Historic Name: Heart Mountain Relocation Center

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: ½ mile from State Highway Alt. 14 between Cody and Powell/ 1500 Road 19

Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Ralston Vicinity: X

State: Wyoming County: Park Code: 029 (NR) Zip Code:

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of: Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	__
Public-Local:	___	District:	X
Public-State:	___	Site:	__
Public-Federal:	X	Structure:	__
		Object:	__

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
4	_	buildings
1	_	sites
_	_	structures
_	_	objects
5	0	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 5

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: “Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study”

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

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

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property___ meets____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	DEFENSE	Sub: Military Facility/Relocation Center
	DOMESTIC	Sub: Multiple Dwelling/Institutional Housing/Camp
	HEALTH CARE	Sub: Hospital
Current:	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub: Monument/Marker
	LANDSCAPE	Sub: Park/Plaza
	AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE	Sub: Agricultural/Irrigation Facility

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: No Style

Materials: Wood/ Brick/Asbestos/Asphalt/Concrete/Other

Foundation: Concrete
Walls: Wood
Roof: Wood/Asphalt/Other
Other:

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Introduction

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center was constructed during the early summer of 1942 as one of ten internment camps used to incarcerate Japanese-Americans excluded from the West Coast under the provisions of Executive Order 9066 signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II. The National Historic Landmark district encompasses 123.93 acres of land, which includes 73.93 acres owned by the Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) and 50 acres purchased by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation. Land administered by the BOR includes the original hospital complex and a portion of the administrative complex that contains a reconstruction of the Honor Roll memorial, which was built by internees shortly before the camp closed on 10 November 1945. The section owned by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation includes the original Heart Mountain Relocation Center's military police compound. The camp is clearly visible from State Highway 14, the "Old Yellowstone Highway," which is a 60-mile drive to the eastern entrance of Yellowstone National Park. Although the Heart Mountain Relocation Center originally encompassed 740 acres, only 123.93 acres are being included because the remaining parts of the camp are privately owned and the owners have not expressed an interest in National Historic Landmark designation.

Heart Mountain is one of two camps where a significant and highly interpretive number of buildings – rather than only primarily archeological resources – have survived. Whereas the Tule Lake Relocation Center in California possesses a collection of structures relating to the military police and administrative areas, Heart Mountain contains perhaps the most intact collection of historic structures associated with the hospital complex. Moreover, the historic structures at Heart Mountain retain an exceptional degree of integrity, and in many ways are essentially unchanged from their World War II appearance. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center hospital boiler house and associated smokestack – juxtaposed against the rural western landscape of central Wyoming – is an often-reproduced image of the internment, and is featured on the cover of *Confinement and Ethnicity*, a study of the history and resources of the internment prepared by the National Park Service Western Archeological Center and published by the University of Washington in 2002.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center National Historic Landmark district is comprised of the following:

The hospital complex, which is located in the northeastern section of the camp, includes four historic buildings: a hospital boiler house and associated smokestack, a hospital warehouse, a hospital mess hall, and an administrative staff housing unit, all of which remain remarkably intact.

The administrative complex, located southeast of the hospital complex, includes a reconstruction of the original Honor Roll memorial which is part of the Heart Mountain Memorial Park, and commemorates servicemen from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.

The military police section is located southwest of the hospital complex, directly off of State Highway 14. This land owned by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation is currently used for agricultural production, and is the proposed site of an interpretive and cultural center.

In addition to the four surviving buildings, the National Historic Landmark district also retains original road patterns and building foundations, as well as a considerable amount of historic artifacts dating to World War II.

The Setting

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is located in the northwestern corner of Wyoming in the Shoshone River Valley in Park County. It is situated between the towns of Cody and Powell, and is 60 miles east of Yellowstone National Park, and 45 miles south of the Montana state line. Topographically, the site is located on two terraces of the Shoshone River, which flows northeasterly along the eastern boundary of the reserve. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center lies 4,700 feet high in elevation, and is named after the Heart Mountain Butte, a detached limestone fault block eight miles to the west of the camp, standing at 8,123 feet high. Geologically, the acreage is underlain by bedrock formations ranging in age from Permian to early Tertiary. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center site is located on flat, treeless bench land covered in buffalo grass and sagebrush in a dry desert environment, receiving little annual precipitation.

Similar to the majority of the internment camps, public lands were used for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center occupied lands that were originally a key component of the Bureau of Reclamation's Shoshone Irrigation Project. Prior to completion of the Heart Mountain Division, the fourth phase of the Shoshone Irrigation Project, 21,521 acres (or nearly 33 square miles) of BOR land was transferred to the War Relocation Authority for use as an internment camp. The core developed or fenced area of the camp contained approximately 740 acres and was ringed by a barbed wire perimeter fence anchored by nine guard towers.

Construction of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center began on 15 June 1942 and employed over 2,000 laborers. Major contractors for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center included the Harza Engineering Company of Chicago and the Hamilton Bridge Company of Kansas City. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center officially opened on 11 August 1942, although construction was not completed until 6 September 1942. The majority of the internees came from the Pomona or Santa Anita assembly centers in California, while others came from an assembly center in Portland, Oregon. By 1 January 1943, the maximum camp population was recorded at 10,767 internees. This dramatic shift in demographics placed the Heart Mountain Relocation Center as the third largest community in Wyoming. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center was the fourth largest camp and the seventh longest occupied out of the ten relocation centers. It officially closed on 10 November 1945.

Following World War II, this land was transferred from the War Relocation Authority back to the Bureau of Reclamation. Portions of this land were then opened to returning veterans and local homesteaders for farming and settlement. Most of the sagebrush and buffalo grass had been previously cleared by the internees who completed part of the Heart Mountain canal to irrigate the center's crops, providing an ideal agricultural environment. Homesteaders also purchased equipment and many of the residential barracks, which were then moved from the site. Remaining structures were dismantled and removed from the site for use as farm buildings, storage space, or housing; while other structures were demolished and materials salvaged. After the war, the Bureau of Reclamation resumed construction of the Shoshone Irrigation Project and used buildings within the site's administration and hospital areas, which were still equipped with utilities, for offices and storage space until the late 1950s. At this time, these buildings were transferred to the Shoshone-Heart Mountain Irrigation District, which leased and used these facilities from 1960 through 1985. The Shoshone-Heart Mountain Irrigation District relinquished management of the site to the Bureau of Reclamation in 1991.

Largely unoccupied for many years, the site was subject to vandalism and litter. Presently, the majority of the site's original acreage is privately owned and has been cultivated for agricultural use to grow crops such as barley and sugar beets. Otherwise, the land is overgrown with sagebrush and buffalo grass. The 73.93 acres of land owned by the Bureau of Reclamation still retains original road patterns, building foundations, four intact buildings, the administrative complex, and the most intact hospital complex compared to the other nine internment camps. Land purchased by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation, which is adjacent to and just southeast of the Bureau of Reclamation land, is currently used for agricultural purposes, and is the original site of the camp's military police compound. The surviving buildings and other contributing features significantly convey the history of this camp and are a strong reminder of the time of its occupancy, providing a vivid testament to the desolation of this camp.

In addition to the administrative and hospital complexes, other extant resources include the root cellar in the warehouse area, the original swimming pool, also located on the lower terrace, east of the residential area, and one small room or vault at the original high school. All of these extant resources are located on private land. If possible, the National Historic Landmark boundary should be expanded at a later time, to include these remarkable extant resources.

Historical Description

Note: The following historical description is based largely on a study of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center conducted by Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, all associated with the Western Archeological and Conservation Center and the National Park Service, and published in *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center was built in a geographically rural and desolate location. As noted above, the central area of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was built upon two terraces of the Shoshone River. The upper terrace housed the administrative and residential areas, while the lower terrace held hog and chicken farms in addition to support facilities. The hospital and administrative buildings were constructed in the central administrative area, which was guarded by a sentry post at the main entrance and gate houses on the north, west, and south sides, surrounded by barbed wire and nine guard towers. The center’s 650 buildings and structures were constructed under the direction of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and designed based on WRA blueprints. Like most of the relocation centers, the buildings and roads at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center followed a north-south grid. A little over 1,000 acres of the center’s land was used for agricultural purposes.

Buildings within the administrative and support area roughly followed the contour of the terrace as they lay adjacent to Central Avenue, which ran in a southwest-northeast direction. The administration area located southeast of the barracks consisted of eight office buildings, sided with shingles, with a separate recreation mess hall for WRA personnel. Later apartment buildings were constructed in this area for administrative personnel.

Southwest of the hospital complex, the administration and staff housing area consisted of eight office buildings, a fire station, a store, the post office, a garage, a storage building, fifteen apartment and dormitory buildings, a recreation building and a mess hall. Buildings used for staff housing were constructed of wood frame walls with cement/asbestos fiber shingles and a roof made of asphalt shingles. These buildings measured 24 feet by 50 feet.

At the far eastern edge of the central area on the upper terrace, adjacent to Central Avenue, the hospital complex was originally composed of seventeen buildings with connecting covered walkways. These buildings included two former Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) buildings, which were used as a hostel and a garage.

The center's entrance was guarded by a military police unit. They were also responsible for building a barbed wire fence surrounding the center and eight elevated guard towers surrounding the barracks areas. A ninth tower was later constructed on a ridge north of the center. The military police compound was originally located off of Highway 11 (now U.S. Highway Alt. 14). Adjacent to the main gate at the southeast corner of the site, a group of buildings housed the Military Police Group. According to a WRA map, the compound was composed of nineteen buildings. The military police visitor building formerly belonged to the CCC camp. Four buildings were relocated to the administrative and staff housing area as the compound was eventually reduced.

The center's residential area was located west of the administration area and laid out on a north-south grid. Divided into thirty blocks, twenty blocks were used for a total of 468 barracks while the other blocks were left as open space or used by internees for victory gardens and a cemetery. On the lower terrace, east of the residential area, evacuees dug a pit for a swimming pool. With the exception of Block 7, each block at Heart Mountain was comprised of 24 barracks, instead of 12 barracks, as found in the other centers, and were twice the size of other center barracks, each measuring 20 by 120 feet. Barracks were of wood-frame construction covered with black tar paper. Each block contained two 40 by 100 foot mess halls, two 20 by 100 foot recreation halls and two combined laundry-toilet buildings.

Sections of the center, which were not used for administrative or residential buildings, were also put to use. In Blocks 13 and 16, evacuees constructed a large building with several wings and three smaller buildings for use as a high school on 27 May 1943. Similar to other buildings at the center, one of the smaller buildings was originally from a local CCC camp. Two grade school areas located in Blocks 5 and 26 were built using cinder blocks.

Next to the railroad on the lower terrace was the warehouse and motor pool area. Out of the sixty buildings located in this area, one was formerly used by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and fifteen were from a nearby CCC camp. Northeast of the warehouse and motor pool area were three root cellars, a tool shed, and a relocated WPA shelter. Hog and chicken farms were located in the northeastern section of the center on the lower terrace. There were thirteen hog sheds according to WRA blueprints, in addition to loading chutes and other facilities. The chicken farm had 23 chicken houses, a warehouse, granary, grain bin, privies and a lunch shelter. Any sizable buildings in this area were originally from a CCC camp. At the sewage disposal plant, there were sludge beds, a pump house, chlorination house, and a large buried "Imhoff" tank.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center used 1,000 acres of land adjacent to the south and east of the central area for farming. This included land to the north, as well as to the east of the highway and along both sides of the highway from the central area, three-and-a-half miles south. Internees constructed one mile of canal in addition to canals already in place from the BOR Heart Mountain Reclamation Project in order to supply these fields with water. The center's domestic water supply was pumped from the river to a filter plant and pumping station located across the highway from the warehouse area. This water was pumped to a concrete reservoir on a low ridge northwest of the residential area.

Present Description

At the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, four surviving buildings stand out starkly against a rural landscape abundant with native grasses and low-growing vegetation. The four standing buildings in the Heart Mountain Relocation Center hospital complex have survived extreme weather conditions and deterioration over time. Of similar construction, these buildings remain remarkably intact and provide an exceptional example of the types of buildings that were constructed at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.

The hospital boiler house,[1] measuring 50 by 90 feet in plan and of rectangular design, has a semi-subterranean lean-to structure on the northeast. The hospital boiler house foundation is cast-in-place concrete with a recessed pit area on the northwest end. Most exposed areas of the foundation wall are plastered. The floor is a cast-in-place concrete slab on grade with numerous patches and surface repairs. The walls were constructed using 2-by-6 studs and 1-by-6 tongue and groove horizontal siding. The exterior walls were covered with rolled asphalt siding in a simple brick pattern. After World War II, the rolled asphalt siding was replaced with asphalt shingles. The wood frame walls appear to be structurally sound with no evidence of decay or dry rot. The windows appear to have been 12/12 double hung wood sash. The main pedestrian door is on the northwest and still has a door capable of closing and opening. The ceiling consists of fiberboard nailed to the ceiling joists. The main gable roof is framed with dimension lumber trusses and sheathed with one-inch-thick board sheathing. The roofing on the main portion of the building consists of asphalt rolled roofing.

The hospital boiler house chimney's exterior is constructed of standard size, hard-fired clay brick units with smooth faces set in what appears to be a Portland cement mortar (judging from the mortar's condition and relative hardness). The chimney measures approximately 8'-8" x 8'-8" at the base and steps in to 6'-11" x 6'-11" at a height of approximately 40' and is reduced to a 5'-5" x 5'-5" area at the 65' level which continues to the concrete coping that caps the masonry at approximately 75'-6". The chimney walls are constructed of multiple wythes of brick with the exterior laid in a common (American) bond and the interior of the lowest section is lined with a fire brick laid with little or no mortar in an approximately 1/3 running bond. The thickness of the walls varies from 6 wythes (approximately 24") at the base to 2 wythes (approximately 8") at the upper section. Mortar parging was placed on the stepped portions of the exterior to enhance water run-off. The concrete coping at the top has some minor cracks but is sound and provides some moisture protection to the top of the chimney. The materials used to construct the chimney appear to be good quality and have withstood weathering for the last five decades with little maintenance.

