when Unrau reviewed Burton's report he was chagrined to find that it contained a great deal of historical narrative.) Unrau's tome went much deeper into the archival sources than Burton's report did, appropriately enough, providing a detailed construction history of the Manzanar War Relocation Center as well as an authoritative administrative history of how the WRA had run the camp. Unrau's work became a valuable reference for cultural resources management and interpretation, and Unrau's research files were eventually accessioned into the Site's library.

Manzanar's two-volume historic resource study was distributed to numerous university libraries. With its large, report-sized dimensions, the two thick volumes certainly did not inspire hope of a light read; to the contrary, the study had a singularly heavy look befitting this "site of shame." It became a frequently cited reference work in the growing academic literature on the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Besides this key historical study, other studies were made in this period as well. The Albright Training Center fielded a team of mostly midcareer rangers and specialists to develop a draft interpretive prospectus for Manzanar National Historic Site as part of their training. The team toured the Site with Ross Hopkins, Jeff Burton, and Bill Michael; consulted tribal leaders in Lone Pine; and met with Japanese Americans in Los Angeles. The prospectus described five interpretive themes. It suggested a one-way driving tour in a clockwise direction, and it proposed twenty-five interpretive sites and identified themes/subthemes for each. It concurred with the emerging GMP that the Site should be enlarged to include the military police compound, chicken farm, and cemetery. It suggested that the intended shuttle system

⁴⁶ Ann King Smith to Frank Hays, email, December 20, 2002, attaching Smith, "Tribal Consultations Manzanar National Historic Site, November 2002," electronic files, Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ); Lawrence F. Van Horn, "Native American Consultations, Ethnographic Assessment, and Ethnohistory, Vicinity of Manzanar, Inyo County, California, World War II Japanese-American War Relocation Center, Manzanar National Historic Site, Death Valley National Monument, California and Nevada" (draft task directive), July 1994, File D18, RCF, MANZ; Van Horn, "The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley" (Draft); Van Horn, *Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment*, 27-29.

did not appear “necessary or cost-efficient at this time,” and it posed an audiotape tour as a sort of alternative, with background information presented in English and Japanese. The prospectus noted that “numerous opportunities appear to exist for cooperation on museum collections, curation, and historical research,” and it listed the Eastern California Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Japanese American Historical Society, the Japanese American National Museum (newly opened in L.A.’s Little Tokyo in 1992), and California State University, Fullerton.⁴⁷

The NPS was in fact already forming significant ties with the Eastern California Museum and California State University, Fullerton around the latter’s oral history program. Professor Art Hansen, director of the program, had previously guided his graduate students in compiling a collection of oral histories with Owens Valley residents. The Eastern California Museum had previously conducted a number of oral histories as well. Now the NPS entered into an agreement with the museum and the university to transcribe their existing oral histories and to collect more oral histories with people residing outside of the Owens Valley who were connected with Manzanar during the war years. Some interviewees had been incarcerated there; others had worked for the WRA, served in the military police, or were in some other way connected. Personnel from Harpers Ferry Center, the NPS’s interpretive design headquarters in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, captured several oral history interviews at Manzanar Pilgrimages in the mid-1990s. Manzanar National Historic Site began building its own oral history collection in 1999, with ranger Kari Coughlin conducting interviews.⁴⁸

The regional office sent NPS historic architects to Manzanar to record historic structures for the List of Classified Structures, the agency’s system-wide inventory and database. The team recorded a total of thirty structures which were duly entered in the database. The listing would assist with protection and maintenance of those structures as soon as the Site became fully staffed.⁴⁹ And in a separate effort, contractors for the Historic American Buildings Survey recorded several features of the Site for the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic Architectural and Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) according to the rigorous HABS/HAER guidelines, with the finished result deposited in the National Archives.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Albright Training Center Planning Team to Superintendent, Death Valley National Monument, March 30, 1994, enclosing Team Manzanar, Albright Training Center, “Manzanar National Historic Site, Draft Interpretive Prospectus,” File K1817, RCF, MANZ.

⁴⁸ Bill Michael to Lisa Mighetto, August 8, 1994, and Mighetto to Keith Larson, August 23, 1994, and Larson to Stuart Ross, October 5, 1994, copies provided by Jane Wehrey, Independence; Ross Hopkins to Procurement Office (requisition), September 13, 1995, File H2215 California State Fullerton Oral History Project, RCF, MANZ; Kari Coughlin to Keith Bright, September 24, 1998, with enclosure, “Report on the Oral History Project as Outlined in the Advisory Commission Meeting,” File A16 Manzanar Advisory Commission, ACF, MANZ.

⁴⁹ Robbyn Jackson to Ross Hopkins (fax with attachment), December 5, 1997, File H30, RCF, MANZ.

⁵⁰ Historic American Buildings Survey, Manzanar War Relocation Center (Manzanar National Historic Site), HABS No. CA-2399, no date, superintendent’s office documents library, MANZ; Historic American Buildings Survey, *American Place: The Historic American Buildings Survey at Seventy-five Years* (Washington: Historic American Buildings Survey, 2008), 70-72. The HABS/HAER features

During 1996 and 1997, the Pacific West Regional Office undertook preliminary steps toward stabilization and rehabilitation of the historic auditorium building with a view to its eventual adaptive reuse for a visitor center and administrative offices. The first project was to remove tempered asbestos panels. The building contained a staggering 4,059 square feet of one-quarter-inch-thick asbestos panels, each one measuring two feet by four feet, or cut to size for fitting in smaller places). The panels were nailed or screwed to floors, walls, ceilings, and chimney flues. A team composed of the regional historic architect, historian, and curator inspected the building and determined that asbestos removal would not have an adverse effect on the historic property.⁵¹

The second project was to paint the exterior of the building, which did not go well. Contracted to a company based in Mammoth Lakes, the project fell hopelessly behind schedule over the winter of 1996-97. Apparently problems began to arise over the proper disposal of lead paint chips as the contractor prepared surfaces for repainting. The contractor stated in his defense that preparation for painting had revealed that the whole west side of the building needed new wood siding, and the NPS did not have extra funds to pay for an estimated \$7,000 of lumber required to complete the job. (The total contract amount was \$19,200.) When the NPS threatened to terminate the contract, the contractor informed reporters that another cause of delay was in fact political: his workers refused to go to the job site, believing it was wrong to rehabilitate the building for a national historic site. The *Inyo Register* quoted one worker as saying he would be “disinherited” if he stayed on this job. The article stated further that the contractor himself had received threats to his family from people in the valley who were passionately opposed to what the NPS was doing. Whether or not those statements were accurate, the NPS made a determination that it was “in the Government’s best interest to terminate the contract.” Unfortunately, the NPS was not only left with an incomplete job and a messy job site, but the building was compromised as well. The contractor had removed bad siding, which left areas of diagonal wall sheathing exposed to the weather.⁵²

After terminating the contract, the NPS developed a new job request specifically for lead paint abatement. In the summer of 1997, it contracted with Cal Inc. of Vacaville, California to perform the cleanup.⁵³

included the auditorium, the two sentry posts, the cemetery, the reservoir, and a hypothetical guard tower (based on photos and a few remnant pieces housed at the Eastern California Museum).

⁵¹ Historical Architect to Compliance Coordinator, May 22, 1996, File D5217 Auditorium Asbestos Removal, RCF, MANZ.

⁵² Gary C. Harris to Bruce Capitain, September 30, 1996, and Harris to Capitain, February 10, 1997, and Robbyn Jackson to Jamie Sherrill, February 12, 1997, File D5217 Auditorium Paint/Repair, RCF, MANZ; Julian Lukins, “Auditorium in center of Manzanar park controversy,” *Inyo Register*, August 30, 1997.

⁵³ Cal Inc., “Project Decontamination Plan, Lead Abatement Project, Manzanar Auditorium, Manzanar National Park, CA,” July 1, 1997, File D5217, RCF, MANZ.

Land Acquisition

It took more than four and a half years from the act of Congress establishing Manzanar National Historic Site for the NPS, the LADWP, and the BLM to conclude a three-way land exchange that transferred land title to the NPS. The land exchange required complicated negotiations, and it finally took another act of Congress for the deal to be realized. The public perception, then and later, was that the land deal took longer than it should have. The lengthy process seemed to put the Site's resources at risk and postpone the promise of a fully developed national historic site with visitor center and visitor services. In fact, the NPS went ahead with site planning, archeological surveys, historical research, and preparation of an interpretation program even before it owned the land, so it is not clear that the lengthy negotiations over the land exchange had much negative effect. The timetable of the Site's development, which many people found disappointingly slow, was probably determined as much by NPS budget priorities as it was by the unresolved land issue. The following brief account of the land acquisition process highlights reasons for why it took nearly five years and what the delay in transfer of title meant for resource protection and visitor use.

Talks between the NPS and the LADWP about a land exchange got off to a sputtering start. Regional Director Stanley Albright addressed a letter to Ted McGillis, chief of the LADWP's Real Estate Division in the LADWP, on October 9, 1992. Albright noted in his letter that the legislation authorized the U.S. government to acquire the land by donation or exchange, and that the BLM would work with the LADWP to identify land in the public domain that the City of Los Angeles could accept in exchange for Manzanar National Historic Site. However, Albright added, the federal government was prohibited from moving forward with a land swap until the NPS had an understanding with the City of Los Angeles that the Manzanar site would come with an adequate water right. Albright's letter to the LADWP was routed internally to the assistant general manager's office and then to the northern district engineer in Bishop, Glenn Singley (successor to Duane Buchholz). Several months went by until the LADWP responded to the NPS's overture. Finally, Albright was notified that Singley was a member of the Manzanar Advisory Commission and he had the matter in hand. Apparently, Singley thought it was prudent to await progress on the GMP, imagining that the GMP would better define what would constitute a sufficient water right for Manzanar National Historic Site. So the land exchange talks were deferred. Waiting for the GMP to spell out future water usage may have been a weak excuse to delay talks. However, had the LADWP and the BLM started to examine land parcels in 1992 or 1993 it would likely have been premature anyway because the GMP team came to recommend that the land exchange involve about 800 acres rather than 500 acres.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Stanley Albright to Ted McGillis, October 9, 1992, and Dennis C. Williams to Lawrence L. Green (memorandum), December 7, 1992, and Carroll Ritchie to Glenn Singley (memorandum), May 12, 1993, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop.

Albright reached out to the LADWP for the second time on September 3, 1993, almost one year after his first effort. This time he addressed his letter to Carroll Ritchie of the Real Estate Division, since Ritchie had represented the LADWP at a scoping meeting for the GMP in April 1993 (sitting in for Singley). By this time, the LADWP had begun to consider what lands it would like to acquire in exchange for Manzanar, and it was looking at some parcels on the national forests. Albright advised Ritchie that the Forest Service did not have the flexibility that the BLM had for making a land exchange so the LADWP should focus its search on BLM lands. In the meantime, Albright requested that the LADWP issue a “right of entry” to the NPS for a period of one or two years until the land exchange was completed. Glenn Singley replied to Albright’s request nearly two months later, on October 29, 1993, acknowledging the NPS preference to work with the BLM on the land exchange and indicating that the LADWP was investigating options to grant a right of entry in the interim.⁵⁵

While the LADWP continued to investigate other land parcels, its dealings with the NPS focused on the desired interim agreement. Both the LADWP and the NPS took a hard line with the other. Eight months after his initial response to Albright, Singley wrote again to say that the city attorney had advised that a right of entry was not an appropriate instrument in this case. Instead, the LADWP offered the NPS a five-year lease. The rental on the lease would be equal to the amount that the LADWP paid to Inyo County in taxes, about \$25,000 per year, except that the LADWP would not charge the NPS actual rent but would instead apply the charge to the land exchange (it would expect to receive an additional increment of land equal in value to the uncharged rent). The NPS would not agree to those terms, as there was no such authorization in the law. The NPS and the LADWP finally agreed to a memorandum of understanding (MOU) instead of either a right of entry or a lease. After going through several drafts, the MOU was finally signed on April 26, 1995.⁵⁶

The MOU was only an interim measure but it did mark an important step for site protection. The Manzanar Committee brought pressure on the NPS and the LADWP to enter an arrangement of some kind. The Manzanar Committee claimed that the LADWP was not taking proper care of Manzanar; for example, in 1993 the agency allowed a Hollywood film company to use it for a location for the movie *Maverick*, and during the shoot the company removed trees and shrubs.⁵⁷ Preliminary drafts of the MOU named the Manzanar Committee as a party in the agreement; in

⁵⁵ Stanley Albright to Carroll Ritchie, September 3, 1993, and Glenn Singley to Albright, July 21, 1994, File L14, RCF, MANZ; Singley to Albright, October 29, 1993, File Land Exchange, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁵⁶ Ross Hopkins to Sondra Humphries et al., March 17, 1995, File L1425 Acquisition of Land Holdings, ACF, MANZ; Memorandum of Understanding among the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, April 26, 1995, File L14, RCF, MANZ.

⁵⁷ Daniel W. Waters to Sue Kunitomi Embrey, September 22, 1993, LADWP files provided for review at the LADWP office in Bishop; Ross R. Hopkins to William R. McCarley, February 8, 1995, and Hopkins to Sondra Humphries, et al, February 17, 1995, and Hopkins to Humphries, March 10, 1995, and Hopkins to Humphries, March 17, 1995, File L1425 Acquisition of Land Holdings, ACF, MANZ. Also see Marla Matzer, “Hollywood: Coming Soon to a Town Near You,” *Spy* 9, no. 2 (1995): 37-44.

effect, the MOU was an elaboration of the Manzanar Committee's longstanding license agreement with the LADWP for taking care of the Site. In the final stages, Sue Embrey requested that the Manzanar Committee be dropped as a party to the MOU, and the BLM was added. A section in the MOU entitled "Land Exchange" described the process by which the LADWP, the BLM, and the NPS would move forward on a land deal. A section in the MOU entitled "Water Supply" specified that the LADWP would supply the NPS approximately ten million gallons of untreated water per year to serve the domestic and irrigation needs of the national historic site.⁵⁸

After the MOU was signed, negotiations over the land exchange finally got going in earnest. By then, a number of important parameters were established. First, the amount of land needed for Manzanar National Historic Site had changed from about 500 acres to some 814 acres. Second, it was agreed that the land selected for exchange would be located in Inyo County. That was an important concession to Inyo County, as it would ensure that the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site had no effect on the county's property tax revenue. Third, the land selected for exchange would be within the BLM's Bishop Resource Area and would be consistent with the agency's existing Resource Management Plan (RMP). The RMP identified BLM lands that were suitable for disposal for purposes of community expansion. The negotiations were helped along by the involvement of two key officials in the BLM, State Director Ed Hastey and Area Manager Genevieve Rasmussen. Death Valley National Park and WACC conducted the archeological survey of BLM lands to be exchanged.⁵⁹

One further difference of perspective between the LADWP and the BLM still had to be resolved. The BLM was prohibited from disposing of most lands under its administration in Inyo County under a statute dating from 1931. That law, passed during the Herbert Hoover administration, was aimed at restricting land development in the Owens Valley in order to protect the watershed, that is, to protect the Los Angeles water supply. All parties agreed that the Manzanar land exchange would require an act of Congress to get around this prohibition. Whereas the BLM saw the 1931 land withdrawal as "obsolete" and wanted it lifted so that it could dispose of lands under the RMP without further recourse to Congress, the LADWP thought differently. It saw the 1931 land withdrawal as serving an important purpose still; therefore, it wanted the lifting of the prohibition to be specific to the land exchange. Public meetings on the issue were held in the summer and fall of 1995. The BLM argued that its RMP had been vetted to the public already and the public supported giving the BLM the flexibility to dispose of those lands. The public supported the BLM's perspective in the matter and showed a growing impatience with the LADWP,

⁵⁸ Memorandum of Understanding among the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, April 26, 1995, File L14, RCF, MANZ. See also earlier drafts in same file and in File L1425 Acquisition and Land Holding, ACF, MANZ.

⁵⁹ Gracey interview; Michael interview; Jeff Burton review comments, August 8, 2018.

so the LADWP was forced to back down rather than obstruct the land exchange any longer.⁶⁰

With that final issue resolved, all parties joined in drafting a bill for Congress. Besides the NPS, the BLM, the LADWP, and the Manzanar Committee, Inyo County also had an important part in drawing up the bill, since it, too, was vitally interested in the land exchange. Robert Gracey, who served as a county supervisor through the mid-1990s, was instrumental in shepherding the land deal into a legislative proposal and taking it to Congress. Like his predecessor Keith Bright, Gracey had a good relationship with Congressman Jerry Lewis, a Republican representing California's 40th District, which included Inyo County. Lewis agreed to introduce the bill, and he got Congressman Robert Matsui, a Democrat representing California's 5th District (Sacramento), to cosponsor it with him. H.R. 3006 was introduced on March 5, 1996.⁶¹

Associate Director Denis P. Galvin testified on behalf of the NPS in support of the bill before the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands on May 9, 1996. Besides reminding the subcommittee of the purposes of Manzanar National Historic Site, he explained the complexities of the land exchange and the need for legislation to lift the 1931 withdrawal. Congressman Lewis testified on the bill as well.⁶²

H.R. 3006 was approved by the House Committee on Resources on July 26, 1996 and was passed by the House on July 31, 1996. U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer (D-California), introduced a companion bill in the Senate in September. However, before the Senate bill was brought to a vote, the House rolled the provisions of H.R. 3006 into H.R. 4236, the Omnibus Parks and Land Management Act of 1996, which the House passed on September 28, 1996. The Senate passed the bill on October 3, and President Bill Clinton signed it into law on November 12, 1996.⁶³

It remained for the NPS, the BLM, the LADWP, and Inyo County to conduct various types of environmental compliance on the several tracts of lands involved in the exchange. Most significantly, the BLM had to amend the RMP for the Bishop Resource Area to take account of the lifting of the 1931 withdrawal on some 5,000 acres of public lands, some of which were included in a wilderness study area. Area Manager Rasmussen expedited the amendment and public review process. Despite a

⁶⁰ Kenneth S. Miyoshi to Manzanar Committee, July 18, 1995, File A16, RCF, MANZ; James Wickser to Ed Hastey, September 26, 1995, and Hastey to Wickser, October 12, 1995, and Greg James to Hastey, October 25, 1995, and Wickser to Hastey, November 8, 1995, and Hastey to James, November 21, 1995, and Miyoshi to Sue Embrey, November 22, 1995, File L14, RCF, MANZ.

⁶¹ Julian Lukins, "County nears deal for large land-swap," *Inyo Register*, November 12, 1996; U.S. House, *To Provide for Disposal of Public Lands in Support of the Manzanar Historic Site in the State of California*, 104th Cong., 2d sess., 1996, H. Rept. 709, 2.

⁶² Statement by Denis P. Galvin, Associate Director for Planning and Development, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands, House Committee on Resources, Concerning H.R. 3006, "A Bill to Provide for Disposal of Public Lands in Support of the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for other purposes," May 9, 1996, File Administrative History 1978-1995, RCF, MANZ.

⁶³ Section 515, Manzanar National Historic Site, Public Law 104-333, Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 110 (1996): 4167-4170.

challenge to the proposed amendment by five environmental groups, the RMP amendment was secured so the land exchange could go forward. As a final step, Secretary of the Interior Babbitt had to personally intervene to end a prolonged back-and-forth between the NPS Pacific West Region and the Army Corps of Engineers about potential hazardous materials on the Site. Final transfers of title were completed in time for a long-anticipated celebration of NPS acquisition at the 28th Manzanar Pilgrimage on April 26, 1997.⁶⁴



“Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories.” Agricultural workers: a crew of twenty hoes corn in field number four. By June 1942, just months after the camp opened, 125 acres of land had been cleared and put into crops. *Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C759].*

⁶⁴ Bureau of Land Management, “Proposed Bishop Resource Management Plan Amendment and Environmental Assessment for the Manzanar National Historic Site Exchange,” November 1996, Inyo County Library; Ed Hastey to Kenneth S. Miyoshi, December 12, 1996, File Land Exchange, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Natural Resources Defense Council to Director, Bureau of Land Management, November 29, 1996, File L14, RCF, MANZ; Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016; Takeshi Nakayama, “Land Exchange Celebrated at 28th Manzanar Pilgrimage,” *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, April 28, 1997.



“Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories.” Hefting crates: Tsutomu Fuhunago unloads a produce truck. *Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Ansel Adams, photographer, [LC-A35-6-M-32].*

Chapter Six

Preparing to Exhibit a Site of Shame, 1997-2004

In 1997, Manzanar got a new champion when John J. Reynolds was appointed director for the Pacific West Region. Reynolds was a seasoned high-level NPS administrator with a background in planning and landscape architecture. Born in Yellowstone National Park and raised in a National Park Service family, he had literally spent a lifetime in and around the National Park System. By the time of his appointment to regional director, Reynolds had become a strong proponent of the idea that the National Park System must evolve to serve a more culturally diverse nation. Manzanar was a prime example of how the system had to change and why. The establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site recognized the World War II Japanese American relocation sites as being nationally significant for all Americans and for Japanese Americans in particular. And yet, five years later, the Site remained largely undeveloped. If Japanese Americans were to form the impression that Manzanar was not a priority for the NPS or the nation, why should they support the National Park System? Despite good intentions, the NPS risked turning off Japanese Americans to the entire system. Reynolds's response when he saw the state of affairs at Manzanar was to say, "We're going to raise the priority to find the money to do this."¹

Reynolds could appreciate how much had been accomplished already despite appearances on the ground. The former regional director, Stanley Albright, as well as Superintendent Ross Hopkins, had directed money to all the underlying studies as well as the GMP so that construction of facilities could now proceed. But to take development of the Site to the next level – to begin building the infrastructure that would attract and accommodate lots of visitors – it was necessary to enter the Site's construction priorities into the NPS national priority system. Rehabilitation of the auditorium, for example, which carried a \$5 million price tag, now had to compete for funding with other visitor center projects across the nation. It appeared to Reynolds that the process had indeed stalled, perhaps because neither Albright nor Hopkins had the appetite to incur more controversy over Manzanar after everything that they had endured over the past half-decade.²

Determined to press forward and hold onto Japanese American support, Reynolds met Sue Embrey, Rose Matsui Ochi, and Dennis Otsuji at Manzanar to discuss the Site's future. Reynolds already knew Otsuji professionally through the

¹ John Reynolds, interviewed by Theodore Catton, October 2, 2015, MANZ Oral History Collection.

² Reynolds interview.

American Society of Landscape Architects. Although Reynolds did not meet formally with the whole Manzanar Advisory Commission, he cultivated personal connections with those three members in order to secure good relations between the regional office and Japanese American stakeholders.

While Reynolds had the ethnic politics surrounding Manzanar well in view, he also thought the national historic site deserved prioritization on its own merits. On one of Reynolds's visits to Manzanar, teacher and veteran tour guide Mas Okui led him on a tour of the grounds. Reynolds remembered, nearly twenty years later, a moment on the tour when Okui paused at a corner of one of the blocks, chuckled to himself, and then explained to the tour group that they were standing near the spot where he had once gotten into a scuffle with the San Pedro boys. "Ah, the San Pedro boys," one of the Japanese American women in the group mused to her friend. "Do you remember the San Pedro boys?" To which her friend replied with a laugh, "Yeah, they were nothing but a bunch of Japs." The San Pedro boys, Reynolds learned, were the sons of the Terminal Island fishermen, and they were considered a rough lot by other Los Angeles families who had been thrown together with them in the camp. The reminiscence by these three made a vivid impression on Reynolds, as it suddenly opened a window into the multi-layered and deeply human experience of forming a community in that difficult space.

When interviewed for this history, Reynolds offered an eloquent statement about why places like Manzanar matter, and why they are so vital to the National Park System. "In a democracy," he said, "one of the roles of the National Park Service is to make it possible for people to come to the actual place where things happened and learn about why they happened, how they happened, and what it was like when it was happening, to various degrees possible, and not be dishonest about it." Perhaps there was no word in the English language to explain the quality or aura of a place like Manzanar, he said. It was not sacredness, exactly, but rather an awesomeness that was profoundly civic in nature. The feeling of awe came from "stepping into a place that is so fraught with the difficulties of being a democracy and the hardships that went with that. It's like Andersonville in some ways. It's like Dachau. You can't help but step into those places and viscerally feel two opposite things: number one, a lot of this was pretty awful; and number two, the imperfections of democracies are very difficult, and they're blatant, and people need to know them so that you can try to learn from them."³

³ Reynolds interview. Andersonville was a Confederate prisoner-of-war camp in Georgia during the final year of the Civil War. It became a national historic site in 1970. Dachau was the first of the Nazi concentration camps in Germany during World War II. Reynolds was not the only NPS official to compare Manzanar with Andersonville. Director Robert Stanton attended the Manzanar Pilgrimage in 2000 and said:

"One of our greatest accomplishments as a nation, it seems to me, is that we have come to recognize that our legacy is about learning and teaching, helping our children and grandchildren find a better life and a better place because we have been here. And that is not possible if we pay honor only to sunshine and roses.

"That makes it very necessary that we have preserved places such as Manzanar and Andersonville, one of the very bleakest of the Civil War prison sites. It drives our effort to identify and understand the places of the Underground Railroad – its safe houses and secure routes, its moments of

Increases in Budget and Staff

Manzanar National Historic Site received no base operational funding until Fiscal Year 1995 (the twelve-month period beginning October 1, 1994), when it was funded at \$232,000 for one staff person (the superintendent) and some archeological work. The amount remained the same in FY 1996, increased a little to \$239,000 in FY 1997, and increased further to \$329,563 to cover three staff members (superintendent, maintenance worker, and interpretive park ranger) in FY 1998. The FY 1998 budget was approved prior to Reynolds taking charge of the region.⁴ On June 4, 1997, Reynolds submitted his FY 1999 priorities and strategy to the acting deputy director, highlighting Manzanar's needs together with those of two other small units in the Pacific West Region. "Increasingly, the NPS has been criticized for our lack of attention to the development and operation of the Manzanar site," Reynolds wrote. "An increase in FY98 will be an initial step in opening the site to the public, but there is much to do in order to make this an adequately operational park."⁵

Even with the needed push from the regional director, however, progress remained slow. By rights, Manzanar National Historic Site should have had a ranger and a maintenance worker on staff by the end of 1998 – six and a half years on from establishment. It did not work out that way. In fact, Hopkins did not fill the ranger position until June 1998, when Kari Coughlin was brought over from the staff at Death Valley National Park. And instead of appointing a maintenance worker, Hopkins hired an administrative assistant, Misty Knight. This miniscule staff of three operated out of a small rented office in Independence, first in the old Inyo County jail and later in a California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) building. Besides those three, two more individuals, Richard Stewart and Richard Potashin, began conducting on-site walking tours. They provided interpretation for visitors under a cooperative agreement between the NPS and the Eastern California Museum and were employees of the museum. (More on their activities later.) Another individual, John Ward, volunteered his services as a maintenance man. The Site also received ongoing support from George Voyta, preservation specialist at Death Valley. Voyta was hired as an exhibit specialist at Manzanar in 1998 and retired a year later.⁶

Manzanar received substantial funding increases in the late 1990s, starting with a \$310,000 allotment in the 1998 appropriations act for construction of a fence along

tragedy when passengers and conductors were caught and punished; and those places and people that were never noticed until they were no longer needed.

"Manzanar symbolizes a uniquely American ability to confront our own history, acknowledge it, and learn from it. The cultural courage to address and redress our mistakes IS the strength of this nation. It is what enables us to build, in expectation of a better tomorrow."

Remarks of Robert G. Stanton, National Park Service Director, Manzanar Pilgrimage, April 29/30, 2000, Folder 8, Box 3, Sub-subseries 15 (Records of Robert G. Stanton), Subseries B (Directors), Series I (Records of the National Park Service), Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, W.Va.

⁴ Budget and Staffing Operational Needs, Manzanar National Historic Site, March 2, 1998, File Budget and Funding, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁵ Regional Director to Acting Deputy Director, June 4, 1997, File Budget and Funding, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁶ Hopkins interview; Potashin interview.

the unit's boundaries. Meanwhile, the Site and the Pacific West Region worked with the Manzanar Advisory Commission to apply for more funding through another source, the Save America's Treasures federal grant program. The Site succeeded in winning an award of \$150,000 in federal matching funds through the grant program, the award being contingent, however, on a match of \$150,000 from a nonfederal source. The NPS and the Manzanar Advisory Commission approached the State of California and obtained an appropriation of \$150,000 through the California state legislature. The state money had to pass through the Manzanar Committee to the National Parks Foundation in order to be a qualifying match for the Save America's Treasures grant. After all the needed legwork, it was mid-1999 before these funds were available.⁷

The Save America's Treasures funding was allocated to the reconstruction of historical camp features, which presented unique challenges. Historical reconstructions were counter to NPS policy. The NPS debated this matter internally through 1998 and 1999. The superintendent, the regional historic architect, and others contended that the time for debating the appropriateness of historical reconstructions at Manzanar had passed, since it had already been settled during the GMP process. Japanese American proponents had already made a case for historical reconstructions and had won their point. The GMP called for reconstruction of the historical fence, a guard tower, and some representative buildings in a residence block that the GMP termed the "demonstration block." Nevertheless, since historical reconstruction went against the grain of most historic preservation by the NPS it needed to be vetted all over again.

NPS chief historian Dwight Pitcaithley argued that there should be no historical reconstructions at Manzanar on principle, the GMP notwithstanding. "Once we start down the yellow brick road of reconstruction, there will always be a tug toward reconstructing more in order to fill the gap between the historic appearance of the camp and the present appearance," he wrote. "The American public is far more capable of understanding sites with missing historic features than we give them credit for." The main problem with historical reconstructions was that they were inauthentic. "We need to guard against fabricating a landscape that relates to the present more than it connects to the past," Pitcaithley stated.⁸

In the following year, the ideas expressed by Pitcaithley were translated into policy in the National Park Service's *2001 Management Policies*:

No matter how well conceived or executed, reconstructions are contemporary interpretations of the past rather than authentic survivals from it. The National Park Service will not reconstruct a missing structure unless

⁷ "Save America's Treasures Grants Announced," press release, May 19, 1999, File H36 Millennium Grant, Box 9, RCF, MANZ; Acting Superintendent to Chief of Budget, August 11, 2000, and "Reconstruct Perimeter Fence," form H0071, no date, File H30 Manz Hist. Fence Reconstruction, Box 9, RCF, MANZ; John H. McClenahan, Jr. and Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Keith Steinhart, November 29, 2000, File Manzanar 619.0-GF-14-001, Administrative Records, CDPR.

⁸ Dwight Pitcaithley to Robbyn Jackson et al., email, September 17, 1999, File Interpretive Services, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

- There is no alternative that would accomplish the park’s interpretive mission;
- Sufficient data exist to enable an accurate reconstruction;
- Reconstruction will occur in the original location;
- The disturbance or loss of significant archeological resources is minimized and mitigated by data recovery; and
- Reconstruction is approved by the Director.⁹

The Manzanar Advisory Commission weighed in once more when it passed a resolution on November 6, 1999, calling on the NPS director to approve historical reconstructions as outlined in the GMP. It further recommended “that no additional historical building reconstruction take place at park in order to preserve the evocative, silent cultural landscape that exists today at Manzanar.”¹⁰

Convinced that the NPS must stand by its commitments to Japanese American stakeholders in the GMP, and that the historical reconstructions were right and proper in this case, Reynolds directed staff to proceed with the underlying studies even before the grant money was confirmed. These studies included more archeological work for Jeff Burton, as well as historical research and field investigation of the original and existing fences, and Section 106 compliance.¹¹

Meanwhile, the NPS continued along its rocky path toward getting Manzanar National Historic Site adequately staffed. Ross Hopkins retired on April 1, 2000, leaving a mixed legacy. Ochi and Embrey were both strong admirers of his job performance, certain that he was trying his utmost to fulfill their vision of the Site, and he was well liked by many Inyo County people, too.¹² Hopkins was a self-styled renegade bureaucrat. His motto for working within the NPS was “subvert the organization ethically.” He administered Manzanar National Historic Site like it was a hardscrabble farm: everything was cobbled together through personal initiative, ingenuity, and sheer hard work. According to an interview he gave in 2012, Hopkins “sweated blood to save money, and put money aside to buy a brand new backhoe loader with all the correct equipment to dig different sized trenches for archeological work, and restore all the roads.” His volunteer maintenance man John Ward was his backhoe operator. Hopkins and Ward were putting the finishing touches on their own homemade interpretive signage around the Site when Hopkins retired.¹³

⁹ National Park Service, *2001 Management Policies* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000), 59.

¹⁰ Superintendent to Regional Director, December 17, 1999, File Manzanar Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ. Some Manzanar Advisory Commission members wanted additional reconstruction but they were told by the NPS that the agency was committed to a minimalist approach. Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

¹¹ Jeff Burton to Ross R. Hopkins, December 15, 1997, and Project Historical Architect to Superintendent, April 20, 2000, File H30 Manz Hist. Fence Reconstruction, Box 9, RCF, MANZ.

¹² Ochi interview (2002).

¹³ Hopkins interview. According to Jeff Burton, after Ross’s retirement Death Valley Superintendent Dick Martin reassigned the Manzanar backhoe, along with a dump truck, to Death Valley. Years later, the two vehicles were returned to Manzanar. Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

One of Hopkins's priorities was to construct a flood control system upslope from the Site that would protect cultural resources in the event of an extraordinary year for precipitation and snowpack in the High Sierra. Apparently, there were records of one such year in the 1950s that resulted in sheet flooding all the way down to Highway 395. Hopkins made a gentleman's agreement with Manzanar Advisory Commission member Glenn Singley, the LADWP's northern district engineer, to construct one berm and one ditch on LADWP land to hold back and divert the snowmelt. Hopkins felt like the lone ranger in this endeavor, and he was saddened but not surprised to learn a few years after his retirement that the dikes were not yet built.¹⁴

Among some people in the NPS, Hopkins had a reputation for being difficult and a bit eccentric in his administrative style. It was not unusual for Hopkins to butt heads with Superintendent Dick Martin of Death Valley National Park, who succeeded Rothfuss in 1994, and who nominally supervised Hopkins from a hundred miles away. As one example of the contentious relationship between the two, Hopkins wanted to acquire a trailer for use as a temporary visitor reception area at Manzanar until the visitor center opened, but Martin prevented it. Hopkins decided to retire when he grew tired of what he described as being stonewalled and undermined by his supervisor. Significantly, Hopkins left the area and has never returned to Manzanar.¹⁵

When Hopkins announced his plan to retire, the Manzanar Advisory Commission indicated that it would take a keen interest in the selection of the next superintendent. Members of the commission were not only thinking about how closely they had worked with Hopkins and how much they had advised the NPS over the preceding eight years; they were also looking ahead to the fact that their commission would expire in another two years. They wanted a person who would reliably carry their vision into the future.¹⁶ Reynolds appointed Debbie Bird, chief ranger at Sequoia National Park, to be acting superintendent while the NPS conducted a careful search for the next superintendent. Bird's interim assignment lengthened into a one-year tour (from April 2000 to April 2001). Before Bird's time at Manzanar was out, the Site's only ranger, Kari Coughlin, resigned. Bird then hired Kim Linse, a former ranger at Point Reyes National Seashore who had recently moved to Bishop, to replace Coughlin. Shortly after Linse's hire, a seasonal maintenance worker, Scott Hanye, was hired as well. Misty Knight was promoted from administrative assistant to administrative officer in January 2002. The paid staff now stood at three full-time

¹⁴ Hopkins interview; Jeff Burton, "Flood Damage Assessment, July 22-23 and September 5, 2013, Manzanar National Historic Site, California," October 2013, superintendent's office documents library, MANZ, p. 6.

¹⁵ Hopkins interview.

¹⁶ As the expiration date for the Manzanar Advisory Commission drew near, Embrey asked Representative Matsui to seek a two-year extension of its ten-year term, pointing out that the commission had only come into existence in 1994 and it still had much to do. However, absent an act of Congress, the commission was dissolved in 2002. Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Robert Matsui, January 28, 2002, File A16, ACF, MANZ.

employees and one seasonal employee on the NPS payroll, plus two part-time seasonal employees on the Eastern California Museum payroll.¹⁷

In March 2001, Reynolds announced his selection of a new superintendent. Candidates were vetted through the Manzanar Advisory Commission, with Rose Matsui Ochi taking part in the interviews. At the end of the process the successful candidate was Frank Hays, a revegetation program manager at Grand Canyon National Park. While at Grand Canyon, Hays had completed a master's degree in public administration at Northern Arizona University. Hays saw the position at Manzanar not only as an opportunity to step into the superintendent role at a startup unit in the National Park System, but also as an exciting place to put his new degree to work, practicing civic engagement and interpretation of social justice issues. After his selection and appointment, Hays told the Japanese American newspaper *Rafu Shimpo* that he was "keenly interested in learning from communities and former internees the evocative story of this place where democracy failed us." Hays assumed his duties at Manzanar in April 2001. In his four-plus years at the Site, he sought to bring out the essential meaning of Manzanar for visitors and for Japanese Americans especially. Serving as Manzanar's second superintendent until July 2005, he saw the Site through its transition into a fully operational unit.¹⁸

In September 2001, Hays hired Alisa Lynch to fill the position of chief of interpretation and cultural resources. Lynch, who was born and raised in California, came into the position having some background knowledge about the World War II Japanese American experience. She traced her interest in the subject to when, at age ten, she saw the film *Farewell to Manzanar* and read the book. She first visited Manzanar in October 1980. Later, as a university student, Lynch studied Japanese language and culture while majoring in drama and English. Early in her NPS career, while serving as a clerk typist in the director's office in Washington, D.C., she happened to handle some correspondence about Manzanar that piqued her interest in the Site and kindled her ambition to work there. When the opportunity to join the Manzanar staff presented itself several years later, she applied for the job from her position as a GS-11 visual information specialist at Mount Rainier National Park. Like Hays, she would be leaving a very busy, old, and revered national park to go to a small unit that was just taking shape. For Lynch this constituted a lateral career move, and her colleagues wondered why she would choose to leave Mount Rainier for such an obscure and unprepossessing place. Her answer was that she was passionate about the subject matter.¹⁹

¹⁷ Shawna Svacina, "New super slated for MNHS," *Inyo Register*, March 3-4, 2001; Kim Linse, interviewed by Diane Krahe, November 20, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection; Manzanar National Historic Site, "Spring Update," no date, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee.

¹⁸ "Superintendent Selected for Manzanar Historic Site," *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, March 26, 2001; Frank Hays, "The National Park Service: Groveling Sycophant or Social Conscience: Telling the Story of Mountains, Valley, and Barbed Wire at Manzanar National Historic Site," *The Public Historian* 25, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 73-80; Frank Hays, interviewed by Theodore Catton, March 18, 2016, MANZ Oral History Collection.

¹⁹ Alisa Lynch, interviewed by Diane Krahe, November 19, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

In Hays's and Lynch's first year at Manzanar, the Site's staff grew significantly. Shortly before Lynch arrived, Hays had hired John Slaughter as facility manager and Fred Phillips came on board as a term maintenance worker soon thereafter. In the spring of 2002, Lynch hired two rangers as term employees: Richard Potashin had already worked as an interpreter at Manzanar through the Eastern California Museum and Kacy Lynn Guill had a background in history and archives management. Guill oversaw the museum collection at Manzanar, while Potashin managed the oral history program. Both spent much of their time on the development of interpretive exhibits.²⁰ In the summer of 2003, Gretel Enck filled the Site's permanent administrative assistant position. Ed Murdy and Gerry Enes joined the staff as term maintenance workers in early 2004. By the opening of the Manzanar Interpretive Center in April 2004, the total number of permanent or term employees at Manzanar numbered eleven: three in administration, and four each in interpretation and maintenance. Of course, the number of people on staff was only a partial index of how many people were employed in getting the Site ready for the public. In the year 2001, for example, no fewer than thirty-one other NPS staff worked for Manzanar on a part-time basis. All these people belonged to the regional office staff or some other unit and charged a portion of their time to the Site's account. While Hopkins and then Hays and Lynch anchored the effort, many dedicated people were involved in bringing the Site to fruition.

Infrastructure Development

Infrastructure development began with the water supply. Initially two reasons were given for this initial improvement: to ensure a supply of potable water for staff and visitors, and to provide water for firefighting. Soon a third reason was added: for irrigating the orchard and potentially one or more of the Japanese gardens as well. Construction work went forward under Ross Hopkins in 1997 and 1998 on developing underground water and sewer systems for the future visitor center together with a sprinkler system for fire protection. The work entailed drilling a new water well, laying water lines and sewer lines, placing septic tank and leach fields, and installing underground water storage tanks and two fire hydrants. Altogether the construction cost about \$500,000.²¹

The next major construction project at Manzanar was the boundary fence. Hopkins argued that the boundary fence was an urgent need to protect the Site's resources and ought to be a fairly straightforward project. The Site's boundaries intersected numerous archeological sites, and the unit's boundary lines were resurveyed in the summer of 1998. Although the GMP called for reconstruction of the historical security fence around the camp perimeter, Hopkins wanted to keep the two fencing projects separate from one another, especially since accurate placement of a reconstructed historical fence would not enclose the Site's entire area. Hopkins

²⁰ Lynch interview.

²¹ Manzanar Advisory Commission Meeting Minutes, February 13, 1998, File Manzanar Advisory Commission, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Jamie Rowe, "Restoration project on tap for Manzanar site," *Inyo Register*, June 22, 2002; Hays interview.

prevailed in getting the more utilitarian boundary fence built first. The 1998 appropriations act allotted \$310,000 to the project; construction was completed by July 1999.²²

The next phase of construction occurred over a three-year span, 1999-2001. The Save America's Treasures grant and matching funds provided the Site with a \$300,000 budget for historical restoration work. In 1999, that sum was allocated among eight separate items. The bulk of it (\$176,000) was applied to the historical security fence project. Another \$17,000 was put to reconstruction of the rustic fence around the cemetery, and \$2,000 was put to making a replica of the historic camp sign. The remainder went towards renovating the two sentry posts; repairing and repainting various stone or concrete structures; installing block and feature identification signs; and doing design work and archeological monitoring for all these projects.²³

Jeff Burton made archeological investigations from 1999 to 2001 to determine the original location of the cemetery fence and to identify grave sites. In the spring of 2000, WACC staff and volunteers scraped and repainted the cemetery monument. Removal of the existing cemetery fence soon followed.²⁴

Other NPS personnel, including Robbyn Jackson, regional historical architect, built upon the work of Harlan Unrau in drawing up design specifications and preparing detailed justifications for the historical reconstructions. The planned guard tower was included in this work, although it was not actually constructed until 2005. The justifications for the guard tower and other structures culminated in a lengthy memo from Regional Director John Reynolds to NPS Director Robert Stanton, dated October 18, 1999, seeking the director's approval for the historical reconstructions. The key concept contained in these memoranda was "minimal conjecture." Although original construction drawings for both the guard tower and the cemetery fence were lacking, the structures were pictured in World War II-era photographs, notably the rich collection of photos made by Toyo Miyatake. The photographs could be used to

²² Jeff Burton to Ross R. Hopkins, December 15, 1997, and "Reconstruct Perimeter Fence," form H0071, no date, and Acting Superintendent to Chief of Budget, Pacific West Region, August 11, 2000, File H30 Manz Hist. Fence Reconstruction, Box 9, RCF, MANZ; Terry Rehak to Ross R. Hopkins, email, January 12, 1998, and Hopkins to Jack Williams, fax, January 16, 1998, File D46 Manz Boundary Fence Project, Box 6, RCF, MANZ; National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 11; Jeff Burton, email, February 27, 2017.

