

CHAPTER 6

TULE LAKE

Introduction

The Tule Lake Relocation Center was located at about 41°53' N latitude, 121°23'W longitude, and 4,050 feet elevation in north central California's Modoc County (Figure 6.1). The California-Oregon border lies just seven miles north. The center was located on about 7,400 acres of land previously managed by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (U.S. Army–Western Defense Command, 1943). Newell is now located at the site of the former center while Tulelake (the town) is about seven miles northwest (Figure 6.1). The relocation center was named after Tule Lake, the former lake that occupied the Tule Lake Basin (Figure 6.1). The area lies within six miles of the northern boundary of Lava Beds National Monument, a National Park Service-managed area focused on volcanic landscapes and their relationships to the Modoc War. Klamath Falls, Oregon, is about 35 miles northwest, and Alturas, the Modoc County seat, is approximately 60 miles southeast.

The following pages address: 1) the physical and human setting in which Tule Lake was located; 2) why north central California was selected for a relocation center; 3) the structural layout of Tule Lake; 4) the origins of Tule Lake's evacuees; 5) how Tule Lake's evacuees interacted with the physical and human environments of north central California; 6) relocation patterns of Tule Lake's evacuees; 7) the fate of Tule Lake after closing; and 8) the impact of Tule Lake on north central California some 60 years after closing.

Physical Setting

Physiography, Geology and Landforms. The Tule Lake Relocation Center lay on the northwest margin of the Great Basin section of the Basin and Range physiographic province (Fenneman, 1931) (Figure 6.2). The Basin and Range consists of north-trending mountain ranges separated by low relief basins, and extends from southern Oregon and Idaho into northern Mexico, and from eastern California to western Utah (Fenneman, 1931). The Tule Lake Basin is surrounded by Sheepy Ridge to the west, Bryant and Stukel Mountain to the north, the Clear Lake Hills to the east, and the Medicine Lake Highlands to the south (Turner, 2002). The Southern Cascade Mountains of the Cascade-Sierra Mountains province lies to the west while the Harney section of the Columbia Plateaus is located north of the area (Fenneman, 1931) (Figure 6.3). Mount Shasta, a 14,162 foot, composite cone volcano capping the Southern Cascades, is plainly visible from the former relocation center on a clear day (Figure 6.4). Total relief over the former relocation center is about 750 feet with elevations ranging from about 4,780 feet on top of "The Peninsula" to 4,030 feet on the basin floor farmland to the northwest (Figure 6.5). In contrast, the Medicine Lake Highland 20 miles to the southwest ranges to just over 7,900 feet elevation. The slopes of

Figure 6.1. Modoc County, California and adjacent counties. Adapted from American Automobile Association's California Roadmap (1995).

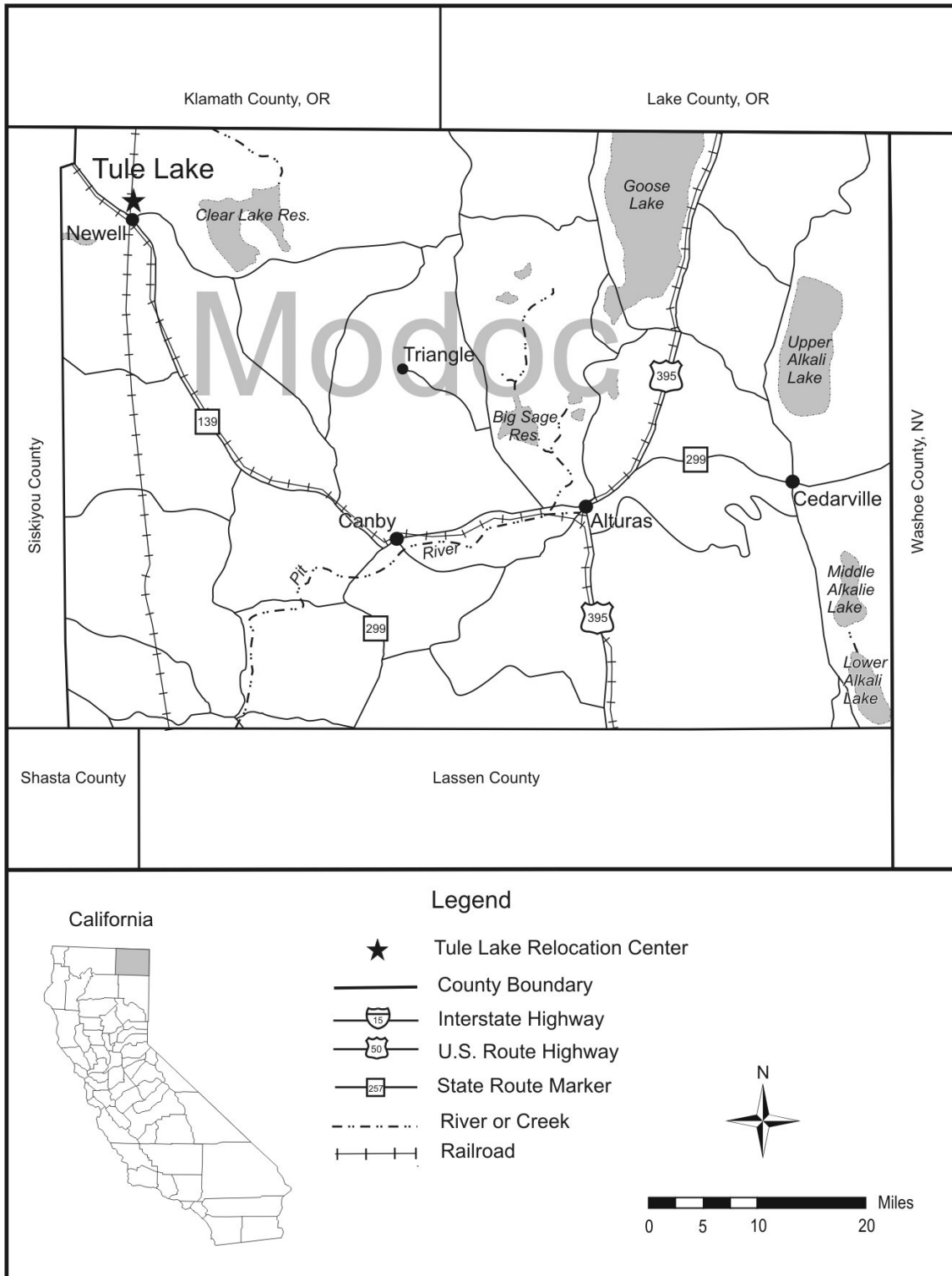


Figure 6.2. Tule Lake and the Great Basin within the Basin and Range physiographic province. Adapted from Fenneman (1931, Plate 1).

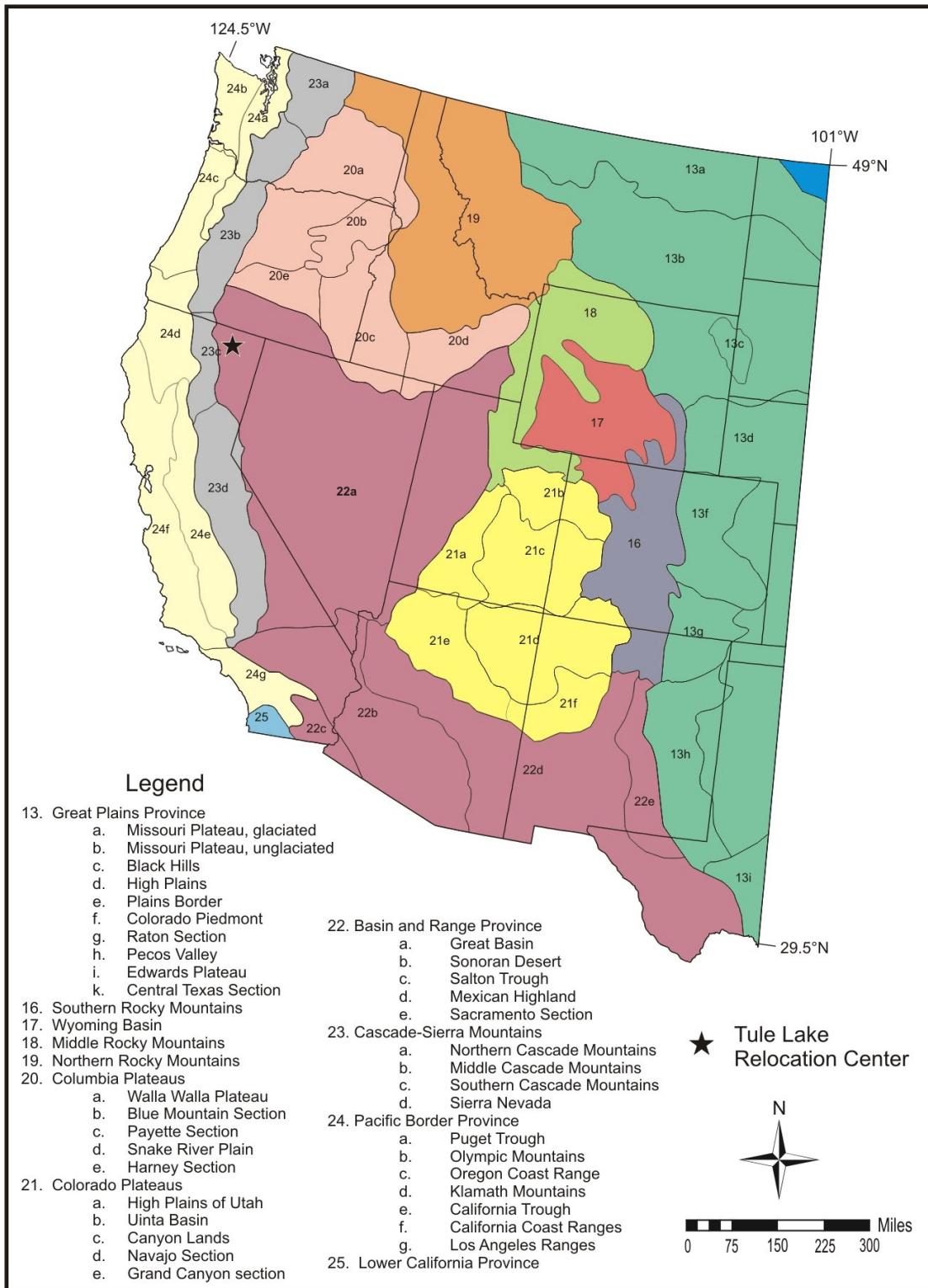


Figure 6.3. Cumulative historical map of the Tule Lake Basin area, including the Tule Lake Relocation Center.