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[1] Building descriptions taken from "An Assessment of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Park County, Wyoming" by James O. Rose, a report prepared for the Bureau of Reclamation in Mills, Wyoming, December 1996, based on fieldwork conducted March 27 and 28, 1992 by Thomas K. Larson, Dori M. Penny and James O. Rose with Larson-Tibesar Associates, Inc.

The hospital warehouse, measuring approximately 24 by 120 feet in plan, is rectangular in shape. The hospital warehouse foundation/floor system is cast-in-place concrete slab on grade. The walls are 2-by-4 studs with Celotex on the interior and no insulation. The exterior is one-inch-thick wood sheathing with 15# building felt and 3-tab asphalt shingles. The windows appear to have been 9-light, fixed wood sash. The roof structure consists of 2-by-4 topchord wood trusses with one-inch-thick wood sheathing and asphalt rolled roofing. The ceiling consists of fiberboard nailed to the bottom chord of the roof trusses, although the majority of it has been removed. The remains of the heating system are visible as brick chimney supported by dimension lumber. Some remnants of the electrical system also exist in the form of wiring and lamp sockets.

The hospital mess hall building is rectangular in shape, approximately 40 by 180 feet in plan and is subdivided on the interior into several smaller rooms. The southeast two-thirds of the building is a frame floor with a very shallow crawlspace but no concrete foundation wall is visible for this portion of the building. The northwest one-third of the building is a cast-in-place concrete slab on grade. The concrete portion of the floor is in fair to good condition. The frame floor is primarily one-inch-thick tongue and groove, softwood strip flooring. The walls are 2 by 4 studs framing with a fiberboard finish on the interior. The exterior is one-inch-thick wood sheathing covered with building paper and 3-tab asphalt shingles. The exterior walls are finished on the inside with fiberboard nailed to the studs. Most windows appear to have been 6/6 double hung wood sash. Most of the exterior doorways still contain doors, which appear to have been half-lite stile and rail type. The gable roof structure consists of heavy timber wood trusses supported on spaced heavy timber columns framed inside the 2-by-4 stud wall. The fiberboard ceiling conceals the size and spacing of the purlins and roof sheathing. The roof covering is rolled roofing. A few random light fixtures and electrical wiring and a few remnants of mechanical piping are all that remains of the mechanical and electrical systems.

In the staff housing area adjacent to the hospital complex, an administrative staff housing unit measures approximately 24 feet by 50 feet, is of rectangular design and is actually only half of the original building. No foundation wall is visible from the exterior in spite of the fact that the floor is frame construction except for a small dropped portion on the southeast that is cast-in-place concrete slab on grade. The finished floor is hardwood strip flooring with resilient flooring in the kitchen area and both finishes are in fair condition. The exterior and interior finish conceals the exact size and spacing of the frame wall. The thickness of the walls would suggest that they are framed with 2 by 4 studs. The interior finish is wood paneling and the exterior is asbestos or cement/fiber shingles. There are several window sizes but all are 6/6 double hung wood sash. The roof structure is concealed by a 12-by-12 tile ceiling over fiberboard. The roofing is T-lock asphalt shingles.

In addition to these buildings, there are numerous contributing features present within the site. In the hospital complex there are power poles, a loading dock, a fire hydrant, a manhole, and two 20-by-120-foot concrete slabs. The WRA blueprint suggests the slabs, north of the standing warehouse, are foundations of an additional warehouse and the morgue. A smaller slab north of the morgue slab is 36 feet by 87 feet; this foundation, connected to the boiler house with a concrete sidewalk, is in the location of the hospital laundry on the WRA blueprints. It appears to have been converted to a service station after the relocation center use, and there is an adjacent concrete gasoline pump island. East of the hospital along the edge of the terrace there is some relocation center debris, as well as several post-relocation-center trash dumps.

Other features present in the staff housing area include two concrete slab foundations, one 26 by 80 feet and one 26 by 125 feet, a 7-foot-square concrete cellar, and possible concrete perimeter foundation remnants of two other buildings. There are four manholes in place, two power poles still standing, and a sign post that may have been a street sign during the relocation center use.

South and east of the Honor Roll memorial in the administration area, there are concrete slabs, footings, building debris, a manhole, and other traces of former buildings. Slabs include two measuring 14 feet by 14 feet, two measuring 14 feet by 21 feet, and one 125 feet by 125 feet in size. The larger slab was the foundation of Administration Building No. 5, according to the WRA blueprints; the smaller ones do not conform to buildings on the blueprints, but may have been patios for staff apartments

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center National Historic Landmark district is currently surrounded by agricultural land, which is primarily privately owned. The BOR portion of land is separated from the adjacent farmland to the northwest, which was part of the original camp, by wire fences. The privately-owned portion of land is crossed by several irrigation ditches, formerly used to irrigate the center's farmland. A gravel road bisects the BOR land, separating the commemorative marker area from the remaining structures. Ground cover consists mainly of native grasses and low-growing vegetation in areas not subject to vehicular traffic. Within the site, original center roads that roughly followed the contour of the terrace are still drivable, and surfaced with gravel; there is no evidence of other significant paved areas (bituminous or concrete). The entire site is scattered with varieties of building demolition debris and numerous wooden utility poles.

A 1995 cultural resource inventory conducted by Larson-Tibesar Associates, Inc., of Laramie, Wyoming identified four standing buildings, foundation remnants, utility structures, and artifact concentrations related to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.[2] The first phase of this survey was conducted in 1990 and an inventory was taken of other existing cultural features. These findings included several artifacts and artifact concentrations, concrete foundations for the main administration building, an outdoor recreation center for the administrative staff, and almost the entire section of the western half of the hospital complex area. Cut nails, typically unused by 1900, were also found, although the use of these nails in place of more modern nails is still unknown. In 1992, Larson-Tibesar conducted a structural stability assessment of the four surviving center buildings. This visual inspection revealed that the buildings are stable but, due to lack of maintenance and extreme environmental exposure, they are at risk for significant deterioration. The survey states, "Since this is one of the few WWII internment camps (or perhaps the only one) with standing structures, their importance in interpreting the total context and cultural significance is both singular and extremely important." The hospital boiler house smokestack itself served as a landmark not only for the internees, but also for nearby towns and continues to stand out as a marker for the site.

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[2] This is the first formal Class III (field intensive) survey conducted of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. The purpose of this study was initiated by the Bureau of Reclamation per request of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Memorial Association to obtain a preliminary assessment of the condition of the hospital boiler room smokestack in order to estimate the costs of repair. Thomas K.,Larson, Dori M. Penny, Michael J. Andrews, and James O. Rose. "Cultural Resources Investigations at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Wyoming," 1995. Paper presented at the Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology in Washington, D.C., 5 January 1995.

The Larson-Tibesar survey also revealed a large number of artifacts associated with the relocation center found on the surface of the site. "These artifacts include[d] fragments of bottle/jar glass, sanitary cans, metal strapping, tableware, a toy 'Woody' station wagon, a green glass marble, a 1944 penny, slabs of concrete, brick, ceramic tiling, lumber and asphalt shingles." Wire and cut nails were also found scattered throughout this area and attached to concrete foundations.

Asbestos was also found in all of the buildings and in May 1991 an industrial hygiene and hazardous waste survey was conducted. This area of the center was cleaned and all hazardous materials were removed and stabilized in order to prepare for the preservation of this site.

Many of the buildings associated with the Heart Mountain Relocation Center have been removed offsite. Most notably, one of the barracks was relocated to the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, California – and although removed from site, has been at least partially restored to its World War II-era appearance. A 55-gallon barrel of small stones, bearing written Buddhist sutras, found at the site were also donated to the museum.

Several other barracks are located on nearby private property and used for housing or storage, although most of them have been extensively modified. Other contributing resources resting on private property include: barracks, original barbed wire fencing, a root cellar, a reservoir (swimming hole), and a concrete vault or room belonging to the high school. Three headstones were removed from the center's cemetery and relocated to the Crown Hill Cemetery in nearby Powell. Few security features are extant, though there are some portions of a substantial perimeter fence in the warehouse section of the center. Little evidence of the overall site plan or road system remains and most of the relocation center site is now cultivated.

Following World War II, the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Memorial Association, a now defunct organization, constructed the Heart Mountain Memorial Park, which is separated from the rest of the buildings by a gravel road. The park included the center's original Honor Roll memorial built by internees in August 1944, until it was taken down by the Bureau of Reclamation in 2000 to protect it from further deterioration. The Honor Roll was built in front of Administration Building No. 1 (as listed on WRA blueprints) during the relocation center occupation. Originally a frame bulletin board, the Honor Roll memorial was constructed of gray asbestos panels painted black that covered the entire front, with a poured concrete base and supports. The panels were hand-painted with the names of enlisted servicemen from the relocation center. Internees also built a river rock circular base surrounding the Honor Roll. The signboard was built on a low pedestal constructed of flat fieldstones in concrete. The park constructed by the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Memorial Association also has plaques, a concrete slab moved from Block 23 that originally supported a brick chimney, a sidewalk, and a graveled parking area.

The Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation, led by President David Reetz, is currently planning a walking trail and learning center for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center site. The foundation has also played a key role in the preservation of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center and the history of this extraordinary place. In 2003, the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation reconstructed the frame portion of the Honor Roll memorial. The reconstruction recaptures the 799 names originally on the Honor Roll, which faded due to exposure to the environment. A wooden flagpole that originally stood directly behind the Honor Roll was also reconstructed in 2003. The new flagpole is steel with a concrete base, and is approximately the same height as the original, fifty-one feet above ground and ten feet below ground. The flag is eight feet by twelve feet, compared to the original flag which measured four-and-a-half feet by seven feet.

Integrity

The draft National Park Service thematic study "Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study" (hereafter referred to as the "theme study") established distinct definitions for the seven aspects of integrity, specifically designed to assist in the evaluation of relocation centers. These definitions acknowledge that very few buildings, structures and sites associated with any of the ten Japanese American relocation centers have survived. This study recognizes that these sites have been largely abandoned and unoccupied for the past fifty-eight years, and that the majority of any related buildings and structures have been destroyed or significantly altered over time.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center has remarkable historic integrity when compared to the other nine internment camps as four original buildings remain on the site, in addition to the most intact hospital and administration complexes. The four original buildings have survived despite deterioration due to extreme weather changes and vandalism and, overall, remain unaltered and structurally sound. Other contributing features on the remaining physical property include foundations, manholes, power poles, and trash deposits. The following discussion addresses each of the seven aspects of integrity.

Location

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is still located in the original area of its construction. Built in a rural area of northwestern Wyoming, the remote location of this historic site reflects the government's intention to isolate this ethnic population from the rest of American society during World War II. The location for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was also most likely chosen as this federal tract of land was adjacent to the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, existing power lines and federal irrigation developments. The center was one of the few communities in the state of Wyoming to have electricity at that time.

Design

The theme study states that the overall design of the property and, more specifically, the grid plan imposed on the desolate landscape as well as the physical division of the center into functional areas are important considerations for assessing integrity. Original road patterns at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center provide a clear sense of the design of the hospital and administrative complexes in the central area. This center has a very high level of integrity compared to the other nine internment camps because of the four surviving buildings on the site, which provide a physical example of the center's design based upon U.S. Army Corps of Engineers guidelines. These include the hospital boiler house and associated smokestack, a hospital warehouse, a hospital mess hall, and an administrative staff housing unit. While the four surviving buildings provide the exact location of the hospital complex, the presence of concrete slab foundations in the hospital and administrative areas indicate the location of other center buildings. In the hospital area, there are three concrete slab foundations of various sizes, and in the staff housing area, there are two concrete slab foundations and concrete perimeters of two other buildings. Concrete slab foundations, footings, and traces of former buildings further convey the functional divisions of the administrative area. The division of the administrative complex from the residential section is profoundly remarkable, as it further conveys the physical separation of the internee population from the center's administrative sector.

Setting

The setting, when applied to the relocation centers, was characterized by the isolation of the center from the rest of society and the harsh environment and physical landscape. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is still located in a rural area of northwestern Wyoming and subject to extreme temperatures and climatic changes. Although a significant amount of this historic site has been cultivated for agricultural use, it is nearby a major highway and tourist region.

Workmanship

As applied to Japanese American relocation centers, workmanship can be illustrated by "the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history." At the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, the four surviving buildings are outstanding physical remnants of architecture based on a military uniformity of design and the craftsmanship of the contractors and laborers who constructed these buildings.

Workmanship at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center is not only revealing of the time period of World War II, but also of both the internees as well as administrative staff who both resided and worked at the center. According to WRA blueprints, rock and concrete work was completed by evacuees along the Heart Mountain Canal, and is still evident at various places, including bridges and head gates. A stone and concrete barbeque located in the administrative area is inscribed with the names "'Becky,' 'Pop,' 'CEI,' 'Momy,' 'MARG,' 'Sally 1944,' 'LAW 50,' and '1944'" and is assumed to have been done by the Main family,[3] members of the administrative community.

Feeling

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[3] Burton, et. al., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p.138.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center profoundly expresses the time period of World War II, when Japanese Americans were incarcerated by the United States. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center still retains four of the original buildings on the site, which adequately convey a strong sense of feeling of the place as well as the historic character of the property. Additional contributing features such as foundations, manholes, power poles, and trash deposits, also contribute to the overall feeling of the site. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center remains in its original, isolated and rural location – which remains largely unchanged.

Association

The theme study defined association as a direct link between the historic theme and a place. The historic place must be the accurate location of the event and must remain sufficiently intact to convey the relationship to an observer. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center has already been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In comparison to the other nine relocation centers, the Heart Mountain Relocation Center ranks second in terms of the number of surviving buildings (Tule Lake has more buildings, although many of them have been extensively altered), and the only camp with the most intact hospital complex, retaining a strong historical association with the World War II incarceration of Japanese American citizens.