²³ Application for Local Assistance Grant, no date, File Manzanar 619.0-GF-14-001, Administrative Records, CDPR. The stone and concrete structures were listed as follows: Camp Administration Area Stone Features, Stone Traffic Circle, Camp Director's Patio Walls, Recreation Club Patio Walls, Block 9 Garden, Block 12 Garden, Block 2 Garden, Block 34 Garden, Block 35 Garden, Cemetery Monument, Hospital Garden, Hospital Area Features, Merritt Park Features, North Park Stone Barbecue, Chicken Farm Incinerator, Hospital Laundry Steps and Retaining Wall, Remnant Foundations.

²⁴ Burton et al., *I Rei To: Archeological Investigations at the Manzanar Relocation Center Cemetery*, 14.

prepare design drawings for the reconstructions. The design drawings would not be exact, but they would be close, requiring “minimal conjecture.”²⁵

This phase of infrastructure development finally culminated in a flurry of activity from fall 2000 to summer 2001. The barbed-wire security fence around the camp perimeter was completed under contract in December 2000. Archeological testing done in July 1999 had determined that some original fencing material survived from the World War II era and could be retained, while other sections of old fencing post-dated World War II and had to be removed and replaced. Most sections of the reconstructed fence were made of new material. The security fence encircled the entire camp area, although a few gaps were left in the fence line to allow for ease of human and wildlife movement in and out at strategic locations, including the two front vehicle entrances.²⁶

A crew of NPS historic preservation specialists from the Intermountain Support Office in Santa Fe arrived at the Site in January 2001 and met with Acting Superintendent Debbie Bird and regional historical architect Robbyn Jackson, as well as a representative for the California historic preservation officer, to finalize other reconstruction plans. Over the next three months, the crew reconstructed the historical cemetery fence from irregular cut boughs of local black locust (acquired off site) and worked on the sentry posts: replacing their shingles, installing new windows and doors, removing exterior graffiti, repairing masonry, and moving the California Historical Landmark plaque just southeast of the sentry post.²⁷ When Frank Hays took over as superintendent that spring, the sentry posts were still wrapped in scaffolding. The historic preservation crew continued its work through the summer of 2001, clearing vegetation and stabilizing masonry at several locations. The latter work included conserving simulated wood-grain finishes in several concrete edifices, the handiwork of stonemason Ryozo Kado, who was confined at Manzanar. In July 2001, Kado’s son Louis was invited to tour the Site with NPS representatives to inspect those surviving examples of his father’s craftsmanship and the conservation efforts surrounding them.²⁸

²⁵ Regional Director to Director, October 18, 1999, “Justification for the Reconstruction of Watch Tower #8 and Cemetery Fence at Manzanar NHS,” no date, and Michael P. Scott to Robbyn J. Jackson and Stephanie Toothman, email, September 14, 1999, and George Turnbull, Superintendent, Pacific Great Basin Support Office, to Daniel Abeyta, Acting State Historic Preservation Officer, no date, File H30 MANZ Hist. Fence Reconstruction, Box 9, RCF, MANZ. Also see Michael Scott, MANZ Trip Report 3/13-3/16 in same file, and “Considerations for the Reconstruction of Watch Tower #8,” no date, File Interpretive Services, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM. According to Jeff Burton, there were also parts of a guard tower at the Eastern California Museum that were measured, and these measurements were incorporated into the reconstruction. Jeff Burton review comments, September 28, 2017.

²⁶ Jeff Burton, email, February 27, 2017. According to Alisa Lynch, the original security fence had similar gaps in it. Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

²⁷ At the time of the plaque’s installation in 1973, stonemason Ryozo Kado created a large stone base for it. In February 2014, Manzanar cultural resources staff John Kepford and Gerry Enes moved the landmark monument once more, to the new flagpole area along the visitor center entrance sidewalk.

²⁸ Glenn D. Simpson, *Manzanar National Historic Site Historic Preservation Report*, Vol. 1 (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001), 1; Manzanar National Historic Site, “Spring

The following year, the Site acquired the first building for the planned demonstration block. A World War II-era mess hall similar to those that had been used in Manzanar was located at the Bishop airport. Initial speculation that the structure originated in Manzanar was determined to be unfounded, although it was of the same era and built in the same way. After the war, it served a variety of purposes but was eventually abandoned in a state of disrepair. Inyo County donated the building to the Manzanar National Historic Site and offered to remove asbestos siding from it before it was transferred. Measuring forty feet by one hundred feet, it was cut into four twenty-feet-by-fifty-foot sections for transporting to the Site. Caltrans and the California Highway Patrol assisted with the transportation. It was placed on supports over the exact location of Block 14's mess hall. There it rested until the Site obtained funds to restore it about a half-decade later.²⁹

While all this work was being accomplished, a team of officials from Manzanar, the regional office, and the Denver Service Center was methodically preparing the Site's biggest single construction project, the visitor center. The GMP called for rehabilitation of the auditorium building, and adaptive reuse of the historic structure for a visitor center and administrative offices. After the auditorium building was stabilized in the mid-1990s, it stood vacant and dilapidated behind a temporary construction fence, a big eyesore. Richard Potashin remembered that the inside of the building was "a real mess," infested with rats and occupied by feral cats and barn owls.³⁰ Through the decade of the 1990s, the deserted building became a symbol of the government's seeming inaction.³¹

The NPS worked mostly behind the scenes toward the auditorium building's restoration. A historic structure report was completed in 1999, after which the Manzanar visitor center construction project was recommended for the president's budget. In February 2000, Vice President Al Gore announced that the administration's FY 2001 budget included a \$4.8 million initiative for the preservation and development of Manzanar and related sites. (This funding initiative was informed by Burton et al.'s 1999 *Confinement and Ethnicity*.) The Manzanar visitor center was the centerpiece of this initiative, which also included land acquisition at other sites and a study by the NPS of "World War II on the Home Front."³² In April 2000, the NPS

Update," news release, no date, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Shawna Svacina, "New superintendent arrives in time for Pilgrimage," *Inyo Register*, April 24, 2001.

²⁹ National Park Service, "Historic Mess Hall to Return to Manzanar," news release, November 20, 2002, File Historic Mess Hall, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

³⁰ Potashin interview.

³¹ Julian Lukins, "One more Manzanar controversy," *Inyo Register*, November 26, 1996, and Julian Lukins, "Auditorium in center of Manzanar park controversy," *Inyo Register*, August 30, 1997.

³² "Vice President Gore Proposes \$4.8 Million Initiative to Preserve World War II-Era Internment Camps," news release, February 2, 2000, File K3415, ACF, MANZ; "Senate Interior Appropriations Subcommittee Approves \$4.2 million for Manzanar's Visitor Center," news release, June 21, 2000, File Budget and Funding, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

conducted an interpretive planning workshop on the exhibits that would go into the visitor center interior. In May 2000, it held a charrette on the building design.³³

During these planning meetings, it came to light that the construction package did not include construction of a new entrance road and parking area for the visitor center, nor landscaping around it. Acting Superintendent Debbie Bird hastily prepared the additional construction package and submitted it to the regional office. Regional Director Reynolds expressed consternation over the fact that these essential items were not already included in the construction package that was now before Congress. “How could this have gotten into the President’s request like this?” he asked his team. Patty Neubacher in the budget office replied that the project had been “consciously scoped and competed” through the agency’s construction priorities process as a “minimum project” according to guidelines. “We consciously made a decision to not include all of the entrance road stuff and final landscaping as part of the project,” she wrote. By separating those items out, Reynolds replied, it raised the specter of a visitor center being opened to the public without good public access. As Reynolds would not accept that outcome, he had no choice but to seek the extra funding. It was embarrassing to ask Congress for the extra funding at that late stage, since it gave the appearance that the NPS had underestimated the true cost of the project to get the project approved in the first place. Nonetheless, after a round of emails and telephone calls with the budget office, the Manzanar and Death Valley superintendents, and the deputy regional director, Reynolds indicated that he would take responsibility for it and seek the extra funding. “I will call the only Congressional aide I talked to about money and correct my erroneous ways,” he wrote.³⁴ Apparently, the request was granted. The NPS did get the money: the final allotment for the Manzanar Interpretive Center was \$5.1 million and included the entrance road and parking area.

The Denver Service Center was designated the lead office in overseeing the project. Denver Service Center staff produced a “Design Analysis” report in August 2000.³⁵ The construction package was divided into two parts, \$4,145,340 for work on the building and grounds, and \$967,600 for development of exhibits and the Site’s documentary film. The director approved the latter piece in January 2001 and approved the construction plans in May 2001. Section 106 compliance work was carried out during the year and completed in December 2001. The NPS contracted with I.E.-Pacific, Inc., of San Diego, in February for renovation and restoration of the building, and ground breaking occurred April 26, 2002. Restoration of the exterior was completed in 2003. Restoration of the interior, which included the renovations for

³³ Denver Service Center, “Design Analysis: Rehabilitate Community Auditorium Interpretive Center/Headquarters Building, Manzanar National Historic Site, Independence, California,” August 2000, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

³⁴ John Reynolds to Patty Neubacher, Jim Giammo, Bill Waters, Debbie Bird, and Dick Martin, June 1 and June 5, 2000, and Dick Martin to Reynolds et al., June 6, 1999, and Patty Neubacher to Reynolds et al., emails, no date, File Interpretive Center/LIC, Tom Leatherman files, Manzanar National Historic Site (hereafter MANZ).

³⁵ Denver Service Center, “Design Analysis: Rehabilitate Community Auditorium Interpretive Center/Headquarters Building, Manzanar National Historic Site, Independence, California,” August 2000, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

adaptive reuse of the building as a visitor center and administrative office space, was carried out through the fall of 2003.³⁶

The construction project posed a number of challenges. In the first place, restoring the exterior of the building to its historical appearance required some significant reconstruction. The original south wing of the building had been removed after World War II and taken to Lone Pine, where it remained in use as the VFW Hall. On the east façade, a garage door had been cut into the wall when the building was converted into a heavy equipment shop. And on the west façade, the original covered front entrance had been enclosed to protect against windblown dust entering the building. So the south wing had to be reconstructed, the east façade made whole again, and the west entrance designed in such a way that it would protect against the elements while mirroring the historical appearance as much as possible. For the west façade, NPS architect David Ballard finally decided on tinted glass infill to replace the wooden enclosure. The infill was necessary to cut down on dust, and the tinted glass blocked the harsh rays of the afternoon sun.³⁷

Besides restoring the exterior façades, another challenge was how to configure the approach to the building. The basic problem was that the building historically was oriented to the west so that it faced the rest of the camp, but now visitors would approach from the east, from a parking lot beside the highway. When the auditorium had been converted to a heavy equipment shop by Inyo County, a large garage door had been cut in the east wall, and the building's entrance had been reoriented 180 degrees so that it faced the highway. Now that the building was to be adaptively reused as a visitor center, landscape architects were inclined to keep its practical orientation to the highway. Historical architects, on the other hand, were keen to restore the building's orientation to the west and have visitors enter through the historical entrance. Ultimately, the latter option was found to be unworkable. In order to make the historical entrance work as a modern entrance, it would have been necessary to place the visitor parking area either west or south of the building so that visitors would not have to walk around three sides of the hulking structure to reach the entrance. The pull of restoring the historical entrance was so strong, the Denver Service Center team considered locating the parking area on the south side (where visitors would still have a walk to the west entrance). Archeologist Jeff Burton urged that they keep the parking area on the east side where it would be the least intrusive. After giving the problem serious thought, the team agreed with Burton that a parking area on either the south or west side would encroach on the cultural landscape, and the building's modern orientation to the highway had to be accepted and retained. It would be necessary to have visitors approach the building from the east. Given those circumstances, the best that could be accomplished was to bring visitors into the

³⁶ Project Report (Design Construction), October 7, 2002, File Interp Center/LIC, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ; "Manzanar National Historic Site Auditorium Construction Contract Awarded," news release, February 14, 2002, File Manzanar Park Proposal, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

³⁷ David Ballard to Robbyn Jackson, no date, File Interp Center/LIC, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ; Frank Hays to W. Knox Mellon, November 21, 2001, File Auditorium, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

building through an east entrance and then help them gain an appreciation of the building's original orientation once they were inside.³⁸

To deal with this tricky situation, the historic structure report offered several alternatives for adaptive reuse of the interior space. Historically, the high school auditorium building had a raised stage at the east end of the building. North and south of the stage were some smaller rooms on a level with the stage. When the building was converted to a heavy equipment shop, alterations were made to this eastern section of the building. The NPS decided to restore the raised stage and backstage area to its original form. When it was all done, visitors entered the building by way of a small foyer behind the stage (though the stage area was behind walls and could not be seen). The foyer opened to the left into the south wing. Visitors then proceeded left and then right through a reception area and bookstore. From there, they entered the main auditorium and exhibit area. This floor plan effectively brought visitors around the raised stage area without their knowing it, since the stage area was concealed behind walls. Once visitors were in the exhibit area, they could see the stage at one end of the auditorium and the entrance doors at the other, and they could recognize the building's historical orientation to the west. From the exhibit area, visitors could leave the building via the west entrance, taking a short path out to the demonstration block and perhaps returning the same way through the building's historical entrance.³⁹

Despite all the challenges, rehabilitating the historical auditorium and adaptively reusing the interior space for a visitor center and administrative offices proved to be a brilliant way to harmonize site development with historic preservation. No new buildings intruded on the historical scene. The former auditorium made an effective museum space. It contained 8,000 square feet of exhibit area and two movie theaters (with forty-five seats in the east theater and fifty-two in the west theater), as well as the bookstore, operated by the new Manzanar History Association. The north wing of the building contained staff offices, while the stage, screened off from the exhibit area by a moveable wall, eventually came to house the Site's library and to provide meeting and work space for staff. Taken altogether, it was a triumph of innovative park design.

Initial Interpretive Development

Artist and school teacher Richard Stewart, a local Paiute and a member of the Manzanar Advisory Commission, began giving daily walking tours of Manzanar National Historic Site in the summer of 1997. Stewart led visitors around the Site, showing them its cultural features and narrating its history, from American Indian habitation and removal, through homesteaders' days and the planned community of

³⁸ Denver Service Center, "Design Analysis: Rehabilitate Community Auditorium Interpretive Center/Headquarters Building, Manzanar National Historic Site, Independence, California," August 2000, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Jeff Burton to David Ballard, email, December 15, 2000, File Interp Center/LIC, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ.

³⁹ Frank Hays to W. Knox Mellon, November 21, 2001, File Auditorium, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

Manzanar that ultimately lost out to Los Angeles water development, to the Japanese Americans' wartime incarceration there. At age 53, Stewart was not old enough to have personal memories of the World War II camp or the prewar communities, but his tribe's collective memories surrounding those times were part of his own personal heritage. "I remember corn and potato fields here and the 'Okies' working the farms. My people were the laborers, but before that it was ours," he would tell visitors. "We were displaced by the white pioneers and they were displaced by the water engineers. Then the Japanese camp became the biggest city in the area. Now it's gone." Forced relocation was the unifying theme that tied the Indian, Caucasian, and Japanese American stories together. The theme of relocation and abandonment was underscored in the aptly-titled archeological report, *Three Farewells to Manzanar*. Stewart was an effective storyteller and guide who knew how to make excellent use of the World War II-era ruins in the desolate setting to make the human experience become clear in the minds of his listeners. For example, he would show visitors the foundations of a latrine building where toilets once sat in a row without separate stalls, commenting that some older people were so ashamed of these conditions that they waited until the middle of the night to go relieve themselves.⁴⁰

Stewart was employed by the Eastern California Museum under terms of a modest grant to the museum. Superintendent Hopkins strongly supported the program, noting that Stewart's presence accomplished an important secondary purpose of protecting the resources from vandals. Stewart and Bill Michael, director of the museum and a fellow member of the Manzanar Advisory Commission, began making plans for the guided tours soon after the commission came into existence. They initiated the program in May 1997, one month after the NPS acquired the land. Starting in 1999, Richard Potashin was employed by the museum as a Manzanar guide as well. Stewart often worked weekdays and Potashin the weekends. Sometimes they worked together, with Stewart leading the tours while Potashin engaged with visitors at the sentry posts. The two sentry posts served as their work station, providing shade and a place to store water and emergency supplies. Stewart carried a cell phone for safety at a time when cell phones were not yet common. Walking tours varied in length anywhere from forty-five minutes to three hours, depending on the weather and the group's level of fitness and enthusiasm.⁴¹

In 2000, Superintendent Hopkins and his volunteer maintenance man John Ward completed work on a self-guiding auto tour route around Manzanar National Historic Site. The three-mile loop road, which made use of the former road grid, was rough but accessible to low-clearance passenger vehicles. Wooden markers along the route pointed out foundations or locations of former structures, such as the *Manzanar Free Press* office, the Manzanar High School, the Catholic church, the Buddhist temple, the baseball field, and the camouflage net factory. Other signs identified features such as the north and south firebreaks, the baseball field, the center of the

⁴⁰ Christopher Reed, "US's 'five-star concentration camp,'" *The Guardian* (London), May 8, 1997.

⁴¹ Michael Fleeman, "First tours at WWII internment camp," *Sacramento Bee*, July 26, 1997; Potashin interview.

former town of Manzanar, and the John Shepherd ranch site. Altogether there were twenty-seven wooden signs on the tour, which began at the original entrance and went in a counterclockwise direction around the square-mile World War II camp residential area. The *Inyo Register* ran a story on this development, saying “the new road tour represents the first step in transforming the desert site into a major tourist attraction along U.S. 395, aiming to spotlight the relocation camp where 10,000 people of Japanese descent were contained.”⁴²

Ironically, the auto tour dampened public interest in walking tours, so the Eastern California Museum’s interpretive program at Manzanar soon faded while the NPS focused on other priorities. Kim Linse led an occasional NPS-sponsored walk, taking groups from the entrance to the cemetery or one of the gardens. She also presented a regular evening program to Elderhostel guests at the Winnedumah Hotel in Independence and developed more interpretive materials for the auto tour. In the spring of 2002, Manzanar’s new chief of interpretation and cultural resources, Alisa Lynch, hired Potashin into a term position. Stewart maintained a connection with the Site as a member of the Manzanar Advisory Commission, and intermittently he has assisted Manzanar staff with interpretive planning and other activities in the years since.⁴³ In another term position, Lynch hired Kacy Lynn Guill, a trained archivist. As did Lynch and Linse, Potashin and Guill provided some visitor services, including roving interpretation at the Site, while devoting much of their time to exhibit and media development for the forthcoming visitor center.⁴⁴

The arrival of Alisa Lynch in September 2001 launched Manzanar’s fledgling interpretive program on an ambitious trajectory. For the next three years, while the visitor center was in development, Lynch and Superintendent Hays led a sustained effort to reach out to Japanese Americans, particularly former residents of Manzanar who were still living, to cultivate their support for the Site and gather their stories for posterity and for use in creating exhibits. They also attempted to connect with longtime residents of the Owens Valley and local Indian tribes, mindful that they were part of the story as well. Lynch and Hays pursued this outreach – so critical to the new unit – through different channels and using their own individual styles. For instance, Hays worked closely with the Manzanar Advisory Commission, while Lynch forged personal relationships and built trust with many Japanese Americans one-on-one. Manzanar was the most well known of World War II confinement sites, and the visitor center exhibits were destined to be a major statement about the significance and meaning of this controversial episode in the nation’s past. The NPS had nearly a million-dollar interpretive media budget and just one opportunity to get it right. Details on exhibit and media development are addressed at the end of this chapter.

⁴² National Park Service, “Auto Tour Guide,” leaflet, no date, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee; Julian Lukins, “Manzanar road tours now available,” *Inyo Register*, February 12, 2000.

⁴³ Alisa Lynch explained that the direction the NPS ended up taking with Manzanar’s interpretive development did not mesh well with Stewart’s perspective, as he expressed in his 2002 review of draft visitor center exhibits. Stewart felt the visitor center was overdone and has repeatedly conveyed his belief to staff that the NPS turned Manzanar “into Disneyland.” Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁴⁴ Linse interview; Potashin interview; Lynch interview.

Hays stated in an interview for this history that he knew at the start that he and the rest of the NPS team would rely on a variety of people in the community to tell the story correctly. Good relationships were essential to the effort. The logical starting point, he believed, was through the Manzanar Advisory Commission, for the commissioners were already well connected and able to put Hays and his team in contact with helpful and knowledgeable people in ethnic communities, local government, and academia. As this roster of consultants grew, the NPS team had no difficulty obtaining subject experts' active participation in public meetings, workshops, and reviews. "They were not afraid to speak up," Hays said. "They were opinionated and active and vocal in indicating how the Site's story should be told."⁴⁵

Lynch and the interpretive staff, and sometimes Superintendent Hays, traveled to venues where they could find more people who had lived at Manzanar and other camps during the war or had some other strong connection to the place. They went to Manzanar reunions, pilgrimages and reunions of other camps including Tule Lake in northern California, Topaz in Utah, and Heart Mountain in Wyoming, and JACL events. At these gatherings, the NPS interpreters listened to conversations, advertised the Site, asked for volunteers, and arranged or conducted oral history interviews.⁴⁶

In time, Manzanar would partner with Densho, a Seattle-based organization, in its pursuit of gathering stories. Founded in 1996, Densho's mission was to preserve, educate, and share the story of World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans, mainly through the archiving of oral histories on its website. Alisa Lynch first met Tom Ikeda, Densho's executive director, in 2002 at an All-Camps Summit conference in L.A., and in a few years when opportune funding circumstances allowed, Manzanar and Densho began to collaborate on oral history projects. It would prove to be a most productive partnership for both parties.⁴⁷

Gathering oral history was an important part of the outreach effort and at times came about unconventionally. In August 2002, after a public exhibit review meeting at the Japanese American National Museum in Little Tokyo, Lynch headed out to a late lunch with Sue Embrey and Archie Miyatake, son of the photographer Toyo Miyatake. They passed a man by the name of Hikoji Takeuchi on the street just as they were going into a café. As Embrey and Lynch took their seats inside, Miyatake informed them of who they had just passed outside. Hikoji Takeuchi was shot by a military policeman at Manzanar in May 1942 but survived. Lynch had heard of the story but did not know the name of the victim, let alone where he might be found. In the café, Embrey urged Lynch and Miyatake to go after Takeuchi while they had the opportunity, and on an impulse Lynch agreed. Miyatake and Lynch dashed outside and chased him down, and Miyatake made introductions then and there on the busy sidewalk. Takeuchi would not commit to an interview right away, but a few days later Lynch was seated with him at his dining room table with a voice recorder recording his incredible story. Describing this incident later, Lynch noted that the staff at

⁴⁵ Hays interview.

⁴⁶ Hays interview; Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁴⁷ Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017

Manzanar normally approached people “slowly and respectfully. We don’t chase them down on the street.” However, she added, “here was a man who had an experience few live to talk about.” The shooting incident as recalled by Takeuchi eventually found its way into the exhibits in the Manzanar Interpretive Center.⁴⁸

Hays and Lynch were a generation younger than most of the major players involved with Manzanar National Historic Site up to this time. Sue Embrey and her contemporaries remembered Manzanar through their personal experience as teenagers. For others like Rose Matsui Ochi, Ross Hopkins, and Stan Albright, the Second World War was a significant touchstone of their early childhoods. In contrast to all of them, Hays and Lynch came by their interest in Manzanar through a mix of formal education, intellectual curiosity, and inherent sympathy for the civil rights struggles which had commenced before they were born and reverberated on through their own formative years in high school and college. They saw the Japanese American World War II forced relocation experience as a lesson of history redolent with meaning for their own generation and for future generations.

Although Hays, like most career NPS employees, would move on from Manzanar in a few years, Lynch stayed for the long haul and that was her intention from the start. “I was pretty sure when I came here that it would be the last stop of my career,” she said.⁴⁹ Similarly, Jeff Burton would choose to become Manzanar’s first chief of cultural resources in 2010 after leading its archeology program from afar for nearly two decades. Another instance of longevity at Manzanar from its early days, Misty Knight served the unit for a decade through the terms of three superintendents, first as administrative assistant and then as administrative officer. As well, 2004 hires Ed Murdy and Gerry Enes would remain on the Manzanar staff beyond the time period covered by this history. Manzanar would continue to attract more such devoted individuals as the employee roster grew largely because the Site itself inspired dedication. Years later, Bill Michael would laud the “innumerable NPS staff who made personal commitments to the effort that extended way beyond the requirements of their jobs.”⁵⁰

9/11 and Manzanar

Hays was new in his post at Manzanar when the 9/11 terrorist attacks occurred. Lynch arrived on the job only a few days after September 11, 2001. For both of them, the momentous events of that day and what followed from 9/11 intensified their sense of purpose in preserving and interpreting Manzanar’s story. Many Japanese Americans felt like they did, that the September 11 terrorist attacks, together with President George W. Bush’s “War on Terror” and the U.S. invasion of Iraq, were world-shaking events that gave Manzanar National Historic Site new relevance for the present day.

⁴⁸ Alisa Lynch, “Finding Hikoji: Illuminating History through His Story,” in *The Wonder of It All: 100 Stories from the National Park Service*, edited by Yosemite Conservancy (Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Conservancy, 2016), 100-03.

⁴⁹ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁵⁰ Bill Michael review comments, November 28, 2016.

There is no question that 9/11 sharpened the public's interest in Manzanar. The shocking 9/11 attacks almost immediately drew comparison with the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Less obvious but no less significant, President Bush's declared "War on Terror" was deeply ideological and explicitly global, much like America's "total war" against the fascist powers in 1941-45 was ideological and global like nothing the American people (or the world) had ever known. It remained to be seen how the nation's new commitment in 2001 to "homeland security" would compare with measures taken during World War II.

The nation's shock after 9/11 was strongly reminiscent of the nation's shock following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Yet, in contrast to FDR's actions after Pearl Harbor, when the president's "A Date Which Will Live in Infamy" speech and other actions all but fanned feelings of animosity toward people of Japanese ancestry in the U.S., after 9/11 President Bush called for the protection of American Muslims and people of Middle Eastern heritage from an upwelling of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab feeling. Six days after the attack, Bush visited a mosque where he gave a speech urging Americans not to blame any national or religious group for the actions of a small group of terrorists. Bush later wrote in his autobiography *Decision Points* that he was mindful of the Japanese American experience in World War II in those uncertain days, thanks in part to then-Secretary of Transportation Norman Y. Mineta, who gave him a firsthand account of the Mineta family's experience of incarceration at Heart Mountain in the 1940s. But many Americans believed Bush administration policies, such as the Patriot Act, did not back up the president's initial expression of support for this newly vulnerable demographic.⁵¹

The Muslim American community did face reprisals after 9/11, and many Japanese Americans sprang to the defense of their fellow citizens' civil rights. Rose Hanawa Tanaka, a resident of Denver, Colorado, and valedictorian of Manzanar High School's Class of 1944, recalled that after 9/11 Japanese Americans helped guard Denver mosques from angry mobs and offered Muslim women a protective escort when they had to run essential errands. Kathy Masaoka of Los Angeles heard on the radio about a Muslim woman who was afraid to go to the grocery store in L.A. She thought, "Oh, my God, this is how my mother felt," recalling her mother's stories of being evacuated and sent to Manzanar. Determined not to let it happen again, Masaoka organized a candlelight vigil by the group Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress. The group met to remember those who died in the terrorist attack and vowed to take a stand against the violence, racial profiling and detentions faced by Americans of color in the aftermath of 9/11.⁵²

The attacks of 9/11 gave rise to far-fetched conspiracy theories and other cock-eyed notions – just the sort of querulous climate of opinion where serious civic

⁵¹ George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2010), 141-42.

⁵² Hays interview; Lynch interview; Samuel G. Freedman, "Six Days After 9/11, Another Anniversary Worth Honoring," *New York Times*, September 7, 2012; Tanaka interview; Massoud Hayoun, "Decades after internment, former detainees say talk of national security can still trump America's basic rights," *Al Jazeera America*, February 14, 2014 at www.america.aljazeera.com <March 30, 2016>.

engagement could offer an important steadying hand. Not long after September 11, Superintendent Hays received a jolt when a reporter from a radio station phoned to inquire if the U.S. government was preparing to reopen Manzanar. It took Hays a moment to grasp what the reporter was asking. The reporter wondered if the World War II camp was being reopened to hold detainees in the present day. The minimal historical reconstruction by the NPS was somehow being confused with homeland security measures in the newly proclaimed War on Terror. As outlandish as the reporter's question was, it underscored the need to be absolutely clear about Manzanar National Historic Site's purpose.⁵³

As incidents of hate crimes around the country increased, and xenophobic rhetoric crept into national politics and the media, the message engraved in the Manzanar state landmark plaque in 1973 acquired new resonance:

MAY THE INJUSTICES AND HUMILIATION SUFFERED HERE AS A
RESULT OF HYSTERIA, RACISM AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION
NEVER EMERGE AGAIN.

And yet, as the NPS considered how to tell the story of forced evacuation and incarceration at Manzanar, it had to avoid being preachy or presentist in its interpretation of history. If it was obvious that Manzanar carried historical lessons from the years 1941-45 worthy of the nation's attention, it was also obvious that many Americans' sensibilities about race, ethnicity, civil rights, and freedom of religion had changed a great deal from what they were in 1941. Historical parallels between 1941 and 2001 could be overdrawn, in which case historical lessons might be strained. Indeed, many conservative Americans were wary of a movement toward what they called "political correctness" in the way American history was being taught in schools and presented in public venues. In the conservative view, traditional values such as pride in country and belief in American exceptionalism were becoming targets of ridicule by the left. To many conservatives, those attacks on traditional values were nowhere more insidious than in what conservatives pejoratively called the left's "historical revisionism."⁵⁴

Superintendent Hays described his interpretive experience at Manzanar in an article published in *The Public Historian*. The NPS challenge at Manzanar, Hays believed, was to find a responsible middle course for the Site's interpretive program, one that balanced civic engagement with the quieter but no less difficult aim of

⁵³ Hays interview.

⁵⁴ The term "political correctness" became popular in the 1990s to describe a perceived overreach by academics, media, and other opinion leaders in demanding broad acceptance of liberal values such as multiculturalism, feminism, and internationalism. Conservatives frequently leveled the charge of political correctness at the history academy, most famously at historians connected with the *Enola Gay* exhibit mounted by the Smithsonian Institution in 1994, wherein emphasis was put on the Japanese victims of the atomic bomb and the specter of atomic war since 1945, rather than on the valor of the U.S. aircrew and the righteousness of the U.S. effort in World War II. Veterans' groups and other conservative critics said that the *Enola Gay* exhibit presented the U.S. as the villain, and the Smithsonian Institution was forced to recast the exhibit. Peter Charles Hoffer, *Past Imperfect: Facts, Fictions, Fraud – American History from Bancroft and Parkman to Ambrose, Bellesiles, Ellis, and Goodwin* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 115-121.

presenting historical facts with supposed objectivity. “Some people advocate an active role for the NPS in informing social conscience through its interpretation of the internment of Japanese Americans at Manzanar,” he wrote. “Although an image of the NPS’s role as social conscience resonates with many, a recent letter to the park reflects the opposite sentiment. Calling the National Park Service ‘a groveling sycophant,’ the writer of the letter suggests that the NPS has succumbed to the ‘Japanese American propaganda machine’ and neglects and even refuses to tell the truth about the War Relocation Centers.” Hays might have added that the letter writer was none other than W. W. Hastings, whose own version of the “truth” included a very real threat of Japanese invasion of the West Coast in 1942.⁵⁵

So, Hays asked, what was historical truth, and what was interpretation of historical fact? Truth, meaning, facts, and context: those were all essential elements of historical interpretation that must be brought together to make historical interpretation effective. Hays went on in the article to give specific examples of how the NPS aimed to help “visitors gain a sense of history and place,” through reconstruction of barbed-wire fencing, the camp entrance sign, a single guard tower, and representative barracks. It was important, he noted, to disabuse visitors of any notion that the scenic setting of Manzanar made the camp experience even remotely like a summer camp.⁵⁶

Early in the process of developing the exhibits, a new interpretive perspective emerged for telling the Site’s history. The overarching concept was christened “One Camp, Ten Thousand Lives; One Camp, Ten Thousand Stories.” The idea was that evacuation and relocation affected peoples’ lives in different ways; the camp experience was best understood in terms of a multiplicity of unique experiences and personal narratives. Not only did all Japanese Americans experience the camp differently depending on their age, sex, class, family status, politics, religion, and other personal factors, the many Caucasians who were part of the community – teachers, medical staff, military police, administrators – all had unique experiences as well. Personal narratives would be used to tell as much of Manzanar’s story as possible. Of course, the NPS would determine which personal narratives to present. The selection process involved a certain amount of editorializing about what was most significant, representative, compelling, or instructive. But the overall objective was to bring the visitor into direct contact with the primary source material as much as possible.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Hays, “Groveling Sycophant or Social Conscience,” 74-75.

⁵⁶ Hays, “Groveling Sycophant or Social Conscience,” 75-78.

⁵⁷ The first reference to “ten thousand stories” found in records is in a document distributed in advance of the interpretive workshop held April 4-6, 2000. In a list of five “primary interpretive themes,” the fourth was stated as follows: “The story of the Manzanar War Relocation Center is not a single story, but a tapestry woven of more than 10,000 individual experiences.” NPS interpretive planners had been working toward that concept for many years. For example, Don Kodak of Harpers Ferry Center wrote in 1993: “The story of the Manzanar Relocation Camp is complex and filled with emotions about personal liberty, identity, citizenship, betrayal, family loyalty, and other intensely personal issues. The visitor experience at this National Historic Site should recognize and present these emotions as

This diversity-of-experiences approach meant the NPS did not have to take a position on whether the WRA camps fit the definition of concentration camps. The NPS could simply point out that there were multiple perspectives on that sensitive matter. In his 2003 article, Hays indicated that the NPS was using “internment” as a descriptor of the Manzanar camp, “in order to avoid being caught up in a whirlwind of controversy that could obscure the significance of the site,” although use of the term “confinement” was being adopted as well. As Jeff Burton stated in the introduction to *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, “Even the use of the relatively benign term ‘internees’ in reference to Japanese Americans has resulted in controversy.” Burton also discussed the WRA euphemisms “relocation center” and “evacuees.” He wrote: “The relocation centers certainly fit the dictionary definition of a concentration camp and use of that term for the relocation centers has many historical precedents. However, the term ‘concentration camp’ has become almost synonymous with Nazi death camps.”⁵⁸ *Confinement and Ethnicity* used the WRA’s terminology as a way of avoiding taking sides in the battle over semantics. In fact, the NPS avoided getting involved in that battle from its earliest involvement with Manzanar. The “Ten Thousand Stories” concept made it easier to justify staying out of it.⁵⁹

Cultural Resources Management

When Superintendent Frank Hays filed his first annual report at the close of 2001, he took pains to point out that no fewer than thirty-one people from seven other NPS offices had assisted with various park projects and charged their time to Manzanar accounts during the year. The seven NPS offices he listed were the Santa Fe Architectural and Conservation Division, the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, the Cultural Resource Division of the Pacific West Region, the Denver Service Center, Harpers Ferry Center, Death Valley National Park, and Fort

intimately, sensitively and honestly as possible. It will not be our mission to editorialize about what happened here, but to present an accurate accounting. The story here is strong and powerful, visitors will be able to draw their own conclusions.” Don Kodak to Dan Olson, August 11, 1993, File D18, RCF, MANZ.

⁵⁸ Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 18.

⁵⁹ Hays, “Groveling Sycophant or Social Conscience,” 79; Burton et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 18. For a direct challenge to the NPS use of “relocation center” as a term of reference for the camp, see Gann Matsuda to Bill Michael, email, April 24, 2000, File Eastern California Museum, Bill Michael, director, Series 4, Manzanar Collection, ECM. See also, Robert T. Hayashi, “Transfigured Patterns: Contesting Memories at the Manzanar National Historic Site,” *The Public Historian* 25, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 51-72. While Hayashi discusses the terminology issue, his larger concern is with the tight focus on World War II at Manzanar, which tends to compress the multi-layered history of the site. He is concerned about oversimplification and what gets lost: not just the American Indian and pre-World War II history of Manzanar, but also the longer arc of the Japanese immigration experience. “As the site became linked to the treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II, both the range of local history and the scope of Japanese American history represented there shrank. All *Nikkei* history was reduced to the events of the troubled war years” (p. 53). Yet Congress mandated Manzanar’s World War II focus for the national historic site. The challenge of telling the story of forced relocation and incarceration within the larger context of Japanese immigration to the U.S. is not limited to Manzanar alone.

Smith National Historic Site. Most of the work accomplished by the staff of these other NPS offices involved the Site's cultural and natural resources. Thus, the Site became quite active in managing cultural and natural resources even as the Manzanar staff remained very small. Resource management activities through the late 1990s and early 2000s included archeological investigation, historic structures analysis and treatment, cultural landscape evaluation, biological inventory, and vegetation management.⁶⁰

Archeological investigations continued in conjunction with historical restoration projects and other federal initiatives. In 1997, Jeff Burton of the Western Archeological and Conservation Center conducted tests along the east edge of the Site in connection with the federal-state highway project to widen U.S. 395 into a four-lane highway. In 1998, he did testing at two historical dump sites: one associated with Manzanar during the war years and the other associated with the demolition of the camp after the war. Both dump sites were addressed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers under the Formerly Used Defense Sites Program (FUDS), and funding for the archeology was provided by the Corps. As noted earlier in this chapter, Burton also made tests to provide archeological clearance for new fencing, and with a crew of eight other archeologists made a careful investigation of burials in the cemetery area and provided clearance for reconstruction of the locust fence around the camp cemetery. The latter investigation was made with funding provided by the Save America's Treasures grant.⁶¹

The archeological investigation of the cemetery produced a more definitive understanding of the location and number of graves historically and of burial remains still present. It was previously known that some of the human remains had been removed for reburial elsewhere when the camp was abandoned. But historical sources varied widely as to the number of graves that were present in the camp era. Approximately 150 people of Japanese ancestry died at Manzanar during the period 1942-45, but many were cremated and their remains sent to their home towns or elsewhere for burial. Among the burials in the cemetery, some were well documented and others were not. Harlan Unrau's research indicated that total burials numbered as few as twenty-eight or as many as eighty. By the time Manzanar National Historic Site was established in 1992, grave markers had been lost or moved. The archeological investigation found that some gravesites were plotted but never used and the number of graves was near the low end of the range. All but six of the burial remains had been removed after the war. After each gravesite was investigated,

⁶⁰ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2001, File A26, ACF, MANZ.

⁶¹ Burton interview; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Camp Manzanar Site Investigation – Historical Dump Sites, Hospital Landfill, Hospital Underground Storage Tanks, Service Station, & Burner Oil Storage Site – DERP-FUDS Project Number: J09CA013700," Final Report, September 1998, superintendent's office documents library, MANZ; Archeologist to Chief, Division of Archeology, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, September 14, 1998, File H2215, RCF, MANZ; Burton et al., *I Rei To: Archeological Investigations at the Manzanar Relocation Center Cemetery*, 1. On the FUDS investigation, see also U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Final Report, Historical Dump Sites, Camp Manzanar, California* (Sacramento: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Environmental Design Section, Sacramento District, 1996), copy in superintendent's office documents library, MANZ.

graves were backfilled, stone outlines were restored, and in some cases markers were replaced. All the findings and treatments were meticulously documented in the report *I Rei To: Archeological Investigations at the Manzanar Relocation Center Cemetery, Manzanar National Historic Site, California*.⁶²

The restoration of gardens began in this period with excavation of a large garden complex designated as Feature 34-4 and located in Block 34 between the mess hall and Barrack 14. After Richard Stewart and Richard Potashin unearthed a bit of a concrete stream in this location, a team of WACC archeologists led by Burton – together with Superintendent Ross Hopkins and a local backhoe operator, Tom Dews – conducted the excavation in 1999 while the WACC team was at the Site for another project. WACC archeologists Ronald Beckwith and Trisha Rude returned later to complete a detailed map of this cultural feature using plane table and alidade when the garden was about 80 percent excavated. Main features of the complex included an irregular-shaped pond sixty-five feet in length and an associated mound. In his trip report, Beckwith stated that “the cleanup of this feature partially restores one of the largest and perhaps one of the most beautiful garden complexes at the Site. This feature will be a wonderful addition to the Site’s interpretive program.”⁶³ This appreciative remark anticipated much more work on garden restoration in the years to come. In 2000, Hopkins asked the WACC archeologists back to excavate a small garden pond in Block 2, which ranger Kari Coughlin wanted to highlight on her interpretive walking tours.⁶⁴

In 2000, Acting Superintendent Debbie Bird obtained the services of historical architect Mark L. Mortier of the Architectural Conservation Project Program, Intermountain Support Office in Santa Fe, to make a condition assessment of Manzanar National Historic Site’s historic structures. Thirty-three different structures were entered on the NPS List of Classified Structures; however, of these, only four were still standing. These were the auditorium, the military sentry post, the police post, and the cemetery monument. As a separate study was programmed for the auditorium, Mortier confined his study to the other three standing structures. He prepared a condition assessment and preservation plan.⁶⁵

Following Mortier’s report, Glenn Simpson of the Architectural Conservation Project Program led a historical preservation crew in implementing Mortier’s recommended treatments for stabilization and restoration of the two sentry posts. As noted earlier in this chapter, these structures were reroofed, windows and doors were repaired, and exterior mortaring was stabilized. The preservation crew also built the

⁶² Burton et al., *I Rei To*, passim, especially 5, 7, 9, 14-15, 18-45; Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, 279, 802.