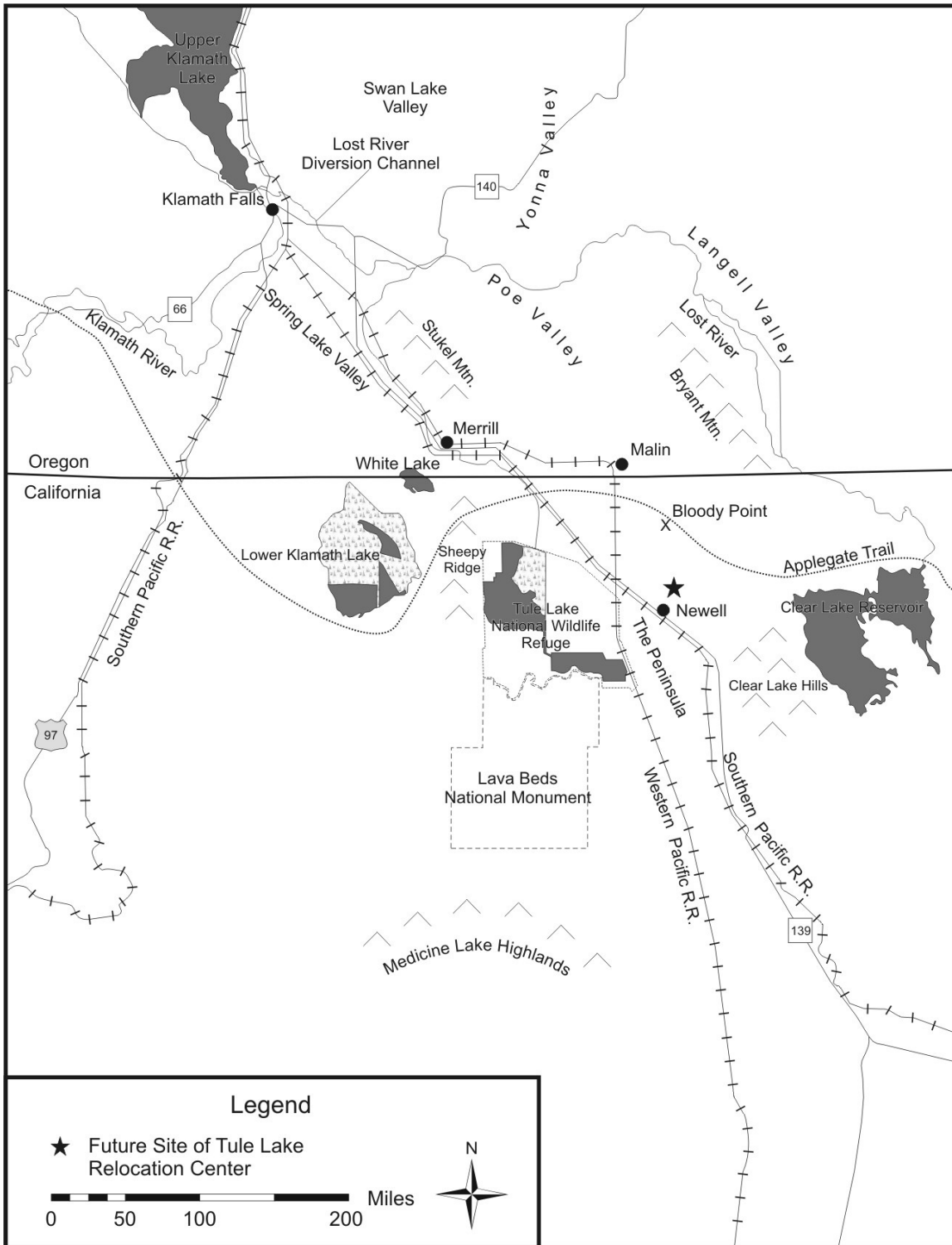


Figure 6.4. Mt. Shasta from former Tule Lake Relocation Center farmlands, Tule Lake Basin, California. Author photograph, June 2003.



The Peninsula are very steep (i.e., up to 70% gradient) while literally no slope is evident on the lands of the basin floor.

The geology of the Tule Lake Basin has been shaped primarily by tectonic, volcanic, and lake processes. The Tule Lake Basin is a *graben* (i.e., a down-dropped fault block) bounded by late *Cenozoic* (i.e., past 6 million years) normal faults on the west, east, and north (Donnelly-Nolan and Champion, 1987; Adam et al., 1989; Lavine, 1994) (Figure 6.6). The faults give the overall landscape a repetitive, linear appearance. Lava flows from the Medicine Lake Highlands, a large volcanic complex, formed the south end of the basin (Lavine, 1994) (Figure 6.6). Lava Beds National Monument is located on the north flanks of the Medicine Lake Volcano. The rough, nearly impassable terrain of its lava flows, spatter cones, and cinder cones played a key role in the Modoc War of 1872-1873 (Thompson, 1971). The basalts and andesites of the Modoc Plateau (including Lava Beds National Monument) reached the surface via north and northwest-trending normal faults (Hannah, 1977; Donnelly-Nolan and Champion, 1987; Lavine, 1994). The late *Miocene* and early *Pliocene* (i.e., about 10-5 million years before present) (yr BP) Devils Garden lava field comprises the upland to the east of the Tule Lake Basin (McKee et al., 1983) (Figure 6.6). A line of volcanics occurs from The Peninsula south to Prisoners Rock (Figure 6.6). All formed from hydrovolcanic eruptions about 270,000 yr BP as rising basaltic magma came in contact with groundwater or perhaps a shallow lake. The resulting violent steam explosions created ash that settled and hardened around each of the craters forming a *tuff ring* at

Figure 6.5. Topographic map of Tule Lake Relocation Center, California and vicinity. Adapted from U.S. Geological Survey Tulelake California-Oregon 1:100,000-scale topographic map.

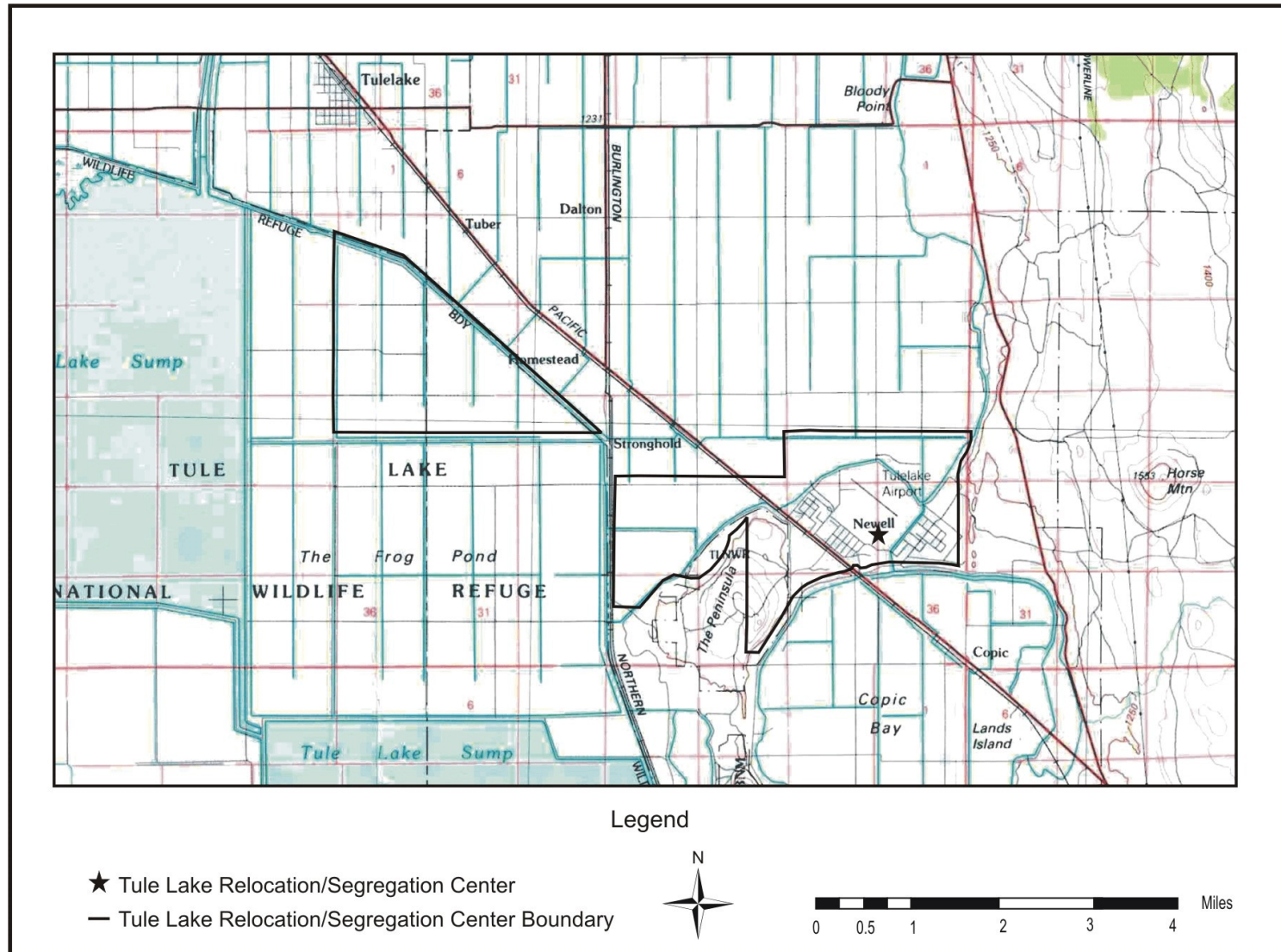
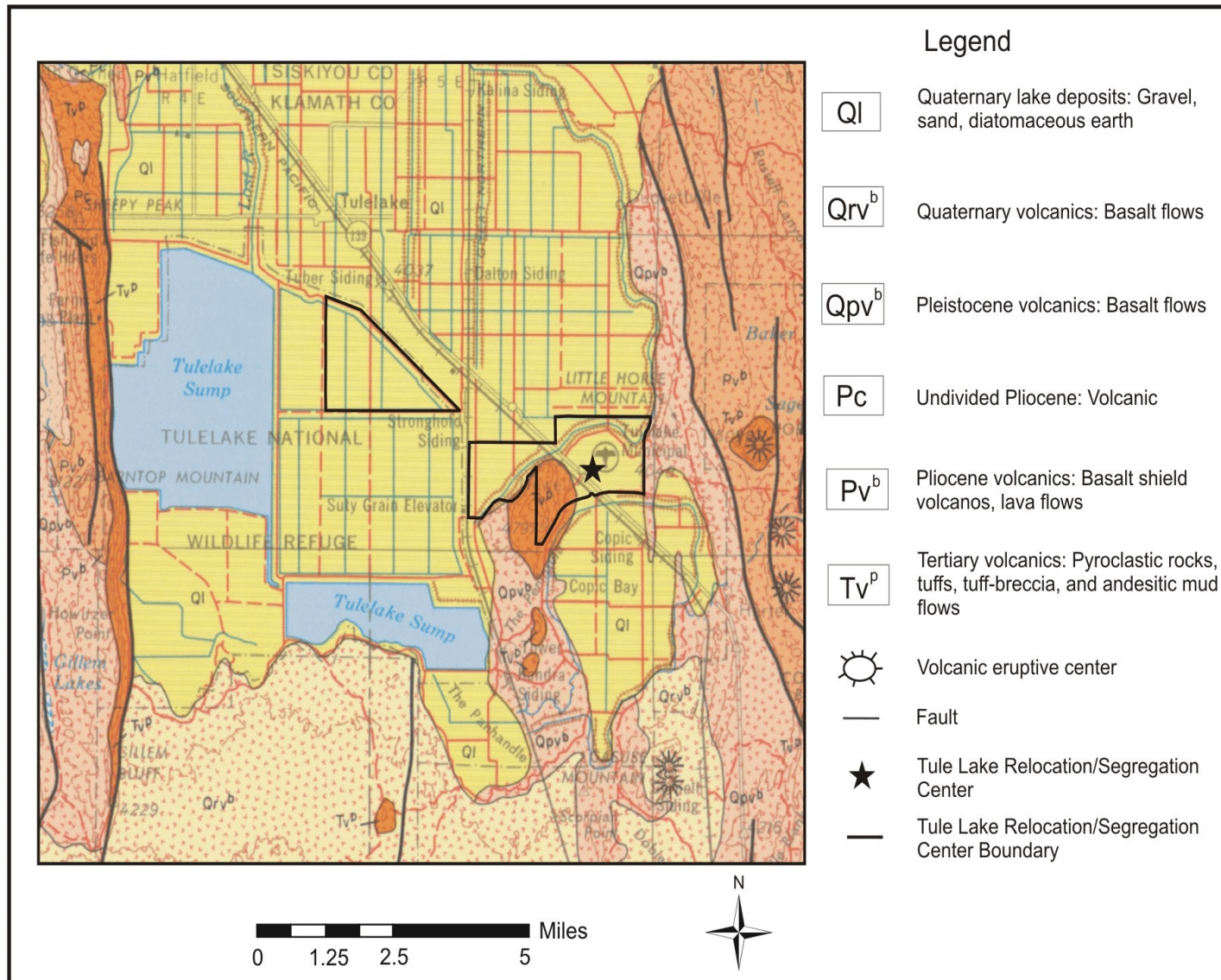