Materials

A combination of physical elements and artifacts deposited during World War II remain at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. Particularly revealing are the four surviving buildings constructed of various materials including lumber, tarpaper, and cut nails. A salvage report conducted in 1986 examined the administrative staff housing unit. This report described the building, measuring 24 by 50 feet, as of wood-frame construction and listed the following materials used in its construction: concrete foundation; floors covered with diagonally laid board subfloor, covered with particle board; finished flooring of common oak; standard quality fir doors and millwork; double-hung window frames; ceilings made of economy grade fiberboard squares unpainted asbestos slate siding on fibreboard sheathing covered with felt building paper; interior walls covered with a Celotex fiberboard and exterior walls that were not insulated; and a roof covered with felt paper and finished with asphalt shingles. The salvage report determined that “The basic integrity of architectural design characterized by rectangular design and non-fireproof construction remains unchanged.” Referred to in the report as Building No. 20, the administrative staff housing unit, which is really half of a building, was leased by the Heart Mountain Extension Club for several years, and added wood paneling to the interior walls. Similar materials were also used in the construction of the other three surviving buildings, which are still visible today. Additional materials found on this site include foundation remnants and concrete slabs as well as the brick used to construct the smokestack attached to the boiler house.

Resource Count

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is an historic district that includes four contributing buildings, a site that includes archeological resources as well as landscape features. These resources, which were detailed above, are summarized below.

Contributing Resources

1) a hospital boiler house and smokestack, constructed in 1942; The boiler house measures 50 by 90 feet in plan, and is accompanied by a brick chimney that reaches over 75 feet in height tapering from a base of eight-and-a-half-feet wide. The building has a L-shaped plan and a foundation of poured concrete. The walls are of wood frame sheathed with boards and covered with blue-gray asphalt shingles on the exterior. All windows are double-hung with plain surrounds and doors made of wood paneling. The gabled roof has rolled roofing on top;

2) a hospital warehouse, constructed in 1942, measuring 24 by 120 feet in plan is rectangular in shape, with a poured concrete foundation. The walls are of wood frame sheathed with boards and covered with blue-gray asphalt shingles on the exterior. The roof is constructed of wood frame sheathed with boards with rolled roofing on top;

3) a hospital mess hall, constructed in 1942, measuring 40 by 180 feet, is made of the same materials as the hospital boiler house and warehouse. The walls are of wood frame sheathed with boards and covered with blue-gray asphalt shingles on the exterior. The roof is constructed of wood frame sheathed with boards with rolled roofing on top;

4) an administrative staff housing unit, constructed in 1942, located in the staff housing area of the hospital complex, is actually only half of a building. Measuring approximately 24 by 50 feet in plan and of rectangular design, the building has a concrete slab foundation. The exterior walls are asbestos or cement/fiber shingles and the roof is constructed of T-lock asphalt shingles; and

5) the Heart Mountain Relocation Center site, which was developed between 15 June 1942 and 6 September 1942. Although not counted as individual resources, the district includes a number of landscape features that date to the internment, and which contribute to the district. These are: the roadway system; power poles, a loading dock, fire hydrant, manhole, two concrete slabs measuring 20 by 120 feet, one concrete slab measuring 36 by 87 feet, a gasoline pump island, debris and trash dumps located in the hospital area; one concrete slab measuring 26 by 80 feet, and a second concrete slab measuring 26 by 125 feet, one seven-foot cellar, two concrete perimeter foundations, two power poles, a sign post, and one stone and concrete barbeque, in the hospital’s staff housing area; and two concrete slabs measuring 14 by 14 feet, two concrete slabs measuring 14 by 21 feet, and one concrete slab measuring 125 feet by 125 feet, footings, building debris and traces of former buildings, in the administrative area. In addition, the site includes archeological resources associated with the internment, some of which have already been identified through survey and inventory. A 1990 survey conducted by Larson-Tibesar Associates, Inc., listed the following: fragments of bottle/jar glass, sanitary cans, metal strapping, tableware, a toy ‘Woody’ station wagon, a green glass marble, a 1944

penny, slabs of concrete, brick, ceramic tiling, lumber and asphalt shingles, and wire and cut nails scattered throughout the site and attached to concrete foundations.

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

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: X Locally:__

Applicable National Register Criteria: A **X** B_ C_ D _

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A- B- C- D- E- F - G

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Theme(s):	I. Peopling Places	
	Subtheme:	Encounters, Conflicts and Colonization
	IV. Shaping the Political Landscape	
	Subtheme:	Military Institutions and Activities

Areas of Significance:	MILITARY-World War II Japanese Relocation LAW- Civil Liberties in Wartime POLITICS/GOVERNMENT-Enactment of Executive Order 9066 ETHNIC HERITAGE/ Asian-Japanese Americans SOCIAL HISTORY-History of Minorities in the U.S.; History of Civil Rights
Period(s) of Significance:	1942- 1945

Significant Dates:	June 15, 1942	Beginning of Construction
	August 11, 1942	First Evacuees Arrive
	November 10, 1945	Evacuees Depart, Disposition of Project Turned Over to Bureau of Reclamation

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
Harza Engineering Company of Chicago and the Hamilton Bridge Company of Kansas City (general contractors)

Historic Contexts: IX: Political and Military Affairs after 1945
- D. The Home Front
  - 1. Japanese Americans in World War II

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

Introduction

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is an exemplary site of national significance as one of the ten relocation centers that incarcerated Japanese Americans during World War II following their forced removal by military authorities from the West Coast. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1985 and was identified in the draft National Park Service report, “Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study,” as one of only three sites recommended for National Historic Landmark designation. The other sites include the Granada Relocation Center in Colorado and the Tule Lake Relocation Center in California. Internment camps that have received NHL designation include the Manzanar Relocation Center in California, listed as a National Historic Landmark in 1985 and a National Historic Site in 1992; and the Rowher Relocation Center Cemetery in Arkansas, which was nominated as a National Historic Landmark in 1992. In addition, the Minidoka Relocation Center in Idaho was designated a National Monument in 2001. Both Manzanar and Minidoka are administered as units of the National Park Service.

Heart Mountain is significant under Criterion 1, for its historical association with U.S. military history during World War II and the relocation of Japanese Americans. The period of significance of Heart Mountain extends from 1942 to 1945, from the date that the camp was officially opened by the Wartime Relocation Authority (WRA) until its closing. Heart Mountain is significant as one of the ten internment camps established by the U.S. military after President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on 19 February 1942. Under the justification of “national security,” this order authorized the U.S. military to create military zones on the West Coast, from which residents of Japanese ancestry were excluded. These actions were taken in the months following the bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, and justified on the basis of "military necessity" and the military’s professed inability to gauge the loyalty of individual Japanese Americans to the United States. Largely influenced by racist sentiment and wartime hysteria, Japanese Americans as a group were uprooted from their homes and businesses and taken under armed guard for detention in a system of assembly and relocation centers. Heart Mountain is an outstanding representation of the social history of Japanese Americans during World War II. At its peak, Heart Mountain contained 10,767 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were United States citizens. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center operated from August 1942 until it closed in November 1945.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is also significant under Criterion 1 as it was a major part of the largest single draft resistance movement in U.S. history. Internees at the

Heart Mountain Relocation Center played a large role in resisting the draft, as a protest against the unfair and unconstitutional confinement of Japanese American citizens. Although a total of 315 Japanese Americans from all ten relocation centers were imprisoned for resisting induction into the military, Heart Mountain had the most well-organized and highest rate of draft resistance among the relocation centers, with a total of 85 men convicted and imprisoned for draft law violations. The Heart Mountain total included seven leaders of the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee who were convicted for conspiring to violate the Selective Service Act and for counseling other draft-age Nisei to resist military induction. In spite of substantial draft resistance at Heart Mountain, 700 men reported for their selective service physicals; of these, 385 were inducted, of whom 11 were killed and 52 wounded in battle. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center is a phenomenal example of civil liberties in wartime as it richly embodies the history of resistance by internees to their incarceration and to the abrogation of their constitutional rights as U.S. citizens.

The Bureau of Reclamation (BOR), which currently manages a significant portion of the site, also has historical associations to the Japanese-American internment camp. As for all of the ten relocation centers, site selection was made by the WRA, and was the responsibility of the War Department. However, the BOR and other federal land management agencies were instructed by the WRA to identify several potential “reception” sites. In 1942, the BOR recommended the Heart Mountain Division of the massive Shoshone Irrigation Project for use as an internment camp. The BOR believed that the lands, already part of one of their earliest reclamation efforts in Wyoming, satisfied most of the WRA criteria, including isolation, location on public land, proximity to a major transportation network, and access to water and power. The Director of the WRA, Milton Eisenhower concurred and on 1 June 1942, 21,521 acres of the Heart Mountain Irrigation District were transferred from the BOR to the War Relocation Authority.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WORLD WAR II[4]

On 7 December 1941, the United States entered World War II after Japan attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. At that time, nearly 113,000 people of Japanese ancestry, two thirds of them American citizens, were living in California, Washington, and Oregon.

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[4] The historic context encompassing Anti-Asian sentiment, Japanese on the West Coast, and the beginnings of evacuation and relocation has been largely taken verbatim from the National Park Service draft “Japanese Americans in World War II” thematic study, 1999. Any changes or additions were made by the present author.

On 19 February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 empowering the U.S. Army to designate areas from which "any or all persons may be excluded." No person of Japanese ancestry living in the United States was ever convicted of any serious act of espionage or sabotage during the war yet these innocent people were removed from their homes and placed in relocation centers, many for the duration of the war. To understand why the United States government decided to remove Japanese Americans, the Nisei, and first-generation immigrants, the Issei, from the West Coast, one must consider several factors. Prejudice, wartime hysteria, and politics all contributed to this decision.

West Coast Anti-Asian Prejudice

Anti-Japanese movements on the West Coast began shortly after Japanese immigration to the U.S., mainly arising from existing anti-Asian prejudices. However, the anti-Japanese movement became widespread around 1905, due both to increasing immigration and the Japanese victory over Russia, the first defeat of a western nation by an Asian nation in modern times. Both the Issei and Japan began to be perceived as threats. Discrimination included the formation of anti-Japanese organizations, such as the Asiatic Exclusion League, attempts at school segregation (which eventually affected Nisei under the doctrine of "separate but equal"), and a growing number of violent attacks upon individuals and businesses.

The Japanese government subsequently protested this treatment of its citizens. To maintain the friendship between Japan and the U.S., President Theodore Roosevelt attempted to negotiate a compromise, convincing the San Francisco school board to revoke the segregation order, restraining the California Legislature from passing more anti-Japanese legislation and working out what was known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with the Japanese government. In this, the Japanese government agreed to limit emigration to the continental U.S. to laborers who had already been to the U.S. before and to the parents, wives, and children of laborers already there.

In 1913, California passed the Alien Land Law, which prohibited the ownership of agricultural land and other real property by "aliens ineligible to citizenship." In 1920, a stronger Alien Land Act prohibited leasing and sharecropping as well. Both laws were based on the presumption that Asians were aliens ineligible for citizenship, which in turn stemmed from a narrow interpretation of the naturalization statute. The statute had been rewritten after the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution to permit naturalization of "white persons" and "aliens of African descent." This exclusionism, clearly the intent of Congress, was legitimized by the Supreme Court in 1921, when Takao Ozawa was denied citizenship. However, the Nisei were citizens by birth, and therefore parents would often transfer property titles to their children. The Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited all further

Japanese immigration, with the side effect of making a very distinct generation gap between the Issei and Nisei.

Many of the anti-Japanese fears arose from economic factors combined with envy of the Issei farmers successful at raising fruits and vegetables in soil that most people had considered infertile. Other fears were military in nature; the Russo-Japanese War proved that the Japanese were a force to be reckoned with and stimulated fears of Asian conquest – "the Yellow Peril." These factors, plus the perception of "otherness" and "Asian inscrutability" that typified American racial stereotypes, greatly influenced the events following Pearl Harbor.

Preparing for War with Japan

While the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor shocked many Americans, the U.S. government had already investigated possible actions to take in case of war with Japan. Japanese Americans and their parents who were not citizens also had speculated on what would happen to them, fearing as early as 1937 that they would be "herded into prison camps – perhaps we would be slaughtered on the spot." Some Nisei emphasized their loyalty and Americanism, which led to generational conflict with their Issei parents. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), an influential all-Nisei organization, represented this pro-American attitude in their creed. The JACL creed, an optimistic, patriotic expression written by Mike Masaoka in 1940, was published in the Congressional Record for 9 May 1941:

> I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantages of this nation. I believe in her institutions, ideals and traditions; I glory in her heritage; I boast of her history; I trust in her future. She has granted me liberties and opportunities such as no individual enjoys in this world today. She has given me an education befitting kings. She has entrusted me with the responsibilities of the franchise. She has permitted me to build a home, to earn a livelihood, to worship, think, speak and act as I please – as a free man equal to every other man.
>
> Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people. True, I shall do all in my power to discourage such practices, but I shall do it in the American way – above board, in the open, through courts of law, by education, by proving myself to be worthy of equal treatment and consideration. I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play will

> judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics. Because I believe in America, and I trust she believes in me, and because I have received innumerable benefits from her, I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and all places; to support her constitution; to obey her laws; to respect her flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign and domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America.

At the same time as the JACL creed was written, the U.S. government was preparing for war. The Alien Registration Act of 1940 required the registration and fingerprinting of all aliens over fourteen years of age. During 1941, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) compiled a list of dangerous or subversive German, Italian, and Japanese aliens who were to be arrested or interned at the outbreak of war with their country. In November 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt received a secret report on the West Coast Japanese Americans by Curtis B. Munson, a well-to-do Chicago businessman who gathered intelligence under the guise of being a government official. In his report Munson concluded that most of the Japanese Americans were loyal to the U.S. and that many would have become citizens if they had been allowed to do so. Moreover, the report stated that most of the few disloyal Japanese Americans hoped that “by remaining quiet they [could] avoid concentration camps or irresponsible mobs.” However, Munson also noted that the West Coast was vulnerable to sabotage, since dams, bridges, harbors, and power stations were unguarded; Munson wrote “There are still Japanese in the United States who will tie dynamite around their waist and make a human bomb out of themselves. We grant this, but today they are few.” Response to the report by Army Intelligence, although never sent to Roosevelt after the confusion following Pearl Harbor, argued that “widespread sabotage by Japanese is not expected . . . identification of dangerous Japanese on the West Coast is reasonably complete.” A Navy report of February 1942 was also in agreement on this point: few persons of Japanese ancestry were expected to be disloyal to the United States.