⁶³ Archeologist to Chief, Division of Archeology, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, September 21, 1999, File Archeology Reports and Surveys, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

⁶⁴ Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁶⁵ Mark L. Mortier, *Condition Assessment and Preservation Plan for Various Structures, Manzanar National Historic Site* (Santa Fe: USDI, NPS, Intermountain Region, Intermountain Support Office, Architectural Conservation Projects Program, 2000), 2-3, 6, 58-60; Simpson, *Manzanar National Historic Site Historic Preservation Report*, Vol. 1, 1-3. As of 2012, ninety-five structures were identified on Manzanar’s List of Classified Structures.

locust fence around the cemetery. A reproduction of the historic camp entrance sign was installed at the original location on the existing historic posts at this time as well.⁶⁶ Also noted earlier, the cemetery monument underwent restoration in the spring of 2000.

A cultural landscape report (CLR) for Manzanar National Historic Site was initiated in 2001. This would be a major multi-year study aimed at documenting and evaluating landscape characteristics and providing a detailed treatment plan in line with the GMP, with its emphasis on preserving and interpreting site features from the World War II era. Scoping the project and assembling the project team was a major effort, and for this Superintendent Hays leaned heavily on regional office staff support. Although the final report would not be completed for five more years, the study team soon identified two critical needs that deserved immediate attention: saving many trees in the orchard that were on the brink, and installing flood protections to prevent further severe gullyng.⁶⁷

Acting on advice from the study team, park staff pruned historic fruit trees to reduce the potential of wind damage. It also initiated talks with the LADWP to install a photo voltaic pumping system at the historic well site near the historic orchards. Park staff implemented more comprehensive orchard treatments upon the completion of an interim guidance plan, *Landscape Stabilization Plan for Manzanar National Historic Site*, in 2005.⁶⁸

Like the early orchard work, Superintendent Hays initiated Manzanar's public archeology program. The tradition of getting the public involved in archeology digs began in 2003, with the Site's first volunteer project at Shepherd Ranch. This excavation uncovered the remains of John Shepherd's original adobe dwelling, determined the location of his later Victorian house, and collected thousands of domestic artifacts, inclusive of Paiute beads and Chinese items, most likely belonging to the ranch's Paiute workers and its Chinese cook. Another such volunteer project in the camp's administration area followed in 2004.⁶⁹

Natural Resources Management

The GMP stated that notwithstanding the Site's primary importance as a historic landscape, portions of the area would be managed to preserve natural resources. The riparian area flanking Bairs Creek, which flows intermittently along the southern boundary of the Site, and adjacent areas of high desert habitat would be

⁶⁶ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2001, File A26, ACF, MANZ.

⁶⁷ Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 3-5; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2001, File A26, ACF, MANZ; Hays interview.

⁶⁸ National Park Service, *Orchard Management Plan, Manzanar National Historic Site* (Seattle: National Park Service, Pacific West Region, 2010), 14-15; Superintendent's Annual Reports for 2001 and 2003, File A26, ACF, MANZ; Hays interview.

⁶⁹ Jeff Burton, "Excavating Legacy: Community Archaeology at a Japanese American World War II Incarceration Site," *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 4, no. 3 (September 2017): 160-172.

retained as natural areas. These areas, the plan stated, would “offer an opportunity for interpretation of high desert natural resources phenomena and processes related to the desert’s reclamation of the camp area.” Over the rest of the area, natural resources management would focus on clearing vegetation to reveal the historic landscape. Overall, the major concerns of natural resource managers were to control the growth of exotic plants, especially tamarisk; to manage wildland fire, especially as it threatened historic resources; and to protect the area against flood damage and soil erosion.⁷⁰

Water spreading by the LADWP on the broad, coalesced alluvial fans above Manzanar caused episodic gullying through sections of the Site. Following another one of these flood events in 2002, Superintendent Hays sought help from the NPS Water Resources Division in Denver and staff under the science advisor at Mojave National Preserve to develop an erosion mitigation plan for Manzanar National Historic Site. The group recommended that the Site seek a commitment by the LADWP to improve its water diversion structures on Shepherd and Bairs creeks to divert floodwaters to the north and south away from the Site. It also recommended that the unit cooperate with the LADWP in constructing a flood control berm west of the Site to deflect runoff on the east slope of the Sierra and to prevent overflow of Shepherd and Bairs creeks. The assessment was a useful start, but no further action was taken to address flood control at the time.⁷¹

Meanwhile, the NPS made year-by-year progress in removing a half-century accumulation of drifted sand, downed wood, and exotic weeds from the 814-acre unit. Although the Site did not yet have a fire management plan or a cultural landscape report for guidance, Superintendent Hays and the staff drew on the expertise of the CLR team as well as their own experience in formulating an interim program of vegetation management. Downed wood was treated as a fire hazard and was first piled up and then removed. Exotic weeds were removed by hand pulling. The most conspicuous exotic weed was tamarisk, which had been introduced as an ornamental plant in the camp era and had proliferated across large sections of the Site. Similarly, tree of heaven had been introduced in the historic period and had since spread across the area. As the CLR would eventually make clear, these exotic plants needed to be managed both as an invasive plant species and as historic vegetation, depending on location. Where they were part of a design feature (such as a row hedge or a block

⁷⁰ National Park Service, *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 12.

⁷¹ Science Advisor, Mojave National Preserve, to Superintendent, May 31, 2002, File N30 Geologic Features and Studies, ACF, MANZ; Frank Hays to Gene Coufal, August 25, 2003, File N16 Management of Natural Resources and Areas, ACF, MANZ; Superintendent’s Annual Report for 2003, File A26, ACF, MANZ; Hays interview. The science advisor from Mojave National Preserve described the problem as follows: “Manzanar National Historic Site exists on land formerly owned by Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP) and has been used by LADWP in the past to collect runoff from the eastern flank of the Sierra Nevada for infiltration and groundwater recharge. During years of heavy snow pack and/or precipitation, runoff from Shepherd and Bairs creeks overflowed infiltration depressions west of the Site and eroded channels in the western portion of the Site....” This detailed, well-illustrated report continues for 11 pages.

garden element), the exotics needed to be preserved; elsewhere, elimination (ideally) or reduction (more realistically) was the goal.⁷²

The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) provided most of the labor force for downed wood removal and weed pulling in these years. YCC involvement at Manzanar began in 2002 and was continued each summer with funding through the Public Land Corps. Typically, the YCC crew consisted of three or four local high school students. Around 2006, Manzanar began to get assistance with tamarisk control from an exotic plant management team based at Lake Mead National Recreation Area. The large tamarisk bushes were cut down, the stumps were sprayed with an herbicide, and later in the year a crew from Death Valley National Park came with a chipper and chipped some of the downed tamarisk, although much remained in piles across the Site.⁷³

Biological inventory began at Manzanar National Historic Site in 2002. Biological inventory and monitoring, or I&M, was an agency-wide initiative that got started under the Natural Resource Challenge.⁷⁴ All units in the National Park System were organized into thirty-two networks to conduct long-term ecological monitoring. Each network was designed to link parks with shared geographic and natural resource characteristics. The overall intent was to inventory plant and animal species in each unit, select indicator species (or “vital signs”) for monitoring the health of representative ecological contexts across the network, develop monitoring protocols, and conduct monitoring. In the early years of I&M, selection of so-called vital signs and development of monitoring protocols had to be revised several times to respond to higher costs and smaller budgets than anticipated. Consequently, the system-wide program was slow in getting organized and the inventories were slow in getting started.⁷⁵

The I&M program held much promise for improving science in the national parks, but expectations could be exaggerated. The program’s resources were spread thin. Manzanar National Historic Site was included in the Mojave Desert Network along with six other units: Death Valley National Park, Joshua Tree National Park, Mojave National Preserve, Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, and Great Basin National Park – all big, natural-area

⁷² Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 249. Guidance for vegetation management also came from Glenn Simpson’s historic preservation reports (2001): “The Administration Area suffered from an overgrowth of vegetation, which has impacted visitor understanding of the Site as well as the remaining structural features. In some instances, weathering was causing physical deterioration of masonry features. Similarly, the Hospital and Chicken Ranch were very overgrown with vegetation growing in the cracks of foundations causing further cracking.” Simpson, *Manzanar National Historic Site Historic Preservation Report*, Vol. 1, 2-3.

⁷³ Superintendent’s Annual Report for 2006, and Facility Management FY2007, electronic files, MANZ.

⁷⁴ The Natural Resource Challenge was a congressionally mandated five-year program to strengthen science-based natural resources management in the National Park System. It was launched in 1999.

⁷⁵ K. M. Heister, C. Palmer, D. M. Miller, T. C. Esque, D. R. Bedford, R. H. Webb, J. Fenelon, K. M. Schmidt, and J. R. Nimmo, *Mojave Inventory and Monitoring Network Phase I Report/Draft Phase II Report*, 4-6, at <https://science.nature.nps.gov/im/units/mojn/publications> <August 9, 2016>.

units, with a combined area roughly the size of Belgium.⁷⁶ The Mojave Desert Network's small staff of fewer than a dozen scientists was quartered in a single prefab building in Boulder City, Nevada, where they shared facilities with about 150 personnel on the staff of Lake Mead National Recreation Area. The scientists had an immense territory to cover, the largest acreage of any of the thirty-two I&M networks. The Mojave Desert Network had to focus primarily on its mission to provide long-term monitoring of ecological health, although it did provide ancillary services and benefits as well.⁷⁷

The inventory largely began with "data mining," or assembling published and unpublished sources and extracting information from them, which was then entered into a database. The next step was to test for presence or absence of species in the field. Field inventory for Manzanar National Historic Site began with an inventory of amphibian and reptile species, then birds, and then plants. Volunteers from the Audubon Society and California Native Plant Society contributed to the field component of the inventory. Soon Manzanar had an impressive list of 120 bird species found within its boundaries.⁷⁸ By 2004, the network was nearing completion of its "Phase I" effort to develop a biological inventory of each unit, with biological monitoring to commence after that.

Community Outreach

Community outreach was essentially three-pronged, mirroring Manzanar's story of three distinct dislocations of peoples or "three farewells." Most important was the Site's outreach to Japanese Americans across the nation and more precisely to those in Los Angeles. The other two prongs reached out to the local communities of Independence and Lone Pine, or Inyo County generally, and to the nearby American Indian tribes.

The Site's relationship with Japanese Americans grew organically out of the Japanese American movement to make Manzanar a symbol of the relocation experience and to achieve redress. In its continuing relationship with the Manzanar Committee, the NPS provided logistical support for the committee's pilgrimage program each year. Associated planning on the staff's part began each January and then preparations at the Site intensified as the event – held the last Saturday of April – neared. As discussed earlier, the Manzanar Committee made a critical contribution to the Site when it helped to secure a \$150,000 Save America's Treasures grant. The committee was also very involved in the Site's interpretive development. Alisa Lynch

⁷⁶ For a domestic size comparison, the territory the Mojave Desert Network covers is nearly the same acreage as the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined.

⁷⁷ Geoff Moret, interviewed by Theodore Catton, May 2, 2016, Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Boulder City, Nev.

⁷⁸ Trevor Parsons, Erika Nowak, and Scott Hillard, "2002 Annual Report for Amphibian and Reptile Inventory of Manzanar National Historic Site," March 2003, File Nat. Res/I&M, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ; Neal W. Darby, "Preliminary Assessment and Inventory of Aquatic Resources at Manzanar National Historic Site, California," December 23, 2003, File Natural Resources, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2003, File A26, ACF, MANZ.

and Sue Embrey were close collaborators, having formed a personal bond that grew closer after being roommates at the 2002 Tule Lake Pilgrimage. Lynch drove to Los Angeles frequently for work, often stayed in Embrey's basement apartment, and got to know Embrey's wide circle of friends and family. Despite her failing health, Embrey continued to travel to the Owens Valley when she had the opportunity; Lynch hosted Embrey at her home several times, and in addition to attending to Manzanar projects, the two would explore places Embrey had never been to, including the Alabama Hills, Whitney Portal, and Horseshoe Meadow. All of Embrey's previous travel had centered on Manzanar. Manzanar National Historic Site reaped countless rewards from their working relationship. "Sue and I talked and corresponded multiple times a week on everything from history questions to oral history suggestions, from photo identification to museum donations," Lynch said. "Up until the last couple months of her life, she was very active in anything/everything Manzanar."⁷⁹

The mutual respect and trust the two women shared both personally and professionally was evident to the many people involved in the Site's development during these critical years. "Much of the tone and approach for interpretation of Manzanar grew out of our collaboration and friendship," Lynch said. "The many times I stayed with her (and the few times she stayed with me), we'd stay up half the night talking about Manzanar and history and how to do it justice." Years after his mother's passing, Bruce Embrey wrote to Lynch on Mother's Day 2013: "You were her collaborator, the key partner in her [Sue's] life's work and dear friend during the last years of her life."⁸⁰

The Manzanar Advisory Commission provided multiple points of contact between the Site and Japanese Americans. The commission institutionalized the relationship to some extent, as individuals were able to approach one of the five Japanese American commission members to convey their concerns to the National Park Service. However, six out of the eleven commission members represented Inyo County and tribal interests. According to the commission's charter, its purpose was "to meet and consult with the Secretary of the Interior or his designee, with respect to the development, management, and interpretation of the site, including the preparation of a general management plan for the Manzanar National Historic Site." The commission normally convened twice each year, with six members constituting a quorum. In practical terms, the superintendent worked most often with the chairperson, and that was Sue Embrey from 1992 to 1998 and Rose Matsui Ochi from 1998 to 2002.

The Manzanar Advisory Commission's strong contribution to the GMP was discussed in the previous chapter. In its last five years of existence, from 1997 to 2002, the commission proved to be a strong advocate for carrying out the GMP vision

⁷⁹ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, electronic files, MANZ; Lynch interview; Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016. On the Save America's Treasures grant, see John H. "Jack" McClenahan, Jr. and Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Keith Steinhart, Grants Administration Supervisor, November 29, 2000, File A44 Memoranda of Agreement, ACF, MANZ.

⁸⁰ Alisa Lynch, Bill Michael, and Misty Knight review comments, November 28, 2016.

to interpret the Site's story through historical reconstruction of camp-era buildings and effective exhibits in the visitor center. The commission was a helpful partner in facilitating contacts between Manzanar staff and Japanese American groups and individuals who were able to contribute valuable material for interpretation.

In January 2002, when the Manzanar Advisory Commission's ten-year term was about to expire (on the ten-year anniversary of the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site), Sue Embrey wrote to Congressman Matsui to ask for his assistance in extending the term for another two to three years. She argued that there had been a two-year delay in activating the commission and that it still had work to do in fulfilling its mandate. Embrey's fellow commission members and Superintendent Hays agreed that an extension was in the best interest of the Site's development, but no such continuance was granted and the commission ceased to be. Hays encouraged former commissioners to stay engaged in the Site by taking part in the series of public meetings held during the final two years of developing of the Manzanar Interpretive Center. For example, the Site orchestrated a public meeting at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles in August 2002 at which stakeholders were invited to comment on draft versions of the visitor center exhibits. The former commissioners' continued input was important as the visitor center exhibits and park film were brought to completion.⁸¹

Although the Manzanar Advisory Commission served as an important link between the Site and its Japanese American constituency, Manzanar staff cultivated innumerable relationships with Japanese American individuals directly. Staff met former camp residents and other people interested in Manzanar at various Japanese American gatherings around the region: the annual Manzanar Reunion held in Las Vegas,⁸² pilgrimages to other confinement sites, L.A. churches and temples, museum and club events, and JACL functions. Lynch and rangers Linse and Potashin, traveled many a mile from their remotely situated unit in the years preceding the opening of the Manzanar Interpretive Center, and forged lasting friendships with many of their Japanese American contacts. Likewise, WACC archeologist Jeff Burton developed many personal relationships with people passionate about Manzanar, both Japanese American and otherwise, as he returned to the Site frequently for field work.

Closer to home, the Site developed good relationships with the nearby towns and the Inyo County government. An informal group of community leaders known as

⁸¹ Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Robert T. Matsui, January 28, 2002, File A16, ACF, MANZ; August 2002 meeting notes, no date, electronic files, MANZ; Hays interview.

⁸² The Manzanar Reunions evolved out of the Manzanar High School reunion gatherings that had been organized for several decades. Manzanar High School's graduating class of '44 held a 20th anniversary reunion, its first, at the Proud Bird Restaurant in Los Angeles in 1964. Later, the classes of '43 and '45 were invited to join. (The class of '44 was the largest and tightest of the high school's three graduating classes of '43, '44, and '45, because the class of '43 had just one year in the camp in which to bond, while the size of the class of '45 was considerably diminished by the time graduation came, as many families left the camp that spring.) In the 1980s, the three classes opened their reunions, usually held every five years, to anyone associated with the World War II camps. In 1998, the Manzanar Reunion became an annual event. Charles James, "Classmates Convene at the 70th Manzanar High School Reunion," *Pacific Citizen*, October 21, 2015 at <http://www.pacificcitizen.org/classmates-convene-at-the-manzanar-70th-high-school-reunion/> <February 26, 2017>.

Inyo Associates, established in 1935, which met regularly throughout the year except summer, proved to be a helpful venue for communication between the superintendent and local townspeople. Issues of common concern included the widening of U.S. Highway 395 and the siting of a gravel pit for county road maintenance in a place removed from Manzanar National Historic Site.⁸³

Inyo County residents Keith Bright and Bill Michael were two very active members on the Manzanar Advisory Commission. While Michael was always keen on getting interpretive programs up and running at Manzanar, Bright, too, became focused on the Site's development for the public's benefit. Bright advocated for more garden restoration; he thought the excavated gardens were important features that could connect visitors with camp life in a relatable way. Beyond getting Manzanar National Historic Site established, local influence was important in its successful development, Michael believed. That success depended upon "the combined efforts of many individuals and organizations," he said, "and many of these were representatives of local governments and organizations."⁸⁴

The Site was less effective in developing relationships with area tribes. When Van Horn conducted a Native American consultation and ethnographic assessment in 1994, tribal representatives and NPS officials indicated their intent to follow through with regular contact so they could forge an ongoing government-to-government relationship. In 1998, Superintendent Hopkins arranged for local Native Americans to serve as monitors on an archeological testing project after a burial was detected; once the Native Americans were on site, four more burials were located in the course of that testing. Otherwise, no formal connections between the Site and local tribes materialized. In 2002, the NPS contracted with Ann King Smith, a cultural resources consultant and former NPS archeologist, to restart the dialogue. Smith went first to the Forest Service archeologist and tribal liaison for Inyo National Forest, Linda Reynolds, who provided her with a list of tribal contacts and a copy of Inyo National Forest's consultation protocol for the Bishop Paiute Tribe. She then arranged a series of meetings between Superintendent Hays, herself, and each area tribe's chairperson and tribal administrator. The consultation led to further meetings with the tribes that were aimed specifically at eliciting tribal review of applicable parts of Manzanar's exhibit plan for the visitor center.⁸⁵

Smith, in her final report, recommended that Manzanar National Historic Site establish formal contacts with six area tribes: Bishop Paiute Tribe, Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley, Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians, Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community, Utu Utu Gwaitu Paiute Tribe (with tribal office in Benton), and Timbisha Shoshone Tribe (with tribal office in Death Valley). Sometime after that, a memorandum of understanding (MOU)

⁸³ Les Inafuku, interviewed by Theodore Catton, November 6, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁸⁴ Michael interview; Bill Michael review comments, November 28, 2016; Misty Knight review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁸⁵ Ann King Smith, "Tribal Consultations, Manzanar National Historic Site, November 2002," December 2002, and Frank Hays to Alisa Lynch, email, December 20, 2002, electronic files, MANZ.

between Manzanar National Historic Site and those six tribes was drafted. Its chief aim was “to formalize the relationship between the Tribes and Manzanar that has previously existed on an informal basis.” The MOU carried a host of provisions and declarations concerning the management and protection of resources pertaining to the cultural heritage of the tribes, and each party would pledge to appoint a liaison to facilitate ongoing communications. The MOU was never finalized or signed.⁸⁶

This attempt to establish official ties with area tribes developed in the context of evolving government-to-government relations between American Indian tribes and the federal government generally. Tribes started on the long road back to tribal self-governance some two decades before Manzanar National Historic Site existed, or around the time the Manzanar Pilgrimage began. Tribes won a series of milestone victories in the courts and in Congress, with recognition of Indian treaty rights, protection of American Indian religion, federal assistance for Indian education, allowance of Indian gaming, and respect of tribal sovereignty being among their major gains. For all federal land management agencies, the salient feature of tribes’ political and cultural revitalization was that tribes steadily accrued more influence over public lands and resources as tribes asserted their roles as original inhabitants and stewards in areas under federal jurisdiction.

Acts of Congress most pertinent to the National Park Service included the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 and the National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1992, both of which strengthened tribes’ participation in cultural resources management. Under the latter act, the Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley established its own historic preservation program and appointed a tribal historic preservation officer, or THPO, to oversee the tribe’s interest in cultural resources in 2003. Also pertinent for Manzanar National Historic Site, the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe achieved federal recognition in 1982 and succeeded in its long quest for a reservation – formed from lands within Death Valley National Park – in the year 2000. Across the National Park System, individual units were navigating paths toward establishing government-to-government relations with area tribes; some national forests were doing the same. All the while, the tribes themselves were developing their capacity for self-governance.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ “Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S.D.I. National Park Service, Manzanar National Historic Site, and the Benton Paiute Tribe, Big Pine Paiute Tribe, Bishop Paiute-Shoshone Tribe, Fort Independence Paiute Tribe, Lone Pine Paiute-Shoshone Tribe and the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe for the Management and Protection of Resources Pertaining to the Cultural Heritage of the Paiute and Shoshone,” June 15, 2005, File Agreements, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ.

⁸⁷ Fred York to Bryan Mitchell, email, October 7, 2003, attaching Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley, “Historic Preservation Program Plan for Assuming State Historic Preservation Office Responsibilities,” September 12, 2003, File H14 Area and Service History, ACF, MANZ; Theodore Catton, *To Make a Better Nation: Timbisha-Shoshone Homeland Act Administrative History, Death Valley National Park* (Missoula, Montana: Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit, University of Montana, 2008). For the national context, see Theodore Catton, *American Indians and National Forests* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016).

Interagency Partnerships

Federal land management agencies had a strong presence in the Owens Valley dating back to the early twentieth century when Inyo National Forest was established. While the NPS was the new federal agency on the block, it too had a presence in the valley dating back many years before Manzanar National Historic Site existed. With Kings Canyon and Sequoia National Parks located to the west of the Owens Valley and Death Valley National Monument (later a national park) located directly east, the NPS was a charter member of the Interagency Committee on Owens Valley Land and Wildlife, formed in 1970. Apparently the impetus for the interagency group came from a change of LADWP leadership in the Owens Valley and a desire to smooth tensions between the LADWP and the California Department of Fish and Game. The interagency committee came to include some seventeen partners, including four federal agencies besides the NPS. The effort to improve interagency dialogue and cooperation in the Owens Valley was recognized as one of the early examples of its kind in the West.⁸⁸

One important initiative by the interagency committee came in 1975 when eight member agencies entered a cooperative agreement to build and operate an interagency visitor center. The Eastern Sierra Interagency Information Center, located at the junction of U.S. Highway 395 and State Route 136 in Lone Pine, opened to the public in 1978. Visitation at the facility grew from 75,000 in the first year to 220,000 in 2002. A new facility opened in 2004. Aimed primarily at serving visitors and residents as an information center, the operation also helped to spur interagency cooperation on other matters as well.⁸⁹

As noted at earlier points in this report, the Eastern California Museum was always a crucial partner in preserving and bringing forward the Manzanar story. Museum director Bill Michael and his predecessors actively participated in the movement to establish Manzanar National Historic Site, while the museum's own exhibit on Manzanar helped build local support for it. During preparation of the GMP, it was proposed that the NPS provide funding to the Eastern California Museum to provide space for curation of Manzanar collections.⁹⁰ In the late 1990s, the museum sponsored walking tours of Manzanar during the summer and employed Richard Stewart and Richard Potashin as tour guides. In 1999, Superintendent Hopkins obtained a \$5,000 grant through the Challenge Cost Share Program to contribute toward the cost of the tour project. Another cooperative project with the museum, which would have involved Elderhostel patrons in an archeological survey conducted

⁸⁸ Interagency Committee on Owens Valley Land and Wildlife, Minutes of Meeting, October 10, 1997, File A4035, RCF, MANZ.

⁸⁹ Chris Plakos, Chairman, InterAgency Visitor Center Board of Directors, to Frank Hays, November 18, 2003, File A4035, ACF, MANZ; Potashin interview; Inafuku interview. The seven other partners are the Bureau of Land Management, the U.S. Forest Service, Mono County, Inyo County, the California Department of Transportation, the California Department of Fish and Game, and the LADWP.

⁹⁰ "Project Proposal, Eastern California Museum, County of Inyo, Phase I Improvement & Expansion Project," September 1996, File A44 Eastern California Museum Tour Project, Box 6, RCF, MANZ.

under NPS auspices, had to be canceled when the Site found itself too short-staffed to take it on. However, the tour project led to a cooperative agreement between Manzanar National Historic Site and Friends of the Eastern California Museum for ongoing services, which was signed on September 30, 1999.⁹¹

The Manzanar History Association and the Friends of Manzanar

Superintendent Hays turned to the Friends of the Eastern California Museum and especially Bill Michael for help in establishing a cooperating association. Hays and Lynch first considered joining an existing cooperating association, such as the Western National Parks Association, but they soon decided that taking that course would run the risk of allowing Manzanar to “get lost in the shuffle of the bigger history associations,” as Hays put it. Furthermore, Hays and Lynch both felt a tug to enter into a formal cooperative relationship with the Eastern California Museum, since the museum was already involved with the Manzanar story and the museum had anticipated some kind of arrangement as curator for the NPS unit, only to find out later that NPS policy would not allow it because the museum did not own the land on which the museum building stood. (The museum leased the land from the LADWP.) So Hays asked the Friends of the Eastern California Museum if it would take on the role of Manzanar’s cooperating association, and the group agreed to do it. The Manzanar History Association was formed in 2003 with the aim of fulfilling the traditional role of a national park cooperating association, namely, to assist the Site in its interpretive, educational, and research activities and to provide interpretive and educational services to the public. These duties included running the visitor center bookstore. Like all national park cooperating associations, the Manzanar History Association was set up as a nonprofit organization under the several authorities specific to this type of entity.⁹² Its first executive director was Mary Daniel. During her term in office, the association launched the bookstore operation and sponsored special events and exhibits at the Site once the Manzanar Interpretive Center was opened.

When the Manzanar Advisory Commission was terminated in 2002, Superintendent Hays looked to the commissioners and especially Rose Matsui Ochi for help in establishing a Manzanar friends group that would partially fill the void left by the commission. In the fall of 2003, former commission members from both Los Angeles and the Owens Valley gathered in L.A. with selected guests to discuss the idea of a friends group. Among the NPS representatives who attended this meeting

⁹¹ The following documents all come from File A44 Eastern California Museum Tour Project, Box 6, RCF, MANZ. The documents are: Ross Hopkins to Bill Michael, July 21, 1998; Eastern California Museum, “Historic Walking Tour Schedule – September, 1998, flyer, August 28, 1998; FY99 Challenge Cost Share Program Application, undated; Regional Director to Superintendents, Pacific West Region, undated; Hopkins to Michael, January 20, 1999; and Cooperative Agreement between Manzanar National Historic Site and Friends of the Eastern California Museum, September 30, 1999.

⁹² Superintendent’s Annual Report for 2005, electronic files, MANZ; “Cooperating Association Agreement between the National Park Service and the Friends of the Eastern California Museum dba Manzanar History Association,” May 20, 2003, File MHA – Cooperative Agreements/FECM, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Hays interview; Lynch interview.

was Ray Murray of the Pacific West Region's Partnerships Office. Ochi brought Lillian Kawasaki, a longtime friend and colleague in Los Angeles city government who had just taken a job with the LADWP. Over the preceding decade, Kawasaki had served as L.A.'s first Asian American chief of environmental affairs. Kawasaki and former commission member Dennis Otsuji became the Friends of Manzanar's charter co-chairs.⁹³

It was a sign of the times that Hays pushed to get a friends group in operation even before the cooperating association was fully established. Relatively new entities, friends groups of national parks were formed to raise money outside the regular federal appropriations process, mainly through private donations. One of the first such organizations was the Yosemite Fund, established in 1985 and incorporated in 1988. During the 1990s, the NPS came to lean more and more on the private sector to pay for things outside of a park's base operations, and by the early 2000s even small units such as Manzanar were forced to get in the game of forming a friends group for the purpose of fundraising. Usually, friends groups raised a small amount of money through membership dues, but they raised larger amounts by obtaining a few big donations from wealthy donors. Board members were selected not only for what they knew about a park unit, but for who they knew in the world of fundraising. The Friends of Manzanar's board members represented two very different demographic groups: Owens Valley residents and the Los Angeles Japanese American community. It was dominated by the latter with the notable exceptions of Chris Langley, director of the Lone Pine Film History Museum, and later Dick Mansfield, a Manzanar volunteer from Palo Alto, California.⁹⁴ Donations to the group came primarily from people in Los Angeles and other cities who lived far away from Manzanar but nonetheless cared deeply about the place. For its initial project, the Friends of Manzanar raised enough money for the reconstruction of the Site's one guard tower, which was completed in 2005.⁹⁵

“Ten Thousand Stories” through Exhibits and Film

This chapter has focused on all the activity that occurred in order to make Manzanar National Historic Site fully operational and ready for visitors. While those management activities were varied and comprehensive, they centered on making the auditorium into a visitor center to present the Site's history. This major development phase in the Site's history began in 1997 when the NPS secured title to the land, and it ended eight years later in April 2004 when the Site held its grand opening. To

⁹³ “Lillian Kawasaki, Friends of Manzanar Co-Founder, Dies at 62,” *Rafu Shimpo, Los Angeles Japanese Daily News*, July 23, 2013; “Lillian Kawasaki dies at 62; L.A.'s first environmental affairs chief,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 2013; Hays interview; Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁹⁴ Other involved locals included Doug Thompson of the Whitney Portal Store, Julie Tiede of Independence, Joe DeAgüero of the Bishop Chamber of Commerce, and eventually Don Bright, son of Keith Bright. Alisa Lynch comments, September 28, 2017.

⁹⁵ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, electronic files, MANZ.

conclude this story, we return to the auditorium and the efforts directed at preparing the renovated building's interior space and exhibits to tell the Manzanar story.

According to Alisa Lynch, two NPS personnel beyond the Manzanar staff were crucial to the success of this interpretive undertaking: Lynne Nakata, interpretive specialist at the Pacific West Regional Office, and Don Kodak, interpretive planner at Harpers Ferry Center. Their involvement with the Site dated back to the early stages of Manzanar's GMP process. From small budget details to big-picture interpretive vision for the Site, Nakata and Kodak "set the groundwork for the visitor center and interpretive media projects," said Lynch.⁹⁶

The last piece of the construction package for converting the auditorium was the design and construction of exhibits and the making of the documentary film. Although Harpers Ferry Center was given the lead in producing these items, eventually much of the effort fell to Manzanar staffers. To begin with, they were in the best position to work closely with the Manzanar Advisory Commission and Japanese American individuals on the content of exhibits. Because of these connections, Manzanar employees were deeply immersed in the subject matter at hand, and through the media development process they determined that much of the material provided by contractors and Harpers Ferry Center would require major revisions, some of which they took on themselves. Beyond accuracy and tone, they were invested in making the Site's story as compelling as it deserved to be. Numerous public meetings and countless hours of historical research, writing, and review went into exhibit preparation.⁹⁷

Exhibit planning began with a contracted evaluator, Harris Shettel, organizing five focus groups in Los Angeles to learn "what the potential (target) audience likes, dislikes, is interested in, knows (and does not know) about the subject matter." This early input would "inform decisions related to both the content and the 'style'" of the Site's exhibits. At an inner-city high school in L.A., Harris met with two student groups. At the Japanese American National Museum, he met with one group of Japanese Americans who had been incarcerated during the war, one group of Japanese American community leaders, and one group of members of the general public visiting the museum that day. In his "front end evaluation" of February 2001, Harris reported two "mega messages" from these meetings. First, people were most interested in what living behind barbed wire was like for those confined at Manzanar. "The internment 'story' is really an almost infinite number of individual, personal stories, with their own drama," the report read, "each one different yet each one adding to the overall texture of the experience like a patchwork quilt." (This sentiment pointed the NPS towards its "Ten Thousand Stories" interpretive umbrella.) Secondly, despite a mostly

⁹⁶ Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

⁹⁷ As reported by the superintendent: "Fiscal Year 2003 at Manzanar was almost entirely focused on developing exhibits and media in anticipation of the April 2004 grand opening of the Manzanar Interpretive Center. The interpretive staff (a Chief and three park rangers – one permanent and two terms) worked extensively with Harpers Ferry Center and numerous contractors on planning, research, writing, designing, and reviewing exhibits and audiovisual programs... The 'behind the scenes' efforts of the staff... are the culmination of years of effort by the National Park Service, its partners, and the Japanese American Community." Superintendent's Annual Report for 2003, File A26, ACF, MANZ.

sympathetic public, the Site would face a major challenge in explaining how forced relocation and incarceration of American citizens was permitted in the 1940s and how this spoke to contemporary values and democratic institutions.⁹⁸

Exhibit design and content was contracted to Krister Olmon, Inc., which collaborated with Heather Lindquist of Harvest Moon Studio. Harvest Moon hired Naomi Hirahara, a Japanese American writer of mysteries and biographies, to participate in the project. Coincidentally, Krister Olmon's wife Sheri was Japanese American and his design assistant Eileen Hirake's father, Sammy, was incarcerated at Manzanar. This team submitted its exhibit concept plan to the NPS for review in March 2002.⁹⁹

NPS staff, individuals who had been incarcerated at Manzanar, historians, and other academics commented on this document. In July, the design team submitted a revised plan, along with a "notebook" of draft text for the exhibit panels. Promptly, Superintendent Hays distributed these materials to over three dozen citizen reviewers. The NPS hosted two special meetings for these selected reviewers in early August, one at the Japanese American Museum in L.A. and one in the American Legion Hall in Independence. A scale model of the exhibit hall and examples of draft exhibit components were displayed, and attendees were invited to discuss their opinions with NPS staff. Additional "open house" meetings were conducted, one in each locale, for the general public to evaluate the draft exhibit display.¹⁰⁰

Twenty-one people offered detailed written comments on the interpretive package. Half were NPS employees and the remainder included several Manzanar volunteers, several academics, and Manzanar Advisory Commission members Sue Embrey, Bill Michael, Gann Matsuda, and Dennis Otsuji. Many reviewers expressed appreciation for the contractors' efforts to date, but some thought the exhibit plan was trying to do too much, with too many bells and whistles (even detracting from what the Site itself, beyond the visitor center's interior, had to offer visitors). Also, some believed strongly that more attention needed to be paid to the Site's pre-World War II history. As for exhibit content on the Manzanar War Relocation Center, more direct ties to contemporary civil rights challenges were needed, some reviews stressed, and most importantly, emotion needed to be incorporated into the interpretive presentation overall. As Matsuda wrote, a lot more work needed to be done,

especially in terms of evoking an emotional response from visitors. This is absolutely essential. . . . We must do what we can to evoke the proper emotions from visitors and help them interpret them and learn from them, along with the factual material that we present. This is the only way we can

⁹⁸ Harris H. Shettel, Evaluation Consultant, "Manzanar Front End Evaluation: Focus Group Results," February 2001, electronic files, MANZ.

⁹⁹ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016; Lynch, email, January 31, 2017; Frank Hays, Superintendent, to Don Kodak, Harpers Ferry Center, memo, April 24, 2002, electronic files, MANZ.

¹⁰⁰ Frank Hays, Superintendent, to Bill Michael, and others, July 15, 2002, and Reviewers for Exhibit Concept Plan, July 3, 2002, electronic files, MANZ.

even hope to give visitors something close to a complete picture of what Manzanar is all about.¹⁰¹

Contractors Olmon and Lindquist submitted their “final exhibit package” in early 2003. Alisa Lynch and her staff were disappointed to see that many of the concerns they expressed about the last round of draft exhibits had not been addressed sufficiently, even though they had provided Olmon and Lindquist draft rewrites of certain panel text themselves. Diversity of perspectives – between and *within* groups of people (Issei, Nisei, Sansei, Owens Valley locals, camp staff, military men, distant federal officials, etc.) – was still lacking. “Information overload” remained a concern. Also, they were not satisfied with the tone of much of the written text. Overall, the exhibits still did not convey the interpretive message that the American public needed to hear, staff members believed. To this end, they offered this directive to the contractors: “Acknowledge that this was and is a complex, controversial, and emotionally charged topic.”¹⁰²

At this point, Krister Olmon, Inc., and Harvest Moon Studio felt they had fulfilled their contractual obligations to Manzanar; Lynch and rangers Kim Linse, Richard Potashin, and Kacy Lynn Guill disagreed. The Site staff began rewriting more exhibit text themselves at the same time that the Harvest Moon writers commenced another round of revisions. P.J. Lewis, project manager at Harpers Ferry Center, arranged for the contractors to meet with the Site staff to put a halt to the redundant effort and devise a joint plan to finish the exhibits. Based on a new approach proposed by Lindquist, the entire project “underwent a complete rewrite making personal stories the main focus,” Lynch said. Manzanar’s “One Camp, Ten Thousand Lives; One Camp, Ten Thousand Stories” interpretive paradigm finally took hold. In this final push, through the summer of 2003, Lindquist wrote most of the exhibit text, with Lynch, Linse, Potashin, and Guill sharing editing duties through multiple rounds for each panel. “Once we all had the same voice and vision, it was easier,” Lynch recalled. All interpretive media had to be essentially done by the fall of 2003 to allow time over the winter for the construction and installation of exhibits and the completion of interior lighting, heating, air conditioning, and furnishings.¹⁰³

From 2001 to 2003, the Manzanar interpretive staff also developed a unigrid brochure for the Site, with the assistance of Harpers Ferry Center. This process, too, included a public review. The brochure was produced in time for the April 2004 grand opening of the visitor center. The publication won a second-place National Association for Interpretation Media Award that year.¹⁰⁴

As the visitor center exhibits were coming together, a couple of Manzanar High School alumni thought something important was missing. The exhibit hall would be “lacking,” recalled Bruce Kaji, founder of the Japanese American National

¹⁰¹ Frank Hays, Superintendent, to Don Kodak, Harpers Ferry Center, draft memo, August 16, 2002, electronic files, MANZ.

¹⁰² Superintendent, Manzanar National Historic Site, to Project Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, rough draft, April 24, 2003, electronic files, MANZ.

¹⁰³ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017.

Museum, because visitors would be unable to tell “what the camp looked like.” The visitor center needed more than two-dimensional visuals of the camp in the form of photographs: it needed a diorama. (Although a camp model was in the Site’s original exhibit plans, funding was diverted to other features.) The Japanese American National Museum had a scale model of Manzanar, and Kaji and his former Manzanar classmates Sam Ono and Archie Miyatake consulted with its creator, Robert Hasuike, shortly before Hasuike died. A group of thirteen, all members of the Manzanar School Reunion Committee (which organized the annual gatherings of former Manzanar residents and their families), took on the task of building a camp model themselves for the visitor center. Sam Ono, a retired structural engineer, led the effort. In the fall of 2003, he constructed the hundreds of tiny barracks, and Archie Miyatake painted them by hand with a photo retouching brush. Using building measurements provided in NPS documentation of the Site, Ono designed a 400:1 diorama, but he had to enlarge the buildings a bit so viewers could appreciate their details. For about two months in early 2004, the larger team met on weekends in Ono’s brother-in-law’s boat trailer repair shop in L.A. to put the diorama together. Eleven men and two women, all of whom lived as teenagers in the confines of Manzanar, donated many, many volunteer hours to recreate the camp in miniature. The model was transported to Manzanar Historic Site in pieces and installed shortly before the visitor center’s grand opening.¹⁰⁵ The NPS eventually provided a wood base and plexiglass sides for the model, added a credit panel and a large reader rail panel, and installed a large Sierra Nevada photo behind the display.

The final element in Manzanar’s interpretive program was an introductory film to be shown in the visitor center. Harpers Ferry Center had responsibility for production of the Manzanar film, just as it did for the design, manufacture, and installation of the indoor exhibits. Although requiring its own series of revisions, the filmmaking process was more expeditious than that of the exhibits and was completed first. Harpers Ferry Center wrote the specifications for the film contract, prepared a call for proposals, selected a contractor, and managed the contract. The contract went to Signature Communications, owned by filmmaker John Allen. Some people were surprised when the NPS did not award the contract to a Japanese American outfit with personal connections to the World War II relocation and incarceration history. Allen, a Caucasian, did not even have a connection with California or the West Coast; his company was located in Maryland. Some suggested that the contract should have gone to Bob Nakamura and Karen Ishizuka, a husband-and-wife team of filmmakers in Los Angeles. Nakamura had been confined in Manzanar as a boy, and Ishizuka’s step-mother’s family was in Manzanar. Ishizuka was film curator for the Japanese American National Museum, and when the NPS approached the museum about getting access to its archival footage the museum declined, possibly in deference to Ishizuka. As the Japanese American National Museum probably had the best collection of

¹⁰⁵ Bruce Kaji, interviewed by Martha Nakagawa, November 28, 2011, and Sam Ono, interviewed by Martha Nakagawa, September 1, 2010, Densho Digital Archive, at <http://archive.densho.org> <February 26, 2017>; Frank Hays, Superintendent, to Don Kodak, Harpers Ferry Center, memo, April 24, 2002, electronic files, MANZ.

Japanese American film to be found anywhere, the refusal was unfortunate. (The museum did provide the Site still images for use in its exhibits.)¹⁰⁶

The next problem for Harpers Ferry Center arose when Allen submitted his draft script. The Site's interpretive staff found it to be too laden with facts, too encyclopedic, and without enough focus on the human experience. They requested that the filmmaker tell the story in the first person from oral histories and published accounts rather than in the third person through the omniscient voice of a narrator. Allen agreed to rewrite the script.