Figure 6.6. Geology of the Tule Lake Relocation Center, California and vicinity. Adapted from Gay (1958).



the North Crater and *tuff cones* on the main part of The Peninsula and at Prisoners Rock, the highest of which rises approximately 740 feet above the basin floor. The asymmetrical shapes and deposits of the cones suggests that southwest winds were blowing during the eruptions. Continued volcanic activity in the absence of water resulted in basalt *dikes* (linear fissures filled with magma), a lava lake, and lava flows (Lavine, 1994). The large lava lake that formed in The Peninsula tuff cone spilled out to the west and southwest to form a lava flow (Lavine, 2002).

Once the former southward drainage of the Tule Lake Basin was blocked by the Medicine Lake volcanics, a topographically-, and sometimes, hydrologically-closed basin was the result. Sediment cores that reached 1,100 feet below the current basin floor reveal that lakes have been intermittently present in the Tule Lake basin for approximately the past three million years (Adam et al., 1989; Bradbury, 1992). At its maximum extent, late *Pleistocene* (i.e., about 2 million to 10,000 yr BP) Lake Modoc covered an area of 1,096 mi² that included the Tule Lake, Upper Klamath Lake, and Lower Klamath Lake basins, as well as Spring Lake, Poe, Swan Lake, Yonna, and Langell valleys (Figure 6.7). Shore features evident to an elevation of 4,240 feet above sea level indicate a maximum lake depth of 210 feet but seem out of place in the now-drained condition of the Tule Lake Basin (Dicken, 1980). Well-developed *cusped spits* (i.e., pointed, curvilinear beach deposits) trend off the northeast end of The Peninsula and off the west side of the Clear Creek Hills to the east to merge as a *baymouth barrier* that separates the Tule Lake Basin proper from “Copic Bay” (Figure 6.5). The erosive effects of historic lake levels as much as 23 feet above the basin floor are seen as shorelines on the Prisoners Rock tuff cone south of the Tule Lake Relocation Center (Cleghorn, 1959).

Weather and Climate. The climate of the area is characterized by four distinct seasons. The middle latitude, intermediate elevation, east of the Cascade Range-setting leads to hot, dry summers and cool to cold, moist winters. The area’s climate is classified as Mediterranean (Koppen Csb) (Griffiths and Driscoll, 1982).

The 1932-1960 average January temperature at Tulelake was about 30°F while the average July temperature was about 65°F (Figure 6.8). The mean annual temperature during this same period was approximately 47°F (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). The middle latitude setting results in a systematic change in sun angles, thus distinct temperature pattern, throughout the year. The continental location leeward of the Cascade Range means clear skies are the norm for much of the year enhancing the daily and annual temperature range. The intermediate elevation depresses temperatures in all seasons. The growing season (i.e., last 32°F killing frost of spring to the first 32°F killing frost of the fall) at Tulelake five out of ten years is only 80 days and stretches from 12 June to 7 September (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). However, frost may occur in any month (Turner, 2002).

Annual precipitation averaged 10.3 inches/year in Tulelake during the period 1932-1960 (Figure 6.8). Average precipitation did not exceed 1.3 inches in any month during this period (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). The dry conditions result from the overall dominance of high barometric pressure (i.e., Pacific High), position in the lee of the Cascade Range (i.e.,

Figure 6.7. Late Pleistocene Lake Modoc in relation to other paleo-lakes and paleo-floods in the Great Basin, Western U.S. Adapted from Williams and Bedinger (1984).