“Military Necessity” and the Evacuation

On 19 February 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the Secretary of War “to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary in the judgment of the Secretary of War or said Military Commander."

DeWitt issued several Public Proclamations about the evacuation, but these did little to clear up confusion; in fact, they created more. On March 2, Public Proclamation No. 1 divided Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona into two military areas, numbered 1 and 2. Military Area No. 1 was subdivided into a "prohibited zone" along the coast and an adjacent "restricted zone." Ninety-eight smaller areas were also labeled prohibited, presumably the locations of strategic military sites. The announcement was aimed at "Japanese, German or Italian" aliens and "any person of Japanese ancestry," but it did not specifically order anyone to leave. However, an accompanying press release predicted that all people of Japanese ancestry would eventually be excluded from Military Area No. 1, but probably not from Military Area No. 2.

At this time, the government had not made any plans to help people move, and since most Issei assets had been frozen at the beginning of the war, most families lacked the resources to move. However, several thousand did try to relocate themselves voluntarily. Over 9,000 persons voluntarily moved out of Military Area No. 1: of these, over half moved into the California portion of Military Area No. 2, where Public Proclamation No. 1 said no restrictions or prohibitions were contemplated. Later, of course, they would be forcefully evacuated from Military Area No. 2. Somewhat luckier were those who moved farther into the interior of the country: 1,963 moved to Colorado, 1,519 moved to Utah, 305 moved to Idaho, 208 moved to eastern Washington, 115 moved to eastern Oregon, 105 moved to northern Arizona, 83 moved to Wyoming, 72 moved to Illinois, 69 moved to Nebraska, and 366 moved to other states. But many who did attempt to leave the West Coast discovered that the inland states were unwilling to accept them. The perception inland was that California was dumping its "undesirables," and many refugees were turned back at state borders, had difficulty buying gasoline, or were greeted with "No Japs Wanted" signs.

Even though the justification for the evacuation was to thwart espionage and sabotage, newborn babies, young children, the elderly, the infirm, children from orphanages, and even children adopted by Caucasian parents were not exempt from removal. Anyone with one-sixteenth or more Japanese blood was included. In all, over 17,000 children under ten years old, 2,000 persons over sixty-five years old, and 1,000 handicapped or infirmed persons were evacuated.

After reporting to collection points near their homes, each group was moved to hastily contrived reception or assembly centers. Eleven of the assembly centers were at racetracks or fairgrounds. Others were at the Pacific International Livestock Exposition Facilities (Portland, Oregon), a former mill site (Pinedale, California), migrant workers' camps

(Marysville and Sacramento, California), and an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp (Mayer, Arizona).

At the racetracks, stables had been hastily cleaned out before their use as living quarters, but the stench remained. Still, the converted stables were described as “somewhat better shelter than the newly constructed mass fabricated houses.” At the Santa Anita Assembly Center, 8,500 of the total population of over 18,000 lived in stables. At the Portland Assembly Center over 3,000 evacuees were housed in a livestock pavilion that was subdivided into apartments.

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center: Selection and Land Acquisition

The War Relocation Authority (WRA) was created on 19 March 1942 to relocate all persons of Japanese ancestry en masse from Military Areas No. 1 and 2. Milton S. Eisenhower, then an official of the Department of Agriculture, was chosen to head the WRA, a civilian agency. Eisenhower hoped that many of the evacuees, especially citizens, could be resettled quickly. He expected that evacuees could be either directly released from the assembly centers and sent back to civilian life away from the military areas, or sent to small, unguarded subsistence farms. However, after meeting with the governors and other officials from ten western states on April 7, Eisenhower realized that anti-Japanese racism was not confined to California. The majority of governors in western states opposed the migration of West Coast Japanese to their state, and if any came, they wanted them kept under guard. Eisenhower agreed to keep both the Issei and Nisei in relocation camps for the duration of the war.

On 23 May 1942 the Commanding General of the War Department notified Governor Nels H. Smith that one of the internment camps would be located in Wyoming. Several Wyoming communities, such as the Green River Community Club near the Seedskadee irrigation project and the Midvale Water District commissioners near Riverton, petitioned Governor Smith to be chosen for the internment camp site so that they could utilize Japanese internee labor for irrigation and land development projects.

After several sites were considered, the site chosen for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was located in the Heart Mountain Irrigation Division of the Shoshone Project, administered by the Bureau of Reclamation. Despite the extreme winter weather, Heart Mountain was recommended to the WRA as it was near a major road and railway, and provided an adequate water and power supply. Local communities approved because the camps would provide them with a good, cheap labor force badly needed with so many laborers away with the war.

Land selected for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was previously part of the Heart Mountain Division of the Shoshone Project, one of the earliest Bureau of Reclamation projects in Wyoming. Colonel William E. (Buffalo Bill) Cody was one of the originators of this project intended to irrigate arid Wyoming land, between the Absaroka and the Big Horn Mountains, and prepare it for agricultural production. Initiated in 1897, the largest feature of this project is the Buffalo Bill Dam and Reservoir. The Shoshone Project's Heart Mountain Division contained 27, 337 acres of irrigable land.

Following approval by Milton Eisenhower, Army officials acquired the land. An official public announcement made on May 22 by Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen, the Western Defense Command's Assistant Chief of Staff for Civilian Affairs, and a June 1 memo, formally transferred 21,521 acres of Heart Mountain Irrigation Division land, administered by the Bureau of Reclamation, to the WRA.

Construction of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began construction of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center on 8 June 1942 with a crew of 2,000 workers. Private contractors included the Harza Engineering Company of Chicago and the Hamilton Bridge Company of Kansas City, who both designed and built most of the facilities. On 10 June 1942 the Army's chief engineer at the site, Major J.C. Robbers, received orders that the camp was to be completed and ready to accommodate 11,000 people in sixty days.[5] Newspaper advertisements guaranteeing workers overtime, stated "If you can drive a nail, you can qualify as a carpenter." In almost two months, 456 barracks were constructed, and by August 10, the WRA declared the Heart Mountain Relocation Center ready for occupancy. The camp builders bragged that it took them only 58 minutes to build one apartment barrack from foundation to roof. Construction ended 6 September 1942, almost a month after the first internees arrived. Due to time constraints and the quality of the construction crews, most of the facilities were poorly built and shoddy construction was overlooked. The estimated cost of construction of the camp was $5,095,000.

Sentiment Towards Japanese in Wyoming

According to the 1940 U.S. Census, 643 people of Japanese ancestry resided in the state of Wyoming. Out of this total, 253 were resident "aliens" or first generation Issei. The Japanese population was dispersed across seventeen of Wyoming's counties, with the largest groups living in Laramie, Sweetwater and Carbon counties. Most Japanese came to Wyoming after working on the railroad, in coal mines or in agriculture. Many had lived in the state for more than twenty years.

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[5] Douglas W. Nelson, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1976), 17.

Overall, anti-Japanese sentiment in Wyoming was not as extreme as on the West Coast. The small populations of Japanese and others of Asian descent residing in the state made them less visible and less of a threat. Nevertheless, Wyoming's attitude towards Asians was still evident in legislation and other historical incidents.

Anti-Asian sentiment culminated with the Rock Springs Massacre. On 2 September 1885 in Rock Springs, Wyoming, 28 Chinese coal miners were murdered by a mob of white coal miners following a local anti-Chinese propaganda campaign. These labor disputes exploded when the Chinese miners refused to strike with their fellow European American miners.

Although acts of blatant racism and violence may have been infrequent, Wyoming's attitude towards Asians was still conservative as witnessed in the legislation. In 1910 Wyoming legislature passed an anti-miscegenation law in response to relationships between white women and Asian men. Legislation such as the National Origins Act of 1924 also affected Wyoming who fully supported this law.

With the onset of World War II, Wyoming and other states across the nation prepared themselves for subversive acts of sabotage or espionage. Beginning on 7 September 1939, after a Presidential directive designated the FBI as the agency dealing with all matters related to national defense, FBI agents from the office in Denver, Colorado met with law enforcement officers in Wyoming to discuss the safeguarding of their states. Wyoming took specific measures to protect the state's water supplies, including the Shoshone (Buffalo Bill) dam and power plant, transportation facilities, industrial areas, oil wells, refineries, and pipelines.

Under federal law, all enemy aliens, Japanese, Italians and Germans, were registered and ordered to surrender any cameras, short-wave radios, and firearms. Wyoming's focus on Japanese nationals was not unlike that on the West Coast. For example, on 12 February 1942, 75 employees of Japanese ancestry were fired from the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming on alleged sabotage attempts on the Union Pacific line between Cheyenne and Laramie.[6]

Sentiment towards the Japanese was also debated in local Wyoming newspapers. Most of them urged toleration towards Japanese residents along with Germans and Italians. After learning that a few Japanese schoolchildren were treated badly by fellow classmates, the *Rawlins Republican-Bulletin* asked: "Who are there among us who should take it upon themselves to condemn, belittle, criticize, persecute or hold up to ridicule our more recent citizens from the old countries?"[7]

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[6] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 3.

Local attitudes towards the Japanese were relatively mild until rumors spread of the government's plans to build an internment camp for Japanese in Wyoming. Reactions ranged from fears based on the state's security, to personal feelings as many had sons, fathers and husbands already fighting in the war against Japan. Resentment also grew out of labor competition and cultural and racial prejudices.

A letter sent to the *Laramie Republican* stated, "If these Japs aren't safe to work in our vital defense zones or essential industries, [are] they safe to be put on farms to raise the food we eat?" In a letter addressed to Governor Nels Smith, the town commissioners of Deaver, Wyoming, firmly stated, "If we of Deaver cannot face the unarmed Japs, how can we expect our boys to face them armed?"[8]

Labor groups also feared that the influx of Japanese into their state would increase competition for labor in an already burdened economy. A *Wyoming State Tribune* editorial reflected opinions that the Japanese would demoralize wage scales and create an unwanted financial burden for state taxpayers.[9] Led by Governor Smith, Wyoming residents did not initially support the federal government's decision to place Japanese internees in their state. Those that did supported the decision half-heartedly, with the agreement that the Japanese would leave Wyoming upon their release, so as to not create a similar "Japanese problem" as on the Pacific Coast.

On 27 February 1942 Governor Smith wrote to the Tolan Committee, which was investigating the "Japanese problem" on the Pacific Coast:

> It is my considered opinion that it would be most unwise to send aliens into Wyoming without making proper federal provisions for controlling and maintaining them. We cannot agree to accepting these aliens on the basis that the State supervise, maintain, assimilate and provide them with employment. The citizens of our State are unalterably opposed to such a plan but will if necessary accept them provided they are kept under federal control and maintenance and provided further that they will be removed after the war.[10]

By March 2 the "voluntary" evacuation of Japanese Americans was conducted with a minimum of federal supervision. Evacuees were met with hostility in several western states. The Wyoming Highway Patrol turned back evacuees traveling into the state. The *Wyoming State Tribune* remarked "mere removal of a fifth columnist from California to Wyoming leaves him a fifth columnist still, pregnant with potentiality for causing damage, bloodshed and death here."[11] The *Tribune* concluded that the only real solution was to imprison all Japanese in internment camps. And, indeed, it was in response to resistance by interior states to welcome Japanese evacuees that President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9102 on 18 March 1942 to create the WRA to aid and supervise military evacuation of Japanese from the West Coast.

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[7] Taft Alfred Larson, *Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945* (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1954), 9.
[8] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 4.
[9] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 5.
[10] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 6-7.

At a 7 April 1942 meeting organized by the WRA, governors and officials from ten western states met in Salt Lake City. Governor Nels Smith confirmed his stand on evacuation: "People in [my] state have a dislike of any Orientals, and simply will not stand for being California's dumping ground." Smith warned that if evacuees were given permission to relocate in Wyoming, "There would be Japs hanging from every Pine tree,"[12] and concluded that Japanese evacuees would have to be kept in internment camps and removed immediately from the state at the end of the war.

Wyoming newspapers assured local communities that the camp would be under strict, armed military supervision. Ultimately, public sentiment was swayed once it was understood that the camp would actually bring economic gains and benefits to the state. Not only would the Japanese serve as a potential pool of farm labor, but the construction of the camp would create jobs for local residents. Agricultural groups such as the Wyoming-Montana Beet Growers Association inquired about the possibility of using labor from the camp to harvest their crops. Local residents would also profit from business conducted with the internees themselves. Commentary in Powell newspapers encouraged locals to make the best of the situation, and realize that the camp could lift up their town's economy. In comparison, Cody was initially less receptive to the camp's construction and the large Japanese population that would follow. The town believed that it would diminish their status as a tourist destination.

Arrival of Evacuees

Evacuees were transferred from the assembly centers to the relocation centers by train, from early June to October 30. Even though the Heart Mountain Relocation Center remained unfinished, on 11 August 1942, the first internees arrived at their new home. The majority came from the Santa Anita Racetrack in Arcadia, California (4,600), the

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[11] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 8.
[12] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 10.

Pomona Fairgrounds in Pomona, California (5,100), and the Portland Oregon Livestock Exposition Hall (1,000).[13] Most of the internees were originally from the states of California, Oregon and Washington. By August 28, there were 450 to 1,000 evacuees arriving every day. By 17 September, a total of 10,867 had arrived. Altogether, 2,877 families, with an average of 3.77 members, relocated to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.[14]

The environment at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was not welcoming, especially to a majority from the Pacific Coast unaccustomed to the extreme temperatures and to such a dry and desolate landscape. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center was built in northwestern Wyoming, located twelve miles west of Powell and thirteen miles east of Cody. Sparsely covered in sagebrush and buffalo grass, this flat, grayish-brown bench land was treeless. Interrupted by Heart Mountain, a prominent, squared-off peak to the northwest, the camp was bounded by State Highway 14 and a spur line of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad to the south. Wyoming's weather could also make camp life uncomfortable. While summers were hot, the internees' first winter was very cold as temperatures dropped to 28 degrees below zero. Internees did the best they could to combat these climatic extremes. Coal-burning stoves were eventually installed in each barrack apartment. Discarded Civilian Conservation Corps clothing was issued to those who could not afford to buy in the Community Enterprises store. Winters at Heart Mountain are captured in this poem written by an internee:

Snow upon the rooftop,
Snow upon the coal;
Winter in Wyoming—
Winter in my soul.