However, when Allen submitted a "rough cut" of the film, there were more problems. Fortunately, Harpers Ferry Center had structured the contract so that NPS reviewers would get an early and timely look at the work in progress. NPS reviewers felt dissatisfied with how it was turning out. Concerned that Japanese Americans would find it wanting, the NPS had a public screening of the rough-cut version in Los Angeles in May 2002 and invited viewers to comment on it. While some people liked certain aspects of the film, a consensus formed that the it lacked an "emotional connection." Certain Nisei found it totally unacceptable.¹⁰⁷

By this time, the Site's staff had been collecting oral histories for a number of years from people who had been confined at Manzanar during the war. Most of the oral histories were audiotaped, but not all were transcribed. Lynch and Potashin believed some of these stories needed to be incorporated into the film. Although the filmmaker had not used any of this material, he had worked other oral history sources into the film script, having actors speak the lines, creating a first-person, voice-over narration. The negative response to the L.A. screening convinced Superintendent Hays to back his staff's insistence on a major overhaul. The filmmaker agreed to another round of revisions. Harpers Ferry Center modified the contract and added more funding to the project. Lynch and Potashin selected a group of their oral history subjects to do new audio recordings at a soundstage in Burbank. "It was an amazing feeling to sit there in silence and near darkness listening to their stories for two days," recalled Lynch. The recording session took place in November 2002, and from these interviews an audio track for the film was created. It worked. Reviewers found the final version of *Remembering Manzanar* to be an informative and emotionally engaging film. Following its premiere, the 22-minute documentary received numerous awards at film festivals. *Remembering Manzanar* also won a second-place National Association for Interpretation Media Award in 2004.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Lynch interview.

¹⁰⁷ Jane Wehrey to Alisa Lynch, email, May 21, 2002, and Heather Lindquist to Alisa Lynch, email, May 22, 2002, electronic files, MANZ; Hays to Brian Jones, June 7, 2002, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

¹⁰⁸ Brian Jones to John Allen, email, August 13, 2002, and Allen to Alisa Lynch, email, August 21, 2002, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Manzanar National Historic Site, Superintendent's Annual Report, 2004, A26 Reports, ACF, MANZ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016. *Remembering Manzanar's* film awards listed in the 2004 Superintendent's Report include: platinum at Worldfest; bronze at the Telly Awards; Peer Awards for best in show, editing, and independent documentary; bronze at the New York Festival; and gold at the Aurora Festival.

Once the visitor center opened, dozens of visitors could view the film at once in either of the building's two theaters, both with theater stadium-style seating. The completed exhibit hall featured one section of displays on the Site's "layers of history" prior to World War II. The remainder of the exhibits focused on the forced removal and confinement of Japanese Americans during the war, with emphasis on the Manzanar War Relocation Center and its inhabitants. The diorama created by the former Manzanar teens was a welcome addition. For context, the NPS exhibits backed up to the topic of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Asian immigration to the U.S. and the escalating racism Asians experienced prior to the war. The exhibits extended chronologically beyond the World War II era to address the redress movement, the efforts of key individuals to preserve Manzanar, and the Site's relevance to the nation's civil rights issues in the twenty-first century. Audiovisual programs, a few artifacts, and lots of historic photographs were utilized throughout the exhibit hall. Elements of barbed-wire fencing and a half-sized guard tower ascending into the high ceiling provided tangible reminders of the camp's most indelible symbols. Most dramatically, at the back of the exhibit hall, a three-panel screen, rising nearly to the ceiling, listed the names of 11,070 Japanese Americans confined at Manzanar. The names were superimposed upon a Dorothea Lange street scene of the camp, with the Sierra Nevada looming above. Once visitors were finished viewing the exhibits, they could walk behind this giant graphic and exit the visitor center through its western doors, to explore the Site with the identical Sierra backdrop.

The grand opening took place on April 24, 2004, the day of the 35th Manzanar Pilgrimage. An estimated 2,500 people attended the event. An hour-long ceremony was held on the west side of the Manzanar Interpretive Center, outside the former auditorium's historical entrance. The program included remarks by Japanese American dignitaries, political representatives, and NPS officials, including Director Fran Mainella and Regional Director John Reynolds. Sue Kunitomi Embrey represented the Manzanar Committee, and Rose Matsui Ochi represented the former Manzanar Advisory Commission. Musical selections were performed by a Japanese American Taiko drum group, an Owens Valley Paiute drum group, and "Songbird of Manzanar" Mary Kageyama Nomura. After the ceremony, a big band ensemble called For the Love of Swing entertained visitors on the visitor center's south side, as people enjoyed more than 3,000 cookies baked by local residents.¹⁰⁹ Many JACL members attended, and Kenneth K. Inouye, the organization's national vice president for public affairs, wrote to Superintendent Hays afterwards: "Your efforts over the many years to involve the community to provide a unique and awe inspiring experience at the center are a treasure that will be remembered for decades to come."¹¹⁰

The accomplishment of bringing the Manzanar Interpretation Center to fruition was lauded by NPS leadership as well. Alisa Lynch was honored with the 2004 Freeman Tilden Award for excellence in interpretation for the Pacific West Region.

¹⁰⁹ "Grand Opening of the Interpretive Center and Park Headquarters in the adaptively restored Manzanar High School auditorium," no date (briefing statement), File FY03 Grand Opening, Tom Leatherman Files, MANZ.

¹¹⁰ Kenneth K. Inouye to Frank Hays, June 15, 2004, File A38 Public Relations, ACF, MANZ.

In 2005, Frank Hays received a Department of the Interior Superior Service Award. Later that year, the Department bestowed its Unit Award for Excellence of Service to Manzanar National Historic Site as a whole. Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton presented this award “in recognition of the outstanding accomplishments of park and regional office staff leading up to the inauguration of the new Visitor Center at Manzanar National Historic Site.” The citation specifically praised Superintendent Hays and interpretation chief Lynch for their extensive outreach to Japanese Americans. It also noted the contributions of John Slaughter, Manzanar’s facility manager, in overseeing the construction contract, and two regional employees, interpretive planner Lynne Nakata and public affairs specialist Holly Bundock.¹¹¹

Lynch lamented that the unit award did not acknowledge other NPS staff who had devoted years to the development of the Site, namely, Manzanar’s administrative officer Misty Knight, WACC archeologist Jeff Burton, and rangers Kim Linse, Richard Potashin, and Kacy Lynn Guill. Burton was recognized with other national honors; for his work at Manzanar, he received the John L. Cotter Award for Excellence in NPS archeology in 2001 and the NPS Appleman-Judd Award for Excellence in Cultural Resources Management and Stewardship Award in 2004.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Gale A. Norton, “Citation, Unit Award for Excellence of Service, Manzanar National Historic Site Visitor Center,” no date, document provided by Alisa Lynch, MANZ.

¹¹² Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017.

Chapter Seven

Managing a Difficult Legacy, 2004-2016

In 2004, the year of its grand opening, Manzanar National Historic Site saw a 25 percent increase in visitation from the year before and 100 percent increase from the year 2000, from 38,000 to almost 76,000. For the next dozen years, its annual visitation averaged around 80,000. In 2016, the centennial year of the National Park Service, a record 105,000 people visited the Site. Manzanar's visitation statistics compared favorably with many other national historic sites, and they could be interpreted as a reflection of strong continuing interest in the Manzanar story given the fact that the Site occupies such a sparsely populated valley. On the other hand, the spacious Manzanar Interpretive Center – which came to be called simply “the visitor center” – would sometimes see just a trickle of visitors, especially in the off season, and given the high volume of traffic travelling by on U.S. 395, the staff hoped to see many more passersby stop and enjoy what the Site offered. A Caltrans study in 2004 estimated that the Owens Valley received a whopping seven million person-days of recreational use that year, implying that Manzanar visitors made up only about 1 percent of all Owens Valley recreationists. A decade later, of the estimated 3.5 million motorists who drove past Manzanar on U.S. 395, only about 2 percent of them stopped at the Site. Yet in 2015 and 2016, the Site's annual visitation was trending upwards markedly.¹

From the beginning, NPS and volunteer staff at Manzanar National Historic Site had been passionate about the place and wanted to share its message. Archeologist Jeff Burton had traveled to Japan six times to study Japanese gardens and give lectures to Japanese garden associations.² He and other staff members had presented at symposia, taken part in workshops, and published in professional journals.³ Their exceptional dedication and sensitivity to the story was evidenced by many awards bestowed on individual personnel and the Site over the years.

¹ Caltrans, “Manzanar Four-Lane Widening Project, Environmental Assessment with a Finding of No Significant Impact, Initial Study with a Negative Declaration,” April 2004, File L76 Environmental Impacts, ACF, MANZ; Bernadette Johnson, interviewed by Theodore Catton and Diane Krahe, November 12, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection. Also, see Appendix 2.

² Jeffery F. Burton and Mary M. Farrell with Erin Brasfield, Eddie Noguchi, Richard Potashin, and Laura Wai Ng, *A Place of Beauty and Serenity: Excavation and Restoration of the Arai Family Fish Pond Block 33, Barracks 4, Manzanar National Historic Site, California* (Manzanar National Historic Site: National Park Service, 2014), 2.

³ For example: Frank Hays published an article in *The Public Historian* in 2003; Patricia Biggs and Rose Masters presented talks at the Minidoka Civil Liberties Symposium in 2014; and Alisa Lynch

Leadership and Staffing

The park staff experienced growing pains when the visitor center opened and administrative offices were consolidated in one building. Prior to the opening, the staff were in three separate places: Superintendent Hays, Misty Knight, and Gretel Enck were in one leased building in Independence; Alisa Lynch and the interpretive staff were in another; and facility manager John Slaughter and maintenance worker Fred Phillips occupied a construction trailer on site. When all these individuals moved into close offices in the same building, various conflicts developed. There were perceived differences in levels of personal commitment to the Site as well as personality clashes. The dysfunction was significant enough to warrant two attempts at conflict resolution with the help of a professional facilitator. While those efforts helped, the situation did not improve markedly until staff turnover presented opportunities for new relationships and new beginnings.⁴

Superintendent Frank Hays left Manzanar in July 2005 after four years in the post. Ann Huston of Channel Islands National Park then stepped in as acting superintendent for three months. In October 2005, the NPS completed its search for a new superintendent and Deputy Regional Director Cicely Muldoon selected Tom Leatherman. Muldoon had recently received a promotion from superintendent of Pinnacles National Monument, where Leatherman was chief of natural and cultural resources, so she knew him well from their prior association there. Pinnacles, which became a national park in 2012, encompasses a portion of California's Coast Ranges about 80 miles south of San Francisco Bay.

Leatherman was eager to manage a small unit such as Manzanar, having set his sights on becoming a park superintendent. Like Hays, his academic training was in botany and vegetation ecology. Previously, he had worked on a planning team in southern Utah, and prior to that he had begun his NPS career with an earlier stint at Pinnacles.⁵

Although he was a California native, Leatherman had little prior knowledge of the World War II history of Japanese Americans' incarceration reflected at Manzanar. His first real exposure to the Site came a few weeks before he started on the job when he attended the dedication of the replica Guard Tower No. 8 in September. The dedication took place in front of the new thirty-eight-foot tower under a typical Owens Valley cloudless blue sky. Joining the audience of several dozen people who sat in rows of folding chairs, he listened to remarks by Sue Kunitomi Embrey, Rose Matsui Ochi, Bill Michael of the Eastern California Museum, Lillian Kawasaki of the Friends

spoke at a workshop co-sponsored by the NPS and George Washington University in 2014. Archeologist Laura Ng presented a talk on Manzanar at the European Association of Archaeologists Conference in the Czech Republic in 2013; completed her masters thesis "Altered Lives, Altered Environments: Creating Home at Manzanar Relocation Center" at the University of Massachusetts, Boston in 2014; and with Stacey Camp published an article entitled "Consumption in World War II Japanese American Incarceration Camps" in *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism* in 2015.

⁴ Tom Leatherman interview by Theodore Catton and Diane Krahe, December 5, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection; Misty Knight review comments, November 28, 2016; Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016; Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁵ Leatherman interview.

of Manzanar, Alisa Lynch of the Site staff, and Acting Superintendent Huston. The tower dedication gave Leatherman an inspiring introduction to Manzanar. As superintendent, he became engrossed not only by the history at Manzanar, but also by the whole, massive, historical canvas of World War II in the Pacific and the movement to preserve other related sites. One of Leatherman's keen interests while superintendent at Manzanar was to help develop the congressionally-funded Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program with a further view to organizing the disparate World War II sites into a formal network or unit within the National Park System. (More on that later in the chapter.) He took that interest with him when he moved on from Manzanar to become deputy superintendent over Rosie the Riveter/World War II Homefront National Historical Park in Richmond, California, along with three other small units in the Bay Area.⁶

Besides acquiring a new superintendent in 2005, the NPS acquired a new facility manager in Ralph Bell, who transferred from Mount Rainier National Park. Meanwhile, five new positions were added to the Manzanar staff roster. Two new permanent maintenance worker positions were filled by Bob Clyde and Troy Strawn. Another permanent interpretive park ranger position was added to the existing one, and with the departure of Kim Linse, Carrie Andresen and Mark Hachtmann filled those two slots. Strawn, Andresen, and Hachtmann were still at Manzanar in 2016 when this history concluded, in step with the Site's notable retention of dedicated staff over the long term. And two permanent park guides were hired in 2005: Erin Brasfield-Rose and Gretel Enck, who had already worked at the Site since 2003 as administrative assistant. The Site's very first park guide, Sarah Bone, was hired in May 2004 as a one-year term employee. Although lower on the General Service or GS ladder than rangers, park guides contributed to Manzanar's development and operations with no less gusto. One example was Gretel Enck, who received a Pacific West Region Tilden Award in 2007 for her efforts to coordinate the installation of a traveling exhibit on the Soviet Gulag, a joint Russian-American collaboration, at the Eastern California Museum. The museum hosted the exhibit because the Manzanar visitor center did not have sufficient space.⁷

Former Superintendent Hays had positioned the Site to make these new hires by securing a substantial increase in base funding prior to his departure. The base funding increase came in conjunction with the opening of the visitor center and the growing complexity of park operations that went with that. The staff was heavily weighted toward the interpretive program. That seemed to be justified by the interpretive program's heavy workload, which included ongoing research, oral history, and collections management – all functions that might be handled by a cultural resources division as soon as one could be formed.

⁶ Leatherman interview; Jon Klusmire, "Tower standing guard over history, Manzanar," *Inyo Register*, September 22, 2005.

⁷ Leatherman interview; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, draft; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2007 electronic files, MANZ.

In 2008, the staff experienced considerable turnover, including another change of superintendents. Misty Knight, who had been in administration since 1999, left in April to become budget officer for the Southeast Utah Group including Arches and Canyonlands National Parks. The Site's new administrative officer, Anne Ashe, came from Mojave National Preserve, and had previously worked with Ralph Bell at Mount Rainier, as had Administrative Assistant Linda Birkett, who arrived at Manzanar in 2006. Leatherman departed Manzanar in August 2008 to become deputy superintendent of the National Park Service's four historic sites in the East Bay. Shortly after his departure, Alisa Lynch successfully nominated him for a Superintendent of the Year for Cultural Resources Award.

Les Inafuku, a longtime law enforcement ranger at Yellowstone National Park and chief ranger at Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park and Pu`uhonua O Hōnāurau National Historical Park (on the big island of Hawaii), arrived at Manzanar on a temporary detail as acting superintendent in September. He would be selected as the superintendent later in the year and begin on the job on January 5, 2009, following two months back in Hawaii at the end of the year. In the meantime, facility manager Ralph Bell left Manzanar and took a position at the Bay Area cluster of parks where Leatherman had transferred to. Troy Strawn, a member of the maintenance crew who had worked under both Slaughter and Bell, was invited to serve as Manzanar's acting facility manager. Two years later Strawn was hired as facility manager by Les Inafuku.⁸

Meanwhile, a couple more maintenance positions and one additional interpretive position were added to the Site staff. Ed Murdy and Gerry Enes's maintenance positions were changed from term to permanent, John Kepford was hired in maintenance as well, and Nancy Hadlock joined the interpretive staff. The new positions increased the size of the staff to sixteen FTEs: fifteen year-round employees and three seasonal employees.⁹

Les Inafuku was Manzanar's first Japanese American superintendent. Lynch observed how favorably Japanese Americans responded to him when he came to the Site on temporary detail, and she was delighted when the NPS selected him for the permanent job. While he was back in Hawaii for two months, she kept in touch with him by telephone, telling him he was going to be a "rock star" with his fellow Japanese Americans. Inafuku was not disappointed, recalling how he felt "very, very welcomed."¹⁰

Inafuku's ethnic heritage is of interest to this history, for it illustrates how diverse and textured the Japanese American experience in World War II was, and what it meant for people like him who were born after the war. Although Inafuku was raised in the Los Angeles suburb of Gardena, the city with the largest concentration of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles County, he did not grow up with a curiosity about the camps. Nor, when he was a young man, did he have to come to grips with the fact

⁸ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008, electronic files, MANZ; Troy Strawn, interviewed by Theodore Catton, November 6, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

⁹ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008, electronic files, MANZ.

¹⁰ Inafuku interview.

that the U.S. government had incarcerated his parents and uncles and aunts in World War II. That was because his parents and their siblings were all born in Hawaii, as was he, and the Japanese American experience in Hawaii during World War II was different from the Japanese American experience on the mainland. In Hawaii, the Japanese immigrant population was so vital to the labor force that the U.S. government largely left them alone.¹¹

Before the war, Inafuku's father worked on a cattle ranch outside of Honolulu. Inafuku's father and his siblings lived in an employee village on the ranch with other ranch hands and their families, many of whom were also of Japanese ancestry. When the U.S. went to war with Japan, Inafuku's father's family kept on working at the ranch basically without experiencing any trouble from the authorities. Inafuku's uncle got picked up by the FBI for questioning the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, apparently because he was holding three different part time jobs and that made him a suspicious character to the FBI. However, the interrogation was so brief and civil as to be almost humorous in the uncle's retelling of it. Another uncle joined the army and served with fellow Nisei in the 100th Infantry Battalion, and Inafuku recalls the family's enduring pride in his uncle's valorous service. As the war went on, Inafuku's father reached an age where he was assigned the job of tending cattle when they were shipped in lots to the mainland. Inafuku now takes note of the interesting fact that his father sailed back and forth between Honolulu and the port of Los Angeles several times without incident despite his race.¹²

Inafuku's mother was born in Honolulu into a very poor Japanese family. When she was two, her parents gave her up for adoption. Her adoptive mother was also Japanese, and when she was five, her adoptive mother took her back to her homeland, the Japanese island of Okinawa. Thus, although Inafuku's mother was a U.S. citizen by birthright, she was raised as a Japanese. She was in her teens when the Pacific War began, and she experienced all the deprivations and horrors of the war, including the U.S. invasion of Okinawa and the Japanese army's last-ditch defense of the island, as a resident Okinawan. After the war, Inafuku's grandmother used her limited command of English to get a job with the American occupation forces, which led other Okinawans to brand her a traitor. Under such bleak conditions, Inafuku's mother reclaimed her U.S. citizenship and left for Hawaii to work on a pineapple plantation. As soon as she had saved enough money in Hawaii, she went back to Okinawa to get her adoptive mother and bring her to Hawaii. Sometime after that, she

¹¹ Nikkei, as people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii were known, numbered about 160,000 or 40 percent of the population of Hawaii in 1940. All of Hawaii was under Martial Law so everyone was treated the same. The U.S. government did incarcerate people in Hawaii and sent some to mainland camps, including Manzanar, but Nikkei were not subjected to the race-based policy that Japanese nationals and their children on the West Coast were subjected to. Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016. See also Jeffery F. Burton and Mary M. Farrell, *World War II Japanese American Internment Sites in Hawai'i* (Tucson, Ariz.: Trans Sierra Archaeological Research, 2007), 3.

¹² Inafuku interview.

met Inafuku's father at a movie theater in Honolulu. The two got married, and not long after Les was born, they moved to Gardena.¹³

As a young boy, Les Inafuku spoke more Japanese than English. In Gardena, many of his Japanese American friends attended Japanese language school at the Buddhist Church on Saturdays. When he reached a certain age, he asked his mother if he could go to the language school with his friends. She told him, "No, you're American, and there's no reason for you to know [Japanese] – I want you to be American." So, his Japanese language proficiency slowly fell away. He graduated from University of California at Santa Cruz with a degree in marine biology. On a trip to Yellowstone National Park, Inafuku discovered a passion for backpacking and decided then and there to pursue a career as a park ranger. He worked twenty-six years in Yellowstone and another six in Hawaii, prior to his appointment to Manzanar.¹⁴

Inafuku took the helm when the Manzanar staff once again was experiencing some interpersonal conflicts and coordination between divisions was challenged. Inafuku attempted, like Superintendent Hays five years earlier, to fix the situation by bringing in a consultant for conflict resolution. That effort notwithstanding, he became mired in one personnel problem after another, including one matter that grew so serious it required outside intervention and was sealed in the files. As the problems continued to fester, the NPS eventually conducted an Operations Review. An interdisciplinary team of six people from the Pacific West Region visited Manzanar in July 2011, interviewed all staff, and produced a 37-page report. The generic purpose of the Operations Review was to provide a thorough and expert analysis of how the Site was functioning and how it could be made to function better.¹⁵

One of the key observations by the team was that Manzanar appeared to be "a park at a transitional stage of its development." It was no longer a new unit in the National Park System. The burst of creative energy and fast pace of work that had propelled interpretive development, community outreach, and other elements of preparing the Site for visitors were not sustainable over the long run, the operations review team stated. Employee burnout was practically inevitable. The team posed a rhetorical question to Manzanar management: "How does it plan to sustain operations and partnerships for the long term?"

The team produced a critical though sympathetic report. Two paragraphs are quoted here to provide a flavor of the report's trenchant analysis and helpful tone:

High-emotion Story – The emotional story of Manzanar creates a highly charged work environment. The site seems to attract especially passionate and expressive employees who are committed and know that their work is important. The high profile site attracts interest and resources. In the future, the challenge will be to create a supportive work environment that sustains employee productivity and well-being and ensures that the staff has the

¹³ Inafuku interview.

¹⁴ Les Inafuku, "Aloha from Manzanar!" *Friends of Manzanar*, Fall 2008, 2; Inafuku interview.

¹⁵ Heading the team was Dave Brouillette, chief of facilities at Point Reyes National Seashore.

capacity to channel emotions, resources, and support into high value activities that achieve park goals.

Focus on Fundamentals – For the near term, the review team recommends a shift in focus to fundamentals, especially critical for Manzanar at this stage of the park’s evolution. Once the house is in order, the park staff will need to move from start-up and up-start to a fully functioning and comprehensive park organization. To reach a point of maturity, the Superintendent will need to place increased emphasis on change management to successfully negotiate this transition.¹⁶

Even before the Operations Review, Inafuku was intent on expanding Manzanar’s management staff. First in his sights was Jeff Burton, the longtime archeologist of Manzanar based at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson. Unfortunately, the NPS slashed WACC’s budget in 2007, which forced WACC to begin dismantling its archeology program, putting Burton’s job at risk. For the last two years of a four-year term appointment at WACC, Burton worked exclusively for Manzanar National Historic Site, an arrangement that resulted from a letter-writing campaign by Japanese Americans lauding Burton’s ongoing work at Manzanar. Then, Inafuku hired Burton at Manzanar as a six-month seasonal employee for two consecutive years until a permanent position could be established. In 2009, the Site received a base funding increase to establish a cultural resources program. In October 2010, Inafuku selected Jeff Burton for chief of cultural resources, and in January 2011 Burton joined the staff in that new capacity.¹⁷

Inafuku put Burton in charge of a new division of cultural resources management. The division was added to the existing three – administration, interpretation, and maintenance – for a total of four divisions. Integrating the new division required making some decisions about lines of responsibility between divisions. For example, the oral history program was moved from the interpretive division to the cultural resources division, and Burton contracted the work to outside entities. Lynch lobbied to return the oral history program to the division of interpretation, arguing that it dovetailed with interpretation’s outreach function, it provided key source material for many interpretive products, and it expanded the rangers’ firsthand knowledge and personal connections. After one year, the oral history program was moved from the cultural resources division back to the interpretation division.¹⁸

Lines of responsibility had to be worked out between the Cultural Resources Division and the Maintenance Division, too. For ten years, the Maintenance Division had been doing upkeep on all buildings, structures, and grounds. Now the cultural

¹⁶ Dave Brouillette, Sheri Forbes, Laura Kirn, Martha Lee, JoAnn Unruh, and Scott Wanek, “Manzanar National Historic Site Operations Review,” September 28, 2012, electronic files, MANZ, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷ Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Region, *Manzanar National Historic Site, Museum Management Plan* (Oakland: National Park Service, 2012), 36; Inafuku interview; Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016 and September 28, 2017.

¹⁸ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

resource staff took over preservation of historic buildings and structures, the orchard, and features of the cultural landscape. In theory, there was a clear line between the two divisions' responsibilities: if the building, structure, or other cultural landscape feature existed before 1945, then it was a cultural resource and the responsibility of the cultural resource staff; if an object dated from after the World War II era, then it was a maintenance responsibility. Reconstructed buildings and structures were classified as interpretive exhibits rather than cultural resources, so, for example, the Maintenance Division built the guard tower and had responsibility for maintaining it. However, the line between maintenance and cultural resources management sometimes was blurred. The Maintenance Division took care of the auditorium building, but it was supposed to consult cultural resource staff whenever a job order involved the building's historic fabric. Cleaning the boilers, for example, was strictly a maintenance job, whereas any work relating to the structure's historical character required a cultural resource manager's oversight, although sometimes such procedure was bypassed. The maintenance staff performed hazard tree removal and brush clearing occasionally, while cultural resource staff were responsible for managing all vegetation deemed historic, which was practically every tree.¹⁹

In choosing to create the Cultural Resources Division with the Site's latest base increase, Inafuku determined that resources management must take priority over law enforcement in improving the Site's overall staffing. Indeed, after a year at Manzanar he found there was very little need for a law enforcement ranger. While some federal properties in the region were targets of vandalism, break-ins, and other crimes, Manzanar had few problems – probably because it was off the highway and completely dark and unseen at night, Inafuku thought.²⁰ Other functions of a ranger division such as emergency medical aid and fire management were not as vital because the Site could draw on nearby communities and other national parks for help.

The Manzanar staff grew from sixteen FTEs in 2008 to around twenty FTEs in 2012. An org chart produced at the end of 2012 showed twenty-three employees, including four who were seasonal. Thirteen other employees' positions were classified as "permanent-subject-to-furlough," sometimes referred to as "career seasonal."²¹ After 2012, the size of Manzanar's permanent and seasonal staff did not increase, and as the budget flattened out the Site had to resort to furloughing employees to avoid terminating anyone. A robust internship program helped augment staffing at Manzanar, with interns serving in all of the Site's four divisions. For

¹⁹ Strawn interview. Besides the auditorium, the Maintenance Division maintained the demonstration block buildings and the vault toilet at the cemetery. The vault toilet was installed in the winter of 2008. See Facility Management FY 2007, draft prepared for Superintendent's Annual Report, electronic files, MANZ.

²⁰ Inafuku interview. A sampling of criminal incident reports from the Site's administrative files reinforces this point. There are descriptions of damage to a section of the perimeter fence and spent cartridges indicating an illegal bird hunt, a person observed illegally shooting and taking a pigeon, theft of the assorted memorabilia left on the cemetery monument, and poachers seen in the northwest corner of the Site, to cite a few of the reports. See File W34 Law Enforcement, ACF, MANZ. A significant criminal event did transpire at Manzanar on September 21, 2016, when about \$20,000 worth of equipment was stolen at night from the Site. Jeff Burton review comments, August 8, 2018.

²¹ "Current MANZ Org Chart (12/02/12)," Les Inafuku's electronic files, MANZ.

example, thirteen interns worked in the Cultural Resources Division from 2011 to 2016. With terms varying from a few months to one year in duration, most of the Site's interns were funded through the Student Conservation Association (SCA).

In 2011, Linda Birkett succeeded Anne Ashe as administrative officer. After Birkett, Joanna Bliel White, Cheryl Adams-Henson, Sarah Yarborough, Dominic Papia served as succeeding administrative assistants at Manzanar. In 2012, two maintenance positions were moved to the new Cultural Resources Division: John Kepford as exhibit specialist and Gerry Enes as arborist. After that change, Tony Weeter, Evan Garcia, and Daron Hayes served on the permanent maintenance staff. Dave Goto, great nephew of Dr. James Goto, who was incarcerated at Manzanar and served as the camp's chief of medical services, joined the Site's cultural resources team as a term mason helper in 2014; he was first hired on staff as a laborer in 2013. Kirk Peterson and Ted White served as park guides until 2012 when those two positions were left unfilled in favor of hiring an additional ranger through a student program. The new ranger was Rose Masters who had worked at Manzanar in various capacities (YCC, intern, seasonal) since 2002, and is, coincidentally, also the granddaughter of Keith Bright. Manzanar's permanent ranger staff in 2012 totaled five: Masters, Andresen, and Hachtmann, together with new hires Kristen Luetkemeier, who replaced Potashin the previous year, and Patricia Biggs, a newly minted Ph.D. in American history from Arizona State University.

External Relationships

Sue Embrey and Alisa Lynch, who had become close friends and collaborators during the long run-up to the completion of the visitor center, nonetheless had differing views on how to celebrate its grand opening in April 2004. Lynch wanted the formalities of the day to center on the visitor center itself, and she invited Embrey to take part in the ribbon cutting in front of the former auditorium alongside NPS dignitaries and politicians. Embrey, however, wanted the main ceremony to take place out at the cemetery as part of the same-day Manzanar Pilgrimage event. Lynch pointed out that the grand opening was to celebrate the completion of a multi-million-dollar, multi-year NPS planning and construction effort. She believed the day's festivities should commemorate the work of the many different constituencies – inclusive of Japanese Americans beyond the Manzanar Committee – that brought about the completion of Manzanar National Historic Site as a fully functioning NPS unit. Embrey begged to differ, insisting that the grand opening ought to be framed as a consecration of thirty-five years of Japanese American grassroots advocacy led by the Manzanar Committee.²² Each of them had a valid point. Japanese Americans had long ago joined hands with NPS to make Manzanar National Historic Site what it had become, and the partnership would be a continuing feature of the Site identity on into the future. This NPS unit's connection to Japanese Americans was clearly its most important external relationship.

²² Lynch interview.

This partnership started from the tiny kernel of Manzanar's 1976 listing on the National Register. It sprouted with the establishment of the Site in 1992, and then blossomed in the form of the Manzanar Advisory Commission that met from 1993 to 2002. In the twenty-first century, the NPS-Japanese American partnership had grown into a much broader partnership spanning additional World War II confinement sites as well as grant programs and other institutions. In fact, preservation efforts were underway for other confinement sites, such as Tule Lake in northern California and Heart Mountain, Wyoming, as early as the 1970s, and those sites were not far behind Manzanar in attracting notice by the NPS. Redress fueled a desire for a more comprehensive historic preservation effort aimed at the whole array of Japanese American confinement sites, from Idaho to Arkansas. As noted in Chapter Four, Japanese Americans pushed the NPS to conduct a national historic landmarks theme study of World War II confinement sites in the 1980s. The project sputtered out and had to be restarted after Manzanar National Historic Site was established.

Superintendent Ross Hopkins provided funds for Jeff Burton to travel to all ten major camp locations during the mid to late 1990s, justifying the work under the previously authorized theme study. From year to year, Hopkins and Burton expanded the scope to include assembly centers and Department of Justice internment camps as well. Burton and his volunteer team completed their report, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, in 1999. Vice President Al Gore cited the publication in a press conference during his run for president, which got it much notice. Then someone wrote a letter that was published in a Japanese American newspaper stating that everyone interested should request a copy. The NPS printed and sent out 3,500 copies before turning the popular report over to the University of Washington Press for commercial publication. The university press brought out its edition in 2002, resulting in an even wider distribution. The work was hugely important in kindling broad public support for a preservation effort embracing all World War II confinement sites.²³ The campaign reached a major milestone in the final days of the Clinton administration when the president proclaimed Minidoka National Monument in Idaho, bringing a second one of the ten World War II confinement sites into the National Park System.

Following Ross Hopkins's lead, Superintendent Frank Hays was keen to explore more ways in which the NPS could partner with Japanese Americans and support efforts to preserve World War II history across multiple sites. In October 2002, Hays organized a meeting at John Muir National Historic Site in the Bay Area. He brought in Civil War historians, World War II historians, and others to discuss how the sites could cooperate and collaborate.²⁴

The next month, the Japanese American National Museum hosted the first All-Camps Summit meeting in Los Angeles. The three-day conference marked the 60th anniversary of President Roosevelt's infamous executive order and featured speakers and workshops oriented toward preserving historic sites and historical memory. For a

²³ Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

²⁴ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

few years the All-Camps Summit became an annual event and a major venue for NPS officials and Japanese American groups and individuals to meet and exchange ideas.²⁵

Gerald Yamada, a lawyer and lobbyist in Washington, D.C., became one of the more vocal supporters for making other confinement sites into units of the National Park System. Commenting publicly on the need to preserve those places before all traces of the camps disappeared, he referred to the site at Jerome, Arkansas, where he was born, saying, “There’s absolutely nothing there. You can find some foundations. And one chimney. The memory will be lost.”²⁶ In 2003, Yamada formed the National Japanese American Political Action Committee to spearhead a legislative campaign. The political action committee, which was based out of his law office, soon came to represent thirty-three separate organizations under an umbrella group called the Japanese American National Heritage Coalition. Working on behalf of the coalition, and with the help of other Japanese American individuals, Yamada brought legislation before Congress to expand the National Park Service’s mandate to research, interpret, and protect other confinement sites. The legislative campaign culminated in the enactment of Public Law 109-441, the Japanese American Confinement Sites Preservation Act. President George W. Bush signed the measure into law on December 21, 2006.²⁷ The law directed the secretary of the interior to establish a preservation program within the NPS to support research, interpretation, and historical restoration in order that “present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from these sites and that these sites will demonstrate the Nation’s commitment to equal justice under the law.”²⁸

The campaign to dedicate more sites culminated with President Bush’s executive order, signed December 5, 2008, establishing Valor in the Pacific National Monument.²⁹ Valor in the Pacific National Monument was an unusual designation as it encompassed nine separate units in Hawaii, Alaska, and California. The Tule Lake Unit in northern California was to be administered by nearby Lava Beds National Monument. Several other camps and detention centers were listed on the National Register of Historic Places.³⁰

As other sites were commemorated, Manzanar’s status changed from being the singular, representative site of the World War II mass incarceration to the flagship for all Japanese American confinement sites. The change of status not only elevated

²⁵ Japanese American National Museum, “National Conferences,” at www.janm.org/projects/conferences <March 28, 2017>.

²⁶ John Spano, “Keeping Manzanar Memories Alive,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 2005.

²⁷ Grant Ujifusa, “Gerald Yamada Contributions to the Japanese American Community,” keynote speech at Japanese American Veterans Association luncheon, October 12, 2013, at https://www.grantujifusa.org/pdfs/Gerald_Yamada_III.pdf <March 29, 2017>.

²⁸ Public Law 109-441, 109th Congress, December 21, 2006, 120 Stat. 3288.

²⁹ Heart Mountain was preferred over Minidoka but no new national monuments could be proclaimed in the state of Wyoming, so Minidoka was selected instead based in part on information provided in *Confinement and Ethnicity*. Frank Hays said he was responsible for getting Tule Lake included in Bush’s executive order, again using information from the NHL theme study. Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

³⁰ Burton, et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 10.

Manzanar's profile, it also put new demands on Manzanar's staff. Superintendent Tom Leatherman, like his predecessors, was eager to lead. He organized a meeting at Manzanar for all NPS personnel involved in setting up the new sites. It was a sign of the project's massive geographic scope that this first NPS meeting centered around Japanese American confinement sites drew staff from three NPS regions – Intermountain, Midwest, and Pacific West – for these sites were distributed across the nation from California to Arkansas. Les Inafuku followed suit by bringing superintendents of these sites together for a meeting in Reno in 2009, which Alisa Lynch and Jeff Burton both attended as well. A number of Manzanar staff members had served as advisors for and reviewers of projects for the other sites. Lynch, for example, had been involved in projects for Tule Lake, Minidoka, Topaz, Bainbridge, and U.S.S. Arizona Memorial. Burton had conducted archeological studies at all the confinement sites, many as a WACC employee. As Lynch noted, "The influence of the work done at Manzanar is not confined to Manzanar. In some ways, we have set a standard for the preservation and interpretation of the confinement sites, but we also learn a lot from them."³¹

Yamada coined the term "confinement sites" to denote all sites relating to the forced relocation of Japanese Americans in World War II, and the term was carried into the 2006 legislation. After years of vigorous debate over the correct terminology for describing the World War II camps – a debate that Sue Embrey and the Manzanar Committee initiated in the early 1970s – the term went a long way to assuage feelings on both sides. The term was semantically correct, it did not have the ring of a euphemism or a whitewash like the WRA's "relocation center," nor did it seem excessively damning like the term "concentration camp." The NPS basically accepted the law's terminology. The debate went on, however. Interpretive materials at Manzanar generally eschewed the term "concentration camp," but members of the staff sometimes used it in their oral presentations. Inafuku remembered giving an address to an audience of Rotarians in Bishop. "The first time I said 'concentration camp,' I hesitated for a second afterwards, just to scan to see if there was going to be a reaction, and there wasn't."³²

Yamada also conceived the idea of creating a federal grants program in support of the preservation movement. He proposed to form a Japanese American-led commission to administer the grant program. Congress incorporated this proposal into the 2006 legislation, and the Japanese American Confinement Sites (JACS) Grant Program was established. But rather than form a separate commission to administer the program, Congress assigned the NPS to take charge of it. A powerful precedent existed in the NPS administration of the Civil War Battlefield Protection Program, as

³¹ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

³² Inafuku interview. The JAACL was already doing its own work on terminology. A woman from the Seattle chapter of the JAACL, Mako Nakagawa, wrote "The Power of Words" which the JAACL adopted as its official terminology position. See National JAACL Power of Words II Committee, *The Power of Words Handbook, A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II: Understanding Euphemisms and Preferred Terminology*, April 27, 2013, at <https://jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term.-Handbook.pdf> <March 29, 2017>. Aiko Hertzog and Roger Daniels also wrote about terminology previously. Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

well as other grant programs. The act authorized up to \$38 million for the life of the JACS program. The NPS was to review grant proposals and recommend awards to the secretary of the interior.³³

In the first year of the JACS program, there were nineteen awards totaling \$970,000. The Manzanar Committee received an award of \$49,400 that was applied to the production of a documentary film, *The Manzanar Fishing Club*, by Cory Shiozaki and Richard Imamura. The film told the story of people sneaking out of the Manzanar camp “underneath the barbed wire fence, searchlights and armed guards” to find solace in making fishing trips into the mountains. “The story of freedom and the survival of spirit will bring the internment story to a new audience,” the NPS reported. Other awards ranged from \$5,000 to nearly \$300,000 and were spread over ten states. The largest grant helped fund development of Heart Mountain Interpretive Learning Center at the site of the Heart Mountain camp in Park County, Wyoming. The 11,000-square-foot building – larger than the Manzanar visitor center – was completed the following year under a second grant for a total cost of a little over \$1 million. More recently, the grant program had assisted development of the Topaz Museum in Utah and the museum in McGee, Arkansas commemorating the Rohwer and Jerome camps.³⁴

In the second year of the grant program, the number of proposals and the dollar value of awards roughly doubled over the previous year’s. As the program gained steam, it was clear that the partnership between Japanese Americans and the NPS, which had largely begun with the Manzanar Committee and a tight focus on the Manzanar site, had ramified into a nationwide preservation movement. A grant award to the Japanese American Citizens League in 2010 was emblematic of the change. The grant-funded project involved several local chapters of the JACL and four separate confinement sites: Manzanar, Tule Lake, Minidoka, and Poston. The project aimed to engage Japanese American youth about the World War II history through educational workshops and in-service learning activities at the four confinement sites. Several grants went toward developing the lesser known story of how Japanese Americans in Hawaii experienced the war years. Numerous grant awards went to collecting oral histories from camp survivors, and those projects, too, were spread out geographically. Friends of Manzanar in collaboration with Densho obtained a JACS grant to do oral histories for the Densho archives. Through the JACS program a multitude of partnerships were fostered and facilitated between the NPS and Japanese American groups.

Sue Embrey died in May 2006. She had been the heart and soul of the Manzanar Committee since its founding. After her death, members considered disbanding the organization, but decided to keep it going primarily to keep the

³³ Public Law 109-441, 109th Congress, December 21, 2006, 120 Stat. 3288.

³⁴ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, “Public Law 109-441, Preservation of Japanese American Confinement Sites,” November 2009, 1-5, and National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, “Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program,” Winter 2010, 1, File Newspapers and Magazines, Series 3, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

pilgrimage alive as well as to continue the group's advocacy role in education and preservation. Sue Embrey's son, Bruce Embrey, took over leadership, with his cousin Kerry Cababa serving as co-chair. The Manzanar Committee's membership remained small; its semi-annual meetings drew from a dozen to thirty people. Besides sponsoring each year's pilgrimage, it publicized issues concerning Manzanar National Historic Site. NPS staff continued to consult the committee on key Site projects such as exhibits for the Block 14 structures and preparing *Manzanar National Historic Site, California, Foundation Document*, which was completed in 2016.³⁵

Although the Friends of Manzanar did manage to make sizeable donations to the Site for several major projects, the group did not coalesce into a fundraising powerhouse. After its initial success raising funds for the guard tower historical reconstruction (largely from one sizable gift from a single individual and from awards from the California Preservation Foundation and the Office of Historic Preservation of California State Parks), the group helped the Site with several smaller projects. The projects included restoration of historic vegetation at the west entrance to the visitor center, sponsoring of Volunteer Day activities, and financial assistance for oral histories. Meanwhile, the group had difficulty expanding its membership. Then its leader, Lillian Kawasaki, stepped down due to health reasons and the group's fundraising hit the doldrums. The Site asked the Friends of Manzanar to assist with the next stage of park development, historical reconstruction of buildings in Block 14, but the desired financial assistance was slow to materialize.³⁶ At last, in 2010, Friends of Manzanar scored another triumph when it received a \$58,833 grant from the Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program. Friends spent nearly a third of the grant to support research for the mess hall exhibits and the remainder was directed to Densho for fifteen new oral history interviews.³⁷ The group later raised \$80,000 that was applied to the rebuilding of the Block 14 women's latrine in 2016. With its board suffering both stagnation and attrition, the Friends of Manzanar was mostly inactive in recent years. Because of this, several donors chose to make donations directly to the NPS for projects.³⁸

The 1999 cooperative agreement between Manzanar National Historic Site and Friends of the Eastern California Museum lapsed in time, but the Site continued to collaborate with the museum on various events and projects, including the 2007 Gulag exhibit. The Site also funded the posting of some of the Eastern California Museum's Manzanar collections on the Densho website.³⁹

³⁵ Manzanar Committee Meeting Minutes Annual Meeting 2 of 2, February 18, 2006, Sue Embrey files, Manzanar Committee, Los Angeles; Bruce Embrey interview (2014); Alisa Lynch review comments, April 28, 2016.