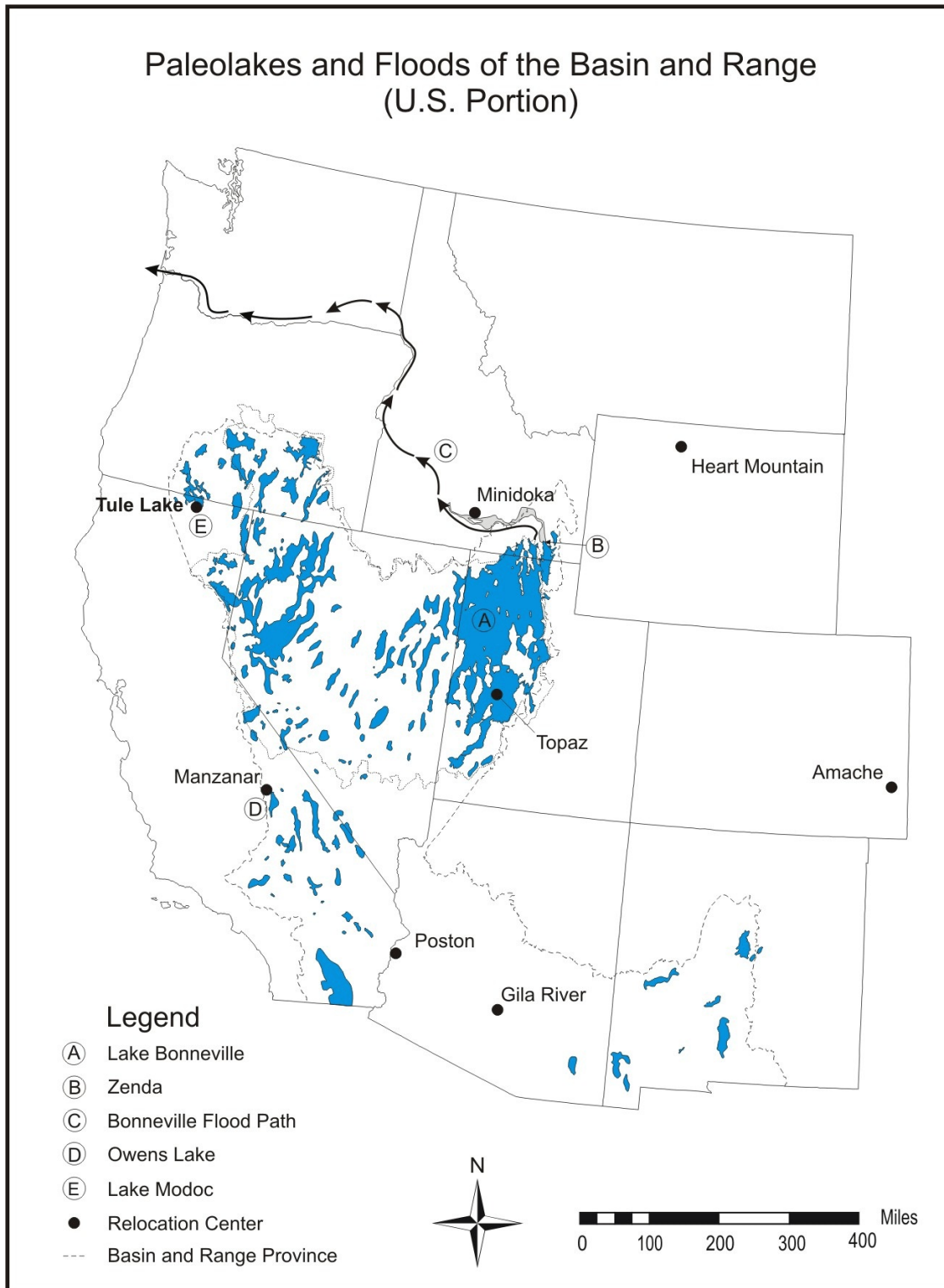
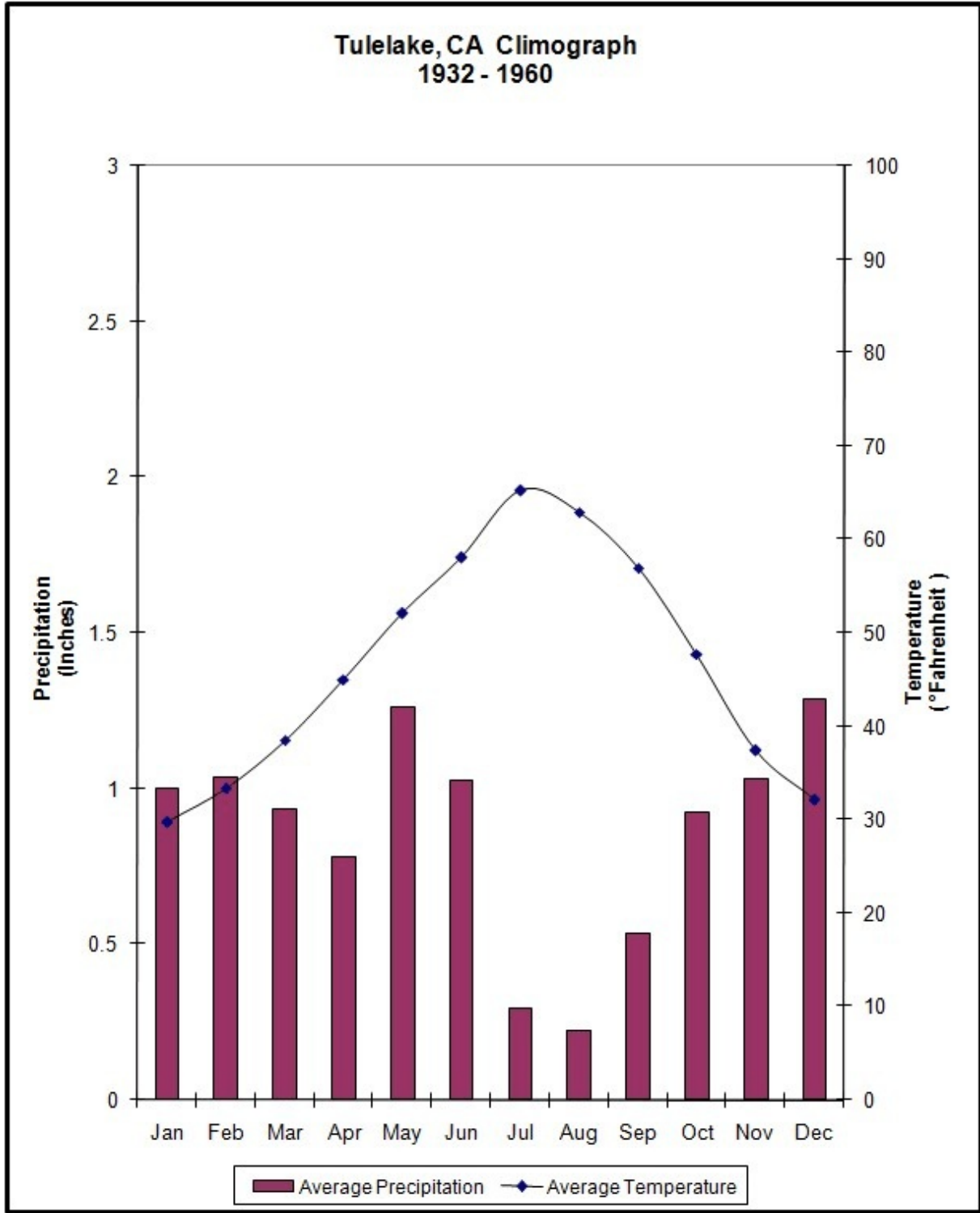


Figure 6.8. Tulelake, California climograph, 1932-1960. Data from Western Regional Climate Center (n.d.a).



rainshadow), and location about 150 miles inland of the Pacific Ocean. Tulelake exhibits very similar seasonal precipitation patterns to areas east of the Cascade Range and West of the Rockies in Northern California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho—i.e., wet winters and generally dry summers. Approximately 60% of the site's precipitation falls in October-March as a result of the weakening and shifting of the Pacific High to the south that allows mid-latitude cyclones to penetrate the area. The Pacific High causes generally dry summers (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a; n.d.b). Mount Hebron (about 33 miles to the west) averages about five thunderstorm days/year, with most occurring in the spring months (Jahnke, 1994). Annual snowfall averaged nearly 19 inches/year at Tulelake during the 1932-1960 (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). Annual lake evaporation was approximately 44-46 inches/year during the 1946-1955 period so irrigation is necessary for most crops (Meyers, 1962).

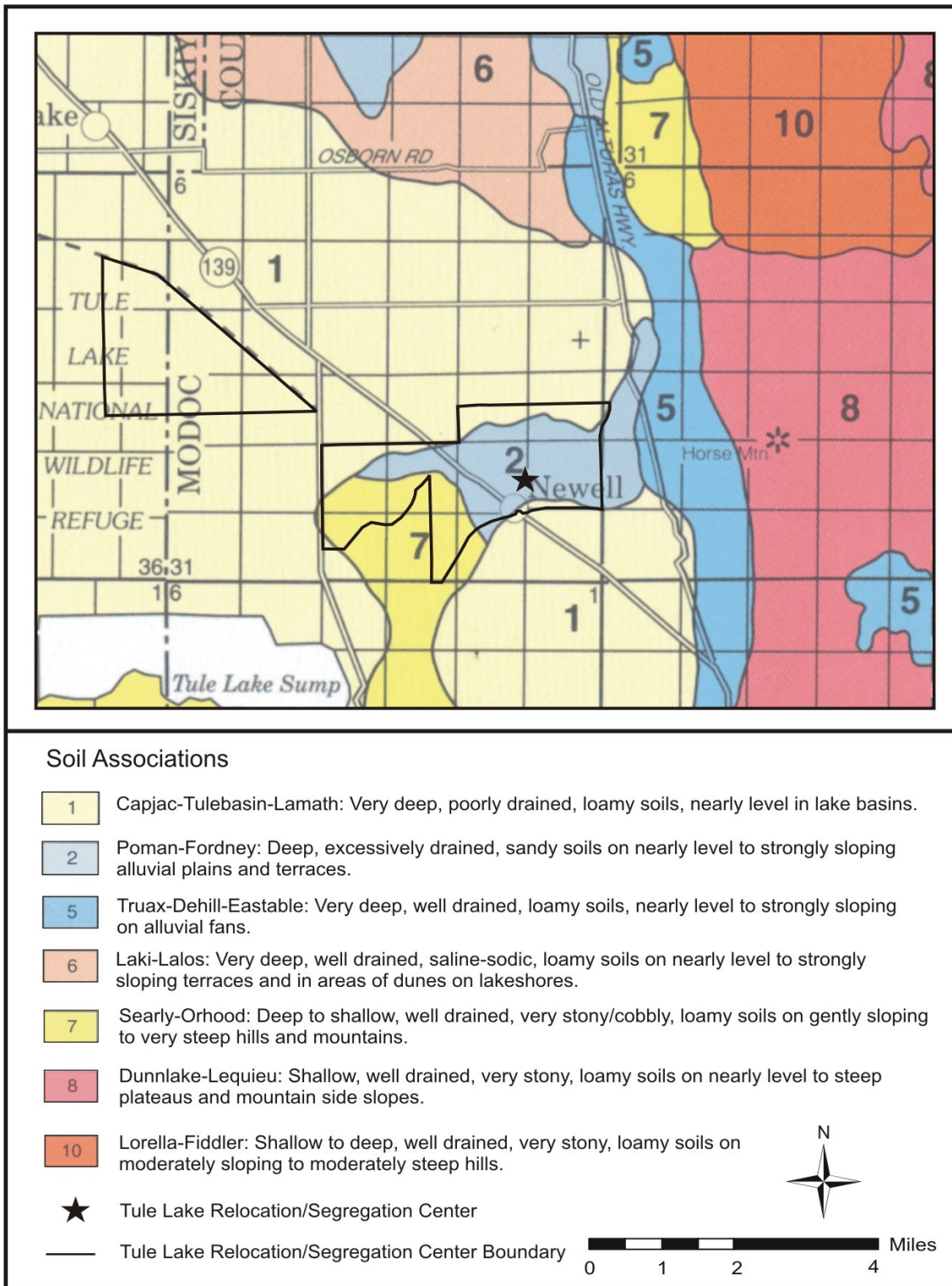
As is generally characteristic of semi-arid areas, Tulelake has experienced significant annual variability in its precipitation record over the 1932-1960 period of record. Three significant statewide droughts occurred during this same period—1928-1937, 1943-1951, and 1959-1962 (Paulson et al., 1991). Tulelake recorded a 29 year low of 4.8 inches of precipitation in one of those drought years (1959). Conversely, the area has also been impacted by relatively large amounts of precipitation—i.e., 16.6 inches fell in 1948 (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). Major flooding occurred in north central California in December 1937 and December 1955 (Paulson et al., 1991).

Various accounts mention the frequent and often strong winds of the Tule Lake Basin. Prevailing winds in the area are from the southwest (Jahnke, 1994). Flagged trees at the site of the former relocation center indicate generally west winds.