In sections where the natural vegetation had been destroyed by the construction of the camp barracks and other facilities, dust storms were common and were replaced by ground blizzards in the winter. One internee, the editor of the camp newspaper, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, commented, "Heart Mountain was a desolate place…the natural cover of the countryside – the sagebrush and buffalo grass – has been torn up by the construction workers…so the least bit of wind would raise the dust – a very fine, alkaline dust."[15]

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[13] Mike Mackey, *Heart Mountain: Life in Wyoming's Concentration Camp* (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 2000), 17.
[14] Susan McKay, *The Courage Our Stories Tell: The Daily Lives and Maternal Child Health Care of Japanese American Women at Heart Mountain* (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 2002), 72.
[15] Dewey W. Goodman. *The History, Interpretation, and Legacy of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center* (Laramie: M.A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 2001), 12.

On 1 January 1943, the maximum population for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was reported at 10,767, the third largest community in Wyoming. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center was the fourth largest camp and the seventh longest occupied (39 months) out of the ten relocation centers. It officially closed on 10 November 1945.

Administrative Structure of the Camp

The first director of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was C.E. Rachford, a retired U.S. Forest Service administrator who had risen to the position of assistant chief in Washington, D.C. before his March 1942 retirement. Rachford's assistant, Guy Robertson, succeeded Rachford as director of the center on 15 December 1942. Robertson, a resident of Wyoming, previously held managerial positions at both Popsia Coal Mines of Hudson and the Grand Teton Lodge and Transportation Company of Jackson Hole.

The center had a total of 129 administrative employees by 31 December 1942. Under Robertson's direction, there was a project attorney, employment officer, reports officer, and three assistant project directors in charge of operations, community management, and administration.[16]

Life at Heart Mountain

Internees at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center attempted to adjust to camp life by transforming their environment into a more livable and familiar community, like those they left behind on the West Coast. Internees altered the camp's landscape by planting trees to provide shade, shrubs to help reduce the severe sandstorms, and Victory Gardens to show their patriotism. They transitioned to a communal lifestyle, sacrificing privacy, and faced changes within their own family structure as families were split apart. The WRA tried to minimize the traumatic reality of incarceration and assisted internees in establishing institutions and organizations that paralleled those in a democratic society.

Community Council

The WRA encouraged the establishment of a camp community council governed by internees. Elected delegates drafted a charter, ratified by a two-thirds majority, which provided for the election of a block chairman from each of the twenty blocks, each block containing approximately 500 residents. Chairmen were temporary positions typically held by Issei. The WRA later elected block managers, usually Nisei, who acted as liaisons between the administration and the internee population. They communicated WRA policies to the internees and addressed internees' grievances. Friction between the administration and the internee-governed council, combined with disagreements between Issei and Nisei leadership, hindered the formation of a permanent government council, not established until August 1943.The community council formed various committees that focused on issues ranging from public relations and resettlement, to health, education and labor issues. In November 1943 the council adopted a judicial system and a criminal code. Although the council was very active in planning and administration, it served as an illusory front for self-determination, as the WRA held the ultimate decision-making power, and the internees were still prisoners.

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[16] Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, 299.

Employment

Internees at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center found employment in several different areas of the camp including: the mess halls, stores and shops, offices, boiler rooms, street gangs, police and fire departments, the hospital, and in agriculture. At Heart Mountain the pay scale was the same as the other nine relocation centers, and internees were to not be paid more than an Army private, who received $21 per month. Unskilled laborers were paid $12 each month, skilled laborers, $16, and professionals, $19.

Hospital

The first internees to arrive at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center on 12 August 1942 included a small Caucasian medical staff composed of a chief medical officer, a public health nurse, and a chief nurse in addition to a Japanese staff including a doctor, a medical student, a student nurse and a dentist. Upon their arrival, the hospital was temporarily set up in a recreation hall as the actual hospital buildings were still under construction. Doctors used their own medical equipment until supplies were made available.

The hospital opened on 28 August 1942. The October 31 issue of the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* listed 150 total hospital staff with Dr. Charles E. Irwin presiding as the principal medical officer. The hospital was staffed with seven doctors, 28 Caucasian nurses, four dentists, and could accommodate a total of 150 patients. By 21 July 1943, 75 aides completed training. This total included 49 nurse aides; the remainder being diet aides and milk formula aides.

The hospital's distinguishing feature was a tall brick smokestack where the laundry was located. It had 150 army beds and served internees and a detachment of 125 military police. Although the hospital treated many ailments, internees stayed in the hospital for minor illnesses as there was no running water or toilet facilities in the apartment barracks. On 9 September 1942 the first baby was born at Heart Mountain. WRA records reported a total of 548 live births and 11 still births between 9 September 1942 and 15 October 1945.[17]

Conflict within the hospital arose due to pay inequities between Caucasian and Japanese employees. For example, Caucasian nurse Velma Kessel was paid a starting salary of $150 each month compared to Japanese physicians who earned $19 each month. Tensions also existed between these two groups as Japanese nurses and physicians who were supervised by Caucasian nurses. Unsatisfactory pay rates and working conditions led to a hospital strike on 24 June 1943.[18]

Co-op

The WRA established a Community Enterprises, which opened a dry goods store, and two other stores selling canned goods, newspapers and magazines, toilet articles, ice cream, pop, and confectioneries, among other items. Barber shops, a beauty shop, a fish store and a laundry and dry cleaning service were also established by Community Enterprises. In three years, the co-op did $2,500,000 worth of business.

Agricultural Programs

Internees farmed 1,753.5 acres of land at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, and also had hog and poultry operations. They produced myriad crops including: green beans, peas, carrots, spinach, beets, corn, tomatoes, potatoes, barley and wheat and other crops reflecting Japanese tastes such as Chinese cabbage, *daikon*, *takana*, *misuna*, and *nappa*. In 1943 and 1944 a total of 2,762 acres were used to plant crops and 2,395 acres were harvested. These crops were valued at an estimate of $309,585 by the farm superintendent. All crops and livestock were produced for consumption at Heart Mountain, with any surplus being sent to the other nine camps.

Labor

Internees also worked on waterproofing sections of the Heart Mountain Canal, which brought water from the Shoshone (Buffalo Bill) Dam.

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[17] McKay, *Our Stories*, 104.
[18] McKay, *Our Stories*, 121.

Although construction abruptly ended due to the war, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was the last group to provide labor for the Heart Mountain Canal, which began in 1937 under the direction of various contractors. The WRA established a policy in 1943 for employers seeking internee labor and agreed with the BOR that internee laborers could work on the section of canal that directly supplied the center's agricultural needs. The WRA provided internees from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center to construct sections of the canal system originally slated for contract work. With permission from the WRA, H.B. Berkey of Missoula, Montana, subcontracting concrete work on a section of canal, employed Heart Mountain internee labor.

In the first five months of 1944, the internees excavated 2,816 cubic yards of canal, and 815 cubic yards of borrow pit, laid almost 3,000 cubic yards of lining, laid over 4,000 cubic yards of rock paving, graded 340 cubic yards of road, and placed 1,640 cubic yards of gravel on roads.[19] Internees used 850 tons of bentonite to waterproof sections of the canal that leaked.[20] However, labor on the canal declined as the WRA used internee labor for the center's projects and agriculture.

Education

On 6 August 1942 the WRA hired C.D. Carter as Superintendent of Education at Heart Mountain and John Corbett as the high school principal. The majority of the 37 Caucasian teachers came from Wyoming and Nebraska, and in accordance with Civil Service wage scales, they were paid $2,000 annually with a few senior teachers receiving $2,600. The 38 Japanese American interned high school teachers were paid $228 annually, and unlike their Caucasian counterparts, received teaching certificates stamped, "Valid at Heart Mountain Only."[21]

In camp, classes began in September and October of 1942, and were initially taught in six barracks on one block and three recreation halls. In November 1942 a high school was built. The curriculum focused on preparing students for their return to life outside of camp, in addition to fulfilling requirements for its accreditation by the Wyoming State Department of Education.

Media

The camp's newspaper, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel,* was edited by internee Bill Hosokawa, who was a journalist prior to internment. Internee Haruo Imura became the

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[19] Eric A. Stene, *The Shoshone Project* (Denver, CO: Bureau of Reclamation History Program, 1996), 21.
[20] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 133.
[21] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 58.

Sentinel's editor in October of 1943 after Hosokawa relocated with his family to Des Moines, Iowa. The first edition of the *Sentinel* was printed 24 October 1942 and was distributed every Saturday until the summer of 1945 when the camp was coming to a close. Published in English, a Japanese language section was also included, translated and hand-written by Kohay Washizuka, among other bi-lingual newspaper staff members. The *Sentinel* covered topics ranging from camp activities to the concerns of internees written in the editorial section.

Recreation

Recreational activities at Heart Mountain included sports activities ranging from baseball and football, to sumo wrestling and Judo. A water hole at camp was used as a swimming pool in the summer, and as an ice skating rink in the winter. In 1943 internees also laid out a nine-hole golf course. Overall, movies were the most popular form of entertainment in camp. They were shown in the camp's mess halls before the creation of two movie theatres, the Dawn and the Pagoda.

Several adult education classes were also offered in camp, which included a mix of both American and Japanese hobbies, crafts and pastimes. A schedule of activities listed in an October 1942 issue of the *Sentinel* included a variety of both American and Japanese classes. Held weekly, these classes included: Harmonica, Drama, Handicraft, Social Dancing, *Shogi*, Flower Arrangement, Fashion Illustration, Costume Designing, Bridge, Embroidery, *Chizuken Biwa*, *Utai*, *Shodo*, *Shigin*, Social Science, Bookkeeping, two sections of Shorthand, three sections for English Intermediates, one Advanced English section, two *Goh* clubs, a *haiku* club, String Ensemble, three Knitting schools, three Sewing schools, and Cooperative.

Traditional Japanese activities were not encouraged by the WRA, but they were allowed. These included *kabuki* drama performed in the mess halls, as well as *Bon Odori* (a festival honoring the deceased).

Social Organizations

Churches in the camp included both Buddhist and Christian denominations. The Buddhist congregation consisted of approximately 2,000 members and 900 Sunday school children. The largest religious community at Heart Mountain, four recreation halls were used to conduct Buddhist services in blocks 8, 14, 17, and 30.[22] The Buddhist Church in block 30, established in October 1942, housed an unusually large *butsudan* (a Buddhist altar) five feet wide, four feet high and 30 inches deep, built by carpentry shop foreman Shinzaburo Nishiura out of lumber scraps remaining from building the barracks. It is currently housed at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, California. In November 1942, the Buddhists were asked to form a single congregation so that limited space at camp could be used more efficiently.

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[22] Eiko Irene Masuyama, *Memories: The Buddhist Church Experience in the Camps 1942-1945* (Los Angeles, CA: California Civil Liberties Public Education Program, 2002-2003), 11.

The Protestant denominations established a Community Christian Church, which was made up of a Salvation Army, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Union, Reform Christian, and Seventh Day Adventist membership. They met in Block 22. There was also one Catholic Church. The Presbyterian Church of America selected Heart Mountain as one of the camps for its gift-giving project.

Temporary Leave Program

After internees settled into life at the camp, the WRA allowed for temporary and indefinite leave clearances from the relocation centers. In Wyoming the demand for farm labor was great as the source of labor that typically filled this niche was depleted due to the military draft and wartime demands on industrial labor. Many Wyoming farmers and ranchers looked to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center as a source of labor. Heart Mountain internees also found employment in Montana, Nebraska and Colorado[23] Internees were also allowed to work on the railroads, and in hotels and restaurants.

Internees who sought work outside of the camps typically made 50 to 60 cents per hour, which was considerably more than they earned in camp. Not only could they earn more outside of camp, but they were also credited with patriotic service in helping with the harvest.

Governor Smith was adamant about incarcerating the internees, but after being pressured by farmers, he allowed them to leave temporarily provided that they returned to the center immediately following the completion of their work. Smith’s successor, Governor Lester C. Hunt, viewed this request much more favorably. He arranged with the WRA that internee laborers were guaranteed protection while employed outside of the camp and returned to the camp once their employment was terminated. In February 1943, Governor Hunt wrote a letter to Congressman Frank Barrett that there were so many demands for labor that a priority system was needed.

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[23] Larson, *Wyoming’s War Years*, 302.

Resistance in Camp

Many internees accepted their fate behind barbed wire and were patient and cooperated with government orders. Yet discontent, protest and resistance quickly surfaced. Stereotyped by Heart Mountain's director Guy Robertson as the "happy camp," the administration at Heart Mountain experienced resistance from the moment it opened its doors.

The relationship between the camp's administration and internees began as a tenuous one. Heart Mountain's first project director, C.E. Rachford, instructed the military police "to prevent, by any means within their discretion and judgment all Japanese without passes…from crossing…the outside boundaries of the occupied areas."[24] The military police may have taken these rules too literally. In October 1942, they "arrested" 32 Japanese children, ages ranging from seven to 11-years-old, who were sledding on a hill outside of the proposed Army fence. Needless to say, this did not promote an early amicable relationship between the internee population and the administration.

The military police were also instructed to increase security at the center by building a barbed-wire barrier between each of the nine guard towers already in place and around the entire perimeter of the camp. Opposition to these plans was almost immediate. In mid-October 1942, Nisei walked out of a meeting to discuss the proposed community government council after the WRA said that they would not be able to prevent the construction of the fence. Following a November 13 meeting conducted by the WRA to listen to internees' grievances, a group of internees drafted a formal petition of protest to WRA Director Dillon S. Myer. The petition, signed by more than half of Heart Mountain's population (approximately 3,000), condemned the barbed-wire fence as inhumane and further justification of the internees' status as prisoners in an American-style concentration camp. Despite these protests, the petition was ignored and the military police continued with the construction of the fence.