³⁶ Although the GMP called for the development of both Block 14 and Block 8 – and the firebreak in between – as one demonstration area, the Manzanar staff decided to focus its efforts primarily on Block 14.

³⁷ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2006, draft, electronic files, MANZ; *Friends of Manzanar*, Spring 2009 (newsletter), 1, 3, 7, and "Block 14 Mess Hall Exhibit, Manzanar National Historic Site, June 30, 2008, Interpretive Division files, MANZ; Mike Gervais, "Grant to help fund new project at Manzanar," *Inyo Register*, January 4, 2011.

³⁸ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

³⁹ Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

Manzanar National Historic Site continued to deal with the LADWP on land and water issues. With water rights owned by the City of Los Angeles, the NPS had to purchase its water through an agreement with the LADWP. Early on, this arrangement was directed toward providing a supply of drinking water for visitor center operations. When it was found necessary to irrigate the orchard, the arrangement became somewhat strained. A second well supplied water for the orchard. Some NPS officials warned that the groundwater supply was being depleted. As of 2016, the NPS was seeking funding for a replacement well for the orchard.⁴⁰

The NPS also needed cooperation from the LADWP to address flood control issues. Superintendent Hopkins first highlighted the problem in the 1990s, and further studies were undertaken at the request of Superintendent Hays. A report in 2005 stated that “flooding and associated erosion at Manzanar National Historic Site, while not frequent, had the potential to destroy many irreplaceable features present within the site.” Various alternatives of constructing levees upslope from the site, digging channels through the site, burying underground aquifers under the site, or building more elaborate diversion ditches northwest of the site were all considered, but nothing was done. The Site was spared more flood damage for several years. However, a series of flood events in the summers of 2013 and 2014 caused more deep gulying within the site. Whereas earlier flood events had buried cultural resources in debris, the flood in 2014 actually cut through a number of historic resources and tore away some of the historic fabric of the site. Jeff Burton investigated the flood damage and reported, “The 2013 and 2014 floods demonstrate that we can expect, and should prepare for, similar flood events in the future.”⁴¹ It remained to be seen how park management would follow through with flood control measures and whether it would receive the desired cooperation from the LADWP.

The Site had numerous other external relationships. Many of these already had been established by 2004 and continued without much change through the following decade. Besides the LADWP, the Forest Service, BLM, and the California Department of Transportation all maintained a large presence in the Owens Valley, and interagency cooperation remained a strong feature of the local political landscape. Superintendent Leatherman said he had never known a place where agencies put so much effort into communicating and coordinating with one another. He had a theory about it: the LADWP, the great landowner in the valley and historic foe of valley residents, created a “common enemy effect” that brought all other parties together. The legacy of the early-twentieth-century water wars lived on.⁴²

For example, the coalition of federal and state agencies, Indian tribes, and Inyo County formed a united front in pressuring the LADWP to remediate the dust pollution problem it had created long ago when it drained the water from Owens Lake.

⁴⁰ National Park Service, *Manzanar National Historic Site, California: General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement*, 33; Johnson interview.

⁴¹ Jeff Burton, “Flood Damage Assessment, August 3-4, 2014,” superintendent’s office documents library, MANZ.

⁴² Leatherman interview.

Prevailing strong winds whipped up dust from the powder-dry lakebed and carried it aloft for many miles. Emissions amounted to an estimated 80,000 tons, with 24-hour concentrations as high as 130 times the federal air quality standard; there was no greater source of dust pollution in the United States.⁴³ In 1987, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency ruled that the dust pollution was a human health hazard and had to be mitigated by the landowner, the LADWP. After spending a decade trying and failing to litigate its way clear of responsibility, the City of Los Angeles started on a reclamation project in 1998. However, despite half a billion dollars spent to re-engineer the lakebed, dust pollution was still a problem a decade on.⁴⁴

The U.S. Highway 395 widening project was another long-running concern in the valley. The highway carried a considerable volume of high-speed car traffic and long-haul truck traffic down the length of the sparsely populated valley. For decades, the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) worked on expanding the existing two-lane road into a four-lane highway one section at a time. Caltrans completed its first project study for the Independence to Manzanar section in 1991, one year before Manzanar National Historic Site was established. The project study called for a four-lane highway, with the existing road to serve south-bound traffic and a new, two-lane segment east of the existing alignment to serve north-bound traffic. The NPS began a dialogue with Caltrans when it developed Manzanar's GMP. Superintendent Ross Hopkins proposed a realignment of the highway past the Site. The existing highway alignment ran along the east edge of the Site, and Hopkins suggested that the new highway alignment make a long, gradual swing around the east side of the Site to afford a buffer area and a safer turnoff for highway motorists accessing the site. The existing two-lane section past the Site would then be turned into a low-speed frontage road. Visitors would drive a short distance on the frontage road before making their right-angle turn into the Site. Caltrans agreed to look at that option and made a new project study that offered four alternatives, with the second alternative providing for a 1.8-mile-long swing-out around Manzanar. Late in 1998, the NPS informed Caltrans that it favored the No. 2 alternative as it would avoid known cultural resources and minimize the impact of noise and visual intrusions on the historic scene. Caltrans selected that alternative. Had it not been for Hopkins's timely intervention, the expanded highway likely would have been built adjacent to the Site boundary.⁴⁵

⁴³ Sapphos Environmental, Inc., "2008 Owens Valley PM₁₀ Planning Area Demonstration of Attainment State Implementation Plan," report prepared for Great Basin Unified Air Pollution Control District, February 27, 2007, File Air Quality, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ. Dust emissions were measured in PM₁₀ or particulate matter up to 10 micrometers in size, a regulated air emission pursuant to the federal Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.

⁴⁴ Karen Piper, "Dreams, Dust and Birds: The Trashing of Owens Lake," *Places Journal* (January 2011) at <https://placesjournal.org> <August 17, 2016>.

⁴⁵ Edwin L. Rothfuss to Jonathan Adejei, Project Engineer, Caltrans, October 13, 1993, File Manzanar Park Proposal, and "Manzanar 4-Lane Project Programming and Cost History," no date, and Ross Hopkins to John Ensich, Caltrans District 9, October 21, 1998, File Caltrans, Series 5, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

The highway widening project continued to gestate as Caltrans sought funding. The NPS teamed with the BLM on a biological survey of the project area to check for threatened or endangered species. A travel study was completed in 2000 that provided better information on the volume and character of traffic on U.S. Highway 395. The study found that 68 percent of noncommercial traffic was recreation oriented, a significant finding for Manzanar National Historic Site.⁴⁶ In the ongoing dialogue between the NPS and Caltrans, the NPS agreed to assume ownership and maintenance responsibilities for the former highway section once it became frontage road. Federal and state funding finally became available in 2007, and work on the highway segment took place over 2009 and 2010 at a cost of around \$60 million.⁴⁷

The NPS had informal discussions with the BLM about doing a further land exchange to add more area to the Site. The area of interest was just northwest of the Site where the camp reservoir had been built near Shepherds Creek. As part of the WCCA's initial construction in March 1942, a contractor built a concrete dam, settling basin and 540,000-gallon reservoir to meet the camp's water needs. In 1943, the WRA employed Japanese Americans to enlarge the reservoir to 900,000 gallons. Workers had expressed themselves or left their names in the wet cement and the Japanese characters were still in evidence these many decades later, making an interesting display of historical graffiti. In recent years, the historical integrity of the reservoir had been compromised by ATV traffic and damage done by a LADWP backhoe; better protection of the resource was an obvious need, Superintendent Inafuku believed. He invited Bernadette Lovato (now Johnson), then manager of the BLM field office in Bishop, to inspect the site with him. Johnson agreed with Inafuku that it would make sense to add the area to Manzanar National Historic Site.⁴⁸

Any change to the boundary of Manzanar National Historic Site would require an act of Congress. It would not do, Johnson said, to seek legislation for one minor boundary adjustment after another. The NPS would likely have just one bite at the apple. Therefore, the NPS and BLM postponed action on this worthy land transfer to

⁴⁶ Findings were summarized in a 2004 report by Caltrans as follows: "U.S. Route 395 is a high emphasis route in the Interregional Road System... As a transportation corridor, it serves several purposes. First, the highway corridor is vital to the economy of the Eastern Sierra region for the shipment of goods and materials. The region imports virtually all of its food, clothing, and other goods. Second, this corridor has major recreational use as evidenced in more than 7 million visitor-days of recreation generated annually in the Eastern High Sierra." The travel study found that "36 percent of all vehicles coming into the Eastern Sierra Region originated from Southern California, with an average personal vehicle occupancy of 2.5 persons per vehicle. Trucks (including buses and recreational vehicles) composed 16.6 percent of the traffic volume, compared to a statewide average of 10 percent on the California State Highway System." Caltrans, "Manzanar Four-Lane Widening Project, Environmental Assessment with a Finding of No Significant Impact, Initial Study with a Negative Declaration," April 2004, File L76 Environmental Impacts, ACF, MANZ.

⁴⁷ Pacific West Region, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site*, 269-71; Manzanar Committee, "U.S. 395 to Become 4-Lane Expressway Near Manzanar," November 26, 2008 (press release), at <https://blog.manzanarcommittee.org> <August 18, 2016>.

⁴⁸ Inafuku interview; Johnson interview. Inafuku tasked Jeff Burton to prepare some maps, photographs and brief descriptions of the land parcel for a congressional request. It is not known if the information was submitted. Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

allow consideration of other potential additions as well. Furthermore, Johnson believed it made sense for the NPS to await the results of another BLM initiative, the Desert Renewable Conservation Energy Plan. With the growing interest in solar and wind energy farms in the Owens Valley, BLM teamed with the California Energy Commission and the California Department of Fish and Wildlife to identify lands for potential energy development and lands for conservation to mitigate for energy development. In general, the planners anticipated classifying BLM lands in such a way that there would be a finger of conservation land extending down the Owens Valley that would include Manzanar National Historic Site. Johnson argued that the NPS should await the final results of the BLM planning effort before it pursued a land transfer. In the meantime, the NPS and the BLM could cooperate on protecting and interpreting the reservoir site through an MOU.⁴⁹

The Site leveraged its relationships with other agencies to stop a proposed mining development outside the Site around 2003. At issue were two mineral prospecting permit applications under consideration by the California State Lands Commission. The applicant wanted to sample state-reserved alluvial sand and gravel deposits on two parcels of land owned by the City of Los Angeles, for potential use as roadbuilding material by Caltrans. The land was situated due west of the Site where Bairs Creek descended from the foot of Mount Williamson. The prospecting activity, should it be permitted, would take place in full view of the cemetery and the western portion of the auto tour road around Manzanar National Historic Site. Even worse, if the permit should lead to a mining development, then the resulting gravel pit would be situated 800 yards from the Site boundary. It would be in full view of the site where hundreds of people gathered each year for the Manzanar Pilgrimage, Hays informed the state land commissioner. “Because the site is dominated by low-growing shrubs and desert landscape, the operation would interrupt the sweeping view of the mountains, including Mt. Williamson, an icon for the camp and the local community,” Hays wrote.⁵⁰

The NPS noted that the federal government had invested \$10 million in the site over the past decade. But more than park values were at stake. The gravel pit would be visible from two popular access roads leading into the High Sierra, the Horseshoe Meadow Road near Lone Pine and the Onion Valley Road near Independence. It would impact the view from many places in the John Muir Wilderness Area as well as from the Inyo Mountains in the Inyo National Forest. It would be situated only a few miles from the Alabama Hills, a place famous for its use as an outdoor movie setting. Heavy equipment vehicular traffic going to and from the gravel pit operation would affect travelers on U.S. Highway 395. Public officials in the Owens Valley united behind the NPS to halt the development.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Johnson interview. A wayside exhibit for the reservoir was completed in 2016. Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁵⁰ Frank Hays to California State Land Commission, January 26, 2004, File L2423 Mining, ACF, MANZ.

⁵¹ “Manzanar NHS – Talking Points for Proposed Gravel Pit,” March 15, 2004, File Mining Claim, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ; Leatherman interview.

One set of external relationships still seemed to be undeveloped as the Site approached its quarter-century mark. Manzanar National Historic Site still did not have regular contact with area tribes. Superintendent Leatherman said he reached out to the Lone Pine, Big Pine, and Bishop tribes but his efforts “went nowhere.” He had somewhat better success with the Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians, at least in part because Richard Stewart acted as a liaison between the Site and the tribe. (Stewart, it will be recalled, served on the Manzanar Advisory Commission and gave walking tours of Manzanar in the 1990s. A member of the Big Pine Paiute Tribe, he was working for the Fort Independence Tribe at that time.) Hays and Slaughter, and later Leatherman, worked with that tribal government in making plans for a recycling center. According to the MOU that they crafted, the NPS would contribute recycling equipment for the center while the tribe would train personnel to operate it and provide a building on the reservation to house it in. Over the next few years, the NPS acquired bailers, sea containers, recycling trailers, a forklift, and other equipment for the recycling center, but the facility never got running. The unused equipment was transferred to the BIA. Superintendent Inafuku finally scrapped the unimplemented MOU when he learned that the tribal government had come under investigation by the FBI on charges of embezzlement.⁵²

In more recent years, some outreach to tribes had occurred. Patricia Biggs invited local tribes to participate in Manzanar’s Veteran’s Day program. Superintendent Johnson made tribal outreach a priority: she invited tribal representatives to attend the kick-off meeting for Manzanar’s preparation of the Site’s foundation document and shared drafts of exhibits, publications, and other products with the tribes.

The Interpretive Program

An indication that Manzanar National Historic Site was evolving at a rapid pace could be found in its accrual of myriad management plans and reports that were in the next tier of importance below the GMP. These documents – seven completed in less than a decade, from 2006 to 2015 – were basic to the operations of the interpretation and cultural resources divisions. The Site’s 2016 foundation document served as an update to the GMP and the 2007 long-range interpretive plan, identifying interpretive themes and potential topics to explore within each theme.

Each plan represented the combined efforts of park staff and specialists who were located in one or more of the NPS support offices. The primary authors of *Manzanar National Historic Site Long-Range Interpretive Plan* came from the team of specialists in interpretive development at Harpers Ferry Center. In August 2004, Manzanar hosted an interpretive planning workshop on site. While the workshop attracted local residents, no Japanese Americans were able to attend. The forty-four-page plan began with a synthesis of the Site’s origins, purpose, mission, and

⁵² Leatherman interview; Inafuku interview. The Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians began a recycling program in January 2018.

significance as they related to the interpretive program. It then spelled out the Site's primary interpretive themes. Next it described existing conditions and influences on the Site, and offered a profile of visitation and visitor use, again as they related to the interpretive program. Lastly, it discussed a dozen different facets of the interpretive program – visitor center exhibits, wayside exhibits, the demonstration block, the auto tour road, the education program, and so on – under the general heading of “Recommendations.” In a final summary table, the plan listed about sixty separate projects; assigned each one a high, medium, or low priority; suggested its likely funding source; and grouped all projects into short term (1-3 years), medium term (3-5 years) and long term (5-10 years) goals.⁵³

Historical reconstructions were a primary program emphasis. Most of the Site's reconstructions would be clustered in the so-called demonstration block first described in the GMP. Manzanar's emphasis on historical reconstructions was exceptional, given the National Park Service's general antipathy toward the practice. The GMP was vague about how elaborate the demonstration block needed to be, leaving room for debate over how much historical reconstruction was enough. Historically each block had barracks, a mess hall, and four support buildings: laundry room, ironing room, and men's and women's latrines. Japanese American stakeholders pushed for reconstruction of all four support buildings in addition to the barracks and mess hall. Initially, the NPS appeared to favor a more minimalist approach, or at least a more gradual, one-building-at-a-time approach. But the consensus was that visitors to the Site needed tangible representations of camp life in order to grasp Manzanar's story. As stated in the 2007 interpretive plan, “Block 14, adjacent to the auditorium, will be developed to help visitors understand and visualize what a typical relocation camp block looked like and how it functioned.”⁵⁴

The Site's first highly visible reconstruction, the guard tower, completed in 2005,⁵⁵ was a satisfying accomplishment for many people, after the many difficult years of debate that preceded it. The Site won a California Preservation Foundation Award for the tower reconstruction. Within the demonstration block, restoration of the mess hall, acquired in 2002, came next. Preservation crews from Santa Fe, Rocky Mountain National Park, and Sequoia/Kings Canyon National Park visited the Site to consult on the project. Maintenance worker John Kepford led the final phase of the structural work, which was completed in 2008. The mess hall exhibits were installed in January 2011. The Site also embarked on a pair of barracks for the demonstration block, with building reconstruction and development of interior exhibits stretching over several years. The barracks exhibits were installed in April 2015. The exhibit text for the mess hall was developed collaboratively by Heather Lindquist, Rose

⁵³ National Park Service, *Manzanar National Historic Site Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, report prepared by the Department of Interpretive Planning, Harpers Ferry Center, and Manzanar National Historic Site (Washington: National Park Service, 2007), 1-8, 12-24, 27-33.

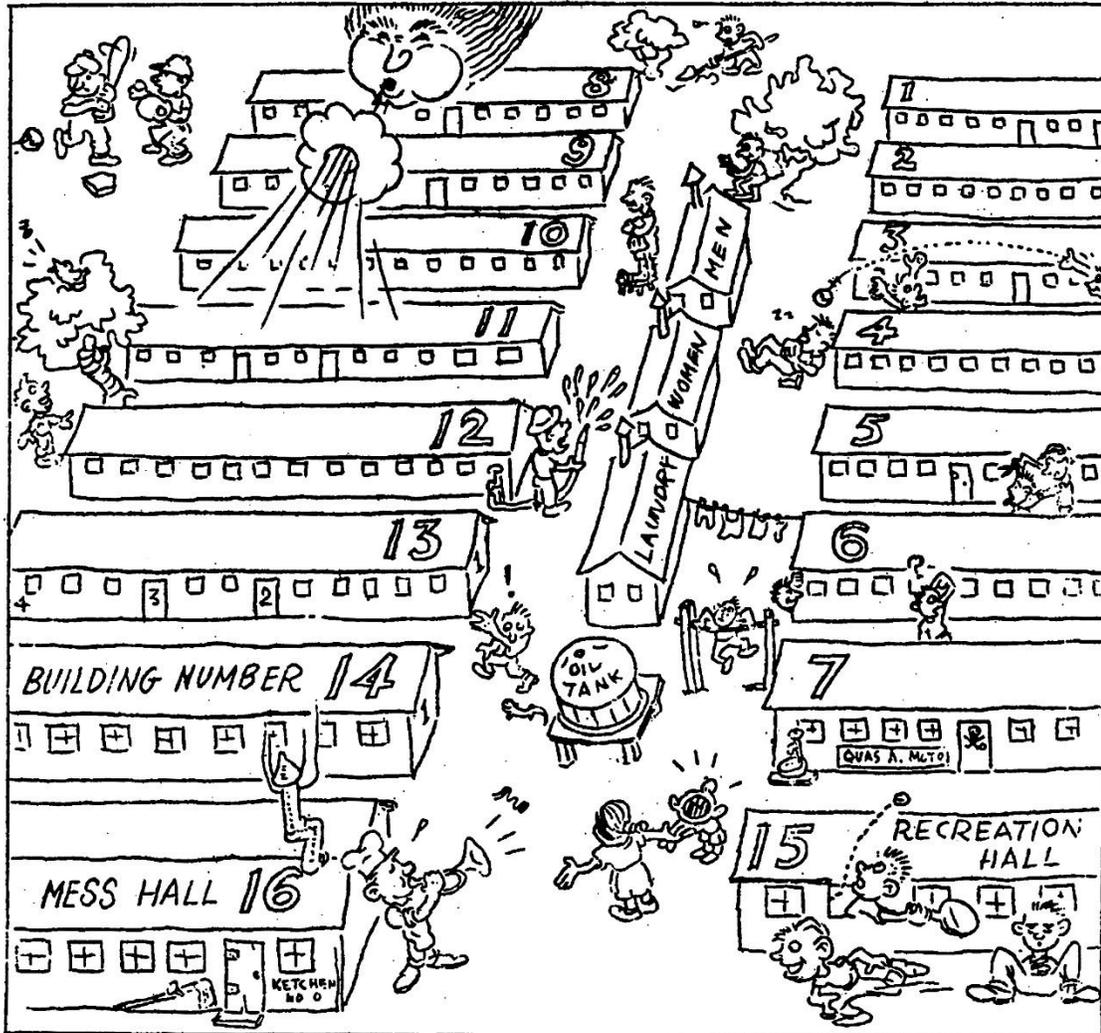
⁵⁴ National Park Service, “National Park Service Invites Comments on Proposed Barracks Exhibits and Block 14 Master Plan” (news release), July 1, 2013, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <July 15, 2016>; National Park Service, *Manzanar National Historic Site Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, 7.

⁵⁵ The reconstructed barbed-wire security fence around the camp's perimeter and the reconstructed cemetery fence predated the guard tower.

April 25, 1942

MANZANAR FREE PRESS

April 25, 1942



LIFE IN A MANZANAR BLOCK

Map 5. This illustration from the *Manzanar Free Press* depicts the systematic structural layout of each residential block within the camp and also provides a humorous look at block activities. Source: unsigned cartoon, April 25, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press*, NPS/Manzanar.

Masters, and Alisa Lynch. As the barracks exhibits evolved, Patricia Biggs and Rose Masters rewrote most of the text. In-house rewrites had become a hallmark of many Manzanar projects. The staff's personal connections with people who had been incarcerated at Manzanar facilitated direct collaboration in sharing their stories.⁵⁶

As the demonstration block slowly took shape, each structure became a small museum filled with period furnishings, props, sound recordings, and informative panels of graphics and text. As in the main visitor center, interpretation followed the Site's coda, "One Camp, Ten Thousand Lives; One Camp, Ten Thousand Stories." The barracks exhibits contained six audio stations and one video station featuring a total of 42 oral history clips. Textual panels used lots of quotations.⁵⁷ In April 2016, the barracks exhibit project was selected by the Organization of American Historians for the Stanton-Horton Award for Excellence in National Park Service History. Rangers Patricia Biggs and Rose Masters accepted the award in Providence, Rhode Island.

The power of the new barracks exhibits, and Manzanar overall, was expressed repeatedly in comments made by visitors, both verbally to staff and in writing. An especially moving message was scrawled in the visitor center comment book on October 30, 2015: "I have been prejudiced all my life against Japanese (75 years). As of today that is gone. I am so ashamed. I cry as I write this. Thank you."⁵⁸

As with any historical reconstruction, it was impossible to achieve complete authenticity at Manzanar. The buildings had to comply with present-day safety codes, which meant they had to be equipped with modern light switches and electrical outlets, smoke detectors, fire alarms, wheelchair access ramps, and other non-historic elements. Moreover, the historical reconstructions were built to withstand the wear and tear of thousands of visitors going through them year after year, and to hold up against the weather for decades, whereas the original wood-and-tarpaper structures had been built to serve but a few years. People who were incarcerated at Manzanar during the war sometimes complained that the reconstructions were too nice, the carpentry too good, the interior space too clean. Others thought the interior space was too sterile and impersonal; they remembered the place as their home. As the purpose was to help visitors visualize what actual conditions were like, such criticisms had to be considered very carefully. Yet individuals' memories of those actual conditions were not infallible, nor did all camp residents remember them the same way. The NPS found a partial answer to those criticisms by reconstructing two interior barracks: one

⁵⁶ "Manzanar's Demonstration Block," *Friends of Manzanar*, Fall 2012 (newsletter), 6; National Park Service, "Manzanar Opens Long-Awaited Barracks Exhibits" (news release), April 16, 2015, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <July 15, 2016>. "The mess hall exhibits were a design/build project awarded to Color-Ad Exhibits and Signage, which subcontracted to Krister Olmon/Harvest Moon Studio. For the barracks exhibit, Krister Olmon was a subcontractor to Drisko Studio Architects, who designed the structures. Like with the visitor center and mess hall, Olmon subcontracted to Harvest Moon and Color-Ad constructed the exhibits. After Harvest Moon's exhibit text submission fell short, the barracks exhibits were entirely rewritten in-house, largely by park rangers Patricia Biggs and Rose Masters." Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

⁵⁷ National Park Service, "Manzanar Opens Long-Awaited Barracks Exhibits" (news release), April 16, 2015, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <July 15, 2016>.

⁵⁸ Bernadette Johnson review comments, September 28, 2017.

as it might have appeared when people first arrived at Manzanar in the spring 1942, the other as it might have looked later in the war, after improvements such as wallboard and linoleum flooring were installed in late 1942.⁵⁹

Japanese American individuals continued to have an abiding influence on the ongoing development of the demonstration block. Reconstruction of a women's latrine was completed in December 2016. Work on exhibits for this structure awaited the completion of another interpretive project underway: a classroom exhibit. The Site received funding for this project from one donor who was confined at Manzanar as a child and whose mother was a teacher there, and from other contributors as well. Manzanar staff had begun to transform the north half of Barracks 8 into a classroom space that could both facilitate school groups engaged in on-site studies and provide all visitors with a window into the historic educational scene of the camp. Once again, it was an in-house project, with ranger Patricia Biggs as project leader and primary writer of exhibit text and all the Site's interpretive staff taking part in the effort. The Site also had plans to do both preservation and interpretive work on the site of Manzanar's orphanage, the Children's Village, one of the most emotionally charged areas within the camp.⁶⁰

The NPS designed the demonstration block primarily for self-guiding tours. The area was an easy walk from the west entrance of the visitor center, and inside the buildings visitors were provided with ample interpretive material to digest on their own. Ranger talks and ranger-led walks remained in the Site's interpretive program, but no longer on a regular schedule (daily in the summertime) as was the routine at the Site in its early days. The bulk of the ranger programs came to be those requested in advance by schools and other groups.⁶¹

Lynch and the superintendents directed the interpretive staff toward other tasks vital to the continued development of the Site: oral history, research, museum curation, special events, managing volunteers, and educational services (with school group tours as a sustained central component). The Site's program offerings to the public were bolstered by its volunteer docents, inclusive of individuals who had been incarcerated in Manzanar who would make presentations (usually during the summer months when visitation was the highest) on such topics as "Fishing Adventures at Manzanar" and "Judo in Manzanar." By 2006, the docent programming had become a "great success," with visitors being given the opportunity to "talk with former internees and hear first-hand of camp experiences," Superintendent Leatherman reported. As the years passed, Japanese American docents with personal memories of Manzanar became fewer and fewer. Other people with personal connections to the Site's various historical eras or just a keen interest in some aspect of the place also served as docents.⁶²

⁵⁹ National Park Service, "Manzanar Opens Long-Awaited Barracks Exhibits."

⁶⁰ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017.

⁶¹ Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

⁶² Superintendent's Annual Report for 2006, draft, electronic files, MANZ.

After the visitor center opened, the Interpretive Division went to work on developing wayside exhibits while the Maintenance Division worked to improve the auto tour route around the edge of the square-mile Site. In 2009, fourteen wayside exhibits were installed; more would follow in the coming years. They provided historical information on such things as the Manzanar schools, Japanese gardens, and the camouflage net factory. A few wayside exhibits were located off the auto route on foot paths. The auto tour road, the waysides, the foot paths, and the 2004 production of the Site's first official brochure with map all contributed to making the Site a more amenable place for self-guiding tours. Although most visitors did not venture beyond the auditorium and the demonstration block, especially during the extremes of summer and winter, for those who did a self-guiding tour could be a richly rewarding experience. Visitors, if they chose, could deviate from the self-guiding tour and simply wander the Site, utilizing the old street grid or traipsing across the sandy, open terrain to make random discoveries of their own by coming across additional gardens as well as old foundation blocks and other detritus from the World War II era.⁶³

As the Interpretive Division added staff after 2004, it offered more education services. Staff members developed teacher packets and lesson plans for use in schools. Among these materials was a series of booklets featuring the individual biographies of people who had been incarcerated, each one marked with the person's World War II-era identification card and number. (The concept was like one developed by the National Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C.) Kari Coughlin initiated this biography collection, producing the original set of booklets in 1999. Later, the staff added three dozen more biographies to the *Manzanar ID Card Booklets* and in 2004 won a first-place National Association for Interpretation Media Award – Small Book for the collection. In 2008, the staff produced an “Educator Resources” box, funded by a \$32,000 grant from the California Civil Liberties Public Education Program. Ranger Carrie Andresen led the project. The teacher box, offered for sale through the Manzanar History Association bookstore, was replete with the following: curriculum materials developed by the Site staff, a DVD of the film *Remembering Manzanar*, another DVD containing a curriculum on civil liberties put together by Densho, a DVD of a 2007 “Electronic Field Trip” to Manzanar, a CD with historic photos and other digital resources, and a poster-size reproduction of a 1942 “Instructions to all Persons of Japanese Ancestry” poster about the forced evacuation, among other items. The product received an “honorable mention” for the Pacific West Region's 2008 Excellence in Interpretation Award.⁶⁴

More recently, the Site joined in the NPS's “Civil War to Civil Rights” trading card program, part of the agency's commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Civil War. In 2015, staff contributed five biographies of notable Manzanar persons to the 500-card collection designed for youth. As well, the Site's Junior Ranger program continued to connect young visitors with the complex story of Manzanar; each year,

⁶³ Wehrey interview; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2005, draft, electronic files, MANZ.

⁶⁴ Superintendent's Annual Reports for 2005, draft, and 2008, electronic files, MANZ.

thousands of children would complete the Manzanar activity booklet and earn their Junior Ranger badges.⁶⁵

The electronic field trip mentioned above was an especially proud event for Superintendent Leatherman and the Manzanar staff. On February 13, 2007, the Site cooperated with Ball State University, the National Baseball Hall of Fame, and the National Park Foundation to bring a potential audience of millions of students to Manzanar on the same day, via two one-hour live broadcasts on cable television networks and Public Broadcasting Service stations across the country, as well as on the internet. Hosted by sixth-grader Alex Kanegawa, whose grandparents were incarcerated at Manzanar, and Baseball Hall of Fame representative Jeff Arnett, “Manzanar: Desert Diamonds Behind Barbed Wire” covered many aspects of life at Manzanar but paid special attention to the camp’s most popular sport. It was an interactive event, with students calling in or submitting online questions that on a blustery, overcast day at Manzanar were answered NPS rangers, on-site student participants, and three Nisei – 93-year-old Pete Misui, 83-year-old Rosie Maruki Kakuuchi, and 73-year-old Saburo Sasaki – who shared their personal memories of the camp. Activities students could do in their own classrooms were also part of the program. Millions of viewers were estimated to have tuned in to the virtual site visit, including Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne who joined a fifth-grade class in a Washington, D.C. elementary school for the event.⁶⁶

In terms of *actual* field trips, busloads of students arrived at the Site throughout the year, although May had been the busiest month for school groups, when docent Saburo Sasaki was on site full time to share his own grade-school memories at Manzanar and the Site’s broader history with visiting students. Each year since 2005, Sasaki and his wife Ann had been coming from Michigan for the entire month of May, sometimes longer, to volunteer at the Site. Saburo served as a docent to both school groups and the general public, while Ann greeted visitors at the information desk and worked on various interpretive projects with Manzanar staff. As of 2015, the two had donated more than 3,000 volunteer hours to the Site. For their dedication, the National Park Service bestowed its 2015 George and Helen Hartzog Award for Enduring Volunteer Service to the pair. The Sasaki family were but two among a varied cadre of Manzanar devotees, many of whom traveled significant distances to donate their time. The Site’s volunteer program, coordinated by Andresen, had proven

⁶⁵ Manzanar National Historic Site website, “Trading Cards” and “Be a Ranger,” at <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/kidsyouth/tradingcards.htm> and <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/kidsyouth/beajuniorranger.htm> <July 3, 2018>; Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

⁶⁶ Misui, Kakuuchi, and Sasaki all played baseball while incarcerated at the camp. “Manzanar: Desert Diamonds Behind Barbed Wire” (video), at <http://www.schooltube.com/video/dfb7f72371e4928f1c82/Desert-Diamonds-Behind-Barbed-Wire> <April 3, 2017>; U.S. Department of the Interior, “Kempthorne, D.C. Students Join 20 Million [sic?] Visitors for Electronic Field Trip to National Park” (news release), at https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/archive/news/archive/07_News_Releases/070213c.html <April 3, 2017>.

invaluable to all Manzanar divisions. The volunteer contributions beyond interpretation are detailed later in this chapter.⁶⁷

In addition to hosting school groups on site, the interpretive staff and docents did some educational outreach in the local area, including programs for youth at a juvenile detention center in Independence. Manzanar National Historic Site also hosted several teacher workshops, with Patricia Biggs as head organizer. The largest of these events was a 2012 conference of the Pacific Asian American Caucus of the California Teachers Association held at Manzanar, where nearly one hundred educators met with individuals who were incarcerated at Manzanar.⁶⁸

Special public events at the Site focused largely on presentations by guest speakers with either academic expertise or personal experience relating to Manzanar. Theatrical events came to Manzanar as well. For example, in 2011, the Site invited the public to view a segment of the pre-released documentary film *The Manzanar Fishing Club*, with the film's creators in attendance. The same year, the visitor center hosted a five-day run of the play *Bronzeville*, put on by the Robey Theatre Company of Los Angeles. Superintendent Inafuku was instrumental in arranging this. Telling the story of the World War II transformation of L.A.'s Little Tokyo into the community of Bronzeville with the arrival of African American factory workers, the actors performed on the former auditorium's stage. The exhibit hall was converted into seating space for the audience.⁶⁹

In terms of regular (or semi-regular) scheduling of public programs, most years the Site offered an event sometime in February for the Day of Remembrance, the annual recognition of President Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. Veterans Day often was commemorated in a similar fashion, with a special program at the visitor center. Sometimes Memorial Day and July 4 events were planned as well. On May 25, 2016, Manzanar Historic Site hosted its first naturalization ceremony, when fourteen individuals became new U.S. citizens, in observation of Asian Pacific Islander Heritage Month and as part of the NPS centennial initiative to host 100 such ceremonies in 100 different parks that year. Another set of new citizens would be naturalized at Manzanar the following year on the weekend of the Manzanar Pilgrimage. Considering the significance of Manzanar as one of the National Park System's premier civil rights units, staff discussed the possibility of citizenship events becoming a regular occurrence at the Site. The Manzanar Pilgrimage, still held on the last Saturday in April each year, remained the Manzanar National Historic Site's one large annual event, requiring significant preparations by NPS staff – and the Manzanar Committee – each spring. NPS assistance with the pilgrimage depended upon available funding year to year; the NPS

⁶⁷ Lynch interview; National Park Service, "2015 Hartzog Awards," at <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/hartzog-awards.htm> <April 3, 2017>.

⁶⁸ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017.

⁶⁹ "Manzanar to Host Special Segment Preview of *The Manzanar Fishing Club* January 8," December 13, 2011, and "Manzanar to Host *Bronzeville* Play May 20-2," May 9, 2011, and other news releases, on MANZ website, at <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <April 3, 2017>.

always provided public health and safety services, as well as some offering of tours the day of the pilgrimage and a special pilgrimage-themed program the day after.⁷⁰

After the 2004 opening of the visitor center, Manzanar National Historic Site and the Manzanar History Association began co-sponsoring an annual springtime art show, which usually ran about a month and was on display during pilgrimage weekend. Until recently, the show featured works from the annual Henry Fukuhara painting workshop, which drew both amateur and professional artists to the Owens Valley to study with the renowned watercolorist. Fukuhara, who was incarcerated at Manzanar as a young man, began the workshops in 1998; over the years, he and his student produced many stunning paintings of Manzanar and the Alabama Hills. Fukuhara's protégés continued the workshops after his death in 2010, and the annual shows at the visitor center continued through 2016. The NPS and MHA also sponsored artist and art historians as guest speakers at Manzanar. For example, on Mother's Day weekend in 2006, a mother-and-daughter duo gave a presentation on Ansel Adams. The mother, Mary Alinder, had been the famous photographer's assistant for the last fifteen years of his life. The daughter, Jasmine Alinder, did her Ph.D. work on the photographers of the camps. Their presentation concluded with a slideshow of Adams photographs set to the haunting chords of Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata in a recording of Adams himself on piano.⁷¹

The Manzanar History Association remained "a small operation," said Maggie Wittenburg, who became MHA's executive director after first serving as a volunteer and part-time bookstore employee. The MHA office was in Independence, where Manzanar staff was housed prior to 2004 and where the Site retained a maintenance shop. The association's inventory was kept in a storage unit in Lone Pine and in a modest sized stock room in the visitor center. In 2009, Wittenburg set up a website where consumers could purchase an increasing array of books, toys, and other items.⁷² In 2012, the MHA co-published *Children of Manzanar*, researched by Rose Masters, edited by Heather Lindquist, and with contributions from former MHA executive director Mary Daniel and Alisa Lynch. Containing a rich collection of photographs,

⁷⁰ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017; Allie Wilder, "Manzanar Historic Site Hosts Naturalization Ceremony," May 25, 2016, KIBS/KBOV (radio) website, at <http://www.kibskbov.com/2016/05/manzanar-hosts-citizenship-ceremony/> <April 3, 2017>; "Manzanar to Host Pilgrimage Weekend Events, April 28-30, 2017" (news release) at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <April 3, 2017>; Bernadette Johnson review comments, September 28, 2017; Alisa Lynch review comments, August 8, 2018.

⁷¹ "Renowned Watercolorist Henry Fukuhara and Others to be Featured in Art Show at Manzanar Opening April 20" (news release), April 12, 2006, and "Art Show – Selected Artists from the Annual Henry Fukuhara Alabama Hills and Manzanar Workshop, April 8 to May 15, 2011" (news release), April 11, 2011, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <April 3, 2017>; Elaine Woo, "Henry Fukuhara dies at 96; watercolorist led annual painting workshops at Manzanar," February 14, 2010, *Los Angeles Times*, at <http://articles.latimes.com/2010/feb/14/local/la-me-henry-fukuhara14-2010feb14> <April 3, 2017>; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2006, electronic files, MANZ.

⁷² Maggie Wittenberg, Executive Director, Manzanar History Association, interviewed by Diane Krahe in Independence, Calif., November 17, 2014. Wittenberg passed away in December 2016. Ursula Esser became MHA's new business manager.

the book received two awards from the Association of Partners for Public Lands the following year: its overall Excellence Award and its children's media category winner. The MHA had a sequel to *Children of Manzanar* underway, a book featuring the adult accomplishments of a selection of those children, tentatively titled *Journeys from Manzanar*.⁷³ Another slice of Manzanar Historic Site's multitude of stories had reached the twenty-first-century public.

Beyond what any publication or what even the totality of Manzanar's interpretive exhibits could hold, the NPS was intent on preserving as many of the Site's "ten thousand stories" as possible. By the time the visitor center opened in 2004, the oral history program was on its way to becoming a true hallmark of the Site. Initiated by ranger Kari Coughlin in 1999 and led by ranger Richard Potashin starting in 2002, the program expanded when Lynch secured grant funding through the National Park Service's Challenge Cost Share Program (CCSP). Manzanar received \$30,000 in CCSP funding in 2006 and \$28,800 in 2007. Densho and California State University, Fullerton provided most of the matching funds. This partnership expanded beginning in 2008 when Manzanar received the first of six years of significant oral history funding (\$100,000 to \$150,000 per year—skipping 2012) through the Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Act (FLREA). The FLREA funding allowed Manzanar to purchase high-definition digital cameras, lighting, and sound equipment, pay for staff time, and allowed for travel to camp reunions and other distant events where many interviews were done. In 2006 and 2007, park staff contacted some 250 prospective interviewees and Potashin and park guide Erin Brasfield-Rose, and later Kirk Peterson, traveled to locations in three states to conduct interviews. The Site worked with Densho to put oral history interviews on the Densho archive website. In 2008, interpretive staff presented an oral history training course for NPS staff and partners at Lava Beds National Monument, who had charge of the Tule Lake Unit in Valor in the Pacific National Monument, helping to establish that site's oral history program. In 2011, Lynch secured another big slug of funding that kept the oral history program going strong for another three years. The size and duration of Manzanar's oral history program positioned the Site to develop an unusual cadre of staff who were formally trained or experienced in doing public history. When Potashin left the Site in 2011, Kristen Luetkemeier became the program's lead ranger. By 2014, the Site had amassed some 500 oral history interviews. Upon Luetkemeier's departure in 2015, Rose Masters assumed the role of program manager, and the Site continued to gather thirty or more oral histories per year.⁷⁴

Working with Harpers Ferry Center, the interpretive staff began the process of creating a new unigrid brochure for the Site in 2014. As with some earlier projects, the Manzanar staff was displeased with the external team's efforts in early drafts and demanded a whole new approach. In the end, the brochure's text was primarily the work of Lynch and Masters, who used personal stories of those incarcerated to explain the Manzanar's most important interpretive themes. The development process

⁷³ This sequel, written by Naomi Hirahara and Heather Lindquist and relying heavily on the Site's oral histories and archives, was published in 2018 as *Life After Manzanar*.

⁷⁴ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008, electronic files, MANZ; Lynch interview; Johnson interview.

included public reviews. The brochure was produced in 2016. Paired with Minidoka National Monument's new unigrid, it won a first-place National Association for Interpretation Media Award – Site Publication the same year.⁷⁵

Controversy over how Manzanar National Historic Site chose to interpret and present history to the public did not end with the completion of the visitor center. Not long after the visitor center opened, one complaint developed over use of the term “Jap” in the exhibits. Edward M. Suzuki of Edmunds, Washington wrote a hard-hitting letter to Alisa Lynch in 2005 requesting that the offensive word be removed from the exhibits and expressing the view that the NPS “added insult to injury” by putting that offensive word on public display. “Shame on you for continuing to defend this offensive act, disguised in the not-so-subtle shroud of education and commemoration. The NPS is the one that needs to be educated,” he wrote.⁷⁶

Lynch treated Suzuki's complaint with great care. Lynch responded to Suzuki's request by promptly sending him images and text files of the two graphics and one panel where the racial epithet appeared, and explaining to him that the NPS decided to use the term to convey historical context, and that the decision had not been made lightly. Meanwhile, she consulted with Superintendent Leatherman as well as Regional Director Jonathan B. Jarvis, and Stephanie Toothman, chief of cultural resource programs in the regional office in Seattle, and Neil King, superintendent of Minidoka Internment National Monument. She also sent inquiries to other civil rights sites, including Booker T. Washington National Monument and Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site, to learn how other sites handled offensive words and images. Lynch also consulted Sue Embrey and Rose Matsui Ochi, as well as members of the staff of the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles.⁷⁷

Suzuki remained indignant and followed through on his stated intention to send complaint letters to the director of the NPS and members of Congress. Over the next four weeks, Lynch was apprised that Suzuki's letter campaign extended to ten members of Congress, numerous NPS officials, the JAACL, at least one Japanese American newspaper, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, and other media outlets. Suzuki's letter to Director Fran Mainella was three pages long.⁷⁸

In response to the letter campaign, Lynch and Leatherman jointly drafted a letter for Regional Director Jarvis to Suzuki. Included with this letter were two additional letters from Embrey and Ochi to Suzuki. All these letters explained in

⁷⁵ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017. The National Association for Interpretation judges commented: “In every section of Manzanar there are personal stories tied to universal concepts. Fantastic job creating stories to provide the details of the site and making the grid very interpretive!”