Soils. The soils of the former Tule Lake Relocation Center are a function of the five soil forming factors—i.e., parent material, topography, climate, biota, and time. Parent materials on the hills are volcanic rocks (e.g., basalts, andesites, and tuffs) and volcanic sediments (e.g. volcanic ash and cinders). Conversely, the paleolake shorelines between the hills and the basin floor are composed of lake and stream-derived volcanic sediments. Lake sediments and volcanic ash comprise the basin floor parent material. Likewise, soil textures vary depending on parent material and topographic position—i.e., gravelly, sandy loams occur on the steeper slopes of The Peninsula while mucky, silty, clay loam is found on the basin floor. Soils on The Peninsula are less than nine inches deep. In comparison, basin floor profiles extend to more than 60 inches. Soils in the well- to excessively-drained soils of the shorelines and The Peninsula range from neutral to mildly alkaline pH while the poorly drained basin floor sediments are mildly to moderately alkaline (Jahnke, 1994). Calcareous lake snails are visible in the soils of the basin floor.

Mollisols formed on the organic-rich, stable portions of hills (Stukel series) and shorelines (Fordney and Laki series) because the climate of the area is sufficiently wet to support native grasses (Figure 6.9). *Mollisols* (Tulebasin series) also characterize the portion of the basin floor that has been sufficiently stable to support aquatic vegetation. Poorly developed *inceptisols*

Figure 6.9. Soil associations of the Tule Lake Basin, California and vicinity. Data from Jahnke (1994).



(Capjac series) characterize wet portions of the basin floor while *entisols* (Karoc series) suggest active slopes and resistant bedrock on the steepest parts of The Peninsula (Jahnke, 1994).

All soils of the shoreline zone and lake basins are Land Capability Classification (LCC) Class III soils with severe limitations that reduce the crop choices or require special conservation practices when irrigated (U.S. Natural Resources Conservation Service, n.d., Part 6.22). All are either limited by excess water or erosion susceptibility (Jahnke, 1994). The soils of the main part of the center had not been farmed prior to the siting of the center because of their low quality (Jones, 1973).

Water. Tule Lake Relocation Center was situated in a topographically and hydrologically *closed basin* that was hydrologically open at various times in the geologic past. The basin is the sump for the Lost River to the north and drainage from the Medicine Lake Highlands to the south (Bradbury, 1992). Most of the flow from the latter is subsurface. The Lost River originates in the Clear Lake Hills to the east of the Tule Lake Basin, and flows north, west, and finally south before entering the Tule Lake basin (Figure 6.3). The topographic maps show few other streams reaching the Tule Lake Basin floor in this jumbled, porous volcanic terrain. The nearby Klamath River flows south from Upper Klamath Lake into northern California (Figure 6.3), then generally west through the Cascade and Siskiyou Ranges to reach the Pacific Ocean. Given the very low gradient divide separating the Tule Lake Basins from the Klamath River, it is likely that the Lost River flowed into the Klamath River in prehistoric times (Cleghorn, 1959; Adam et al., 1989). Conversely, the Klamath River flowed into the Lost River, and ultimately into the Tule Lake Basin as recently as 1883 (Clark and Miller, 1999).

Lakes and marshes that have alternatively occupied the basin since at least three million yr BP were the result of changing precipitation and temperature regimes (Bradbury, 1992). Percolation resulted in significant losses of lake water when Tule Lake levels rose to a level that they flooded the marginal basalt flows of the basin. The basin must have received large inputs of water to maintain a relatively deep lake under such conditions (Adam et al., 1989). Late Pleistocene Lake Modoc reached 4,240 feet elevation and was about 210 feet deep (Dicken, 1980). Prior to EuroAmerican alterations, historic Tule Lake levels fluctuated between 4,054 and 4,084 feet elevation with depths up to 53 feet (Bradbury, 1992). The gently sloping nature of the north end of the Tule Lake Basin (including the Lost River delta) means that a small change in lake level would impact a large area of the basin floor. In the 1820s, the shoreline of Tule Lake lay about three miles from the future site of Merrill (Figure 6.3). The Applegate Trail (see below) of 1846-1862 passed through the northeastern basin floor from Bloody Point to the Natural Bridge on the Lost River (Figure 6.3). Conversely, snowy winters beginning in 1889 helped raise Tule Lake until it lay about a mile from Merrill (Figure 6.3) (Cleghorn, 1959; Turner, 2002). However, since the second decade of the 20th century, human manipulations have drastically changed the surface water picture in the Tule Lake Basin (see below).

Groundwater in the Tule Lake Basin comes from the Tule Lake sumps and underflow from nearby volcanic rocks. This groundwater appears to exist as at least two bodies—an upper

unconfined body in the old lake sediments, and a lower confined body in the underlying volcanic rocks. Groundwater *specific conductance* in the upper, unconfined aquifer ranges from about 260-845 micromhos of dissolved solids (either as sodium, calcium, or magnesium bicarbonate or sulfate). Lower, confined aquifer groundwater has about 130 micromhos of dissolved solids (primarily sodium bicarbonate) (Hotchkiss, 1968). As a result, salinity hazard is medium to high for the upper water and low for the lower water (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1954). Basin residents have long noted the poor tasting groundwater of shallow wells (Turner, 2002).

Biota. The Tule Lake Relocation Center lay in the Mediterranean Regime Mountains–Sierran Steppe-Mixed Forest-Coniferous Forest-Alpine Meadow Province (Bailey, 1994) (Figure 10.10). Vegetation patterns in the area result from climate, soil moisture, soil chemistry, and human land uses.

The mixed forest-steppe uplands surrounding the Tule Lake Basin are covered with a mix of ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), Western juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*), and sagebrush (*Artemisia* spp.) (Bailey, 1995; U.S. Forest Service, n.d.). Rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus* spp.) is present on the more porous soils on the margins of the basin. Prior to its drainage, Tule Lake's margin was dominated by bulrushes (*Scirpus* spp.) and cattails (*Typha* spp.) (Bradbury, 1992). Saltgrass (*Distichlis spicata*) grows in the uncultivated portions of the basin floor indicating soils of those areas tend toward being saline.

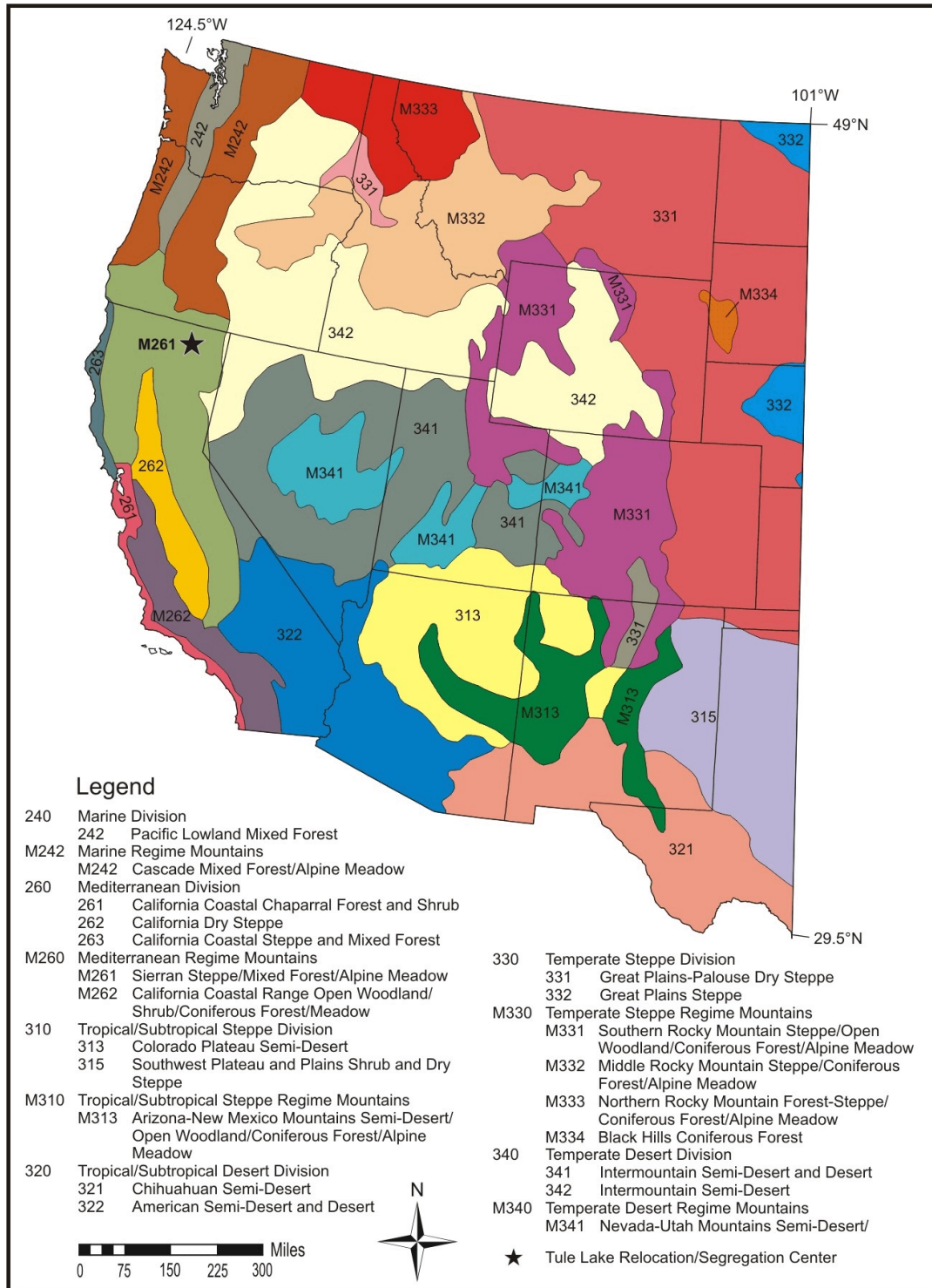
Large mammals of the area include mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*), and black bear (*Ursus americanus*). Small mammals of the area are various squirrels, bushytail wood rats (*Neotoma cinerea*), yellow-bellied marmots (*Marmota flaviventris*), yellow-haired porcupines (*Erethizon dorsatum*), long-eared chipmunks (*Tamias quadrimaculatus*), jackrabbits (*Lepus* spp.), and Trowbridge's shrews (*Sorex trowbridgii*). Predators such as mountain lions (*Puma concolor*), coyotes (*Canus latrens*), bobcats (*Felis rufus*), red foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*), and fishers (*Martes pennanti*) may also be found here. The area is home to a variety of upland and riparian birdlife, and numerous waterfowl migrate through this area each year. Birds of prey include various owls, hawks, eagles, falcons, and osprey (Bailey, 1995; U.S. Forest Service, n.d.).