To outsiders, the WRA portrayed the internee population at Heart Mountain as cooperative, mainly in order to dispel myths of disloyalty and to help pacify the internees. "In an effort to combat the prevailing mood, the WRA hurriedly assigned all evacuees to work details in order to 'avoid too much leisure during which they could conduct their 'latrine lectures' and spread general discontent throughout the Center.'"[25] Project Director Robertson even produced a WRA Community Analysis, "The Heart Mountain

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[24] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 85.

[25] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 11. Written by Heart Mountain's director, Guy Robertson, in "Heart Mountain Final Report: Program Director".

Community," which he sent to his superiors in Washington, D.C. Robertson painted the center as calm and orderly, and that it lacked the militant evacuee leadership compared to the other camps.[26]

Despite the public image portrayed by the WRA, acts of resistance in camp were common. In early November 1942, evacuees assigned to unloading coal walked out of their jobs after the administration refused to meet their demands for increased wages of $19 dollars a month. They argued their job was one of the least desirable jobs in camp, especially in the winter months.

At Heart Mountain, labor disputes, work stoppages and other protests continued. In December 1942, the Fair Practices Committee was established by internees to address inadequate working conditions, rules and pay.

WRA plans to convert the government-owned-and-operated Community Enterprises stores into a cooperative, owned and operated by the internees, were swiftly rejected in early 1943. Internee Kiyoshi Okamoto argued that the WRA alone was responsible for running the co-op. If internees were to accept this responsibility, they were in turn accepting the conditions of relocation.[27]

On 24 June 1943, 102 hospital employees struck in protest of WRA pay scales and the authoritarian manner of their Caucasian supervisors. The hospital walkout lasted until June 28. Although the WRA viewed the strike as a failure as it was not well organized and the issues were not clearly presented, three key leaders of the hospital strike were arrested and sent to the Detention Center in Leupp, Arizona, an Indian boarding school used for the evacuee troublemakers. The strike was reflective of camp working conditions, a general distrust of the administration by the Japanese American internees, in addition to their problematic relationships with the Caucasian administrative staff.

The social climate within the Heart Mountain Relocation Center fostered an environment of protest and resistance concerning issues affecting every day life in camp. With the introduction of applications for "Application for Indefinite Leave Clearance," issues regarding the loyalty of the internees to the U.S., and the possibility of the draft being reinstated emerged in an atmosphere where internees were no longer hesitant to speak out.

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[26] Mike Mackey, ed., *Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming* (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 1998), 122.
[27] Mackey, *Remembering Heart Mountain*, 123.

Indefinite Leave Clearance

After evacuees were removed from the West Coast, the WRA implemented a resettlement program that encouraged internees, mainly Nisei, to pursue careers and education outside of camp, away from the West Coast. These plans coincided with the War Department's initiative to form an all-volunteer combat unit of qualified Japanese American Nisei soldiers. In order for both programs to work, the War Department and the WRA wanted to assess the loyalty of eligible Japanese American internees. This led to the War Department's loyalty questionnaire, which was administered by the WRA, oftentimes referred to as the "Application for Indefinite Leave Clearance."

First distributed at Heart Mountain in early February of 1943, the questionnaire was used to identify loyal candidates for an all-volunteer combat unit, to segregate disloyal internees, and to further verify an internee's loyalty in order to be released for resettlement. Every internee was required to fill out this form. Unfortunately, these questionnaires had originally been intended for determining loyalty of possible draftees, and were not modified for the general population, which included women and people who were citizens of Japan. The controversial questions were Numbers 27 and 28:

> No. 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?
>
> No. 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and foreswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

The first question was a bit strange for women and the elderly, but otherwise relatively straightforward. However, the second question was troubling for Issei, who were not allowed to become American citizens; answering yes effectively left them without a country. On the other hand, some of those who already felt loyal to the United States considered it to be a trick question. No one was sure what the consequences would be, but each family debated how to answer these questions.

Many of the relocation center directors saw the dilemma in the loyalty questionnaire and received approval from the Washington Office to change the wording. However, even with the changed wording, controversy remained. While those who answered "no" to both questions were truly more loyal to Japan than to the United States, in many cases people compromised to keep their families together. Others answered in the negative as a way of protesting the injustice of the entire relocation rather than suggesting loyalty to Japan. Some did not want to imply that they wanted to apply for leave, as they were now settled in the relocation centers; a safe haven compared to the unknown outside of camp. The questionnaire and segregation soon became one of the most divisive events of the entire relocation.

Internees who answered “yes” to the loyalty questionnaire were eligible to leave the relocation centers once they were approved by the WRA and found a sponsor to assist them in their resettlement. Several businesses seeking labor promoted the relocation of eligible Japanese American citizens who often found support by religious and community groups, such as the Quakers and the YWCA, that aided them in the transition from camp to career and educational opportunities outside of camp.

Those who answered “no” to the loyalty questions were considered “disloyals.” In response to public and congressional criticism, the WRA segregated the “disloyals” from the rest of the population by transferring them to the Tule Lake Relocation Center, which housed the highest number of dissenters. Tule Lake became a hotbed of protest against the administration, and was the site of many protests and work stoppages.

At Heart Mountain, the loyalty questionnaire was heavily debated, and communities met within camp to discuss the ramifications of answering “yes” or “no” to questions 27 and 28. Two-thirds of Heart Mountain’s internees were Nisei, second generation, who tended to be Japanese-American citizens. In response to the loyalty questionnaire, Heart Mountain internee and later member of the Fair Play Committee, Frank Emi, replied, “Under the present conditions and circumstances, I am unable to answer these questions.”[28] In September 1943, approximately eight percent (903) of the internees at Heart Mountain who answered “no” to the questionnaire were transferred to Tule Lake. This figure included 242 children under the age of 17 whose applications in most cases were signed by parents or guardians, 352 aliens, 17 years of age or older and 309 American citizens 17 or older.[29]

The indefinite leave process also lowered the overall population of the relocation centers. Over 18,000 evacuees moved out of the relocation centers in 1944. As certain relocation centers closed, remaining residents transferred to other centers. These closures not only saved administrative costs, but also showed that the relocation centers were working. By the war’s end, over 50,000 internees had relocated to the eastern United States. However, at Heart Mountain, by February 1945 the camp population numbered 8,663, despite the administration’s attempts to encourage resettlement.

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[28] William Minoru Hohri, et al., *Resistance: Challenging America’s Wartime Internment of Japanese-Americans* (Lomita, CA: the Epistolarian, 2001), 99.

[29] Larson, *Wyoming’s War Years*, 299.

Nisei in the Army

One of the initial aims of the loyalty questionnaire had been to determine the loyalty of draft-age males before calling for volunteers for a segregated army unit. On 1 February 1943, President Roosevelt declared that “… Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry... Every loyal American should be given the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution - whether it be in the ranks of our armed forces, war production, agriculture, government service, or other work essential to the war effort.” The call for volunteers resulted in a much smaller group than initially expected by the government, and only 1,200 Nisei from the relocation centers volunteered. By 6 March 1943, only 38 men from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center volunteered. Disappointed with the turnout of volunteers, the War Department reinstated the draft for Nisei on 20 January 1944.

These volunteers and later draftees became the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The 442nd combined with the 100th Infantry Battalion of the Hawaii National Guard, which had originally been transferred to the mainland and given only wooden guns with which to train. The government had hoped creating a predominantly Japanese American unit would help impress the general public with Nisei patriotism and bravery, but some Japanese Americans opposed joining the army in a segregated unit.

The combined 100th Battalion and 442nd Regiment became the most decorated unit of its size and length of service in American history, with 18,143 individual decorations and 9,486 casualties in a regiment with an authorized strength of 4,000 men. Both units fought in Italy and France, and were responsible for the rescue of the "Lost Battalion" of the 36th Texas Division. Ironically, the 522nd Battalion of the 442nd Regiment discovered and liberated the Dachau Concentration Camp, but were ordered to keep quiet about their actions. The next day, another American battalion arrived and "officially" liberated the camp.

In addition, more than 16,000 Nisei served in the Pacific and in Asia, mainly in intelligence and translation, performing invaluable and dangerous tasks. Not only were there normal risks of combat duty, they risked certain death if captured by the Japanese. Nisei women also served with distinction in the Women Army Corps, as nurses, and for the Red Cross.

Eventually, initial opposition to serving in the Army turned into pride in their accomplishments. Almost every camp built “Honor Rolls” listing men who were serving in the Army and many windows displayed service flags. At the Heart Mountain

Relocation Center, United Service Organizations (USO) established by the internees constructed a servicemen's roll call panel during the summer of 1944 to commemorate servicemen from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. The engineering department built this memorial in front of the center's administrative building. The original Honor Roll memorial was constructed of asbestos panels that covered the entire front and listed names of all servicemen and women whose families were incarcerated at the camp, including those who were already in the service prior to World War II. It also included servicemen and women from families who transferred to Heart Mountain from other camps, in addition to Caucasian administrative staff who left to serve in the military. Each panel contained one hundred names, which were hand-painted directly onto the panels.

While many Nisei joined the Army as a method of proving their loyalty, others resisted volunteering for the military and the draft. Nationwide, 293 interned Japanese Americans were tried for draft resistance. Many resisters did not oppose the draft itself but hoped that their protest would clarify their citizenship status. The best-organized draft resistance was initiated by the Fair Play Committee (FPC) at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, where 63 of 315 potential draftees refused to show up for physicals. The 63 draft resisters, including seven others who were charged for counseling other draft-age Nisei to resist military induction, were arrested. All 63 were found guilty in the largest mass trial for draft resistance in U.S. history. Seven members of the FPC were found guilty of conspiracy, as well. However, the verdicts did not silence the resistance: 22 more Heart Mountain evacuees were later arrested for draft evasion. In all, 85 evacuees at Heart Mountain were convicted of draft evasion and were sent to federal prison. In spite of substantial draft resistance at Heart Mountain, 700 men reported to their selective service physicals. Of these, 385 were inducted; 11 were killed and 52 wounded in combat. [30]

The Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee (FPC)

At the Heart Mountain Relocation Center the reinstatement of the draft on 20 January 1944 instigated two polarized responses within camp. Some Nisei supported the draft as an opportunity to display their patriotism as an American or prove their loyalty to the U.S. However, other Nisei believed the reinstatement of the draft was incredulous based on the loss of their constitutional rights as U.S. citizens, and their treatment by the federal government through exclusion and detention.[31] These Nisei effectively organized a mass resistance movement in camp.

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[30] Jeffrey F. Burton, et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1999), 129.

Although the WRA intended to quell dissension in the camps by segregating “disloyal” residents from the other “loyal” residents with the establishment of the Tule Relocation Center, several residents at Heart Mountain remained who did not support the Army’s draft decision. Heart Mountain internees who protested the registration and volunteer program, stood firmly behind the restoration of their constitutional rights and supported this stance as part of their patriotic duty in a democratic society. Several of these internees had provided “acceptable” answers on the questionnaire and were not removed from camp. Nevertheless, a significant contingent of residents and the majority of the key leaders of the anti-WRA faction remained at Heart Mountain.

Kiyoshi Okamoto was among this group that supported resistance of the registration and draft movement. In November 1943, he formed the “Fair Play Committee of One,” the “one” being Kiyoshi Okamoto,[32] and began holding talks and lectures focusing on the legality of the evacuation and internment. These meetings provided a safe forum for discussions and debates centered around pressing issues not typically addressed in camp.

On 20 January 1944, the War Department announced its policy of conscription for Nisei, which now made it legal for qualified Nisei to serve in the Army. Implemented by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Japanese Americans who were previously classified as 4-C enemy aliens, and therefore ineligible for the draft, were now given the same status as all other U.S. citizens for the Selective Service draft. This decision had been firmly supported by the Japanese Americans Citizens League (JACL), and encouraged as an opportunity for Nisei to prove their loyalty to the United States.

In early February 1944, internees at Heart Mountain began receiving pre-induction notices in the mail. Compared to the previous dilemma over registration, the draft applied to a specific group of the camp’s population, and made the decision to sacrifice one’s life for a country that did not recognize one’s citizenship, even more difficult. While many internees were roused by this new law, Okamoto’s “Committee of One” evolved into an organization called the Fair Play Committee (FPC).

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[31] In Mackey’s *Heart Mountain*, according to FBI agent Harry McMillen who was hired by Project Director Guy Robertson to investigate the draft resistance at Heart Mountain, a small minority of the camp’s population accepted the draft, and a small minority resisted the draft. The majority of the camp’s population felt that the draft was unfair, but that they had to accept it to avoid punishment or increased hostility from communities outside of camp, 112.

[32] Mackey, *Remembering Heart Mountain*, 128.

The FPC drew a crowd of 60 Nisei at its first public meeting on 8 February 1944, shortly after the first pre-induction notices arrived in camp. The FPC's officers were formally elected and organizational by-laws were established. Kiyoshi Okamoto was elected chairman, and Paul T. Nakadate, vice president.[33] Nisei who wanted to join were required to pay $2 in membership dues.[34] Stressing a truly loyal opposition, the FPC leaders made it clear that membership would be restricted to those who would serve in the U.S. military once their rights as U.S. citizens were restored, to avoid attracting those who wanted to avoid the draft or whose goal was expatriation. By the end of February, the Fair Play Committee had more than 200 dues-paying members.[35]

In a 1 March 1944 bulletin distributed throughout the camp, the FPC further clarified its mission:

> The Fair Play Committee (FPC) is organized to inject justice in all the problems pertaining to our evacuation, concentration, detention and pauperization without hearing or due process of law, and oppose all unfair practices within our center, State or Union….The FPC believes that the first duty as loyal American citizens is to protect and uphold the Constitution of the United States….The FPC believes we have a right to ask the discriminatory features in regards to this selective service be abolished, our status be clarified, and a full restoration of our rights before being drafted.[36]

In addition to the notices that the FPC distributed throughout the camp, they also gained editorial support from the Denver-based *Rocky Shimpo*. Although printed for the Japanese community in Colorado, the *Shimpo* was widely read in the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. The FPC leaders sent information on their activities and writings to James Omura, the English-section editor of the *Shimpo*, which was also printed in Japanese. Previous to his time at the *Shimpo*, Omura was well known as one of the JACL's most vocal critics. At the *Shimpo*, Omura's articles questioned the constitutionality of the internment and the validity of the draft as applied to Nisei. As editorials focusing on the FPC increased, circulation of the *Shimpo* at Heart Mountain increased by twenty percent.[37]

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[33] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 111. Before the establishment of the FPC, another organization, "The Heart Mountain Congress of American Citizens," also challenged issues concerning the internees' citizenship and obligation to serve in the military. Led by elected chairman Frank Inouye, and elected secretary, Paul Nakadate, the Congress organized in response to the loyalty questionnaire. The Congress held several meetings, which were attended by Kiyoshi Okamoto and Frank S. Emi. Following these meetings held in February, only 38 Nisei men volunteered for the Army, out of which only 19 were inducted. Even though the Congress abruptly ended, similar issues were addressed by the FPC.