⁷⁶ Edward M. Suzuki to Alisa Lynch, October 12, 2005, document provided by Alisa Lynch, MANZ.

⁷⁷ Alisa Lynch to Ron Thomson et al., November 16, 2005, document provided by Alisa Lynch, MANZ.

⁷⁸ Alisa Lynch to Edward M. Suzuki, October 12, 2005, and Lynch to Ron Thomson et al., November 16, 2005, documents provided by Alisa Lynch, MANZ.

detail the thoughtful process by which the NPS, stakeholders, and consultants had worked together to prepare the exhibits.⁷⁹

Nothing in the record of the Suzuki correspondence would suggest that Suzuki found any support for his request that the NPS expunge the offensive term from the exhibits. He was only one individual. The significance of the correspondence lies in the fact that the NPS took the matter very seriously and networked with other NPS units to help it formulate “best practices” in this sensitive area.

Another controversy erupted over a book, *In Defense of Internment: The Case for “Racial Profiling” in World War II and the War on Terror*, by conservative author Michelle Malkin. The book was published in 2004 and the Site was drawn into the controversy swirling around it half a year later. Malkin said she was compelled to write her book “after watching ethnic activists, historians, and politicians repeatedly play the World War II internment card after the September 11 attacks.”⁸⁰ In the book, she defended FDR’s incarceration of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor as a reasonable and justified measure to ward off acts of sabotage, just as she defended the Bush administration’s racial profiling of U.S. Arabs after 9-11 to expedite the hunt for terrorists in the global War on Terror. Both were justified, in her view; the U.S. had nothing to apologize for.

Malkin argued her point based on evidence that Japanese consular offices in the Americas sought to recruit Japanese in the U.S. to assist Japan’s war effort. Malkin contended that the intercepted Japanese cables gave U.S. policymakers and officials all the justification they needed to incarcerate over 100,000 people based on their ethnicity. She made her case notwithstanding the fact that the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians had reviewed the Magic cables and had found no evidence that the decision for forced removal and incarceration was based on information contained in the cables.⁸¹

Reaction to Malkin’s book was swift. John Tateishi, executive director of the JACL, issued a statement two weeks after the book’s release, calling it “a desperate attempt to impugn the loyalty of Japanese Americans during World War II to justify harsher governmental policies today in the treatment of Arab and Muslim Americans.” The book claimed to challenge myths and reveal the historical “truth,” Tateishi said,

⁷⁹ Jonathan B. Jarvis to Edward M. Suzuki (draft), November 30, 2005, Sue Kunitomi Embrey to Edward M. Suzuki, November 26, 2005, and Rose Matsui Ochi to Edward M. Suzuki, November 29, 2005, documents provided by Alisa Lynch, MANZ.

⁸⁰ Michelle Malkin, “About In Defense of Internment,” February 6, 2006, from Michelle Malkin website at <http://web.archive.org/web/20060206033611/http://michellemalkin.com/aboutidoi.htm> <August 21, 2016>.

⁸¹ John Tateishi, “Statement of the Japanese American Citizens League, Response to Michelle Malkin,” August 24, 2004, at http://homepage.smc.edu/charles_henrietta/JACLStat <August 21, 2016>. Malkin specifically stated that she did not advocate a roundup of Arab Americans in her own time on a parallel with the World War II treatment of Japanese Americans. Yet the logic of her book (and even the book’s title) implied otherwise, as her critics pointed out.

but it was no more than a “regurgitation of old arguments that attempt to justify the decision to imprison Japanese Americans.”⁸²

Academics decried the book as well. Eric Muller, a law professor and author of *Free to Die for their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), led some three dozen historians in cosigning an open letter that rebuked Malkin for wading out of her depth into such a complicated story. Malkin approached the story without adequate grounding and context and her argument rested on selective use of evidence and “mere speculation.” The historians pointed out that her work did not even receive peer review before it was published.⁸³

Manzanar National Historic Site was drawn into the controversy over Malkin’s book after it made the decision to carry her book in the visitor center bookstore. (Although the Manzanar History Association ran the bookstore, the NPS had final say over what products were sold there.) The decision was not made lightly. NPS officials reviewed the book and understood perfectly well that the author’s interpretation flew in the face of sixty years of historical scholarship, not to mention judicial decisions, presidential pronouncements, congressional resolutions, and the Commission’s findings in *Personal Justice Denied*. Eric Muller published a devastating critique of Malkin’s work in the December 2004 issue of *Reason*, but by then the book was already in the store. Weeks later, Muller blogged that the NPS should not be selling Malkin’s book at Manzanar; to do so was like selling a Holocaust denier’s book at Auschwitz.⁸⁴

Unfortunately, Malkin could capitalize on this sort of negative publicity. In Muller’s words, “She immediately took to her blog arguing that it was an effort at ‘book banning,’ and unleashed her flying monkeys (that is, her rabid readers).” Emails rained down on the Manzanar superintendent during April and May. The Site collected at least 179 separate messages. Most correspondents expressed familiarity with Malkin’s book, Muller’s blog, or both. Whichever side of the political spectrum the correspondents were on, most wrote in support of the principle of free speech – either insisting that the NPS not remove the book from the bookstore or lauding the NPS for carrying the book in the first place. The NPS sent a carefully worded reply to all the correspondents explaining its reasons for deciding to carry the book. Manzanar National Historic Site was established “to preserve and interpret the history of the loss

⁸² John Tateishi, “Statement of the Japanese American Citizens League, Response to Michelle Malkin,” August 24, 2004, at http://homepage.smc.edu/charles_henrietta/JACLStat <August 21, 2016>.

⁸³ Eric Muller, “So Let Me Get This Straight: Michelle Malkin Claims to Have Written the History of Japanese Internment in Just 16 Months?” *History News Network*, September 7, 2004 at <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/7094> <August 21, 2016>.

⁸⁴ Untitled, undated letter beginning “Thank you very much for your inquiry about the presence of Michelle Malkin’s *In Defense of Internment* in our Manzanar History Association (MHA) bookstore at Manzanar National Historic Site,” electronic files, MANZ; Eric Muller, “Indefensible Internment: There was no good reason for the mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II,” *Reason* (December 2004), at <https://reason.com/archives> <August 20, 2016>; Eric Muller, personal communication with authors, August 21, 2016.

of civil rights by Japanese Americans during World War II,” the letter stated. “We believe that not carrying this book could ironically be viewed as denying First Amendment rights to free speech.” In other words, if the NPS did not carry it, some people might characterize its decision as an act of official censorship. Better to place the book on the bottom shelf and avoid the controversy.⁸⁵

In July 2005, Alisa Lynch received another missive about Malkin’s disturbing book. This one came through the regular mail on Densho letterhead, and it was from the organization’s executive director Tom Ikeda. When Ikeda wrote to Lynch about the Malkin book, the storm of emails had passed and he was not offering an opinion one way or the other about carrying the book in the bookstore. In a sense, it did not matter. Malkin had published her polemic; the horse was out of the barn. Ikeda’s concern was how to do a better job of educating the public so that books like Malkin’s would be seen for what they were.⁸⁶

Ikeda found the popular appeal of Malkin’s message to be a very serious matter. Malkin, he said, “is a savvy marketer.” As a syndicated columnist and regular commentator on FOX News Channel, she had a large following. “Malkin reaches millions,” Ikeda wrote. “More than 50,000 people read her assertions that the answer to foreign attack is to target all foreigners.” Ikeda cited the number 50,000 as that was how many hits Malkin claimed to get on her blog site every single day. Ikeda frankly admitted that Densho’s website did not get as many hits in half a year. How were Densho and the NPS and universities to counter such “cynical hate-mongering” and build a stronger public commitment to civil rights, Ikeda asked rhetorically. By joining forces to provide more resources for educators, scholars, and anyone interested in researching this vital subject, he answered.⁸⁷ Two years later, the NPS Challenge Cost Share Program enabled Manzanar to partner with Densho and California State University, Fullerton, as Ikeda envisioned.

⁸⁵ Untitled, undated letter beginning “Thank you very much for your inquiry about the presence of Michelle Malkin’s *In Defense of Internment*. . .” In the document copy, 179 emails follow the letter, most of them addressed to the superintendent. When the authors asked Muller if he had indeed made the request, he confirmed that he did, and added: “This was one of my early lessons in how the blogosphere was not a site for reasoned discourse. No bookstore is under any obligation to stock any particular book, or restock it once it has sold out. The world could not function if the First Amendment meant that booksellers were barred from making judgments about which books are appropriate to sell and which aren’t. Bookstores would have to sell every book published. Manzanar would be just as obligated to sell some self-published gaggle of conspiracy theories as a carefully researched, peer-reviewed monograph. My point was not that Malkin’s book should not be available for people to read – it was that Manzanar was a disrespectful site to sell it. That, it seems, was a bit too nuanced an argument for Malkin’s readers.”

⁸⁶ Tom Ikeda to Alisa Lynch, July 5, 2005, Interpretive Division files, MANZ.

⁸⁷ Ikeda to Lynch, July 5, 2005. Since its opening day, the Manzanar visitor center bookstore had also carried David Lowman’s 2000 book *Magic: The Untold Story of U.S. Intelligence and the Evacuation of Japanese Residents from the West Coast During World War II*, from which Alisa Lynch surmises Malkin gleaned much of her “content.” Yet no objections have been voiced about it being sold at the Site. Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

Maintenance Operations

Maintenance operations consisted of the normal operation and upkeep of the buildings and grounds. To review, in the early years when Ross Hopkins was superintendent, George Voyta handled maintenance from Death Valley National Park, while volunteer John Ward worked on a broad range of projects onsite. Voyta was stationed at Manzanar for a short time. In summer 2001, Frank Hayes hired John Slaughter, who transferred from the Department of Defense, as Manzanar's first facility manager. By spring of 2004, the maintenance staff had grown to five: Slaughter, one seasonal, and three term employees. In 2005, the number rose to six with the addition of the Site's first permanent maintenance workers, Bob Clyde and Troy Strawn. After renovations to the auditorium were completed, the Maintenance Division moved the maintenance office from a rented trailer into the visitor center building, and it moved some work stations from the maintenance shop in Independence to the Site as well. Finding work stations to accommodate everyone took some ingenuity. One maintenance worker chose to make his work station in the basement; another occupied the old projection room over the west entrance. The facility manager's office was located with the rest of the staff offices, for the facility manager worked with other division heads as a member of the Site's management team.⁸⁸

The Maintenance Division still had the shop in Independence for doing construction and repairs. That building was leased. Depending on the on-site job, sometimes maintenance workers had to make a trip to the Independence shop for gear. Little by little, they overcame this problem by finding or commandeering various cubbies in the auditorium building for squirreling away tools and small supplies. Consequently, the Maintenance Division had its offices and supplies finely dispersed through the whole auditorium building and in a small maintenance room in the mess hall.⁸⁹

Around the time that Manzanar's maintenance operations took shape, maintenance operations throughout the National Park System were undergoing a major change through computerization. Every single object in the parks that maintenance ever dealt with – every building, structure, utility, road, and trail; every car, truck, boat, or other machine; and every mown lawn, pruned tree, and tended flowerbed – became an inventoried “asset” and was entered in a computerized assets management system called Facility Management Software System (FMSS). The FMSS was aimed at accurately reporting and prioritizing the National Park Service's deferred maintenance backlog together with regularizing all maintenance needs. The first step came with the adoption of a Facility Condition Index (FCI) to inventory maintenance needs and measure performance. Before it could set FCI targets, however, the National Park Service had to find a comprehensive management tool for tracking all maintenance job orders and accomplishments. It selected FMSS and began training staff and inputting data in the massive new database. After a slow

⁸⁸ Strawn interview.

⁸⁹ Strawn interview.

startup in 1999, the effort gathered momentum in the early 2000s and was considered fully functioning in 2006 – at a total cost of \$91 million system-wide. Maintaining the software system was estimated to cost \$20 million per year.⁹⁰

Troy Strawn was trained in FMSS and charged with inputting all Manzanar’s assets into the system. During 2005 and 2006, he held a position split between Manzanar National Historic Site and Devil’s Postpile National Monument that was dedicated to the management of FMSS data in both parks. He was stationed at Manzanar and worked one day a week at the other unit to help with on-site issues.⁹¹ Strawn oversaw that every asset was evaluated for the FMSS based on its importance to the visitor experience, its historic significance, and so on. The evaluation resulted in a “mission critical” score or rating on a scale of 1 to 100 for each asset. The aim was to ensure that the National Park System’s most valuable assets would not be neglected. All maintenance jobs were logged into FMSS so that facility managers in the park, the regional office, and the Washington Office could see what was being accomplished and could track critical needs.⁹²

The FMSS was criticized by some as inflexible and burdensome. It hampered the facility manager’s ability to address emergency needs or changing circumstances. Running the software and logging daily activities in the database consumed a lot of staff time. Data calls from higher levels in NPS organization could be a plague on staff resources. Those problems notwithstanding, Strawn praised FMSS for providing a more rational structure and preventing waste. Every component that was tracked in the system had a predicted life cycle and a cradle-to-grave preventive maintenance schedule. He saw the potential for FMSS to help the whole maintenance operation run like a well-oiled machine.⁹³ Following Ralph Bell’s time as facility manager from 2006 to 2008, Strawn was promoted to that role and led Manzanar’s Maintenance Division until 2016.

The Maintenance Division rode another wave of modernization that broke all across the National Park System in the first decade of the new century: this was the greening of the parks’ physical plants. In 2002, the NPS partnered with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to establish the Climate Friendly Parks Program. This voluntary program aimed to provide participating parks with technical support for mitigating carbon emissions caused by park operations and for educating the public about those efforts. Regional Director Jon Jarvis strongly supported the program and developed a vision of having all units in the region gain certification as climate friendly parks by 2010. In line with that initiative, Manzanar National

⁹⁰ Lauren Michelle Clementino, “Deferred Maintenance in the National Park Service and Preservation Goals for the 2016 Centennial and Beyond,” M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, Athens, 2010, p. 33; “National Park Service Facility Management,” at www.whitehouse.gov <June 19, 2015>.

⁹¹ Superintendent’s Annual Report for 2006 (draft), electronic files, MANZ.

⁹² Strawn interview.

⁹³ Alan Sumeriski, Facility Manager, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, interviewed by Theodore Catton, June 3, 2015; Strawn interview.

Historic Site prepared its own action plan aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions from park operations energy use to 35 percent below 2008 levels by 2016.⁹⁴

Despite the NPS culture of environmental stewardship, the national parks in many ways had (and still have) a long way to go to lower their greenhouse gas emissions to acceptable levels. For a variety of reasons, park operations were historically quite wasteful of energy and resources. For one thing, National Park System units tended to be in rural areas remote from recycling centers. For another, many parks were in mountain or desert places characterized by extreme weather, so their energy usage for heating and air conditioning tended to be extreme. Furthermore, national parks had long been shaped by the needs and preferences of the car culture. Even when the NPS leadership got behind mass transit initiatives, national park visitors and nearby communities were resistant. NPS employees, being for the most part a non-urban populace, mostly used car transportation for commuting to work and for getting around inside the parks. So, per capita fuel consumption by both visitors and staff was high. In all these respects, Manzanar was no exception.

Analysis of Manzanar's carbon footprint, or total greenhouse gas emissions (GHG), revealed that park operations and visitor activities produced an estimated 294 metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalent in 2008. That amount was roughly equivalent to the carbon footprint of 25 households. Approximately two thirds of the Site's GHG came from energy use, so the most direct approach for reducing emissions was to reduce energy use, especially electricity consumption. That pointed to the need to develop solar energy production on site in order to lower the Site's dependency on electricity received from coal-fired power plants.⁹⁵

The Site made its first foray into solar power development in 2007 when maintenance staff installed a solar-powered irrigation system in the historic orchard utilizing an abandoned well. The solar-powered pump had enough juice to water three orchard sections at a time. Park staff thought the photovoltaic array was unobtrusive and easy to operate.⁹⁶

During restoration of the mess hall building in 2008, the Maintenance Division installed a photovoltaic array on the roof. The array of four solar panels was placed in the central V of the double pitched roof, where it rested on a good angle to the arc of the sun and was hidden from view for people standing on the ground. Electrical lines connected the unit with the commercial power poles installed by LADWP at the northern edge of Blocks 13 and 14.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Jeff Rennie, "A Climate of Change," *National Parks* 81, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 30-31; Office of Inspector General, U.S. Department of the Interior, "National Park Service: Climate Friendly Parks Initiative," Report No. HI-EV-NPS-000-2010, August 2011, at <https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/HI-EV-NPS-0001-2010Public.pdf> <August 22, 2016>; USDI, NPS, "Climate Friendly Parks, Manzanar National Historic Site Action Plan," no date, at https://www.nps.gov/subjects/climatechange/upload/MANZ-climate-Action-Plan_Final.pdf <August 22, 2016>.

⁹⁵ USDI, NPS, "Climate Friendly Parks, Manzanar National Historic Site Action Plan," 5, 9-10.

⁹⁶ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2007 (draft), electronic files, MANZ.

⁹⁷ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008, electronic files, MANZ.

In 2010, contractors placed a much larger photovoltaic array of 143 panels on the roof of the auditorium building. The superintendent and facility manager worked with cultural resource staff and the State Historic Preservation Office to get clearance for the project and obtain funding; the maintenance staff then worked with a contractor on installation. From a strict energy production standpoint, the solar panels would have been better situated on the south facing side of the shallow-pitched barn roof to get the best possible angle on the sun's arc. Taking into account the historical value of the building and aesthetics, however, the panels were placed on the flat-pitched roof over the south wing. The south wing was a historical reconstruction, not part of the building's historic fabric, and once again the solar panels were out of sight to anyone standing at ground level around the outside of the building. This project was funded by the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act.⁹⁸

Besides solar energy development, Manzanar's action plan for reducing GHG included a panoply of other modest initiatives that aimed at reducing energy consumption, improving transportation management, and improving waste management. Manzanar's commitment to the Climate Friendly Parks Program largely fell by the wayside after 2010, however. EPA's funding support for the nationwide program ended in 2009, and when the NPS tried to carry on without EPA, the program began to founder. Without reporting requirements, the NPS had no way to measure whether Climate Friendly Parks were following through on their action plans or meeting GHG reduction targets. Director Jarvis, who had championed the program when he headed the Pacific West Region, tried to bolster it through the Green Parks Plan, which was released on Earth Day 2012. The Green Parks Plan set several new targets, including one to reduce GHG for all park operations nationwide by 35 percent by the year 2020. (Manzanar's action plan aimed to meet that target by 2016.) Whether the Green Parks Plan had a measurable effect on Manzanar's efforts from 2012 to 2016 remains unclear.⁹⁹

Cultural Resources Management

In 2006, *Cultural Landscape Report: Manzanar National Historic Site* was completed. As noted in the previous chapter, park management benefited from this important study at least two years before the final report was published. (A cultural landscape inventory for Manzanar was completed in 2004.) Frank Hays, when asked about cultural resources management during his tenure, responded without hesitation, "the orchard was key." The team preparing the CLR reinforced the staff's concerns over the orchard's precarious condition, emphasized its significance to the site

⁹⁸ Milford Wayne Donaldson, State Historic Preservation Officer, to Les Inafuku, February 11, 2010, and ARRA Project Agreement, Manzanar National Historic Site, PMIS 150296 Install Grid-Tied Photovoltaic System on Visitor Center Auditorium Roof, September 16, 2009, File PV System – South Wing, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ; Strawn interview.

⁹⁹ USDI, NPS, "Climate Friendly Parks, Manzanar National Historic Site Action Plan," no date, at https://www.nps.gov/subjects/climatechange/upload/MANZ-climate-Action-Plan_Final.pdf <August 22, 2016>; National Park Service, "Earth Day 2013: Our Green Parks – the National Park Service Plan for Sustainability," April 22, 2013, at <https://www.nps.gov/ever/learn/news/earth-day-2013-our-green-parks-the-national-park-service-plan-for-sustainability.htm> <August 22, 2016>.

(Manzanar is Spanish for “apple orchard”), and provided interim guidance for how to save the ailing trees. The cultural landscape study also helped guide park management in making early decisions about historical reconstructions and the layout of the demonstration block.¹⁰⁰ The cultural landscape report stood as one of the Site’s key management documents, for it defined the relationship between cultural and natural resources as well as the relationship between landscape features that date from the camp era and those that date from earlier times. Fundamentally, the CLR explained what a cultural landscape is. The concept was a subtle one: most park visitors see and appreciate the cultural landscape without having any knowledge of its underlying theory.

System-wide, the NPS began talking about cultural landscapes in the early 1980s. The discussion emerged in part from ongoing refinements being made to the National Register guidelines and Section 106 process under the NHPA, which aimed at protecting historic structures, objects, and the whole “cultural environment.” It also developed out of the National Park Service’s process of distinguishing natural resources management and cultural resources management.¹⁰¹ Cultural landscapes were formally recognized as cultural resources in the agency’s 1988 *Management Policies*. The chapter in that document on cultural resources management listed four potential treatments for cultural landscapes: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction. The prescription for their general management read as follows:

The management of cultural landscapes will recognize and protect significant historic, archeological, ethnographic, and design values. Treatment decisions will take into account both the natural and built features of the landscape and the dynamics inherent in natural processes and continued human and animal occupation. The perpetuation of significant vistas and historic parkway and park road landscape design features will receive special emphasis.¹⁰²

Manzanar’s CLR focused on “providing an overall understanding of the physical character of the landscape between 1942 and 1945,” with emphasis on the preservation treatment for resources remaining in the present. The CLR’s team of authors included landscape architects, historical landscape architects, a historical architect, a historian, and an archeologist. Consultants included the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, the Manzanar Advisory Commission, and the California Historic Preservation Office.¹⁰³ The team leader was Cathy Gilbert, a landscape

¹⁰⁰ Hays interview.

¹⁰¹ Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Processes, and Techniques* (Washington: USDI, NPS, 1988), 7.

¹⁰² National Park Service, *Management Policies* (Washington: USDI, NPS, 1988), chapter 5, p. 6.

¹⁰³ Involvement by the California Historic Preservation Office included staff member Len Werner, who participated in several outreach efforts to gather public input on the CLR, once at a Manzanar Reunion and again at a Manzanar Pilgrimage. NPS landscape architect Anna Tamura also played a large role. She had studied Manzanar in graduate school; her masters thesis was entitled *Gardens Below the Watchtower: Gardens and Meaning in World War II Japanese American Incarceration Camps*. Tamura’s interest was personal as well as professional: her mother spent her first three years of life incarcerated at Minidoka. Tamura would become a key leader for NPS confinement site preservation and planning efforts. Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016 and August 8, 2018.

architect in the Pacific West Region office in Seattle who had helped write the book on CLRs. The study team considered the following questions:

1. How does confinement or oppression influence the physical character or personal/cultural expression in that environment?
2. To what degree were the internees able to manifest their cultural traditions?
3. How were cultural activities and spaces developed as a part of daily life?

The report illuminated the way Japanese Americans brought traditions to the camp that were reflected in the design, construction, and use of materials in landscape features such as personal and public gardens. The report defined and documented seven landscape characteristics to help with identifying and evaluating cultural landscape values. These were: Natural Systems and Features, Spatial Organization, Cultural Traditions, Building Clusters and Structures, Circulation, Vegetation, and Archeological Resources.¹⁰⁴

In a section of the report entitled “Treatment Guidelines,” the CLR posed specific recommendations for how to preserve, stabilize, and in some cases restore cultural landscape resources. Offering refinements on the guidance in the GMP, the section included discussion of the historic road system, historic buildings and structures, ornamental gardens, the orchard, and firebreaks. It also provided recommendations to deal with the unresolved problem of flood events and soil conservation.¹⁰⁵

The CLR team provided an emergency plan for preserving the orchard in its 2005 landscape stabilization plan. A more comprehensive document, *Orchard Management Plan, Manzanar National Historic Site*, was completed in 2010. This plan tiered off the CLR, just as the CLR tiered off the GMP. Key contributors included Susan Dolan, landscape architect and project lead; Bob Clyde, a certified arborist on the staff at Joshua Tree National Park who had previously worked at Manzanar; Gerry Enes, orchardist at Manzanar; and Kathleen Fitzgerald, historic landscape architect at the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation. Dolan brought to bear her special expertise on the history of orchards in the United States. Fitzgerald worked with Troy Strawn to input the orchard into the FMSS, creating a smooth interface between the orchard management plan and the maintenance operation.¹⁰⁶

The orchard management plan stated that in 2010 almost seven acres of the Site was populated with live fruit trees, with the largest concentration of trees located in the Lydston and Wilder pear orchards (named for the families that planted them in the 1910s) in the Site’s northwest section. These two orchards together with three

¹⁰⁴ National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 5.

¹⁰⁵ National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 229-66.

¹⁰⁶ National Park Service, *Orchard Management Plan*, 1, 12; Strawn interview. See also Susan Dolan, *Fruitful Legacy: A Historic Context of Orchards in the United States with Technical Information for Registering Historic Orchards in the National Register of Historic Places*, (Seattle: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, Pacific West Regional Office-Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, 2009).

smaller orchard remnants and “outlying” trees scattered throughout the Site totaled 144 trees: mostly pear, with small numbers of apple, apricot, peach, and fig.¹⁰⁷

The plan called for preservation and management of the largest orchards to depict the era of the Manzanar agricultural community, 1910-1924, and all fruit trees located within the barracks blocks to depict the camp era, 1942-1945. The trees were to be managed “for overall landscape character” not fruit production, and conservation of the germplasm (genetic material) of the surviving historic trees on site was a top priority. The plan also called for an eventual establishment of a new apple orchard at the Site. These primary objectives were to “be feasibly implemented within the park’s existing funding and operational constraints.” Day-to-day methods for orchard and tree care were also detailed in the plan; these included propagation via grafting, planting of new and replacement trees, pruning, fencing, fertilizing, and drip irrigation.¹⁰⁸

During Bob Clyde’s time at Manzanar in 2005 and 2006, the majority of his work effort was devoted to the restoration of the orchard. Upon Clyde’s departure, Gerry Enes assumed responsibility of the orchard, and he cared for the trees for nearly a decade before retiring in 2016. Dave Goto, who came on staff in 2013, took the reins from Enes. Clyde, Enes, and Goto all completed the NPS Arborist Training Program. Their expertise and hard work arrested the loss of trees and headed off further deterioration of orchard conditions.

Jeff Burton led archeologists and volunteers in excavating more gardens, and Manzanar’s public archeology program thrived. In 2007, a team of volunteers excavated the Block 9 mess hall garden and another team of park staff restored the Block 34 mess hall garden under Burton’s direction. In 2007, 2008 and 2009, Burton worked with park staff and more than 100 volunteers to uncover and stabilize the largest garden in the camp, Merritt Park. The work crews removed dead wood, tamarisk, locust, willow trees, and brush and excavated over 600 cubic yards of sand and dirt. Death Valley National Park and a contractor assisted with backhoe operations. The volunteer effort was unprecedented, bringing together people from all across the United States and as far away as New York and Japan. People of diverse ages and ethnicities joined in. Local high school students worked alongside the children and grandchildren of Kuichiro Nishi, who had created Merritt Park in 1943 while incarcerated at Manzanar. (The park had been named after Manzanar’s director, Ralph Merritt.)

¹⁰⁷ National Park Service, *Orchard Management Plan*, 23, 29.

¹⁰⁸ National Park Service, *Orchard Management Plan*, 81-133, 149-150 (quote on p. 150), 177-121. The plan concluded with a historical overview of the Site, heavy on coverage of the fruit production era of the 1910s and early 1920s. In its discussion of the World War II era, this overview stated that the camp contained about 600 apple and 400 pear trees, many of which were incorporated into the layout of the camp blocks, “providing welcome shade and visual distinctiveness.” (p. 215) The Children’s Village was constructed near the largest orchard area. After incarcerated orchardists pruned and irrigated the long-neglected trees, about 40 acres of rejuvenated orchards supplied fresh apples and pears to feed the mess hall crowds.

The superintendent's annual report proudly described the volunteer effort and the historical significance of the cultural resource:

Funded through the "Vanishing Treasures" program, the largest and most elaborate garden at Manzanar, Merritt Park, was excavated, documented, and stabilized. Constructed as a Japanese style "stroll garden" by Japanese Americans interned at Manzanar during World War II, Merritt Park became a sanctuary of beauty and nature within the confines of the internment camp. Numerous historic photographs reflect this community park's importance to the internees: it symbolized their hope in the future, as well as their dedication to the well being of their community. Internees and camp staff alike came here to enjoy solitude as well as companionship. Until this project, it was unknown how much of the park had survived: the area was buried by sediments and overgrown with vegetation.¹⁰⁹

In 2011, Burton mounted another volunteer effort to excavate the Arai Family Fish Pond in Block 33. Burton initiated this project after coming upon a trove of historic family photographs accompanying a 2006 oral history interview by Erin Brasfield-Rose with Madelon Arai Yamamoto, whose family built the pond during their incarceration. Burton contacted Yamamoto and persuaded her to return to Manzanar to be interviewed again and help locate the garden. A combination of photographic evidence, oral history, and archeological investigation succeeded in locating this feature. Volunteers donated fifty person days in helping to excavate it.¹¹⁰ The Arai Fish Pond project was the focal point of a documentary about Manzanar's Japanese gardens, produced by NHK, Japan's national public broadcasting organization. Beginning in 2015, Yamamoto returned to the Site during the Manzanar Pilgrimage to greet visitors at the pond and share her camp memories with them.

In 2013, Burton oversaw restoration of the mess hall garden in Block 12. This garden had been excavated previously but was filled with silt and debris by the July 2013 flood. Once again, the volunteers included people from around the United States and Japan. The NPS news release stated:

Japanese Americans created gardens to improve their prison-like surroundings, using whatever materials they could find. Like other gardens at Manzanar, the Block 12 mess hall garden illustrates many traditional characteristics of Japanese gardens, with features representing a mountain, a stream, waterfalls and cascades, and crane and tortoise rocks. The Arai pond featured a stream, rock borders, three islands, a fish tunnel, and even water lilies. It was "a place of beauty and serenity," according to Madelon Arai Yamamoto, the daughter of the pond's creator.¹¹¹

The news release went on to quote Kendall Brown, professor of Asian art at California State University, Long Beach. Saying that the gardens at Manzanar were

¹⁰⁹ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008, electronic files, MANZ.

¹¹⁰ Burton et al, *A Place of Beauty and Serenity*, 3-7, 62-63.

¹¹¹ Manzanar National Historic Site, "Gardens 'of Beauty and Serenity' Restored at Manzanar National Historic Site" (news release), March 1, 2014, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <July 10, 2016>.

noteworthy because they were created during World War II, when resources were scarce and anti-Japanese sentiment was at all-time high, Brown stated, “this is garden art of a very high order... I think arguably this is the most interesting, compelling collection of Japanese gardens in America.”¹¹²

The Society for History in the Federal Government bestowed its 2014 John Wesley Powell Award on Manzanar for its restoration of the Block 12 garden. The award called out the efforts of John Kepford, Dave Goto, Gerry Enes, and archeologists Laura Ng and Arbury Steingraber. In 2015, the Site’s collection of volunteer-centric garden excavations won a Pacific West Region Achieving Relevance Award for Resource Stewardship and Public Engagement, with the leadership of Jeff Burton and ranger Carrie Andresen recognized.

When volunteers pitched in on such fulfilling projects, many enduring friendships resulted. While the garden excavations drew the most intensive volunteer efforts, other cultural resources work was done during an annual or biannual “Volunteer Day.” On the first Volunteer Day, held in September 2007, workers cleared a road from Block 22 to the orchard. In May 2008, the volunteer crew removed brush near the Judo Dojo. In 2012 and 2013, it uncovered concrete slabs at the Chicken Ranch, and from 2012 to 2106, it worked to clean up the administration area and replanted a large Joshua tree there. Each Volunteer Day included a brown bag lunch, funded by the Friends of Manzanar, and a speaker talking about the area that was being cleared or excavated. For example, Sue Powell, a descent of George Chaffey of the Owens Valley Improvement Company, and her husband Marty performed a living history program at the orchards, and Jeff Burton and Hank Umemoto led a tour of the Chicken Ranch.¹¹³

By 2014, ten gardens were restored¹¹⁴ and more awaited excavation. Park managers considered making a more complete restoration of one garden, putting water in the pond and replanting historic vegetation. The GMP suggested it was a possibility but the CLR cautioned against it, citing potential problems with wildlife use, visitor safety, and high maintenance.

Burton completed *Manzanar Garden Management Plan, Gardeners and Gardens at Manzanar* in 2015. Like the orchard management plan, the garden management plan tiered off the CLR and provided more detailed descriptions of the resources and treatments. More than 400 pages in length, the comprehensive, richly illustrated plan amply demonstrated the care that the staff was taking to preserve the gardens. Burton stated that the gardens “stand out as symbols of beauty and the resilience of the human spirit.” He pointed out that the gardens “help visitors connect

¹¹² Quoted in “Gardens ‘of Beauty and Serenity’ Restored at Manzanar National Historic Site.”

¹¹³ Alisa Lynch, email, January 31, 2017. Umemoto, who was incarcerated at Manzanar, published his memoir of his camp experience, *Manzanar to Mount Whitney: The Life and Times of a Lost Hiker*, in 2013.

¹¹⁴ Other major excavations included gardens in Block 15 in 2010, a barracks garden in Block 24 in 2012, and the stonemason Ryoza Kado’s barracks garden in 2013. Burton’s team also brought back Joshua trees to the administration area in 2012. Jeff Burton review comments, September 28, 2017.

to Manzanar's past in a gentle, non-confrontational way." Manzanar's newly completed foundation document addressed the significance of the gardens as well, citing their importance both as a cultural resource and as an interpretive theme.¹¹⁵

Other archeological investigations were directed at areas on the periphery of the square-mile camp: the Shepherd ranch site, the chicken farm and the hog farm, and the Manzanar Reservoir. In 2007, Burton completed a damage assessment and recommendations for repairs on the reservoir complex located on adjoining BLM land. With funding from the LADWP, stabilization and repairs were done the following year.¹¹⁶

The Site's museum collection was primarily a cultural history collection. Cultural artifacts included prehistoric and historic archeological materials, an ethnology collection of Paiute and Shoshone beads and projectile points, historic objects associated with the area's nineteenth-century settlers, orchard history, and items related to the camp era. The museum collection also included archives, oral history, photographs, and scientific and resource management records.¹¹⁷

The museum collection, overseen by ranger Mark Hachtmann as a collateral duty with the Death Valley curator serving as the curator of record, contained almost 100,000 catalogued items. Several dozen objects were exhibited in the visitor center and one object, a 1942 Ford fire truck, was displayed in a replica fire station building on site. Many of the items in the museum collection were stored at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, while the rest were stored at Death Valley National Park. Objects on display in the mess hall, or anywhere else in Block 14 (such as the 1942 Ford 1 ½-ton truck outside the mess hall), were not from the museum collection; rather, they were considered props of the period and were acquired cheaply on eBay or from other sources to provide a historic look.¹¹⁸

The 1942 Ford fire truck had been stationed in the camp during World War II. It was sold to the City of Bishop after the war. The City of Bishop sold it to the NPS in 1996 for \$5,000. The truck was operable as a fire truck until the winter of 2005-06, when maintenance neglected to drain the water tank after running the truck in the Independence July 4th parade. The following winter, the water froze and cracked the tank, but otherwise the truck still ran; thereafter, it was parked outside for display at different locations or in the replica fire station.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report, Manzanar National Historic Site*, 250; Jeffery F. Burton, *Manzanar Garden Management Plan, Gardeners and Gardens at Manzanar, Manzanar National Historic Site, California* (Manzanar National Historic Site: National Park Service, 2015), 2; National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Manzanar National Historic Site, California, Foundation Document*, December 2015, electronic files, MANZ.

¹¹⁶ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008, electronic files, MANZ.

¹¹⁷ Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008.

¹¹⁸ Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Region, *Manzanar National Historic Site, Museum Management Plan*, 12; Alisa Lynch and Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

¹¹⁹"As Is Agreement," May 24, 1996, with attachment from Bishop City Council minutes, January 13, 1947, File H2015 MANZ Fire Truck, RCF, MANZ; Superintendent's Annual Report for 2008; Alisa Lynch and Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

In 2008, the Site completed a scope of collections statement, defining the present and future scope of museum collections, as well as a cemetery management plan to address items left on or near the cemetery monument. On this matter, Manzanar staff consulted curators from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which deals with a huge volume of left objects.¹²⁰

Site staff collaborated with museum professionals in the NPS Museum Management Program in Washington, D.C. and museum specialists at Death Valley National Park and WACC to create a “virtual museum” on the internet. Available on the web through the NPS Museum Management Program’s portal, the virtual museum displayed photos of more than 200 items in the collection. It also included oral history interview clips, historic photos, and slideshows. When Superintendent Inafuku announced this new feature in the spring of 2010, he said it joined forty other virtual museums that the NPS had created up to that time.¹²¹

The museum collection had not yet found a permanent home. The GMP proposed that the NPS would partner with the Eastern California Museum for collection management as the latter developed additional space and facilities at its location in Independence. That did not occur because the museum was located on land leased from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, and NPS museum professionals indicated the agency would not likely invest in infrastructure on land leased from a third party. In 2012, Manzanar completed a museum management plan and put forth a new objective. The collection would be consolidated at one facility, Death Valley, in the near term, and eventually it would be brought home to the Site. When funds became available, another barracks-type building would be constructed that would look historic on the outside and would be fully equipped for museum storage on the inside.¹²²

Natural Resources Management

Over the past decade and more, natural resources management underwent some minor refinements. As predicted by the GMP, the primary natural resources management activity was vegetation management. The Site continued the work of clearing brush and removing woody debris that it had initiated in the early 2000s, but now it followed a careful set of guidelines for controlling tamarisk.

Tamarisk, also known as salt cedar, is native to Eurasia and Africa and was long ago introduced in North America as an ornamental shade tree and wind break. In the desert Southwest, tamarisk is widely regarded as an invasive tree or shrub that interferes with native plant growth and degrades wildlife habitat. Its long roots pull an excessive quantity of water out of the ground, affecting stream courses and lowering

¹²⁰ Superintendent’s Annual Report for 2008.

¹²¹ “NPS launches virtual museum,” *Inyo Register*, May 27, 2010. See <https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/manz/index.html>.

¹²² Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Region, *Manzanar National Historic Site, Museum Management Plan*, 5-6.

the water table. Its deciduous leaves contain salt that is leached into the soil when the leaves drop to the ground, altering soil chemistry. At and around Manzanar, tamarisk competed with native desert scrub, such as sagebrush, saltbush, and rabbitbrush. Tamarisk trees that were probably quite small in the camp era had since grown into clumps the size of a dump truck.¹²³

The first round of guidance for management of tamarisk emerged in 2007. Park guide Gretel Enck researched the history and ecology of tamarisk in the Owens Valley, and reviewed different treatment options. Two factors weighed heavily on selecting the best approach. First, tamarisk removal had to be accomplished in a selective way so as not to harm “cultural tamarisk” – that is, tamarisk trees that grew where tamarisk had once been planted ornamentally and as such formed part of the cultural landscape. And second, the Site had to reckon with the fact that even when all the non-cultural tamarisk was cleared from areas within the Site’s 814 acres, there would be a lot of tamarisk seed stock remaining on BLM and LADWP lands surrounding the Site.¹²⁴

The suggested management practices, then, were two-pronged, with one prong aiming at eradication of tamarisk where it was undesirable and the other prong aiming at preservation of tamarisk where it constituted a cultural resource. Non-cultural tamarisk would be eradicated using the cut-stump method. Tamarisk tree stems would be cut two inches above the ground and a herbicide would be applied to the cut stem immediately after cutting (with follow-up herbicide treatment of new foliage as needed based on monitoring). Culturally significant tamarisk would be pruned annually to recreate historic form and character, and flowers would be removed from these trees during spring and summer to prevent seeds from forming.¹²⁵

Most clearing of tamarisk was performed by an Exotic Plant Management Team based at Lake Mead National Recreation Area. In late October and early November 2007, a crew of twenty-three descended on Manzanar and spent eight days removing tamarisk in the North Park area, Merritt Park, the hospital area, and Blocks 12, 17, and 18. Beginning in 2012, typically a crew of eight to ten people worked in the Site for two weeks, cutting and piling the tamarisk and treating the stumps. The task of hauling away the brush piles was left to Manzanar staff. Removing the overgrown trees made a big difference in the landscape. However, Burton maintained that the 2007 plan misidentified nearly all the mature tamarisk at Manzanar as not historic. A revised plan in 2012 offered a different take.¹²⁶

The Site adopted a fire management plan, which added prescribed burning to the Site’s vegetation management toolkit, although no prescribed burning had been done to date. The fire management plan was developed between 2003 and 2006. It

¹²³ National Park Service, “Manzanar National Historic Site Fire Management Plan – Environmental Assessment,” March 2005, File Fire, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ., p. 1-3; Strawn interview. See also Manzanar’s 2012 tamarisk management plan (below).

¹²⁴ Gretel Enck, “Guidance for Management of Tamarisk at Manzanar National Historic Site,” May 14, 2007, File Tamarisk, Tom Leatherman files, Superintendent’s Office, Manzanar NHS.

¹²⁵ Enck, “Guidance for Management of Tamarisk at Manzanar National Historic Site.”