Human Setting

Race and Ethnicity. Prior to the arrival of Japanese Americans at the Tule Lake Relocation Center in 1942, the Tule Lake Basin had seen several races and ethnic groups over time including Native Americans, British, and Czechoslovakians.

North central California lies in the Plateau Culture Area (Waldman, 2000). Native Americans have occupied the general area for at least 7,000 years. The Klamaths and the closely-related Modocs depended on the lakes and marshes of the upper Klamath River Watershed for all aspects of subsistence. The Modocs were specifically focused on Lower Klamath Lake, Tule Lake, Lost River, Clear Lake, and Goose Lake (Figure 6.3). There, they foraged for a variety of

Figure 6.10. Ecoregion map showing Tule Lake's location in the Mediterranean Regime Mountains–Sierran Steppe–Mixed Forest–Coniferous Forest–Alpine Meadow ecoregion provinces. Adapted from Bailey (1995, Foldout Map).



aquatic resources including waterfowl, molluscs, and larger game (Stern, 1998). Three major Modoc “divisions” were in existence at the time of EuroAmerican contact: a group extending from Lower Klamath Lake to the western shore of Tule Lake totaling eight winter villages; a group of five winter villages centered on the mouth of the Lost River; and a group of 12 winter villages on the eastern shore of Tule Lake, the upper Lost River, Clear Lake, and the western shore of Goose Lake (Figure 6.3). Each of the villages had from 15-140 inhabitants and followed an annual cycle of hunting and gathering (see below) (Ray, 1963). Between 400-600 total Modocs lived in the area at the time of EuroAmerican contact (Stern, 1998).

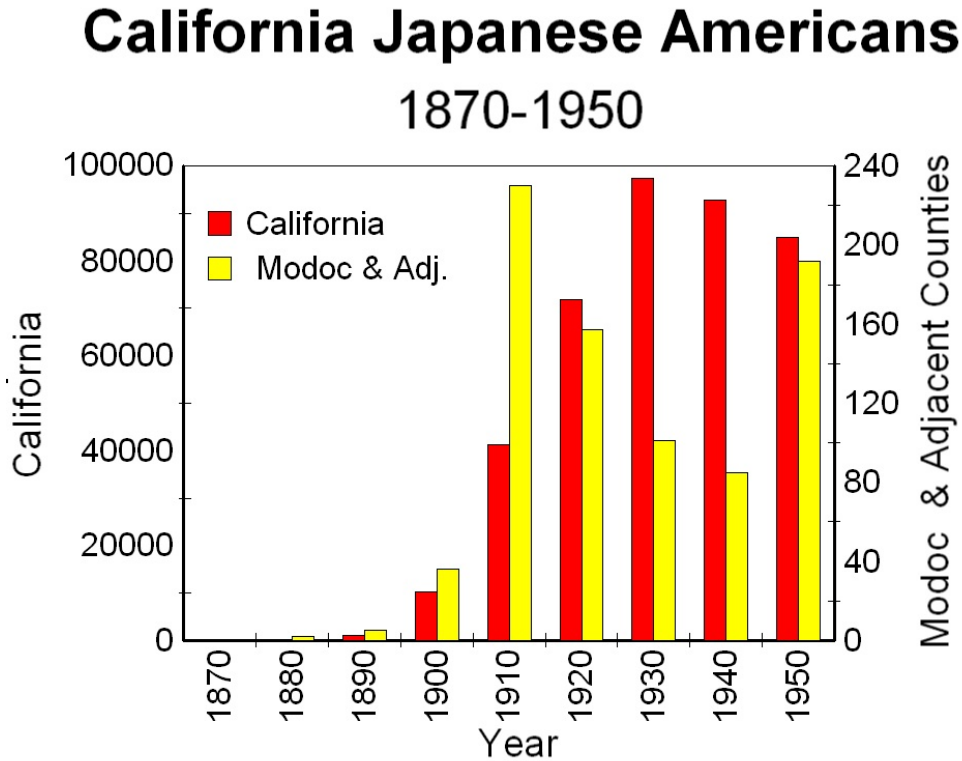
Tensions between Modocs and EuroAmericans mounted as settlers used the Southern Emigrant (or Applegate) Trail beginning in 1846 to cross the Tule Lake Basin en route to the Willamette River Valley. Further, the emigrant-transported smallpox that devastated the tribe beginning in 1847 also decimated its leadership culminating in numerous, small bands that attacked wagon trains as retribution for the problems caused them (Emerson, 1996; Turner, 2002). Fort Klamath, located between Upper Klamath Lake and Crater Lake, was completed by 1863 as a garrison to protect emigrants and local residents from Indian attack. In 1864, the Indian Superintendent of Oregon, at the Council Grove Treaty, persuaded the Klamath, Modoc, Snake, and Paiute of the area to move to a new reservation located between the north end of Upper Klamath Lake and Fort Klamath. Unfortunately, this treaty neglected to recognize the importance of young Modoc leaders such as Captain Jack and failed to foresee the impact of placing Modocs on a reservation sited on the traditional lands of the Klamaths. Captain Jack eventually departed the reservation with a group of Modocs to again settle in the Lost River Valley in April 1870 (Turner, 2002). The increasing numbers of white settlers in the area complained to the Indian Bureau about the presence of Modocs there (Murray, 1959). A request to establish a reservation in the Lost River Valley was denied by the Indian Bureau. In November 1872, after several months of negotiations, a new Indian Superintendent of Oregon forced the issue by bringing in the U.S. Army to arrest Captain Jack and his fellow leaders. Thus began the Modoc War, a war that involved the Modocs and the U.S. Army, as well as EuroAmerican citizens of the area. This war reached its apex when Captain Jack’s band withdrew to Lava Beds at the south end of Tule Lake (now Lava Beds National Monument) and held off a vastly numerically superior group of U.S. Army soldiers in January 1873 (Turner, 2002). With the defeat of the U.S. Army at Lava Beds, the U.S. Secretary of War proposed that the U.S. negotiate a settlement with the Modocs via a Peace Commission (Thompson, 1971). At the April 1873 Peace Commission meeting, the Modocs killed two of the commissioners, incensing the soldiers and the general public, some of whom had been sympathetic to the Modoc cause (Turner, 2002). The subsequent manhunt for the Modoc leaders resulted in more deaths on both sides before many of the Modocs surrendered (Thompson, 1971). Captain Jack finally surrendered in June 1873 (Murray, 1959). The U.S. Army ultimately hung him and three of his associates—Schonchin John, Boston Charley, and Black Jim—for killing the Peace Commissioners (Murray, 1959). The remaining 157 members of Captain Jack’s band were moved to the Quapaw Reservation in Oklahoma’s Indian Territory. Those that survived the disease and impoverishment of the Reservation were allowed to move back to the Klamath Basin in 1910 (Turner, 2002). By World War II, approximately 330 Modocs remained in northern California and southern Oregon (Stern, 1998).

Like the other, more northerly, relocation center sites, the Tule Lake Valley was outside the sphere of direct influence of the Spaniards and their successors, the Mexicans. The earliest EuroAmericans to travel through the area were explorers in search of furs. The first such explorer, Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, traveled through the area in late fall and early winter 1826. En route, he traded with the Modocs and Klamaths but was generally disappointed with the numbers of beaver seen and caught in the country (Davies, 1961). John C. Fremont mapped and named Rhatt Lake (now Tule Lake) in spring 1846 while on an intelligence gathering trip for the U.S. Army (Fremont, 1887). Lindsey Applegate and Jesse Scott, in 1846, pioneered a more direct route for settlers coming to the Oregon Territory than the traditional northern route. This route took them through the northern portion of the Tule Lake Basin (Haines, 1976). The U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, led by Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot, arrived in the Klamath Lakes area in August 1855 to survey possible routes for a railroad connecting San Francisco with the Columbia River. At that time, they noted that Tule Lake was about 14 miles long (north-south) and eight miles wide (Williamson and Abbot, 1855).

A group of 20 Czechoslovakian families from Moravia, Slovakia, and Bohemia emigrated to the northern Tule Lake Basin in fall 1909 by way of the Omaha, Nebraska area. In the northern Tule Lake Basin, they farmed after clearing and leveling the lands. They also played an instrumental role in settling Malin where, among other enterprises, they developed a cheese and produce facility. The name "Malin" was given the town by Alois Kalina, a Czechoslovakian immigrant who was reminded of an Eastern European town surrounded by a lush, fruit- and vegetable-filled landscape. To preserve their language and cultural traditions, the Czechs established a Bohemian school and Bohemian Hall. In July 1928, they even hosted the Grand Pacific Sokol Festival, a traditional competition of team calisthenics (Turner, 2002).

The first significant numbers of Japanese entering California did so through the port of San Francisco in the late 1860s. Once in northern California, they worked wherever laborers were sought including railroads, mines, smelters, meat packing plants, logging camps, lumber mills, general construction crews, fishing boats, farms, and canneries (Iwata, 1992). California's Japanese American population grew rapidly from 33 in 1870 to over 41,300 in 1910 (Figure 6.11) (U.S. Census Bureau, 1895; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1913a). In 1910, 30,000 California Japanese Americans were employed in agriculture. Over time, they increasingly became farm operators or were involved in marketing produce (Iwata, 1992). However, most of the Japanese and their associated agricultural activity was found south of Chico in the northern Sacramento River Valley portion of California's Central Valley. The total Japanese population of Modoc County, adjacent Lassen, Shasta, and Siskiyou counties in far northern California as well as Washoe County, Nevada, and Klamath and Lake counties, Oregon also increased but reached its cumulative peak of 230 in 1910 (Figure 6.11). By 1940, the Japanese population of this seven county area was only 85. Japanese were not present in Modoc County until 1910 with a peak county population of four in 1940 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1913a; 1943a).