[34] Eric L. Muller, *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 78.

[35] Mike Mackey, ed. and contributions, *A Matter of Conscience: Essays on the World War II Heart Mountain Draft Resistance Movement* (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 2002), 54.

[36] Muller, *Free to Die*, 79.

While the FPC attracted a significant number of internees to its membership, not all agreed with their position, such as the Heart Mountain Community Council, composed of a pro-JACL membership, an organization that publicly supported the draft. The camp's newspaper, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, also voiced opposition to the FPC. Although the *Sentinel* operated independently from the WRA, it was viewed by many internees to be pro-WRA and pro-JACL.[38] In early March, editor Haruo Imura wrote in a front-page editorial: "The American public has the right to know that the majority of nisei and their parents believe wholeheartedly in selective service…[t]hat we, as a new race in this nation, cannot and must not be judged by a small, disgruntled group [the FPC]."[39] Imura also wrote that the reinstatement of the draft for the Nisei was, "the most significant development in returning Japanese Americans to full civil status." He also further expressed sentiment against the FPC, and hoped that they would soon be broken up and taken into custody by the FBI and the U.S. Attorney.

Other Heart Mountain internees also supported the draft as one that would provide an opportunity for Nisei to prove their loyalty to the United States. In the *Sentinel*, one resident commented, "Our struggle back to 'America' has been recognized, and now accepted. Our stake in the future is assured."[40] Arguments over these issues continued to be played out in the *Sentinel* and the *Shimpo*, voicing opposing viewpoints of cooperation or resistance.

Although it appeared that the camp's administration was unconcerned with the FPC's activities, project director Guy Robertson was suspicious of resistance activity in camp from its inception and immediately became a forceful agent in putting an abrupt halt to the FPC's activities. Robertson attempted to gather evidence against Okamoto and Nakadate for counseling other internees to resist the draft. If charged with sedition, they would be removed from camp.[41] On February 12 Robertson wrote to WRA director Dillon Myer about his concerns over the FPC leaders as potentially disruptive agitators, and suspected Okamoto of illegally advising other Nisei men to not report for induction. Robertson then proceeded to request an FBI probe of the FPC. However, the FBI did not find enough evidence against them to press any charges.[42]

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[37] Muller, *Free to Die*, 82.
[38] Muller, *Free to Die*, 82.
[39] Muller, *Free to Die*, 82.
[40] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 120.
[41] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 112.
[42] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 112.

As early as February 19, Robertson implemented an educational counteroffensive to the FPC's informational meetings by incorporating information on the Selective Service laws into the camp's classrooms, community meetings, and even in church groups.[43] Fearing the FPC's increasing authority, the camp's assistant project director, Douglas Todd, also asked the community council to address, "…any infavorable movement in this center concerning reinstitution of the draft status for nisei, which might create further enemies, destroy[] friends, and alienat[e] feeling among [the] general public to the evacuees and subject [them] to acute criticism."[44] As the council already supported the draft, Todd was merely using them as a means to communicate to the rest of the internee population.

Despite WRA efforts, the FPC continued to hold meetings in camp mess halls and consistently attracted a large audience. While they maintained an informational tone in their meetings, this radical public discourse resonated throughout the camp. Okamoto contacted Denver attorney Samuel Menin to discuss legal issues concerning the Selective Service. On February 14, Menin met with FPC members to discuss the possibilities of producing a test case to challenge the constitutionality of the Selective Service draft. FPC members believed that their sacrifice on behalf of all Japanese Americans would guarantee the return of their citizenship and constitutional rights.[45]

Draft notices began arriving at Heart Mountain on February 5, and the first group of seventeen inductees was scheduled to report for their physicals on February 28. On February 25, E.J. Goppert, chairman of the Park County Draft Board, met with internee councilmen to encourage compliance with draft orders, and to clarify that not doing so was a federal offense.[46]

On March 1 the Fair Play Committee held a public rally with an attendance of 400 Nisei, mainly drawn from their membership. Vice president Paul Nakadate introduced the committee's resolution that read: We, members of the Fair Play Committee hereby refuse to go to the physical examination or to the induction if or when we are called in order to contest the issue…."[47] Perhaps emboldened by the administration' lack of response, the FPC published their resolution in a March 4 circular, clearly stating their plans to defy the draft. Their statement included the Fifth Amendment's Due Process and Takings Clauses and the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition on involuntary servitude. The FPC announced:

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[43] Muller, *Free to Die*, 86.
[44] Muller, *Free to Die*, 86-87.
[45] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 112.
[46] Nelson, *Heart Mountain*, 125.
[47] Muller, *Free to Die*, 84.

> We, the Nisei have been complacent and too inarticulate to the unconstitutional acts that we are subjected to. If ever there was a time or cause for decisive action, IT IS NOW! We, the members of the FPC are not afraid to go to war—we are not afraid to risk our lives for our country.
>
> We would gladly sacrifice our lives to protect and uphold the principles and ideals of our country as set forth in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, for in its inviolability depends the freedom, liberty, justice, and protection of all people including Japanese-Americans and all other minority groups. But have we been given such freedom, such liberty, such justice, such protection? NO!! Without any hearings, without due process of law as guaranteed by the Constitution and Bill of Rights, without any charges filed against us, without any wrongdoing on our part, one hundred and ten thousand innocent people were kicked out of their homes, literally uprooted from where they have lived for the greater part of their life, and herded like dangerous criminals into concentration camps with barb [sic] wire fence and military police guarding it, AND THEN, WITHOUT RECTIFICATION OF THE INJUSTICES COMMITTED AGAINST US OR WITHOUT [sic] RESTORATION OF OUR RIGHTS AS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION, WE ARE ORDERED TO JOIN THE ARMY THROU *DISRIMINATORY PROCEDURES* INTO *A SEGREGATED COMBAT UNIT!*
>
> The FPC believes that unless such actions are opposed NOW, and steps taken to remedy such injustices and discriminations IMMEDIATELY, the future of all minorities and the future of this democratic nation is in danger.
>
> Thus, the members of the FPC unanimously decided at their last open meeting that until we are restored all our rights, all discriminatory features of the Selective Service abolished, and measures taken to remedy the past injustices thru Judicial pronouncement or Congressional act, we feel that the present program of drafting us from this concentration camp is unjust, unconstitutional, and against all principles of civilized usage, therefore, WE, MEMBERS OF THE FAIR PLAY COMMITTEE HEREBY REFUSE TO GO TO THE PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OR TO THE INDUCTION IF OR WHEN WE ARE CALLED IN ORDER TO CONTEST THE ISSUE.[48]

In the next few days, ideals represented by the FPC were put into play. On 6 March 1944 two men refused to get on the bus for their pre-induction physicals to be held in Cheyenne, Wyoming. On March 7, three more refused. The following day, March 8, seven additional men refused to board the bus. Unbeknownst to them, the names of these twelve men were reported to the FBI and the U.S. District Attorney.[49]

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[48] Muller, *Free to Die*, 83.

Robertson feared losing control of the camp and contacted U.S. Attorney for the District of Wyoming, Carl Sackett to see how to go about arresting the resisters. Sackett explained that the District of Wyoming grand jury would not convene again until the first week of May, and according to a Department of Justice policy, the men could not be arrested until they were indicted by a grand jury. Fearful that this would be too late, Robertson contacted WRA director Dillon Myer, who in turn sent the WRA's legal counsel, Phillip Glick, to negotiate with the Justice Department. The Justice Department ordered Sackett to file complaints and have the Heart Mountain resisters arrested as soon as they defied their pre-induction physicals.[50]

On 18 March 1944, Robertson forbade the FPC to conduct any more public meetings. The FPC leadership immediately sent a letter of complaint to the director, stressing the unconstitutionality of his demand, and also wrote to the Secretary of the Interior in Washington demanding Robertson's removal. The FPC continued to meet as planned. In an attempt to deter additional resisters, on 25 March 1944, the U.S. Marshals Service arrested the 12 men who had not shown up for their pre-inductions. Although many internees were surprised at these actions, in the following days 25 men refused to report for their pre-induction physicals.[51]

Meanwhile, as tensions mounted between the Heart Mountain administration and the FPC, the JACL interceded and cooperated with the WRA to encourage internees to join the military. A Japanese American organization, the JACL played a very controversial role throughout the war. While some looked to the JACL for answers, others viewed the JACL as an elitist social organization limited to Japanese American professionals.[52] One of the only organizations for Japanese Americans at that time, the JACL cooperated with the U.S. government on many fronts in regard to the exclusion and detention of Japanese Americans. After the Selective Service for Japanese Americans had been suspended on 17 June 1942, the JACL lobbied for the reinstatement of the draft for Japanese Americans, viewing conscription as an opportunity for Nisei to prove their loyalty to the United States. In turn, the Fair Play Committee viewed the JACL as their opponents who were asking them to concede their constitutional rights.

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[49] Mackey, *Heart Mountain,* 113.
[50] Muller, *Free to Die*, 89.
[51] Muller, *Free to Die*, 90.
[52] Hohri, *Resistance,* 22.

Following the arrest of the first group of resisters, three members of the FPC, Sam Horino, Frank Emi, and Min Tamesa, were arrested by military police and held in custody for several days after walking out of the camps' front gate without a pass to prove that they were not free citizens.[53] Robertson arranged for Okamoto and Horino to meet with him to discuss "leave clearance hearings," which were actually interrogations intended to incriminate them and the FPC. Robertson's strategy to incriminate the men and others in camp on charges of sedition proved futile. Nevertheless, they were denied leave and transferred to the Tule Lake Relocation Center. As Okamoto was too old to be considered for the draft, Robertson could not have him removed from camp based on draft evasion.

Despite Robertson's efforts to suppress resistance in the camp, the number of resisters grew. Charged with allegedly evading the draft, 41 Nisei were in county jails across Wyoming, and held on bond for $2,000, by the end of March 1944.[54]

Simultaneously, the WRA administration at Heart Mountain attempted to instill a pro-draft sentiment in camp by holding patriotic ceremonies for those Nisei who were leaving for induction. They also hosted Nisei war veteran, Ben Kuroki, with the assistance of the JACL. In a widely-publicized visit, Kuroki, originally from Nebraska and therefore never interned, visited the center for five days.

Despite *Shimpo* editor Omura's attempts to disassociate himself with the FPC, he did not escape the administration's watchful eye. Omura even asked that the FPC publicly exonerate him of any connection with the FPC anti-draft activities. They complied, but Omura was forced to resign from the paper and arrested.

On 10 May 1944, Omura and the seven FPC leaders were indicted by a federal grand jury in Cheyenne in a sealed indictment charging them of conspiracy to counsel, aid, and abet young men at Heart Mountain to evade the draft.[55] The seven convicted leaders of the Fair Play Committee included: Kiyoshi Okamoto, Paul Nakadate, Sam Horino, Minoru Tamesa, Ben Wakaye, Guntaro Kubota, and Frank S. Emi. The FPC retained A.L. Wirin, also an attorney for the ACLU, as their private counsel. Their case was first tried at the U.S. District Court level. The FPC leadership was charged with advising its membership to evade the draft through its public meetings and circulars. Omura was charged with doing the same through the articles that he wrote for the *Shimpo*. Omura had actually never met any of the FPC leaders or members or even visited the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. Judge Eugene Rice sentenced the seven leaders to four years in prison at the Leavenworth Penitentiary. They were also denied bail while their case was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit.

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[53] Muller, *Free to Die*, 90.
[54] Muller, *Free to Die*, 91.
[55] Muller, *Free to Die,* 94.

By June 1944 there were 63 men from Heart Mountain in Wyoming county jails. Judge T. Blake Kennedy presided over their case, *United States v. Shigeru Fujii et al.*, on 12 June 1944. Despite Kennedy's professional background, his personal bigotry was reflected early on in court when he first referred to the resisters as "you Jap boys," surely crushing the hopes of those on trial.[56] The trial lasted for six days.

U.S. Attorney Carl Sackett, based his prosecution on the technical failure of the men to show up for their pre-induction physicals. Defense attorney for the 63 Nisei resisters, Samuel Menin, waived the resisters Sixth Amendment rights to a jury trial, fearful of leaving their fate in an all-white jury and therefore left it in the hands of the judge. He then painted a case based on the resisters' loyalty, internment, and opinion that imprisonment was unjust, and that when their rights were restored they would willingly serve in the military. Eighteen-year-old Yosh Kuromiya took the stand, and explained that if he did not protest he would be just as responsible for his internment as those who put him there and that "a citizen who will accept bad government without protest is not a good citizen."[57]

On 26 June 1944, Judge Kennedy convicted the 63 Nisei resisters on one count each of draft evasion, and sentenced them all to three years in federal prison.[58] Kennedy stated: "When…they were placed in 1-A and ordered to report for pre-induction physical examination, their pure American citizenship was established beyond question."[59] He continued, "If they are truly loyal American citizens, they should, at least when they have become recognized as such, embrace the opportunity to discharge the duties of citizens by offering themselves in the cause of our National Defense." The older men were sent to the maximum-security prison, the Federal Correctional Institution at Leavenworth, Kansas, while the younger men were sent to the federal prison at McNeil Island, Washington, ironically located in the military zone from which they were excluded.