¹²⁶ Strawn interview; Jeff Burton review comments, November 28, 2016.

was a requirement of the 2001 Federal Wildland Fire Management Policy and other mandates, which held that all National Park System units with vegetation that can sustain fire must have a fire management plan. Superintendent Hays initiated scoping for the plan toward the end of 2003. Superintendent Leatherman signed the final 87-page plan in May 2006.¹²⁷

Prior to the plan, the NPS had an understanding with the town of Independence Volunteer Fire Department that it would respond and conduct wildland fire suppression in the area when the need arose. Wildland fire suppression activities would include use of water only, no chemical retardants, using natural firebreaks rather than constructing fire lines, and keeping engines on existing roadways whenever possible. In the previous history of the Site, only one wildland fire had occurred, in 1992, and it was suppressed.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, the NPS decided it wanted the fire management plan to include use of prescribed fire both to achieve resource management objectives and to reduce hazardous fuel loads. The dense thickets of woody material, it should be noted, were a result of decades-old fire suppression as well as colonization by invasive plants. A major argument for doing prescribed burning was that it would help managers restore the cultural landscape, as suggested in the cultural landscape report that was then in progress. However, to mandate prescribed fire required preparation of a very detailed plan to demonstrate both the need and objectives of prescribed burning and the Site's capability to handle it safely and protect cultural resources.¹²⁹

Once the fire management plan was in place, Superintendent Leatherman and his successor, Superintendent Inafuku, each had misgivings about doing a prescribed burn. To conduct a prescribed burn, Manzanar would need assistance from a fire crew at one of the nearby parks. Death Valley National Park does not have a large fire crew. Sequoia and Kings Canyon had one, but it was located over the mountains. Given Manzanar's dry and windy conditions, weather conditions would have to be just right, such as right after an autumn snowfall before the snow melted off. It was hard to chase after year-end moneys and conduct a prescribed burn opportunistically when so many factors had to line up. So the plan to do prescribed burning was quietly shelved. In lieu of prescribed burns, a fire crew from Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks came to Manzanar and began clearing brush around the camp area's perimeter, along the reconstructed security fence. Volunteers finished the job. The Site's maintenance and cultural resources staff hauled away much of the debris,

¹²⁷ National Park Service, "Manzanar National Historic Site Fire Management Plan – Environmental Assessment," March 2005; National Park Service, "2006 Fire Management Plan, Manzanar National Historic Site," May 10, 2006, File Fire, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ.

¹²⁸ Finding of No Significant Impact, Fire Management Plan, Manzanar National Historic Site, April 2006, attached to Regional Director to Superintendent, April 11, 2006, File Fire, Tom Leatherman files, MANZ.

¹²⁹ Finding of No Significant Impact, Fire Management Plan, Manzanar National Historic Site, April 2006.

although some brush piles along the fence line remained. Thinning of woody biomass in the interior of the Site awaited future work crews.¹³⁰

While fire crews, maintenance and cultural resources employees, SCA interns, YCC workers, and volunteers carried on the brute task of clearing out vegetation, the handful of scientists of the Mojave Desert Network continued their work of inventory and monitoring. The scientists conducted a series of workshops at the regional level and in the individual parks in 2003 and 2004 to select “vital signs” for each park and the region as a whole. Vital signs included biotic and abiotic components of the environment ranging from native flora and fauna to soil chemistry, water quality, and atmospheric conditions. Vital signs were specific elements that were susceptible to scientific measurement and likely to reflect broader environmental effects if they registered change. They were akin to “indicator species” in wildlife management, or the proverbial canary in the coal mine in the olden days of mining. Given Manzanar’s tiny size relative to the other six parks in the network, its participation in the workshops was streamlined: Superintendent Hays represented the Site staff and met once with the network staff to finalize the Site’s vital signs.¹³¹

Over the next few years, the network rounded out its biological inventory of Manzanar with reports on amphibians and reptiles (2006), vascular plants (2006), birds (2007), and mammals (2008). The network’s mammal inventory for all the Mojave Network parks included lists of all mammal species ever documented within Manzanar’s 814 acres. Large mammals included non-native tule elk, mule deer, mountain lion, and black bear, together with the probable historic presence of pronghorn antelope. Ten varieties of small rodents were confirmed through live capture, and many other species were reported in the literature. The report noted that water shrew had been documented four miles west of Lone Pine and was possibly present at Manzanar. Long-tailed weasel was also possibly present.¹³²

The Mojave Network science team made slow, deliberate progress in developing monitoring protocols. After a decade of effort focused primarily on the large, natural-area parks, it remained to be seen how the Mojave Network would integrate Manzanar National Historic Site, with its relatively miniscule land base and minimal natural resource staff, into the emerging strategy for long-term monitoring of vital signs. The team completed a two-volume report, *Integrated Upland Protocol of the Mojave Desert Network*, in 2015. As explained in the report, long-term monitoring would revolve around periodic field sampling in twelve macroplots distributed throughout the network, each one measuring 100 meters on a side. Protocols focused on monitoring changes in native vegetation, invasive plants, and soil

¹³⁰ Strawn interview; Jeff Burton review comments, September 28, 2017.

¹³¹ National Park Service, *Mojave Desert Network Vital Signs Monitoring Plan*, Natural Resources Report NPS/MOJN/NRR – 2008/057 (Fort Collins: National Park Service, 2008), 41.

¹³² Charles A. Drost and Jan Hart, *Mammal Inventory of the Mojave Network Parks – Death Valley and Joshua Tree National Parks, Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Manzanar National Historic Site, and Mojave National Preserve*, Open-file Report 2008-1167 (Reston, Va.: USDI, U.S. Geological Survey, 2008), 20, 44, 55-56.

conditions within each macroplot.¹³³ Presumably, one such macroplot would be located at Manzanar National Historic Site.

For park staff, the I&M Program could appear to be almost irrelevant to the Site's more pressing resource management concerns. The network staffers were "academics," not doers. To counter those perceptions, the Mojave Network science team met with the Manzanar superintendent and staff in November 2014 to discuss how the network, with its growing cache of scientific data and reports, could assist the Site with its more immediate issues. Superintendent Bernadette Johnson, who was still new to the Site at that time, said she was "astounded to learn of all the work that [had] already been done." She noted that the Site had a lot of irons in the fire – for example, proposals to combat the invasive weed Russian thistle (the Site's most prolific exotic) with native plantings, and to build flood control works to protect the newly restored gardens from climate-change induced flooding. Park staff and the Mojave Network team of scientists expressed eagerness to find more ways of working together in coming years.¹³⁴

New Leadership

Superintendent Inafuku retired on January 3, 2014. Colin Smith, chief ranger at Olympic National Park, served as acting superintendent from late January through May as the National Park Service conducted a search for a new superintendent.¹³⁵ Bernadette Lovato was selected in April and arrived in June. (She was married shortly after and changed her last name to Johnson.) As field manager for the BLM's Bishop Field Office for several years, Johnson was already familiar with Manzanar National Historic Site. She had strong ties to the Owens Valley and was delighted for the opportunity not only to return to the valley from her latest post in Carson City, Nevada, but also to return to the NPS after a dozen years with the BLM. In her previous experience with the NPS, she had worked in the Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services in the former Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, and in concessions management at Grand Canyon and Glacier National Parks.¹³⁶

Coming back to the NPS from her managerial position in a sister agency, Johnson was "astonished" by how much the Site staff had done and still had to do on so limited a budget. Her immediate challenge was to learn "how you manage a site

¹³³ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Integrated Upland Protocol of the Mojave Desert Network*, 2 vols., Natural Resource Report NPS/MOJN/NRR – 2015/1010.1 (Fort Collins: National Park Service, 2015).

¹³⁴ Johnson interview; National Park Service, "Recent Climate Change Exposure of Manzanar National Historic Site," July 25, 2014 (resource brief), at <http://science.nature.nps.gov/im/units/mojn/publications.cfm> <August 26, 2016>.

¹³⁵ National Park Service, "Colin Smith Named Acting Superintendent of Manzanar National Historic Site" (news release), January 16, 2014, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <August 26, 2016>.

¹³⁶ National Park Service, "Bernadette Lovato Named as Manzanar Superintendent" (news release), April 22, 2014, at MANZ website, <https://www.nps.gov/manz/learn/news/newsreleases.htm> <August 26, 2016>.

with limited funds that continue to erode.” The previous superintendent had put in requests for a budget increase for several years running and they had not been successful. When the budget stayed the same year after year, it was really an eroding budget because it was not even keeping up with inflation.¹³⁷

Johnson brought to the Site another change in management style. In some ways it was an intentional correction like Leatherman implemented a decade earlier. Asked to describe her management style, Johnson said:

Well here it is. We don't say yes to everything. We can't. We need to focus and be deliberate about what we are doing. The management team has had an opportunity to tell me what their priorities are. So instead of having six pages of priorities, it is one page. And every division has five or six items that they'll be completing this fiscal year. I don't have a problem saying no to things. That's going to be a change in management style. It is easy to say yes because there are so many worthy projects, but we were saying yes to too many things and not finishing things. So we have a bunch of things where folks said we're close, we need to get it done, so we're not taking on new things. My philosophy is that if something comes up that is a higher priority, and there is good park-wide significance, then we will add it to the list, but only by subtracting something else. My impression is that the staff here is overwhelmed, and we need to curtail some of that. They've done a yeoman's job, but it has taken a toll on people.

Johnson renewed relationships with federal and state agencies and local offices in Owens Valley that she had previously engaged with when she was manager of BLM's Bishop Field Office. Her inside knowledge of the BLM promised to be an asset as Manzanar continued to look for answers to its problem with flood control. BLM had some useful legal authorities that could assist the Site in working constructively with LADWP. “I think there is a good future in place because of that ability to collaborate directly with BLM,” she said, adding that she hoped to institutionalize the arrangement through a Service First agreement.¹³⁸

In Johnson's view, the most significant external threat to Manzanar National Historic Site was the growing interest in solar and wind power development in the Owens Valley. Whether renewable energy power development ultimately took the form of rows of wind mills or acres of solar panels, it would likely be visible from the Site. And that would in turn detract from the feeling of desolation in the valley that impressed the modern visitor much as it impressed Japanese Americans when they arrived in 1942. Johnson heard accounts of the Japanese Americans' initial, strong sense of isolation – “getting off the bus in the middle of the Owens Valley on a windy day and looking around and seeing nothing for miles.” She felt committed to preserving that quality of place. It was, she said, the Site's biggest challenge.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Johnson interview.

¹³⁸ Johnson interview.

¹³⁹ Johnson interview.

LADWP announced its plans for a big solar ranch project in summer 2013. At that time, Superintendent Inafuku was looking forward to imminent retirement but he nonetheless dedicated his last months at Manzanar to fighting the solar ranch. He opposed it using the weight of his position as superintendent and rallying other organizations, leaving it to his successor to carry on the fight.¹⁴⁰

The proposed project was known as the Southern Owens Valley Solar Ranch. It was to be located on 1,200 acres of LADWP-owned land about four miles east of Manzanar National Historic Site, off Manzanar Reward Road. The project would use ground-mounted solar photovoltaic panels configured in one-megawatt blocks. Each one-megawatt block would require approximately 5,000 to 10,000 individual panels covering about five acres. A fifty-megawatt power unit would cover about 250 acres. LADWP proposed to develop a 200-megawatt solar power plant. LADWP indicated that the panels would have a low profile, slightly tilted, so that the low end was one foot off the ground and the high end was raised five feet off the ground. The project would also require a substation to link the facility to existing high-voltage transmission lines.¹⁴¹

Both the Site and the Manzanar Committee immediately informed LADWP of their strong opposition to the development. Gann Matsuda of the Manzanar Committee sought to raise awareness among Japanese Americans in Los Angeles. Calling it the greatest threat to the site's integrity since World War II, he pointed out that the visual intrusion on the scene would take away the public's "ability to truly understand what it was like to be locked up behind the barbed wire at Manzanar, with nothing but open space and mountains all around the camp."¹⁴²

Owens Valley Paiute and Shoshone tribal organizations and concerned citizens joined the Manzanar Committee in opposing the project. L.A. residents and Owens Valley residents joined forces in speaking out against the development and taking their concerns both to the L.A. city government and the Inyo County government. The Owens Valley Committee organized local opposition. In March 2014, it invited an expert on "solar power done right" to speak at a fundraiser in opposition to what it called the "monstrous proposed industrial-scale solar facility."¹⁴³

LADWP backed off the project in response to the public outcry. However, the project was put on indefinite hold rather than being outright cancelled. Johnson emphasized that the NPS had to remain on alert because the pressure from renewable

¹⁴⁰ Patricia Biggs review comments, November 28, 2016.

¹⁴¹ Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, "Southern Owens Valley Solar Ranch Project," December 2013, (fact sheet), at www.ladwpnews.com/external/content/document/1475/2065926/1/1/SOVSr%20fact%20sheet-layout-2.pdf <August 27, 2016>.

¹⁴² Gann Matsuda, "Manzanar is Facing its Greatest Threat since World War II," in Manzanar Pilgrimage program for 2014, File Manzanar Pilgrimages, Series 2, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

¹⁴³ "Unified Grass-Roots Effort Credited with Gaining Indefinite Hold on Industrial-Scale Solar Projects Threatening Manzanar, Owens Valley" (news release), August 3, 2015, at <https://blog.manzanarcommittee.org/tag/southern-owens-valley-solar-ranch/> <August 27, 2016>; "March 23, 2014 OVC fundraising event to feature Bill Powers," at www.ovcweb.org/item/OneNews.asp?qitemid=296 <March 30, 2017>; Gann Matsuda review comments, November 28, 2016.

energy developers continued to build. She pointed to the Desert Renewable Energy Conservation Plan, a federal-state partnership between BLM, the California Energy Commission, and others, as a potential game changer in the valley. In addition, Inyo County adopted an amendment to its Renewable Energy General Plan in 2015 that would limit photo voltaic solar energy development in the Owens Valley Study Area to 1,500 acres and no more than 250 megawatts in total. But there would be an ongoing need for vigilance, Johnson cautioned, because ten small energy development projects could easily emerge in place of the single big one, causing just as much harm.¹⁴⁴

In 2016 the NPS completed its “foundation document” for Manzanar. Anna Tamura of the Pacific West Region’s Seattle office led the planning process. The agency began developing these slim new treatises, one per unit, in 2012. Outlining a given unit’s history, significance, resources, values, and purpose with the National Park System, the foundation documents served as units’ go-to references for planning and management, essentially replacing the lengthier GMP model of yesteryear.

“A primary benefit of developing a foundation document,” Manzanar’s document read, “is the opportunity to integrate and coordinate all kinds and levels of planning from a single, shared understanding of what is most important about the park.”¹⁴⁵ The bulk of *Manzanar National Historic Site, California, Foundation Document* addressed seven central interpretive themes: injustice; stories, perspectives, and communities; physical setting; clashing views; pre-World War II Owens Valley history; advocacy; and Owens Valley water. Potential topics, many of which were already presented to visitors at the Site, were identified for each of these themes. The foundation document made clear that what was most important about Manzanar National Historic Site was its treasure trove of stories and how they were told.

¹⁴⁴ Johnson interview. See amendment at <http://www.inyoplanning.org/documents/FinalREGPA33015.pdf>. “The General Plan Amendment provides that solar development in the Owens Valley Study Area is subject to further review in identifying and mapping areas that may be appropriate for photo voltaic solar energy development, and pursuant to ICC Title 21. The Owens Valley Solar Energy Study was developed as a foundation of data and information that can be used to help evaluate areas in the Owens Valley Study Area for the appropriateness of potential photo voltaic solar energy development.” Bernadette Johnson review comments, September 28, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Manzanar National Historic Site, California, Foundation Document*, August 2016 at https://www.nps.gov/manz/getinvolved/upload/MANZ_Foundation_Doc_for-web.pdf <June 19, 2018>.

Conclusion

When one visits Manzanar National Historic Site for the first time – when one goes through the exhibits in the visitor center, sees the documentary *Remembering Manzanar*, wanders through the demonstration block, and stands before the iconic white obelisk in the cemetery and hears the wind rustle through the rabbitbrush – one may find that the place is indeed commemorative of “one camp, ten thousand lives; one camp, ten thousand stories.”

Yet it is also possible to form another impression: that the place is redolent with the memories of a certain subset of those 10,000 people, the individuals who were in their teens during the war, who attended Manzanar High School, and who came into adulthood under conditions of mass incarceration. (The Manzanar High School classes of 1943, 1944, and 1945 totaled approximately 500 graduates.¹) One may recall the words of Jim Matsuoka, who spoke to the gathering of people at the first Manzanar Pilgrimage in 1969: “When people ask me, ‘How many people are buried in this cemetery?’ I say a whole generation is buried here. The Nisei Americans lie buried in the sands of Manzanar.”

In a number of ways, Manzanar National Historic Site has focused intensely on the collective experience of that affected generation. Much like the way Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston in her book *Farewell to Manzanar* presented the place through the eyes of a little girl, the National Park Service has presented the place largely through the perspectives of the camp’s coming-of-age demographic. The NPS worked primarily with this specific cohort of Nisei when developing the Site’s interpretive media because by the turn of the twenty-first century most of the adults incarcerated at Manzanar were deceased. On the opposite end of the age spectrum, individuals who were still small children when the camp closed had more limited recollections to offer the NPS, although some could recall some remarkably vivid personal memories.²

The National Park Service orients the visitor to the Site by way of the former high school auditorium. Visitors learn about pre-war racism against Japanese Americans and their incarceration during World War II inside the old auditorium, and then proceed through tinted glass doors out into the sun-drenched landscape of the ghost camp and Block 14. Visitors embark on their walking tour of the Site by

¹ Unrau, *Evacuation and Relocation*, chapter 12.

² More recent additions to the Site’s interpretive offerings, specifically the barracks exhibits installed in 2015, “have much more diversity in age range because of [staff] accessing more primary documents and having more oral histories that speak of the Issei and their struggles.” Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

following in the footsteps of Manzanar High School students emerging from gym class.³

Manzanar National Historic Site makes use of oral histories with numerous audio clips and quotations in the exhibits. The oral histories are weighted toward the same generation of Nisei and especially the Nisei who were of high school age from 1942 through 1945. The oral histories were mainly collected from the late 1990s on, by which time the older generation was virtually gone. Moreover, many oral histories were collected at the annual Manzanar Reunions. These gatherings took place in Las Vegas, a half-day drive from Manzanar for park staff conducting the oral history interviews. At the reunions, individuals caught up with old friends and reminisced about old times. The oral historians asked volunteers to break away from the social activity of the reunion for a couple hours to talk about their lives before, during, and after World War II. Dozens of oral histories were collected in this context. Other contributions made by reunion attendees included donated artifacts and encouragement for Site staff and their work. The Manzanar Reunions became an important resource for Manzanar staff in preserving public memory around the national historic site.⁴

Long before the NPS began collecting oral histories at the reunions, memories of Manzanar were invoked to fuel the first grassroots effort by Japanese Americans to raise national awareness about the injustices their ethnic group had suffered during World War II. While the grassroots movement in the 1970s largely drew on the energies of the postwar, baby boom generation, who were by and large third-generation Sansei, the movement nonetheless found a leader in Sue Embrey, a nineteen-year-old Nisei was when she and her family arrived at Manzanar in 1942. Through the 1970s and 80s and 90s, Embrey's Manzanar Committee steadily built support for reviving memories of the World War II experiences among an aging generation of Nisei.

The annual Manzanar Reunions had a kind of analog in a one-time reunion of children and grandchildren of Manzanar's War Relocation Authority staff. The idea for a WRA reunion originated when ranger Richard Potashin interviewed Art and Tom Williams, the sons of WRA employees, in 2002. The interview sparked Art's interest in reconnecting with other WRA kids from Manzanar. With Potashin's encouragement, Williams started tracking people down and the group then held a reunion at Manzanar on May 22, 2004. A total of twenty-one children and grandchildren of WRA staff came, together with their spouses and friends and one surviving WRA employee. Park staff helped organize a volunteer effort led by WACC archeologists to clear vegetation from portions of the administration area prior to the reunion and then enthusiastically participated in the activities on the day of the gathering. Potashin worked closely with Williams to make the reunion of WRA staff

³ According to Alisa Lynch, the auditorium was the venue for many types of gatherings beyond high school functions, including "movies, dances, and—presumably hardest of all—funerals for the sons of Manzanar families who died fighting for their country." Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁴ Alisa Lynch review comments, September 28, 2017.

families possible. The NPS needed to “acknowledge their stories are important too,” Potashin said. Williams became a regular docent at the Site and continued his WRA research, publishing *Reflecting on WWII, Manzanar, and the WRA* in 2014.⁵

Appreciation for the youth perspective at Manzanar continued. In 2013, Superintendent Inafuku invoked the words of Manzanar High School senior Roy K. Muto when he wrote a long, impassioned letter to LADWP opposing the proposed solar ranch. Muto was just eighteen years old when he delivered the “Speech of Welcome” at the graduation ceremony in 1945. Yet his wise and eloquent words described enduring truths that Inafuku found profoundly relevant some seventy years later:

What is it that has made these years dear to us? Is it the beauty of the valley, the majesty of the mountains, or is it something deeper? Is it possible that, as we have worked to solve the various problems confronting us, we have touched the more vital considerations of life?

Three years ago we were put to the test of adjusting ourselves to a strange and frightening environment. Manzanar was merely a barrack-covered square mile into which approximately ten thousand persons were cast. Those wastelands have become parks, gardens, lawns, and athletic fields. Those barracks are now homes, offices, churches, schools, libraries, recreation halls, and cultural centers. Our first school, which was without books, tables, chairs, or heat, became a creditable, efficient institution. In spite of crude beginnings, we have been able to evolve a remarkably worthy community life....

As the time for closing Manzanar draws near, we ask ourselves, “Has this all been in vain?” Here is our answer. From this experience we have gained lasting values. We have learned to endure hardships – unusual hardships – with laughter and even high spirits. Mutual difficulties and enterprise with which they were met have kept the people united in thought and spirit. This common endurance has been a great sustaining force for all of us....

We have learned that we can meet the test of difficult human relationships – that within us is a creative power which can carry us through discouraging circumstances to build energetic, successful lives in spite of adversities. We therefore have confidence that we can adjust to whatever may lie ahead. Our experience at Manzanar has not been in vain.⁶

The fact that Manzanar National Historic Site has thrown a spotlight on one generation of Japanese Americans should not be surprising. The site is about

⁵ Darcy Ellis, “Manzanar staff children reunite,” *Inyo Register*, May 20, 2004; “Remembering Manzanar,” May 22, 2004, (spiral-bound booklet), File Staff Reunion, Series 2, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Potashin interview; Alisa Lynch review comments, November 28, 2016.

⁶ Quoted in Les Inafuku to Board of Water and Power Commissioners, November 4, 2013, File A38 Public Relations, ACF, MANZ.

remembering a great social injustice in which a group of people were incarcerated for their ethnicity in gross violation of their constitutional rights. Then and now, indignation over the denial of Japanese Americans' constitutional rights focused most intensely on Nisei, because Nisei were American-born U.S. citizens. More particularly, it focused on the older cohort of Nisei who were then in their teens and early twenties, as they were of an age to feel the loss of freedom most keenly. So, there was a sense both at the time and in the judgment of history that the violation of civil rights was most egregious for the Japanese Americans who were at or near the age of adulthood.⁷

The focus on Nisei experiences in the World War II camp fits into the larger warp and weave of Japanese immigration history. As described in the first chapter, the story of the Japanese in America in the twentieth century is largely the story of Issei, Nisei, and Sansei – first, second, and third generation immigrants – and how each generation's experiences were shaped by the times. Sociologists and historians have long ascribed to a generational model of immigration that finds common differences between first, second, and third generation immigrants.

According to the generational model, each of the three generations exhibit a generalized pattern of behavior that holds true across various immigrant groups and various times in the nation's history. Many first-generation immigrants bring cultural elements of the home country with them and remain devoted to their home culture even as they live out their lives in their adopted country. Generally, second-generation immigrants tend to reject elements of the home culture as they try to assimilate with the dominant culture in the country of their birth. And often third-generation immigrants tend to reach back to selected elements of the home culture as they assert an ethnic identity that stands somewhat apart from the dominant culture. Many Issei, Nisei, and Sansei experienced these conventional generational divides. Many of those Nisei born in the United States in the 1920s and 30s were ill-fated to be in the throes of making their way as equal citizens in a race-conscious society when rising U.S. distrust of Japan, as well as longstanding racism toward Asians in America, made their road even more difficult. Then came Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, followed by FDR's E.O. 9066, and many Nisei found the racism and civil rights abuses against their people crushing.

After completion of the visitor center exhibits, an emphasis on Nisei experiences continued at Manzanar. (At the same time, Manzanar staff succeeded in incorporating more Issei perspectives into newer interpretive offerings, including the barracks exhibits, based on primary document research rather than oral histories.) By 2014, when Superintendent Johnson came to the Site, living persons with personal experience of Manzanar were a precious, increasingly rare resource. Anyone who was

⁷ To be clear, Issei were Japanese-born; as such under U.S. immigration law they were excluded from U.S. citizenship. As "Japanese aliens" under the law, Issei did have constitutional rights as provided under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, but they did not have all the rights that Nisei were supposed to enjoy as U.S. citizens. To many Nisei these fine points of the law were practically meaningless (or were themselves unjust) and so in their estimation it was the elderly Issei who suffered the gravest injustice, because many Issei had lived all their adult lives in the United States and had so much more to lose.

a teenager during the camp era was somewhere between the ages of 83 and 91 by the year 2014. The cohort was dying off. Park staffers were in a race against time to capture more oral histories before those who remembered most were gone. “It is a fragile time,” Johnson said. “In the first week I was here the staff was telling me about a couple of individuals who had just passed away.”⁸ The passing of the World War II generation raised the question: how would that inevitable loss of connection with the past alter the meaning and significance of Manzanar National Historic Site for future generations?

The Manzanar Committee began preparing for that eventuality many years earlier. In 1997, Jenni Kuida and Ayako Hagihara founded a youth program called Manzanar After Dark (MAD). Their idea was to bring young people together with elders who had been incarcerated for a roundtable discussion following the Manzanar Pilgrimage. The conversation between generations would connect the injustices of the camp experience and present-day issues such as racial profiling and mistreatment of immigrants. MAD began as a two-night affair held at Grays Meadows Campground just west of Independence on Onion Valley Road. Participants sat around a campfire and endured the same cold nighttime temperatures that the Japanese Americans in Manzanar had known so well. After two consecutive years at the campground, the event evolved as more youth joined in. The gathering was shortened to one evening (still timed with the pilgrimage) and was renamed Manzanar at Dusk. It was also moved indoors. For several years MAD was held in the American Legion Hall in Independence, but it soon needed more space for the increasing numbers of participants. After being held in the Manzanar visitor center once, in 2007, the event was moved to the more spacious Lone Pine High School in 2008, where it has taken place every year since. Gann Matsuda and Jim To became MAD’s coordinators. A typical program included speakers and creative performances followed by small group discussions.⁹

College students were integral to MAD from the start, but as the logistics of the ever-growing gathering became more complex, student involvement in organizing the annual event fell away for about five years. Matsuda believed MAD needed to return to its roots, with students resuming primary responsibility for the project, and he shared this belief with South California university groups. In short order three Nikkei Student Unions – of UCLA; of the University of California, San Diego; and of California State Polytechnic University, Pomona – stepped up to co-sponsor the 2011 event and take the lead as organizers. In subsequent years, the Nikkei Student Union of California State University, Long Beach joined in as well. With college students back at the helm, Manzanar at Dusk “regained much of its original character,”

⁸ Johnson interview.

⁹ Jenni “Emiko” Kuida, “Continuing the Tradition of MAD-ness: Keep it Going,” in Manzanar Pilgrimage program for 2012, File Manzanar Pilgrimages, Series 2, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Gann Matsuda interviewed by Diane Krahe, December 1, 2014, MANZ Oral History Collection.

Matsuda said. “But, more importantly, the stories of the former prisoners will live on in the hearts and minds of these dedicated young people.”¹⁰

Manzanar at Dusk began with Japanese American youth and soon grew to include young people in other ethnic communities as well. Americans of Muslim faith were especially drawn to the story of Japanese American incarceration in World War II, for they found that it spoke to their own fears of being singled out for discrimination and even reprisal after 9/11. As Matsuda remarked, “They didn’t get rounded up and incarcerated like us, but the parallels are scary.” Matsuda felt greatly encouraged to see other minority groups participating in MAD, and he observed firsthand how young Muslim Americans found a certain solace in learning about what Japanese Americans had endured.¹¹

Starting in 2006, the Florin, California chapter of the JACL formed a connection with the Sacramento Valley chapter of the Council on American Islamic Relations after a Muslim leader in the latter group told a community forum that American Muslims should go to Manzanar to gain an understanding of the potential dangers they faced after 9/11. The two groups organized their own joint Manzanar pilgrimage, which turned into an annual trip attracting a few dozen Japanese American and American Muslim high school and college students each year.¹²

In April 2016, Muslim American college students were again taking part in Manzanar at Dusk, but now it was in the heat of the Republican primaries in a tumultuous presidential election year. By then, the number of Japanese American elders who had personal Manzanar experiences and were able to participate in Manzanar at Dusk was reduced to a mere handful – not enough to go around when the large gathering of a few hundred people broke into small groups for discussion. The many young people of diverse backgrounds did most of the talking in any case. In one such small group, a young Muslim American listened intently to the few stories about Manzanar offered by a soft-spoken Japanese American elder. The young man then related the elder’s stories to his own experiences in the current climate of anti-Muslim and anti-refugee feeling as it was being fomented through the political ascent of Donald Trump. Others chimed in with similar tales that revealed both uncertainty and fortitude.¹³

The connection made between the old Japanese American and the young Muslim American was emblematic of the Site’s bridge to the future. With nativism on the rise and discussion about a divided America and the fragility of democracy swirling in the nation’s political discourse during the 2016 election cycle, conversations like theirs illustrate the Site’s continued relevance seventy years on from the end of World War II. Superintendent Johnson saw Manzanar as being a site

¹⁰ Gann Matsuda, “Manzanar After Dark,” in Manzanar Pilgrimage program for 2013, File Manzanar Pilgrimages, Series 2, Manzanar Collection, ECM; Matsuda interview.

¹¹ Matsuda interview.

¹² Adel Syed and Esumi Fujimoto, “Unique Relationship Binds Florin JACL and Sacramento CAIR in 5th Pilgrimage Together,” in Manzanar Pilgrimage program for 2010, File Manzanar Pilgrimages, Series 2, Manzanar Collection, ECM.

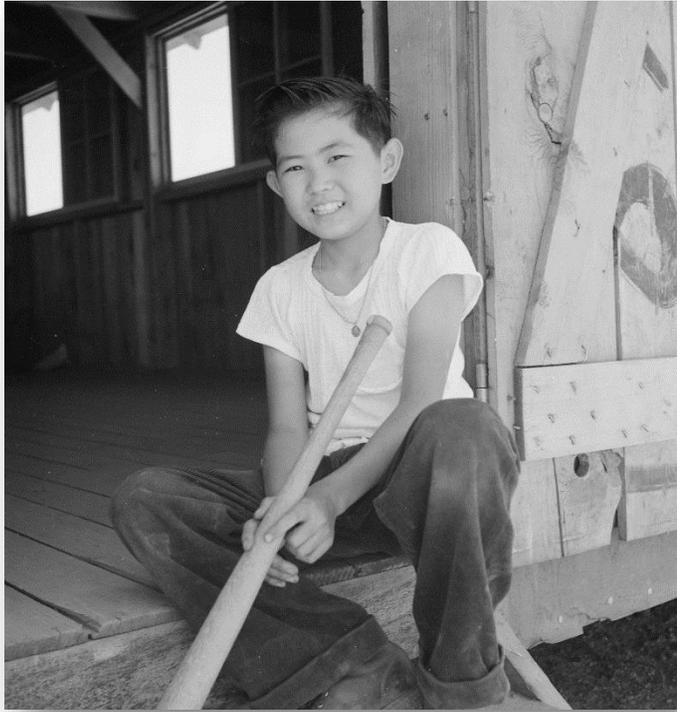
¹³ As observed first-hand by author Diane Krahe.

of social injustice as much as a site of World War II history. The forced removal and incarceration in the World War II era were singularly a Japanese American experience, but they were part of a pattern of racial discrimination common to many and relevant to all. Manzanar is a place that teaches historical lessons important to the protection of constitutional and human rights for minority groups in times of crisis. Johnson summed up the significance of Manzanar National Historic Site this way: “Anyone who walks in the door should recognize that next time it could be their ethnic group.”¹⁴ Japanese Americans who feel a connection to Manzanar concur, and so they remain determined to keep the travesty of the camps from ever being forgotten or repeated.



“Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories.” Barracks garden and its creator: professional landscape gardener William Katsuki builds a desert sanctuary alongside his barracks home utilizing local materials and plants. *Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C865].*

¹⁴ Johnson interview.



"Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories." Children of Manzanar. Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C8781 and 210-G-C720].

Photo Essay

Layers of History



A Paiute man and woman outside their *novi*, circa 1904. Ancestors of today's Owens Valley Paiute lived in permanent villages and seasonal camps along the valley's waterways. This photo is believed to have been taken on or near the future Manzanar National Historic Site. Source: *Eastern California Museum/A.A. Forbes.*



The John Shepherd ranch house, circa 1880. The nine-room home to Shepherd's eight children served as a social hub for the valley's residents. In 1936, LADWP burned the house down. During World War II, Japanese Americans repurposed the site as the North Park Picnic Area, where they constructed two large stone ovens, which remain today. Source: *Eastern California Museum.*



The Manzanar community hall, 1912. Built by the Owens Valley Improvement Company, the hall was the town's central gathering place for over two decades and was used to process the community's apple, peach, and pear harvests. *Source: Eastern California Museum.*

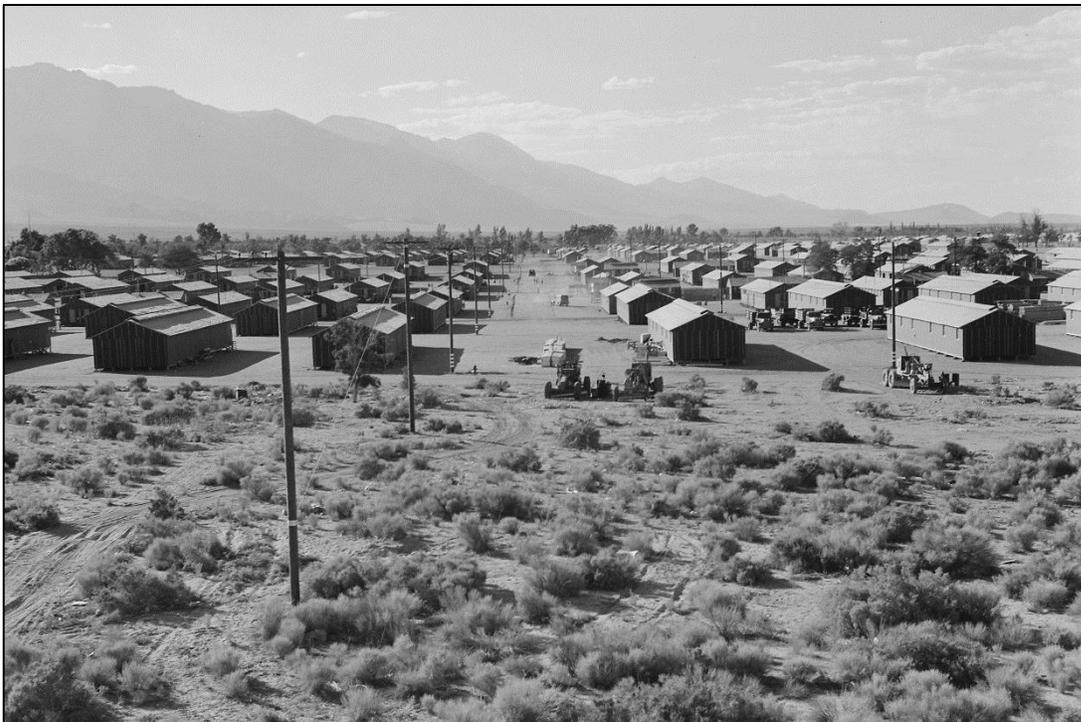


The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power constructing its aqueduct in the Owens Valley, circa 1907. The \$23-million project was completed in 1913. The aqueduct continues to divert the waters of the Owens River over 200 miles south to the L.A. metropolis. *Source: Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.*

Manzanar War Relocation Center



Entrance to Manzanar, with wooden sign (which the NPS would later reconstruct and hang from the original posts and chains) and sentry post (which the NPS would later restore). *Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Ansel Adams, photographer, [LC-A351-3-M-28].*

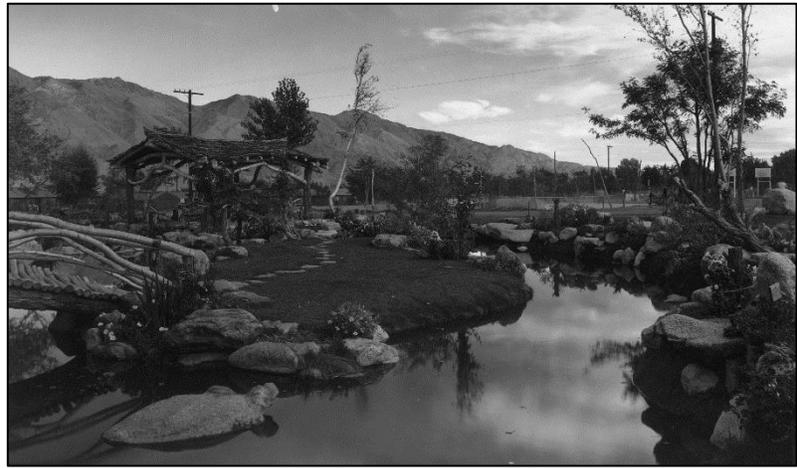


View of Manzanar looking north over the camp's warehouses to barrack blocks. *Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C879].*



Mealtime in the Block 15 mess hall. Three times a day, men, women and children waited in line for meals that they ate on picnic tables. *Source: Dorothea Lange, [210-6-C890].*

Merritt Park, an oasis of beauty and solitude. Designed by Kuichiro Nishi and Tak Muto, the park was named to honor Manzanar's director, Ralph Merritt. *Source: Ansel Adams, [LC-A351-3-M-11].*



Guard tower 4, located at the midpoint of the west fence. This tower was one of eight that surrounded Manzanar's living area. A military police officer stands near the searchlight on the top deck. *Source: Toyo Miyatake Studio.*

Camp Life



Orphans and staff of Manzanar's Children's Village. Manzanar was the only WWII confinement site with an orphanage. Supervised by Harry and Lillian Matsumoto, the Children's Village housed 101 young people. *Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C905].*



Roy Takeno, editor of the *Manzanar Free Press*, addressing block managers at a town hall meeting. *Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Ansel Adams, photographer, [LC-A35-5-M-14].*



Early interior of barracks apartments. Dorothea Lange captured this image on June 30, 1942. It was one of several of her photographs impounded by the U.S. Army. By July, the WRA hired Japanese American crews to install linoleum and wallboard in the barracks. *Source: Dorothea Lange, [210-G-C848].*



Net weavers in the camouflage net factory. More than 500 Japanese American citizens worked in the facility prior to its closure in December 1942, following the Manzanar "Riot." *Source: Dorothea Lange, [210-G-C814].*



Group photo of Block 16 residents. Many block residents, work crews, and clubs posed for such panoramas once cameras were allowed in the camp. *Source: NPS/courtesy of Edward Koizumi.*

The Manzanar Pilgrimage



Nisei civil rights leader Edison Uno speaks at the first public Manzanar Pilgrimage, December 1969. Uno worked to gain California state landmark status for Manzanar and was an early advocate for redress. *Source: Manzanar National Historic Site and the Evan Johnson Collection, <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-manz-3/>.*



Youngsters behind the cemetery fencing. People of all ages participated in the December 1969 pilgrimage. The photographer, Evan Johnson, attended with students from the UC Davis Asian American Studies Department. *Source: Evan Johnson Collection.*



Sue Kunitomi Embrey speaking at the 1972 Manzanar Pilgrimage. *Source: Manzanar Committee.*



Embrey, fourth from right, with Manzanar Committee members after the conclusion of the Manzanar Pilgrimage on April 28, 1984. Source: copyright Geri Ferguson.



Karl and Elaine Yoneda at the Manzanar Pilgrimage on April 25, 1987. Elaine, who came to Manzanar with her husband Karl and toddler son Tommy, was one of 219 non-Japanese Americans who “voluntarily” entered WRA camps. She and Tommy left Manzanar after Karl joined the Military Intelligence Service in December 1942. Source: copyright Geri Ferguson.



Rose Matsui Ochi speaking on the Department of Water and Power flatbed “stage” at the Manzanar Pilgrimage on April 30, 1988. Individuals standing in front of the stage holding placards represent each of the ten World War II confinement sites. Source: copyright Mark Kirchner.