Figure 6.11. Persons of Japanese descent in California, and in Modoc County, adjacent Lassen, Shasta, and Siskiyou counties, California, Washoe County, Nevada, and Klamath and Lake counties, Oregon, 1870-1950. Data from U.S. Census Bureau (1895, p. 442-443; 1901, p. 571-572); U.S. Bureau of the Census (1913a, p. 166; 1913b, p. 86, 511; 1922, 25, 615, 837; 1932a, p. 266; 1932b, p. 144, 630; 1943a, p. 567-568; 1943b, p. 753; 1943c, p. 1004; 1952a, p. 5-179; 1952b, p. 28-41; 1952c, p. 37-79).



Economic Geography. The pre-World War II economic geography of the Tule Lake Basin progressed from hunting, fishing, and gathering to agriculture, transportation, and tourism. All of the above activities, in one way or another, depended on water.

Hunting, fishing, and gathering were the primary subsistence strategies of the Modocs who lived on the lakes and rivers of the area. Fishing began in the March when they moved from their winter villages to traditional sites on area rivers and streams to fish suckers, collect roots of early plants such as desert parsley (*Lomatium* spp.), and collect freshwater clams (Ray, 1963; Stern, 1998). Following the end of the sucker run in May, the Modocs would move to sites where the epos (*Carum oreganum*) root crops were dug by the women and trout were fished by men. Waterfowl eggs were also gathered at this time. They would move again in late June or early July to moist meadows of montane forests where women dug camas (*Cammasia quamash*) bulbs and men would continue to fish and hunt waterfowl and various small game (Ray, 1963). The yellow pond lilly (*Nuphar polysepalum*) and its seeds were gathered in July as well (Stern, 1998).

By late July, the women had shifted to gathering white (or death) camas (*Zygadenus venenosus*), various other roots, and water-lily (*Nuphar polysepalum*) seeds while the men hunted antelope on the upland plains and mountain sheep in the lava beds. Seed collecting took the Modoc to all parts of their traditional territory. Lowland berries and fruits were gathered by the women in late August and September while the men harvested the second run of suckers. Deer and elk hunting, and huckleberry (*Vaccinium* spp.) gathering pulled the groups to higher elevations in late September. Hunting continued until deep snows arrived. All food beyond subsistence needs was smoked and/or dried for use in the lean winter months. These stored foods were supplemented with fishing and hunting throughout the winter as food needs dictated. The Modocs also obtained fish through trade with the Klamaths (Ray, 1963).

Agriculture began in the Tule Lake Basin with the influx of emigrants in the 1840s and grew rapidly following the removal of the Modocs in 1873. Agricultural development was spurred by the growth of Klamath Falls and subsequent wagon, railroad, and automobile traffic. By the late 1870s and 1880s, high quality cattle were being raised on Carr Land and Livestock Company lands in the Tule Lake Basin. In fact, Durham bulls of this herd were confined to The Peninsula in Tule Lake (Turner, 2002). The first attempts at irrigated agriculture using Lost River waters occurred in the Langell Valley upstream of the Tule Lake Basin in 1868 (Turner, 1988) (Figure 6.3). Early irrigated agriculture efforts along the lower Lost River was impeded by the lack of river and floodplain gradient, and by nearby impassable ridges. Recognizing the difficulties of irrigating with Lost River water, the Van Brimmer Canal was completed in 1886 and carried water from White Lake and Lower Klamath Lake to farmlands west and south of the Lost River (Figure 6.3) (Clark and Miller, 1999; Turner, 2002). Soon after, a flume system was constructed to take water from the Van Brimmer Canal to the east side of the Lost River Valley. Later efforts succeeded in strengthening the connection between White Lake and Lower Klamath Lake in an effort to provide more irrigation water to the lower Lost River Valley. By 1904, the Little Klamath Irrigation Ditch Company had an agreement to provide water for more than 10,000 acres in the Tule Lake Basin (Turner, 2002).

The U.S. Government's interest in Tule Lake Basin irrigation came about following the passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act in 1902. By early 1905, the newly formed U.S. Reclamation Service had convinced the states of California and Oregon to cede their water rights from Lower Klamath Lake and Tule Lake to the U.S. Government for the development of a reclamation project (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, 2000). The first steps toward the completion of a federal reclamation project in the Tule Lake Basin were the construction of the "A", "B", and "C" canals linking Upper Klamath Lake and the Link River with the lower Lost River Valley by 1909 thus providing water for irrigation (Figure 6.3) (Turner, 2002). The Lost River Diversion Channel was constructed in 1912 to divert much of the river's flow to the Klamath River. The intended result of this was to dry up Tule Lake thus making the lake bed available for irrigated agriculture (Strantz, 1953; U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, 2000). By 1923, the lake area had been reduced to about 2% of its 1907 98,600 acre area (Turner, 2002).

Clear Lake Dam on the upper Lost River and Gerber Dam on Miller Creek (a tributary to the Lost River), both completed in the first decades of the 20th century, tamed the floods of the watershed further preventing Lost River waters from entering the Tule Lake Basin (U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, 2000). The U.S. Reclamation Service purchased the Little Klamath Irrigation Ditch Company in preparation for large scale irrigated agriculture in the basin). However, the privately-held Van Brimmer Ditch Company continued to operate because it had a vested water right. In its continuing operation, it diverted its water from the Klamath Project waters beginning in 1910 (Clark and Miller, 1999). The timing of the Reclamation Service's buyouts was fortuitous as the waters from Lower Klamath Lake were sufficiently alkaline to have caused salinization issues on the Tule Lake Basin lands (Turner, 2002). The first irrigable Tule Lake Basin lands opened for settlement occurred in 1922 with subsequent land openings in 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1937, and 1940 (Strantz, 1953).

Because the Tule Lake basin has been the evaporative sump for the Lost River until relatively recent historical times, salts had built up in its soils. Agriculture, therefore, had to adjust by leaching salts from the soil upper horizons, and by growing somewhat salt-tolerant crops (Oregon State Water Resources Board, 1971). Over time, potatoes and barley, as well as alsike clover, sugar beets, and alfalfa, were the primary crops grown in the basin. Potatoes grown on Klamath Project lands were used for human consumption while barley was grown for breweries as well as cattle feed. Approximately one-half of the alfalfa raised there was fed to local livestock while the rest was shipped to western Oregon dairies. Alsike clover was grown as a seed crop, and as an excellent rotation with potatoes and barley (Strantz, 1953; Pease, 1965). As of 1940, farmers leased lands in the southeastern portion of the Tule Lake Basin from the U.S. Government and grew dryland barley (Pease, 1965). The sheltered and fertile lands bordering The Peninsula on the west side of Copic Bay grew lush crops of fruit and vegetables (Figure 6.5) (Turner, 2002).

Problems arose in the 1930s when 37,000 acres of the basin floor set aside for excess irrigation waters to collect and ultimately evaporate was filling with water and impinging on U.S. Government lands leased to farmers. At the same time, U.S. Fish and Wildlife officials were concerned that insufficient water was available in this "sump", causing a botulism problem in migratory waterfowl. To solve these problems, the sump was reduced by over 50%, allowing more area for leased farming, and more fresh water was moved through the system by pumping from the sump into a tunnel through Sheepy Ridge into Lower Klamath Lake (Turner, 1988).

The Tule Lake Basin has played a significant role in the region's transportation patterns for at least the past 150 years. Topography and water guided emigrants northwestward across the basin from Bloody Point to the Natural Bridge of the Lost River as they headed toward the Willamette Valley. Further, argonauts from the Willamette Valley passed southward through the Tule Lake Basin on the "California-Oregon Trail" en route to the goldfields east of Sacramento beginning in 1848 (Pease, 1965; Turner, 2002). Over time, the importance of various routes through the basin have waxed and waned. In 1867, the east-west route became known as the Yreka-Surprise Valley Road while the north-south route was not shown on a map. By 1880, the east-west route was subordinate to the north-south route, and by 1912, the east-west route was no longer shown

(Pease, 1965). Railroads entered the basin by the late 1920s when the Southern Pacific Railroad built to the northwest to connect Alturas with Klamath Falls (Figure 6.3). By 1931, the Western Pacific completed a connection from its transcontinental line in California's Feather River Canyon northward to link with the Great Northern Railroad at Klamath Falls (Pease, 1965; Turner, 2002). Among other things, these railroads transported raw logs from the forested highlands to the south through the basin en route to Klamath Falls mills. However, neither of these railroads transported passengers through the basin as of 1940; instead, a gravel and subsequently paved road was built parallel to the Southern Pacific Railroad line from Alturas and Canby to Klamath Falls via the Tule Lake Basin (Pease, 1965; Turner, 2002) (Figure 6.3).

Tourism played a modest role in the pre-World War II economic geography of the Tule Lake Basin. Tour boats traveled the waters of Tule Lake beginning near the turn of the century. After its establishment in 1925, tourists visited Lava Beds National Monument to explore the lava tubes and cinder cones of the area. The aura of the area was magnified by the fact that the lava beds were the place that Captain Jack's band held off the U.S. Army (Works Progress Administration, 1939; Turner, 2002). The Tule Lake Wildlife Refuge was established in 1928 to help replace the migratory waterfowl habitat lost when Lower Klamath Lake was drained. It was more than tripled in size to 37,000 acres in 1936 (Foster, 2002).

Three small communities developed in the Tule Lake Valley –Merrill (officially incorporated in 1903), Malin (officially incorporated in 1922), Tulelake (officially incorporated in 1937) (Turner, 2002) (Figure 6.3). Unfortunately, the American Guide Series book on California (Works Progress Administration, 1939) did not include these towns in its routes around California, and no town census data is available for the period just prior to the World War II.

Why this Location?

Upon being asked by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to identify potential sites for a Japanese American relocation center, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation nominated a 1,100 acre site on the northeastern side of The Peninsula in the southeastern Tule Lake Basin (Figure 6.3). They further identified 3,575 acres for the center's agricultural programs (Turner, 2002). The Peninsula site was likely chosen because of the available federal lands and irrigation water, high agricultural potential, proximity to a railroad, and distance from sites of military significance (Jacoby, 1996). Soon after news of the Army's decision to locate a relocation center at Tule Lake leaked out, the residents of the various communities of the Tule Lake Basin protested to various government officials, voicing racial and economic concerns. The U.S. Secretary of War provided assurances that local residents would be protected from the Japanese Americans by military police and that the center would be abandoned at the end of war with center lands reverting to their former status (Turner, 2002).