Menin appealed Judge Kennedy's decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit in Denver. His brief was based on fairness and due process, but denied by the court who stated that the resisters could have filed a petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*, allowing them to base their case on the illegality of an incarcerated person's detention instead of disobeying a law by evading the draft. The court concluded that the resisters

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[56] Muller, *Free to Die*, 104.
[57] Muller, *Free to Die*, 108.
[58] Muller, *Free to Die*,, 111.
[59] Muller, *Free to Die*,, 112.

"owed the same military service to [their] country that any other citizen did. Neither the fact that [they were] of Japanese ancestry nor the fact that [their] constitutional rights may have been invaded by sending [them] to a relocation center cancel[s] this debt."[60]

WRA Director Dillon S. Myer wrote to Edward J. Ennis Director of the Enemy Alien Control Unit Dept of Justice to request that they serve their full sentences and not be returned to camp when released. After 26 months of imprisonment, they were released on good behavior on Bastille Day, 14 July 1946, almost three months after the last of the internment camps were closed.

The FPC leaders spent one and a half years in Leavenworth before they were acquitted on conspiracy charges. On 16 December 1945, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Denver rendered its decision and reversed convictions for all seven leaders of the FPC. After spending three months in the Cheyenne County Jail, and 18 months at Leavenworth, nine of the ten internment camps had closed and Japan had surrendered. On 31 January 1946, their case was dismissed. On 23 December 1947 President Harry S. Truman signed President Proclamation 2762 that granted a full pardon to the Nisei draft resisters.[61]

Supreme Court Cases

Prior to the activities of Heart Mountain's Fair Play Committee and their arraignment, legal cases related to the exclusion, relocation, and internment of Japanese American citizens were being debated in court. Although these cases did not originate at Heart Mountain, the internees followed the cases closely and were hopeful that they would have a positive impact on their lives and the condition of their incarceration. All eventually led to landmark decisions in the U.S. Supreme Court. The Hirabayashi, Korematsu, and Endo cases respectively dealt with the curfew, evacuation, and detention.

In *Hirabayashi v. United States* on 21 June 1943, the court unanimously decided that due to "the gravest imminent danger to the public safety" the military did have the right to enforce a curfew for a specific group of people, on the grounds of military necessity. They ruled that the curfew was not motivated by ethnic identity or race, but by an actual threat of espionage or sabotage. Based upon the facts known at that time, the court ruled, "we cannot reject as unfounded the judgment of the military authorities and of Congress that there were disloyal members of that population, whose number and strength could not be precisely and quickly ascertained."

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[60] Muller, *Free to Die*, 114.
[61] Mackey, *Heart Mountain*, 117.

On 18 October 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court finalized their decisions in both the *Korematsu v. United States* and *Ex Parte Endo* cases. In *Korematsu v. United States*, in a split decision, the court upheld the government's right to exclude people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast based on military necessity. Temporary exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry was defended as a military imperative, and as in *Hirabayashi v. United States*, the court could not reject the military opinion.

In the *Ex Parte Endo* case, Mitsuye Endo was fired from her job with the State of California following the bombing of Pearl Harbor. JACL leader Saburo Kido asked attorney James Purcell to pursue this case in order to prevent further terminations. While Executive Order 9066 was executed soon after, Purcell worked with Endo to build an ideal test case. Initially interned at the Tule Lake Relocation Center in California, Endo was transferred to the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah in August of 1943. Endo was advised to not fill out the "Leave for Indefinite Clearance," and in the meantime, Purcell sought a writ of *habeas corpus* in the U.S. District Court in July 1942. A year later, the petition was denied, prompting Purcell to appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. This led to the certification of Endo's case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Attorney James Purcell challenged the legality of confining an American citizen against their will. Purcell argued that Endo could only be detained or interned long enough to establish her loyalty and that the President or Congress did not give the WRA power to confine Japanese Americans or anyone else for that matter. And if that authority had been given, it would have been a violation of constitutional rights. By fall of 1944 Endo had pledged her loyalty to the U.S., but was still being held at the Topaz Relocation Center. By the time her case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, Endo had already been detained for two-and-a-half years. Justice William O. Douglas wrote the decision in *Ex Parte Endo*, which stated that the WRA had no authority to hold Endo or other Japanese Americans against their will once they were found to be loyal to the U.S. While sidestepping the constitutional question of the right of government to hold citizens without cause in wartime, it did in effect free all loyal Japanese Americans still held in relocation centers. In continuing to hold loyal Japanese and submit them to its procedures, the court found that the WRA had exceeded the authority granted by Executive Order 9066.

Although the court reached their decision by December 4, they were asked to delay their announcement to the public until December 18. On December 17, the War Department rescinded General DeWitt's mass exclusion order, allowing "loyal" Japanese and Japanese Americans to return to the West Coast.

The Redress Movement

Efforts to seek redress and reparations by the Japanese American community, began in the 1970s, following the civil rights movement. In 1980 President Jimmy Carter signed a bill to create the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). This led to 20 days of hearings as more than 750 former internees gave testimonies based on their experiences related to the exclusion, relocation, and internment of Japanese Americans. The findings from the CWRIC hearings were issued in 1982:

> The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and the decisions which followed from it—detention, ending detention and ending exclusion—were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership.[62]

This led to the passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed by President Ronald Reagan, which required payment of $20,000 to eligible Japanese Americans interned during WWII, in addition to an official acknowledgement and apology by the U.S. government of the evacuation, relocation, and internment. The Civil Liberties Act also established funds for a public education program to prevent similar tragedies from reoccurring in the future. The movement for redress and reparations was spearheaded by combined efforts of various community organizations including the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR), and the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRR), along with support by the Japanese American community.

Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was made possible after intense lobbying by community organizations and activists, letter writing campaigns, legal court cases, and the discovery of revealing documents through CWRIC-funded research. One such document was an original draft report written by Lt. Gen. John L. Dewitt, head of the Western Defense Command, which stated:

> It was impossible to establish the identity of the loyal and the disloyal with any degree of safety. It was not that there was insufficient time in which to make such a determination; it was simply a matter of facing the realities that a positive determination could not be made, that an exact separation of the "sheep from the goats" was unfeasible.[63]

This further solidified that politics involved in extending the exclusion of Japanese from the Pacific Coast was not based solely on military necessity, and along with the suppression of key evidence, compromised landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions as in the Yasui, Hirabayashi, Korematsu, and Endo cases.

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[62] Mei Takaya Nakano, *Japanese American Women: Three Generations, 1890-1990* (Berkeley, CA: Mina Press Pub., 1990), 203-204.
[63] Nakano, *Japanese American Women*, 205.

After the war, the history and actions of the draft resisters were all but silenced and marginalized within the Japanese American community. Some Nisei veterans of the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team felt that those who resisted the draft undermined their sacrifices that they made in the military to prove loyalty to the U.S. and ensure the constitutional rights of all Japanese Americans. For several years, resentment lingered towards the draft resisters who were viewed as anti-American and anti-JACL. However, unlike conscientious objectors, the Fair Play Committee supported the draft and would serve in the military upon the restoration of their constitutional rights. Their stance was valuable and played a vital role along with Nisei war veterans and those who fought in the U.S. Supreme Court for both the recognition and right as U.S. citizens to stand up to both the military and the government to defend their rights as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

Efforts were made by both the Nisei war veterans and draft resisters to reconcile their differences. Over time, the JACL also gradually apologized to the draft resisters and transitioned to become the civil rights organization that it is today.

Following the Japanese American community's efforts to obtain redress and reparations, on 3 March 1992 U.S. Congress passed Title II of Public Law 102-248. This authorized and directed the Secretary of the Interior to prepare a National Historic Landmark Theme Study on Japanese American History in order to identify the key sites in Japanese American history that illustrate the period of exclusion, relocation, and detention of Japanese Americans from 1941 through 1946.

The theme study identified numerous places associated with the internment of Japanese Americans. In 1985, the Manzanar Relocation Center (Inyo County, California) was designated a National Historic Landmark and was established as a National Historic Site in 1992. It is registered as a State of California Historic Site. In Jerome County, Idaho, 6 acres of the Minidoka Relocation Center were listed in the National Register in 1979 and 72.75 acres were declared the Minidoka National Monument in 2001. At this time, administration of the monument was transferred to the National Park Service. In 1974, 363 acres of the Rowher Relocation Center in Desha County, Arkansas were listed on the National Register and the Memorial Cemetery was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1992.

Closure of Center

During the war, the evacuees had wondered what would be the ultimate fate of the relocation centers. Some expected them to close when the war ended, while others, particularly the elderly, felt the government owed them a place to stay, now that they had been forcibly removed from their own homes. Anticipating the Supreme Court decisions, on 17 December 1944, the War Department announced the lifting of the West Coast exclusion orders, and the WRA simultaneously announced that the relocation centers would be closed within one year. Initial reactions of the evacuees varied; some immediately returned to the West Coast, while others vowed never to leave the centers. Some of the first to return to the West Coast encountered violence and hostility and difficulty finding housing and jobs. Others had more success and encouraged people to leave the camps and return. Many who feared returning to the West Coast found refuge in other parts of the country, especially Denver, Salt Lake City, and Chicago.

Evacuees having to relocate faced extreme financial difficulties. The WRA provided only minimum assistance: $25 per person, train fare, and meals on route for those with less than $500 in cash. Many left when ordered and by September over 15,000 evacuees a month were leaving the various centers. But many had no place to go, since they had lost their homes and businesses because of the relocation. In the end the WRA had to resort to forced evictions. Eventually the centers were emptied out, and all were finally closed by the end of 1945.

Disposal of Heart Mountain Relocation Center Assets

Following World War II, land used for the Heart Mountain Relocation Center was transferred from the WRA back to the Bureau of Reclamation. Based on homesteading legislation, portions of this land were opened to returning veterans and local settlers for farming. Homesteaders also purchased equipment and many of the residential barracks, which were then moved from the site. Homesteaders were also provided with instructions on how to convert their former barracks into a ranch-style home or to add a carport or bay window.[64] Remaining WRA structures were dismantled and removed from the site for use as farm buildings, storage space, or housing; while other structures were demolished and materials salvaged. After the war, the Bureau of Reclamation resumed construction of the Shoshone Irrigation Project and used buildings within the site's administration and hospital areas, which were still equipped with utilities, for offices and storage space until the late 1950s. At this time, these buildings were transferred to the Shoshone-Heart Mountain Irrigation District who leased and used these facilities from 1960 through 1985. The Shoshone-Heart Mountain Irrigation District relinquished management of the site to the Bureau of Reclamation in 1991.

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[64] Dewey, *Legacy of Heart Mountain*, 28.

HEART MOUNTAIN PRESERVATION ACTIVITIES

Several efforts have been made to preserve the Heart Mountain Relocation Center and history. The Heart Mountain Memorial Park was initiated by the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Memorial Association, an organization formed by local homesteaders after World War II. The original Honor Roll memorial is the central piece of the park and was inscribed with the names of soldiers from the relocation center. The park includes plaques, a sidewalk, and a graveled parking area surrounded by rocks. It also includes a concrete slab that once supported a brick chimney with a plaque noting it was moved from Block 23.[65]

Along U.S. Highway 14, fifteen miles north of Cody, the American Legion placed a historical monument and a directional sign to the relocation center memorial park in 1963. However, this monument does not reflect the perspective of the internees who lived at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.

In 1995 the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in nearby Cody had a temporary exhibit on the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, which included examples of the *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, as well as the mimeograph machine used to print the camp newspaper, a child's diary and other artifacts.

Preservation efforts have also been made by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation and the Bureau of Reclamation. The Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation, a non-profit organization, was established to memorialize and educate the public about the internment of Japanese Americans at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, and strives to collect, preserve and exhibit materials associated with this history. The foundation's president, Dave Reetz, has actively advocated for the preservation of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, that has historical significance for the Japanese Americans who were incarcerated here as well as the homesteaders who resettled here after World War II. Under the direction of LaDonna Zall, the foundation also maintains an archive in the vault of the First National Bank of Powell to preserve oral histories, artifacts, paintings, and other personal belongings, mainly donated by former internees.

The Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation raised money from private donors to reconstruct a portion of the Honor Roll memorial and associated flag pole, both located in what is now the Heart Mountain Memorial Park. Due to severe deterioration of the frame portion of the Honor Roll, it was removed and stored for safekeeping by the Bureau of Reclamation in 2000. It will remain in storage until it can be properly displayed in an interpretive center by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation. The original Heart Mountain census from the National Archives, information from the camp's newspaper, *The Heart Mountain Sentinel*, and families and friends of former internees were used to help replicate the original names listed on the Honor Roll memorial. The foundation plans to build an Interpretive Center Complex and one half of an actual block to display living quarters and other camp facilities that existed at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.

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[65] Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 123.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

_ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
X Previously Listed in the National Register.
_ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
_ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
_ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

X State Historic Preservation Office - Other State Agency
X Federal Agency
X Local Government
_ University
X Other (Specify Repository): Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation archives (Powell, Wyoming)

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Heart Mountain Relocation Center NHL Overview

Acreage of Property:

UTM References:

Zone	Easting	Northing
A	662846	4948841
B	664053	4948048
C	662237	4947688

Verbal Boundary Description: The nominated area of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center district encompasses 123.93 acres, which includes 73.93 acres owned by the Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) and 50 acres owned by the Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation. This district comprises portions of the camp originally enclosed by barbed wire that still possess physical integrity and contain a collection of historic buildings, in addition to historic landscape features, archeological artifacts, and original road patterns. The boundary includes the entire hospital complex in the northeastern section of the camp, a portion of the administrative complex located southeast of the hospital complex, and the original area of the military police compound. The district includes four historic structures related to the hospital complex: the hospital boiler house and associated smokestack, hospital warehouse, hospital mess hall, and administrative staff housing unit. The boundary is expanded from the original National Register nomination to include a section of the camp that originally contained the military police compound, located southeast of land owned by the BOR. Although the historic structures were removed immediately following World War II, this section still possesses historic integrity and warrants inclusion within the NHL boundary. Excluded from the boundary are sections of privately owned land, which are now used mainly for agricultural purposes.

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS SURVEY
Date