The Campaign to Preserve Manzanar

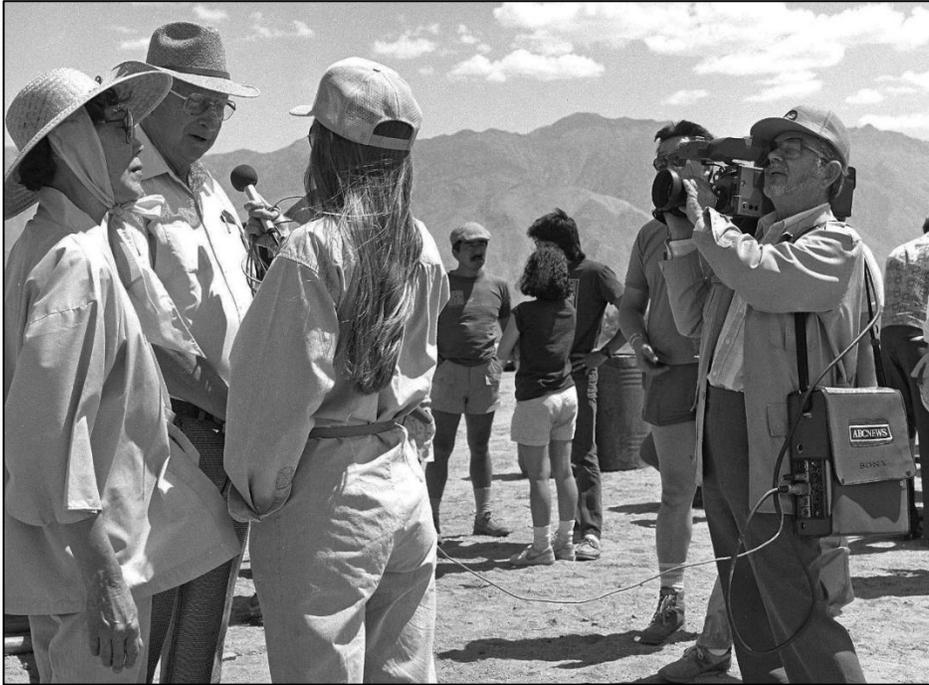
Installation of the state landmark plaque in April 1973. Stonemason Ryozo Kado, pictured here, built the cemetery monument, the two sentry posts, and several gardens while incarcerated at Manzanar. Thirty years later, he returned to affix the commemorative plaque to the larger military police sentry post. *Source: Manzanar Committee/ photo by Ed Ikuta.*



Bruce Kaji, founder of the Japanese American National Museum, (left) and activist Warren Furutani (right) recognize Sue Kunitomi Embrey for chairing the second Manzanar “All Camp” Reunion in Los Angeles in September 1987. *Source: Manzanar Committee.*



From left: Keith Bright, Inyo County fourth district supervisor; Rose Matsui Ochi, Manzanar Committee legal counsel; and Paul Morrison, assistant county administrator at the Inyo County Courthouse, February 1988. *Source: Bright Family Collection, photo by Hideo Okanishi.*



Embrey and Bright are interviewed by a television crew at the 1987 Manzanar Pilgrimage. Media coverage of the annual pilgrimages helped advance the campaign to preserve the site and share its stories. *Source: copyright Geri Ferguson.*

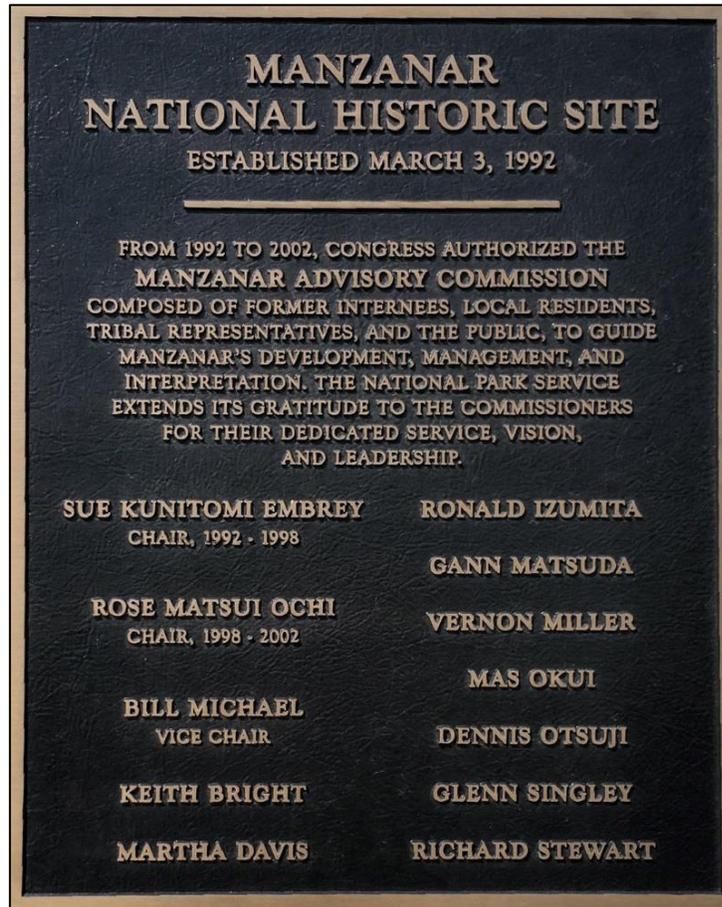


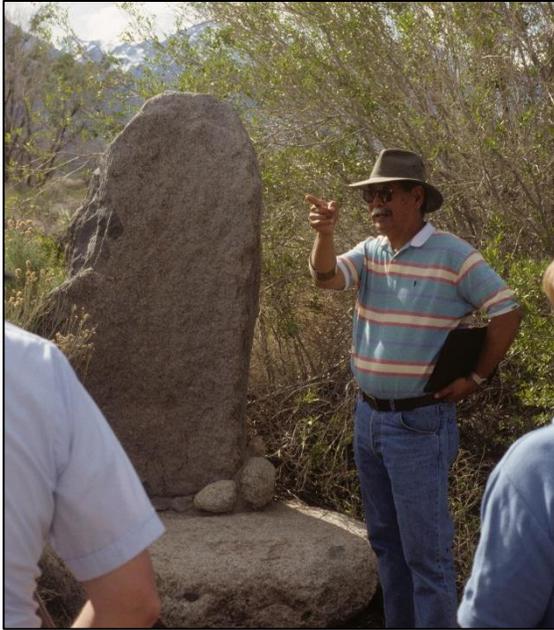
View of the former confinement site from the rooftop of the auditorium. From this vantage point in the 1990s, there was virtually no visible evidence of the thirty-six-block camp that housed over 10,000 people fifty years earlier. *Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS/HAER Collection, [HABS CAL, 14-INDEP. V, 1-2 or CA-2399-2].*

The Manzanar Advisory Commission

Right: A plaque commemorating the service of the Manzanar Advisory Commission members hangs at the visitor center entrance.

Below: At the April 28, 2013 dedication of the plaque, from left: Superintendent Les Inafuku, Sue Kunitomi Embrey's brother Jack Kunitomi, Dennis Otsuji, Keith Bright's great-granddaughter Naiya Warren, Bill Michael, Rose Matsui Ochi, Embrey's son Bruce, Gann Matsuda, and former superintendents Frank Hays and Tom Leatherman. *Source:* NPS photos.





Commission member Mas Okui leading a tour at Manzanar in 1995, pictured here with the iconic Merritt Park stone. *Source: NPS photo.*



Michael, vice chair of the commission and director of the Eastern California Museum, speaks at the guard tower dedication on September 17, 2005. *Source: NPS photo/Tom Clayton.*



Consecutive Manzanar Advisory Commission chairpersons Ochi (left) and Embrey at the guard tower dedication. At this event, both women, along with Michael, were honored for their years of dedication to the preservation of Manzanar. It was Embrey's last trip to Manzanar. *Source: NPS/Tom Clayton.*

NPS Milestones



Assistant Interior Secretary John Garamendi (left) attends the 1997 Manzanar Pilgrimage to accept the land deed for the Site. Also pictured from left center: Sue Kunitomi Embrey, Superintendent Ross Hopkins, and Rose Matsui Ochi. *Source: Manzanar Committee.*



Dignitaries break ground for the auditorium rehabilitation, April 26, 2002. From left: Art Eck, NPS deputy regional director; Bill Michael; Carroll Butch Hambleton, Inyo County fourth district supervisor; Ochi; Embrey; Superintendent Frank Hays; and Diane Koester-Dion, president of I.E.-Pacific, Inc. construction. *Source: NPS photo.*



Grand opening of the Manzanar visitor center, April 24, 2004. From left: NPS Director Fran Mainella, L.A. city council member Tom LaBonge, Mary Kageyama Nomura, Ochi, Embrey, and Hays. *Source for all photos on this page: NPS photos/Tom Clayton.*



Lillian Kawasaki, Friends of Manzanar co-chair, at the guard tower dedication, September 17, 2005. Kawasaki's mother was incarcerated at Manzanar.



Superintendent Les Inafuku at the barracks groundbreaking ceremony, February 13, 2010.

Superintendents



Manzanar's first superintendent, Ross Hopkins (right), and Manzanar's third superintendent, Tom Leatherman, at Sue Kunitomi Embrey's public memorial service, June 17, 2006. *Source: Alisa Lynch.*



Frank Hays, the Site's second superintendent, at the 2004 Manzanar Pilgrimage. *Source: NPS photo/Tom Clayton.*



Les Inafuku, Manzanar's fourth superintendent, presents an award to facility manager Troy Strawn. *Source: Les Inafuku.*



Bernadette Johnson, Manzanar's fifth superintendent (left), with Paul Igasaki, chair and chief judge of the Administrative Review Board at the U.S. Department of Labor, and Monica Toro at the May 25, 2016 naturalization ceremony held at Manzanar. Igasaki was the keynote speaker at the event, which was hosted in partnership with the Fresno office of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. *Source: U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.*

Rehabilitation: The Visitor Center



The auditorium in the 1990s. Inyo County utilized the auditorium as a vehicle maintenance facility for nearly forty years prior to the establishment of Manzanar National Historic Site. *Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS/HAER Collection, [HABS CAL,14-INDEP.V,1A-1 or CA-2399-A-1].*

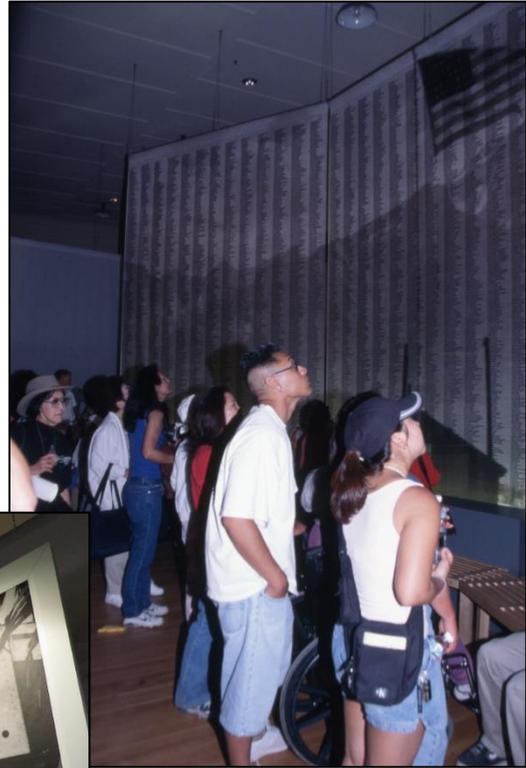


Alisa Lynch, chief of interpretation, (left) leads a tour of the auditorium rehab during the 2003 pilgrimage weekend, with (from left) facility manager John Slaughter, Rose Matsui Ochi, volunteer photographer Tom Clayton, and Sue Kunitomi Embrey. *Source: NPS/Dick Mansfield.*

Seizo Tanibata “prunes” orchard trees during the construction of a scale model of Manzanar. A dozen Manzanar High School graduates volunteered 1,000 hours to create the model in L.A. in early 2004. Delivered to the visitor center shortly before its grand opening, the model remains a popular feature there. *Source: NPS/courtesy of Archie Miyatake.*



At the April 24, 2004 grand opening of the visitor center, attendees gaze up at the three-panel screen that lists the names of the 11,070 people incarcerated at Manzanar during World War II. *Source: NPS photo/Tom Clayton.*



Entrance to the visitor center's exhibit hall. *Source: authors' photo.*



The visitor center in 2014, from the same vantage point as the HABS/HAER photo on the previous page. *Source: authors' photo.*

Restoration: The Gardens



Above: A team of volunteers led by Jeff Burton, cultural resources program manager, excavates the Arai family fish pond in Block 33 in May 2011.

Left: Volunteer Hank Umemoto removes soil from the pond bed. Source: NPS photos.

Partially reconstructed bridge in Merritt Park in 2014. Additional side rails were installed later. The Nishi family assisted the NPS in this reconstruction. Source: authors' photo.





Arai fish pond project volunteers. In total, volunteers worked fifty person-days on the project. In this group photo, Jeff Burton is fourth from the right. Burton's wife and fellow archeologist Mary Farrell stands behind him. Madelon Arai Yamamoto, whose father created the pond, stands at center, holding a historic photo. *Source: NPS photo.*



The Block 12 mess hall garden, which was restored after a flood in 2013 filled it with silt. This garden is among the most frequented by visitors to Manzanar given its proximity to the auto tour road and its shade trees. In 2014, the Society for History in the Federal Government presented its John Wesley Powell Award to the Manzanar staff for the restoration of the Block 12 garden. *Source: Dick Lord photograph.*

Reconstruction: Block 14



Arrival of the mess hall. In December 2002, a 40-by-100-foot World War II-era mess hall from the former Bishop Army Airfield was hauled in four pieces to the Site. *Source: Les Inafuku.*



Above: Block 14's two barracks, reconstructed in 2010. *Source: authors' photo.*

Right: Barracks 1 interior exhibits, representing early camp living conditions. *Source: NPS photo.*





Above: Mess hall in 2014. Restoration of the structure was completed in 2008, with interior exhibits installed in 2011. *Source: author's photo.*

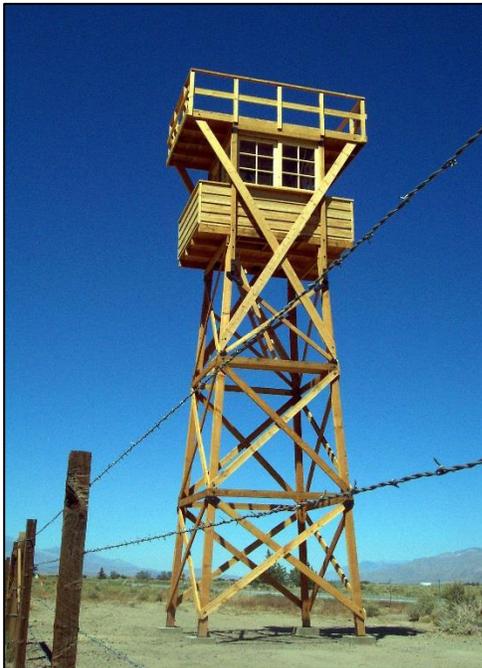


Left: Latrine foundation with toilet flanges visible. Block 14's women's latrine was reconstructed in 2016. *Source: author's photo.*

Below: Overview of Block 14. In 2015, as part of a public archeology project, staff and volunteers reconstructed Block 14's basketball court and fence and reestablished the rock alignment that surrounded it. *Source: NPS photo.*



At Work in the Field



Above: Maintenance staff install a wayside exhibit interpreting pilgrimage history near the Manzanar cemetery, April 2009. From left: John Kepford, Troy Strawn, and volunteer Jim Birkett. Below: Maintenance workers Ed Murdy (left) and Fred Phillips reconstruct guard tower 8 in summer 2005.

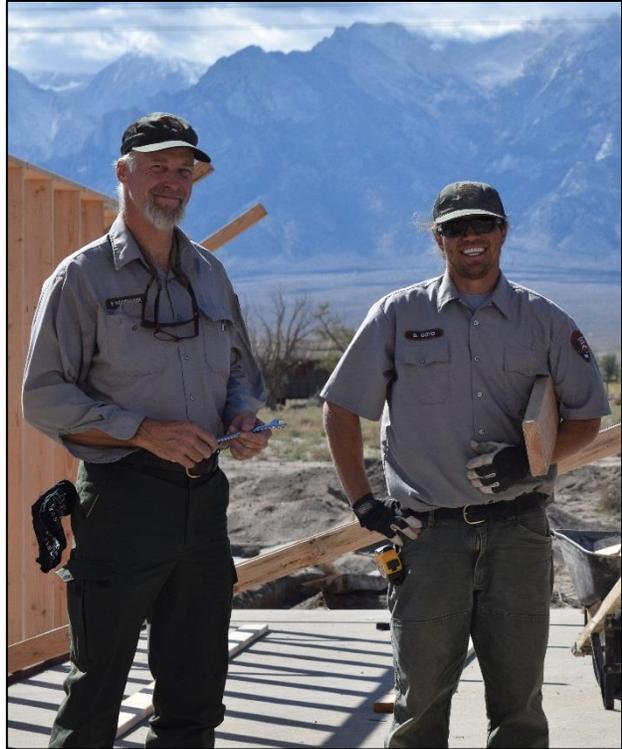
Source for all images on these two pages: NPS photos.



The finished tower. The California Office of Historic Preservation recognized the NPS, designers Carey & Co., and Friends of Manzanar with a California Governor's Historic Preservation Award for it in 2006.



Maintenance staff build an accessible sidewalk to connect to a short section of historic concrete at the Block 34 mess hall.



Cultural resource workers Paul Hoornbeek (left) and Dave Goto construct the fire truck shed, July 2014.



Gerry Enes (left) and Kepford (right), in safety vests, oversee clean-up efforts at the chicken ranch during the Site's annual volunteer day, March 2013.

On the Auto Tour



The reconstructed guard tower. *Source: NPS photo.*



Camouflage net factory wayside exhibit, with building foundations beyond. *Source: NPS photo.*



Auto tour road with Mount Williamson in the distance, in 2014. *Source: authors' photo.*



Administrative area with the restored internal security sentry post in the distance. *Source: authors' photo.*



Left: The historic orchard.
Above: The restored military police sentry post.
Below: The Manzanar cemetery, with the restored obelisk and the reconstructed fence. *Source: authors' photos.*



Connecting with Visitors



Ranger Carrie Andresen speaking to visitors at the Blue Star Memorial Highway sign and the state historic landmark plaque at the historic entrance in May 2012. The plaque was later moved to a spot in front of the visitor center. *Source: NPS photo.*

In March 2013, during the spring bloom, Manzanar arborist Gerry Enes shows the historic orchard to fourth and fifth graders in the Bishop Paiute Firstbloom program, a tribal environmental education initiative. *Source: NPS photo.*





Above: Jeff Burton, center, greets visitors at one of the Block 15 gardens on the day of the 2014 Manzanar Pilgrimage. *Source: authors' photo.*

Left: NPS arborist Dave Goto and other staff working outside on various resource and maintenance projects take time to chat with visitors. *Source: NPS photo.*

Below: Saburo and Ann Sasaki in the mess hall. Every year since 2005, the pair has traveled from their home in Michigan to volunteer at Manzanar for the entire month of May. In 2015 they won the NPS's national Hartzog Award for Enduring Volunteer Service. *Source: NPS photo.*



Gathering Stories



Above: Martha Shoaf, fourth grade teacher at Manzanar, shares photos and memories with ranger Richard Potashin and Site visitors during her 2005 docent program. *Source: NPS photo/Tom Clayton.*

Left: Ranger Mark Hachtmann with Rosie Maruki Kakuuchi at a Manzanar Reunion in Las Vegas. *Source: NPS photo.*

Below: Hachtmann prepares to videotape an oral history interview with Mary Kayeyama Nomura, famed "Songbird of Manzanar," in Las Vegas. *Source: NPS photo.*

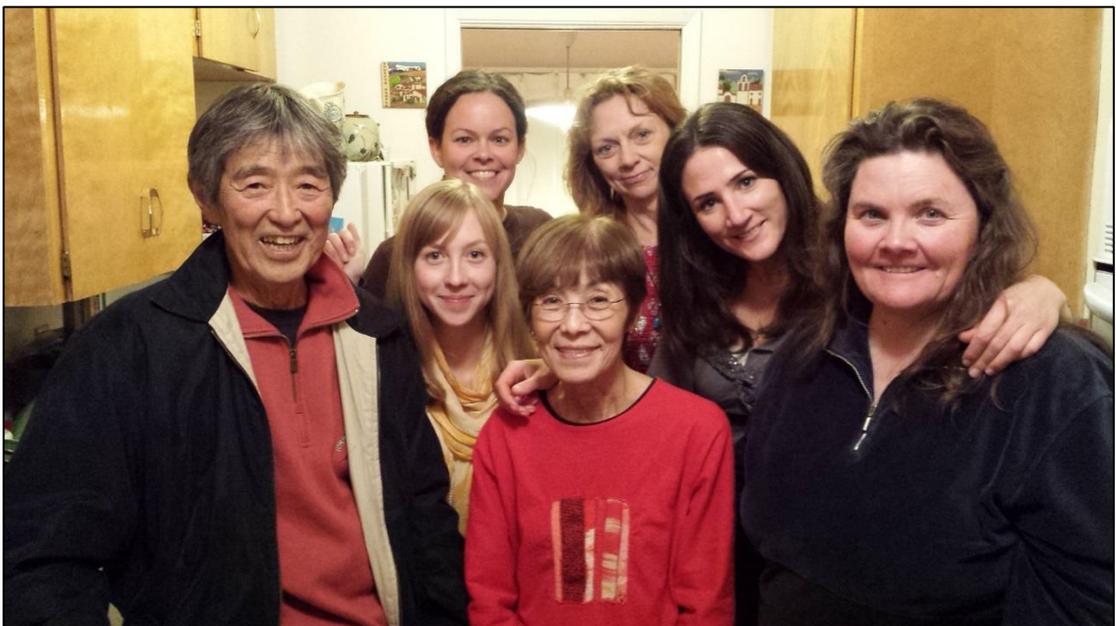




Left: Joyce Okazaki, longtime Manzanar Committee member, with photos Ansel Adams took of her and her sister Louise at Manzanar in 1943.

Below: Sam Ono, leader of the Manzanar scale model project, points to his senior photo in the 1944 Manzanar High School yearbook, *Our World*. *Source:* NPS photos, both taken at the 2010 Manzanar Reunion.

Below: Manzanar's interpretive staff hosts a potluck for Shirley Nagatomi Okabe and Mas Okabe during their 2014 visit to Manzanar. Shirley donated to the Site three scrapbooks of her father, the Buddhist Reverend Shinjo Nagatomi, who created the calligraphy on the cemetery obelisk during his incarceration at Manzanar. From left: Mas, rangers Whitney Peterson and Kristen Luetkemeier, Shirley, rangers Patricia Biggs and Rose Masters, and chief of interpretation Alisa Lynch. *Source:* Kristen Luetkemeier.



Bridging the Past to the Future



At the 2016 Manzanar Pilgrimage, Robert Gracey, former Inyo County fourth district supervisor, receives the Sue Kunitomi Embrey Legacy Award, informally known as the “Baga Guts” Award. Pictured from left: Manzanar Committee co-chair Kerry Cababa, Gracey, Gracey’s daughter’s Lynda Jean Newell, Manzanar at Dusk organizer Gann Matsuda, and Manzanar Committee co-chair Bruce Embrey. *Source for all images on these two pages: authors’ photos.*



Camp banners displayed at the 2016 pilgrimage. Each year, camp representatives carry banners representing each of the ten WRA camps, as well as the Crystal City Texas internment camp and the “Go for Broke” soldiers of the 100th/442nd.



Craig Ishii, founding executive director of Kizuna, an organization dedicated to educating, empowering, and engaging the next generation of Japanese American leaders. Ishii served as emcee for the Manzanar Pilgrimage in 2015 and 2016.

Right: Drummer at the 2016 pilgrimage. Each year, the pilgrimage ceremony begins with a drumming performance by the UCLA Kyodo Taiko.

Below: A mass of colorful paper cranes at the Manzanar cemetery during the 2016 pilgrimage. Origami cranes, symbolizing hope and healing in Japanese culture, are folded and strung together – often one thousand in total – to serve as gifts or tributes to be placed at significant locations.





Attendees of the 2014 Manzanar Pilgrimage. Since Sept. 11, 2001, a number of Japanese Americans have reached out to Muslims in friendship and solidarity. The Council of American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) brings Muslims to the Manzanar Pilgrimage each year. *Source: CAIR, Greater Los Angeles Chapter.*

Appendix 1. Legislation, Manzanar National Historic Site

106 STAT. 40 PUBLIC LAW 102-248—MAR. 3, 1992

Public Law 102-248
102d Congress

An Act

Mar. 3, 1992 To establish the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for
[H.R. 543] other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Minorities. TITLE I—MANZANAR NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

16 USC 461 note. SECTION 101. ESTABLISHMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In order to provide for the protection and interpretation of the historical, cultural, and natural resources associated with the relocation of Japanese-Americans during World War II, there is hereby established the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California.

(b) AREA INCLUDED.—The site shall consist of approximately 500 acres of land as generally depicted on a map entitled "Map 3—Alternative Plans—Manzanar Internment Camp" numbered 80,002 and dated February 1989. Such map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the appropriate offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. The Secretary may from time to time make minor revisions in the site boundaries.

16 USC 461 note. SEC. 102. DEFINITIONS.

As used in the title, the term—

(1) "Advisory Commission" means the Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission established pursuant to section 105 of this title;

(2) "city" means the City of Los Angeles;

(3) "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior; and

(4) "site" means the Manzanar National Historic Site established pursuant to section 101 of this title.

16 USC 461 note. SEC. 103. ACQUISITION OF LAND.

(a) IN GENERAL.—(1) Subject to the limitations set forth in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, the Secretary is authorized to acquire lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the site of donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or by exchange.

(2) Lands or interests therein located within the boundaries of the site which are owned by the State of California, or a political subdivision thereof, may be acquired only by donation or exchange.

(3) The Secretary shall not acquire lands or interests therein located within the boundaries of the site which are owned by the city of Los Angeles until such time as the Secretary has entered into an agreement with the city to provide water sufficient to fulfill the purposes of the site.

(b) MAINTENANCE FACILITY.—The Secretary is authorized to contribute up to \$1,100,000 in cash or services for the relocation or construction of a maintenance facility for Inyo County, California.

PUBLIC LAW 102-248—MAR. 3, 1992

106 STAT. 41

SEC. 104. ADMINISTRATION OF SITE.

16 USC 461 note.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—(1) The Secretary shall administer the site in accordance with this title and with the provisions of law generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including the Act entitled “An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes”, approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4), and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461-67).

(2) Nothing in this title shall create, expand, or diminish any authority of the Secretary over lands or activities of the City of Los Angeles outside the boundaries of the site.

(b) **DONATIONS.**—The Secretary may accept and expend donations of funds, property, or services from individuals, foundations, corporations, or public entities for the purpose of providing such services and facilities as the Secretary deems consistent with the purposes of this title.

(c) **GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN.**—Within 3 years after the date funds are made available for this subsection, the Secretary shall, in consultation with the Advisory Commission, prepare a general management plan for the site. Such plan shall be transmitted to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives.

(d) **COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.**—The Secretary is authorized to enter into cooperative agreements with—

(1) public and private entities for management and interpretive programs within the site; and

(2) the State of California, or a political subdivision thereof, for the rendering, on a reimbursable basis, of rescue, fire fighting, and law enforcement services and cooperative assistance by nearby law enforcement and fire preventive agencies.

(e) **WATER.**—Except as provided in section 103(a)(3) of this title, nothing in this title shall affect the water rights of the city of Los Angeles.

(f) **TRANSPORT OF LIVESTOCK.**—Any person who holds a permit from the Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles to graze livestock on city-owned lands contiguous with the site may move such livestock across those Federal lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management which are located contiguous with the site, for the purpose of transporting such livestock from one city-owned parcel to the other.

SEC. 105. ADVISORY COMMISSION.

16 USC 461 note.

(a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is hereby established an 11-member advisory commission to be known as the Manzanar National Historic Site Advisory Commission. The members of the Advisory Commission shall be appointed by the Secretary, and shall include former internees of the Manzanar relocation camp, local residents, representatives of Native American groups, and members of the general public.

(b) **TERMS.**—Members of the Advisory Commission shall serve for a term of 2 years. Any member of the Advisory Commission appointed for a definitive term may serve after the expiration of his or her term, until such time as a successor is appointed.

(c) **CHAIRMAN.**—The members of the Advisory Commission shall designate one of the members as Chairman.

(d) **CONSULTATION.**—The Secretary, or the Secretary's designee, shall from time to time, but at least semi-annually, meet and consult with the Advisory Commission with respect to the development, management, and interpretation of the site, including the preparation of a general management plan as required by section 104(c) of this title.

(e) **MEETINGS.**—The Advisory Commission shall meet on a regular basis. Notice of meetings shall be published in local newspapers. Advisory Commission meetings shall be held at locations and in such a manner as to ensure adequate public involvement.

(f) **EXPENSES.**—Members of the Advisory Commission shall serve without compensation, but while engaged in official business shall be entitled to travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in government service under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(g) **CHARTER.**—The provisions of section 14(b) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (86 Stat. 776) are hereby waived with respect to the Advisory Commission.

(h) **TERMINATION.**—The Advisory Commission shall terminate 10 years after the date of enactment of this title.

16 USC 461 note.

SEC. 106. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this title.

Japanese
American
National
Historic
Landmark
Theme Study
Act.

TITLE II—JAPANESE AMERICAN NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK THEME STUDY

SEC. 201. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "Japanese American National Historic Landmark Theme Study Act".

SEC. 202. THEME STUDY.

(a) **STUDY.**—The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter in this title referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized and directed to prepare and transmit to the Congress no later than 2 years after the date funds are made available for this title a National Historic Landmark Theme Study on Japanese American history (hereinafter in this title referred to as the "Theme Study"). The purpose of the Theme Study shall be to identify the key sites in Japanese American history that illustrate the period in American history when personal justice was denied Japanese Americans. The Theme Study shall identify, evaluate, and nominate as national historic landmarks those sites, buildings, and structures that best illustrate or commemorate the period in American history from 1941 to 1946 when Japanese Americans were ordered to be detained, relocated, or excluded pursuant to Executive Order Number 9066, and other actions. The study shall include (but not be limited to) the following sites:

- (1) Internment and temporary detention camps where Japanese Americans were relocated, detained, and excluded pursuant to Executive Order Number 9066, issued on February 19, 1942. The internment camps include: Tule Lake, California; Rohwer, Arkansas; Gila River, Arizona; Poston, Arizona; Granada, Colorado; Jerome, Arkansas; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Minidoka, Idaho; and Topaz, Utah. The temporary detention camps include: Pomona, California; Santa Anita, California;

PUBLIC LAW 102-248—MAR. 3, 1992

106 STAT. 43

Fresno, California; Pinedale, California; Tanforan in San Bruno, California; Sacramento, California; Marysville, California; Mayer, Arizona; Salinas, California; Turlock, California; Merced, California; Stockton, California; Tulare, California; Puyallup, Washington; and Portland, Oregon.

(2) Angel Island, California, the port of entry for many Japanese Issei.

(3) Camp Shelby, Mississippi, the training ground for the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team.

(4) Camp Savage and Fort Snelling, Minnesota, locations for the Military Intelligence Service Language School where Japanese Americans received Japanese language instruction, enabling the Japanese Americans to translate Japanese war plans into English.

(5) Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, where the 100th Infantry Battalion was trained.

(6) Terminal Island, California, the first location where Japanese Americans were forced to evacuate.

(7) Bainbridge Island, Washington, where Japanese Americans were evacuated pursuant to Exclusion Order Number 1.

(8) Immigration and Naturalization Service internment camps at Crystal City, Kennedy, and Seagoville, Texas, Missoula, Montana, and Bismarck, North Dakota.

(b) IDENTIFICATION AND LIST.—On the basis of the Theme Study, the Secretary shall identify possible new national historic landmarks appropriate to this theme and prepare a list in order of importance or merit of the most appropriate sites for national historic landmark designation.

SEC. 203. CONSULTATION.

In carrying out the study, the Secretary shall consult with Japanese American citizens groups, scholars of Japanese American history, and historic preservationists. In preparing the study, if the Secretary determines that it is necessary to have access to Indian lands, the Secretary shall request permission from the appropriate tribe.

SEC. 204. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.

The Secretary may enter into cooperative agreements with one or more Japanese American citizens organizations knowledgeable of Japanese American history, especially the relocation and intern-

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ment period during World War II, to prepare the Theme Study and ensure that the Theme Study meets current scholarly standards.

SEC. 205. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out this title.

Approved March 3, 1992.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—H.R. 543:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 102-125 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).

SENATE REPORTS: No. 102-236 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Vol. 137 (1991): June 24, considered and passed House.

Nov. 26, considered and passed Senate, amended.

Vol. 138 (1992): Feb. 18, 19, House considered and concurred in Senate amendments.

PUBLIC LAW 104-333—NOV. 12, 1996

110 STAT. 4093

Public Law 104-333
104th Congress

An Act

To provide for the administration of certain Presidio properties at minimal cost to the Federal taxpayer, and for other purposes.

Nov. 12, 1996
[H.R. 4236]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

This Act may be cited as the “Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996”.

Omnibus Parks
and Public Lands
Management Act
of 1996.
16 USC 1 note.

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.

DIVISION I

TITLE I—THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO

- Sec. 101. Findings.
- Sec. 102. Authority and responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior.
- Sec. 103. Establishment of the Presidio Trust.
- Sec. 104. Duties and authorities of the Trust.
- Sec. 105. Limitations on funding.
- Sec. 106. General Accounting Office study.

TITLE II—BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENTS AND CONVEYANCES

- Sec. 201. Yucca House National Monument boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 202. Zion National Park boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 203. Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 204. Independence National Historical Park boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 205. Craters of the Moon National Monument boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 206. Hagerman Fossil Beds National Monument boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 207. Wupatki National Monument boundary adjustment.
- Sec. 208. Walnut Canyon National Monument boundary modification.
- Sec. 209. Butte County, California land conveyance.
- Sec. 210. Taos Pueblo land transfer.
- Sec. 211. Colonial National Historical Park.
- Sec. 212. Cuprum, Idaho relief.
- Sec. 213. Relinquishment of interest.
- Sec. 214. Modoc National Forest.
- Sec. 215. Conveyance to City of Sumpter, Oregon.
- Sec. 216. Cumberland Gap National Historical Park.
- Sec. 217. Alpine School District.
- Sec. 218. Merced Irrigation District land exchange.
- Sec. 219. Father Aull site transfer.
- Sec. 220. Coastal Barrier Resources System.
- Sec. 221. Conveyance to Del Norte County Unified School District.

TITLE III—EXCHANGES

- Sec. 301. Targhee National Forest land exchange.
- Sec. 302. Anaktuvuk Pass land exchange.
- Sec. 303. Alaska Peninsula subsurface consolidation.
- Sec. 304. Snowbasin Land Exchange Act.
- Sec. 305. Arkansas and Oklahoma land exchange.
- Sec. 306. Big Thicket National Preserve.
- Sec. 307. Lost Creek land exchange.
- Sec. 308. Cleveland National Forest land exchange.

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- Sec. 309. Sand Hollow land exchange.
- Sec. 310. Bureau of Land Management authorization for fiscal years 1997 through 2002.
- Sec. 311. Kenai Natives Association land exchange.

TITLE IV—RIVERS AND TRAILS

- Sec. 401. Rio Puerco watershed.
- Sec. 402. Old Spanish Trail.
- Sec. 403. Great Western Scenic Trail.
- Sec. 404. Hanford Reach Preservation.
- Sec. 405. Lamprey Wild and Scenic River.
- Sec. 406. West Virginia National Rivers Amendments of 1996.
- Sec. 407. Technical amendment to the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act.
- Sec. 408. Protection of North St. Vrain Creek, Colorado.

TITLE V—HISTORIC AREAS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

- Sec. 501. The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail.
- Sec. 502. Vancouver National Historic Reserve.
- Sec. 503. Extension of Kaloko-Honokohau Advisory Commission.
- Sec. 504. Amendment to Boston National Historic Park Act.
- Sec. 505. Women's Rights National Historic Park.
- Sec. 506. Black Patriots Memorial Extension.
- Sec. 507. Historically black colleges and universities historic building restoration and preservation.
- Sec. 508. Memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Sec. 509. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation reauthorization.
- Sec. 510. Great Falls Historic District, New Jersey.
- Sec. 511. New Bedford National Historic Landmark District.
- Sec. 512. Nicodemus National Historic Site.
- Sec. 513. Unalaska.
- Sec. 514. Japanese American Patriotism Memorial.
- Sec. 515. Manzanar National Historic Site.
- Sec. 516. Recognition and designation of the AIDS Memorial Grove as national memorial.

TITLE VI—CIVIL AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR SITES

- Sec. 601. United States Civil War Center.
- Sec. 602. Corinth, Mississippi, Battlefield Act.
- Sec. 603. Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Historic Preservation Study.
- Sec. 604. American battlefield protection program.
- Sec. 605. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Parks.
- Sec. 606. Shenandoah Valley battlefields.
- Sec. 607. Washita Battlefield.

TITLE VII—FEES

- Sec. 701. Ski area permit rental charge.
- Sec. 702. Delaware Water Gap.
- Sec. 703. Glacier Bay National Park.

TITLE VIII—MISCELLANEOUS ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGEMENT PROVISIONS

- Sec. 801. Limitation on park buildings.
- Sec. 802. Appropriations for transportation of children.
- Sec. 803. Feral burros and horses.
- Sec. 804. Authorities of the Secretary of the Interior relating to museums.
- Sec. 805. Volunteers in parks increase.
- Sec. 806. Carl Garner Federal Lands Cleanup Day.
- Sec. 807. Fort Pulaski National Monument, Georgia.
- Sec. 808. Laura C. Hudson Visitor Center.
- Sec. 809. Robert J. Lagomarsino Visitor Center.
- Sec. 810. Expenditure of funds outside authorized boundary of Rocky Mountain National Park.
- Sec. 811. Dayton aviation.
- Sec. 812. Prohibition on certain transfers of national forest lands.
- Sec. 813. Grand Lake Cemetery.
- Sec. 814. National Park Service administrative reform.
- Sec. 815. William B. Smullin Visitor Center.
- Sec. 816. Calumet Ecological Park.
- Sec. 817. Acquisition of certain property on Santa Cruz Island.
- Sec. 818. National Park Agreements.

PUBLIC LAW 104-333—NOV. 12, 1996

110 STAT. 4167

(iv) All sidewalks under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia abutting on and contiguous to the land described in clauses (i), (ii), and (iii).

(C) TRANSFERS TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Jurisdiction over the following parcels is transferred to the Government of the District of Columbia:

(i) That portion of New Jersey Avenue, N.W., between the northernmost point of the intersection of New Jersey Avenue, N.W., and D Street, N.W., and the northernmost point of the intersection of New Jersey Avenue, N.W., and Louisiana Avenue, N.W., between squares 631 and W632, which remains Federal property.

(ii) That portion of D Street, N.W., between its intersection with New Jersey Avenue, N.W., and its intersection with Louisiana Avenue, N.W., between squares 630 and W632, which remains Federal property.

(c) MISCELLANEOUS.—

(1) COMPLIANCE WITH OTHER LAWS.—Compliance with this section shall be deemed to satisfy the requirements of all laws otherwise applicable to transfers of jurisdiction over parcels of Federal real property.

(2) LAW ENFORCEMENT RESPONSIBILITY.—Law enforcement responsibility for the parcels of Federal real property for which jurisdiction is transferred by subsection (b) shall be assumed by the person acquiring such jurisdiction.

(3) UNITED STATES CAPITOL GROUNDS.—

(A) DEFINITION.—The first section of the Act entitled “An Act to define the United States Capitol Grounds, to regulate the use thereof, and for other purposes”, approved July 31, 1946 (40 U.S.C. 193a), is amended to include within the definition of the United States Capitol Grounds the parcels of Federal real property described in subsection (b)(2)(B).

(B) JURISDICTION OF CAPITOL POLICE.—The United States Capitol Police shall have jurisdiction over the parcels of Federal real property described in subsection (b)(2)(B) in accordance with section 9 of such Act of July 31, 1946 (40 U.S.C. 212a).

(4) EFFECT OF TRANSFERS.—A person relinquishing jurisdiction over a parcel of Federal real property transferred by subsection (b) shall not retain any interest in the parcel except as specifically provided by this section.

SEC. 515. MANZANAR NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE.

16 USC 461 note.

(a) TERMINATION OF WITHDRAWALS.—

(1) UNAVAILABILITY OF CERTAIN LANDS.—The Congress, by enacting the Act entitled “An Act to establish the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and for other purposes”, approved March 3, 1992 (106 Stat. 40; Public Law 102-248), (1) provided for the protection and interpretation of the historical, cultural, and natural resources associated with the relocation of Japanese-Americans during World War II and established the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, and (2) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands or interests therein within the

boundary of the Historic Site by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or by exchange. The public lands identified for disposal in the Bureau of Land Management's Bishop Resource Area Resource Management Plan that could be made available for exchange in support of acquiring lands within the boundary of the Historic Site are currently unavailable for this purpose because they are withdrawn by an Act of Congress.

(2) TERMINATION OF WITHDRAWAL.—To provide a land base with which to allow land exchanges in support of acquiring lands within the boundary of the Manzanar National Historic Site, the withdrawal of the following described lands is terminated and such lands shall not be subject to the Act of March 4, 1931 (chapter 517; 46 Stat. 1530):

MOUNT DIABLO MERIDIAN

Township 2 North, Range 26 East

Section 7:

North half south half of lot 1 of southwest quarter, north half south half of lot 2 of southwest quarter, north half south half southeast quarter.

Township 4 South, Range 33 East

Section 31:

Lot 1 of southwest quarter, northwest quarter northeast quarter, southeast quarter;

Section 32:

Southeast quarter northwest quarter, northeast quarter southwest quarter, southwest quarter southeast quarter.

Township 5 South, Range 33 East

Section 4:

West half of lot 1 of northwest quarter, west half of lot 2 of northwest quarter.

Section 5:

East half of lot 1 of northeast quarter, east half of lot 2 of northeast quarter.

Section 9:

Northwest quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter.

Section 17:

Southeast quarter northwest quarter, northwest quarter southeast quarter.

Section 22:

Lot 1 and 2.

Section 27:

Lot 2, west half northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, northeast quarter southwest quarter, northwest quarter southeast quarter.

Section 34:

Northeast quarter, northwest quarter, southeast quarter.

Appendix 2. Annual Visitation, Manzanar National Historic Site

Year	Number of Visitors
2000	38,010
2001	46,834
2002	52,823
2003	61,917
2004	75,449
2005	78,172
2006	88,200
2007	81,344
2008	78,468
2009	89,190
2010	76,592
2011	79,587
2012	72,831
2013	77,511
2014	77,633
2015	95,327
2016	105,307

Source: Annual Park Recreation Visitation (1904 - Last Calendar Year) for Manzanar National Historic Site, National Park Service Visitor Use Statistics website, <https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/Reports/Park/MANZ> <March 29, 2017>.

Appendix 3. Superintendents, Manzanar National Historic Site

Ross Hopkins	1994 -2000
Frank Hays	2001-2005
Tom Leatherman	2005-2008
Les Inafuku	2009-2014
Bernadette Johnson	2014-present

The following individuals served as acting superintendent at Manzanar:

Debbie Bird	2000-2001
Ann Huston	2005
Les Inafuku	2008
Colin Smith	2014



“Ten Thousand Lives, Ten Thousand Stories.” Preschoolers, returning to their barracks homes after morning class. *Source: National Archives, DOI War Relocation Authority, Dorothea Lange, photographer, [210-G-C657].*

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Manzanar Committee, Los Angeles, Calif.

Sue Embrey files

Manzanar National Historic Site (MANZ)

Active Central Files (ACF)

Electronic files

Interpretive Division files

Les Inafuku's electronic files

Retired Central Files (RCF)

Tom Leatherman files

Superintendent's office documents library

Manzanar National Historic Site (MANZ) library

Harlan Unrau research files

University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

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