Building Tule Lake

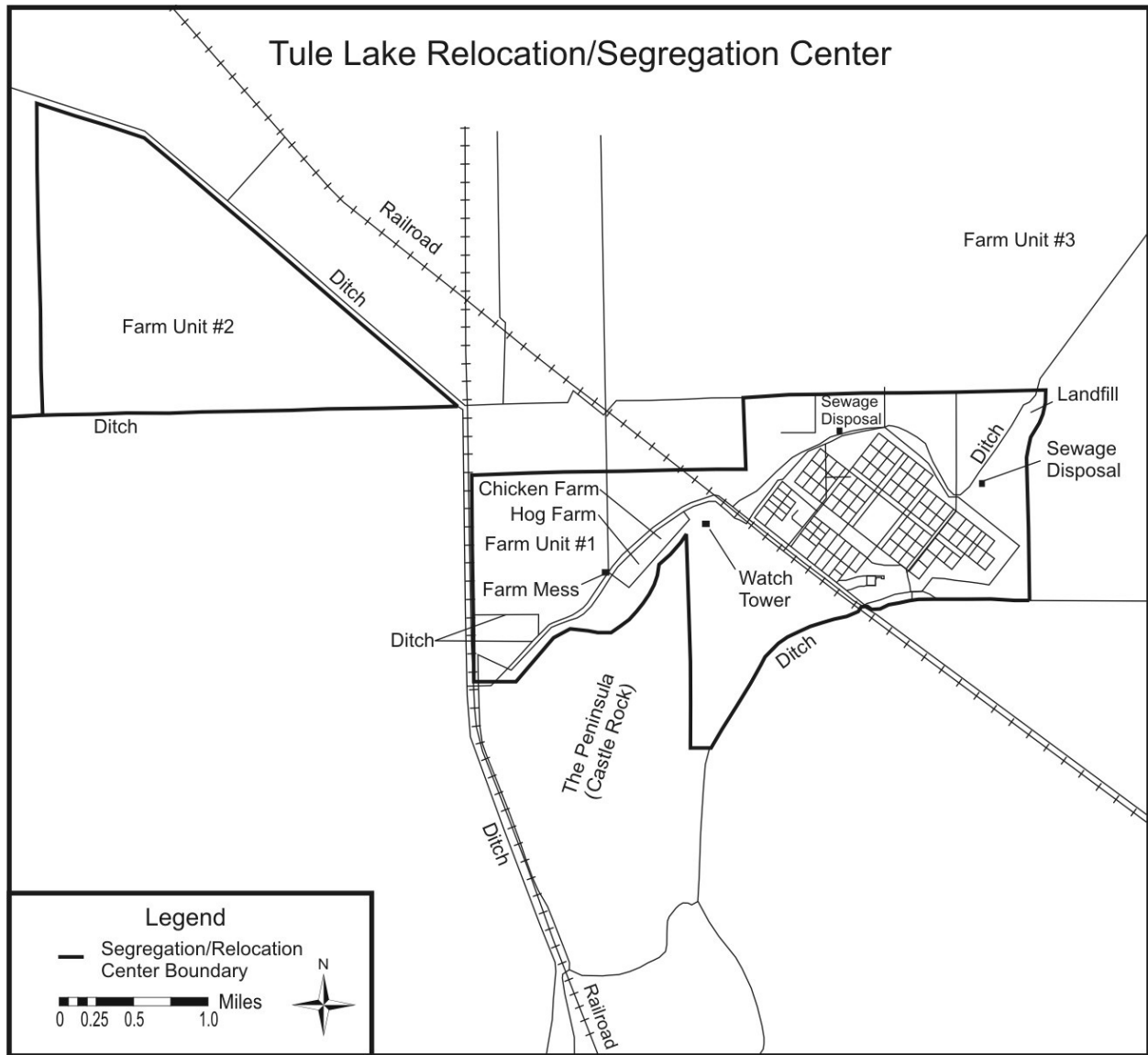
The Fort J. Twaits and the Morrison-Knudsen companies were awarded the general contract to

construct the Tule Lake Relocation Center in mid-April 1942. Initially, it was to be built near the southern end of The Peninsula in Copic Bay (Figure 6.5). However, poor drainage conditions in the site's low-lying soils forced the companies to move to the northeastern side of The Peninsula. There, the well-drained land classified by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation as "cheap pasture" was actually part of a porous cusped spit/baymouth barrier trending off the end of The Peninsula. One month later, on 24 May, the center was deemed essentially complete, and included over 1,000 buildings. At its peak construction, 3,000 men had been involved in the effort. The War Relocation Authority and the Bureau of Reclamation named the site "Newell" in honor of Frederick Newell, the first director of the U.S. Reclamation Service. Newell also became the official U.S. Post Service designation for the site (Turner, 2002).

The main portion of the center was aligned at an angle of about 310° along the Central Pacific Railroad and California State Highway 139 (Figure 6.12). It consisted of a military police compound, administration area and hospital, warehouse and industrial areas, and the evacuee residential area. The evacuee residential area was separated from the other areas by a 400 foot-wide fire break. Roads throughout the main developed area were paved or graveled with red cinders. Roads oriented northwest were numbered streets while the perpendicular roads were generally numbered avenues. When Tule Lake became a segregation center in fall 1943 (see below), a six foot high, lighted, barbed wire-topped, "man-proof" fence was constructed around the entire evacuee residential area. This fence was punctuated by 19 guard towers. A lower warning fence was constructed around the perimeter within this fence. A stockade, surrounded by a fence and watch towers, added to the penitentiary-feel of the center (Burton et al., 2002).

Eight "wards" existed in the evacuee residential portion of Tule Lake with most composed of nine residential blocks. The wards were separated by 200 foot-wide firebreaks. Each of the early constructed evacuee residential blocks consisted of 13 barracks, one mess hall, two latrine-shower buildings, one laundry building, one ironing building, and one community services (i.e., recreation) building (Figures 6.13 & 6.14). An additional women's latrine-shower building was subsequently added to each of these blocks. Twenty-six later-constructed blocks each had a combination men's and women's latrine-shower building and combination laundry-ironing building. At its maximum, Tule Lake had 66 residential blocks with each block serving approximately 275 evacuees (Jacoby, 1996; Burton et al., 2002). Each 20 feet x 100 feet barracks consisted of four to six single-room apartments (Sakoda, 1943). The barracks were wood-framed, sheathed with one-inch thick boards, and covered with black tarpaper. Based on U.S. Army Corps of Engineers employee's observations on a warm spring 1942 day, barracks were not initially slated for insulation (Burton et al., 2002). After someone pointed out that winters were indeed cold at Tule Lake, a crew set about lining each of the evacuee barracks with gypsum board (Jacoby, 1996). The WRA provided each evacuee with a U.S. Army cot, a straw-filled mattress, and wool U.S. Army blankets. Each apartment was also furnished with a single light bulb suspended from the ceiling and an coal heating stove (Turner, 2002). All other furniture was constructed or purchased by evacuees. Evacuees used scrap lumber from the

Figure 6.12. Overall map of the Tule Lake Relocation Center. Adapted from Burton et al. (2002, p. 281).



center's construction to build furniture as well as add partitions to the interiors of the barracks and to construct porches at their entryways. As a comparison, staff housing at Tule Lake was sheathed in ship-lap siding, and had indoor plumbing, oil burning circulating heaters, kitchens, and store-bought furniture (Jacoby, 1996).

Domestic water for the center came from seven wells, was treated, and stored in three separate, elevated storage tanks, two of which took advantage of The Peninsula's topography. Two sewage treatment plants took care of the center's waste (Burton et al., 2002). Irrigation water for the center's farms came from the Klamath Project irrigation system.

Figure 6.13. Detailed map of main part of Tule Lake Relocation Center. Adapted from Burton et al. (2002, p. 288).



Figure 6.14. High-oblique airphoto of main portion of the Tule Lake Relocation Center. Note the evacuee residential area on the center and left portions of the photograph. North is in lower left corner of the photograph. U.S. Army Signal Corps photograph, July 1945. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, Part II: Internment in Relocation Centers, 1942-1944. Section 5: War Relocation Authority–Relocation Centers. Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



Origins of the Evacuees

Tule Lake's initial (i.e., pre-segregation) evacuees came primarily from California's Sacramento (4,984), Placer (1,807), Yuba (476), Los Angeles (396), San Joaquin (379), Yolo (334), Alameda (320), San Francisco (236), Santa Clara (234), Butte (195), and Monterey (127) counties (Figure 6.15). Another 25 California counties contributed 374 evacuees. Other evacuees came from Washington, Oregon, and Alaska. Washington evacuees came primarily from King (2,703), Pierce (946), Clark (115), and Cowlitz (111) counties, while another 460 came from 16 other counties. Oregon's evacuees came from Hood River (425), Multnomah (312), Marion (175), and

13 other counties (226). Alaska and other states outside the evacuated area contributed another 11 evacuees (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946).

Evacuees transferred from the Sacramento (4,676), Pinedale (4,012), Marysville (2,453), Portland (350), Puyallup (289), Salinas (112), and to a lesser extent, Fresno, Merced, Pomona, Santa Anita, Stockton, Tanforan, Tulare, and Turlock assembly centers (Figure 6.15) (U.S. Army–Western Defense Command, 1943). Included among the Pinedale Assembly Center was the entire Japanese American community of Bellevue, Washington (Neiwert, 2005). Additionally, a significant number of evacuees came directly to Tule Lake from their homes in California’s southern San Joaquin Valley and from “a rural area” south of Seattle, Washington” (Jacoby, 1996; Burton et al., 2002). Urban and rural evacuees were approximately equal in numbers at the center (Japanese American National Museum, n.d).

The first evacuees arrived at Tule Lake on 27 May 1942 from the Portland and Puyallup assembly centers as volunteers to help prepare the center for the remainder of the evacuees (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946). These, like most other evacuees, arrived at the center by train (Jacoby, 1996). With a maximum population of 18,789 reached on Christmas Day 1944, Tule Lake was largest of the ten relocation centers, and was the largest California city north of Sacramento at its peak population (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946).

Interaction of Evacuees with North Central California’s Environments

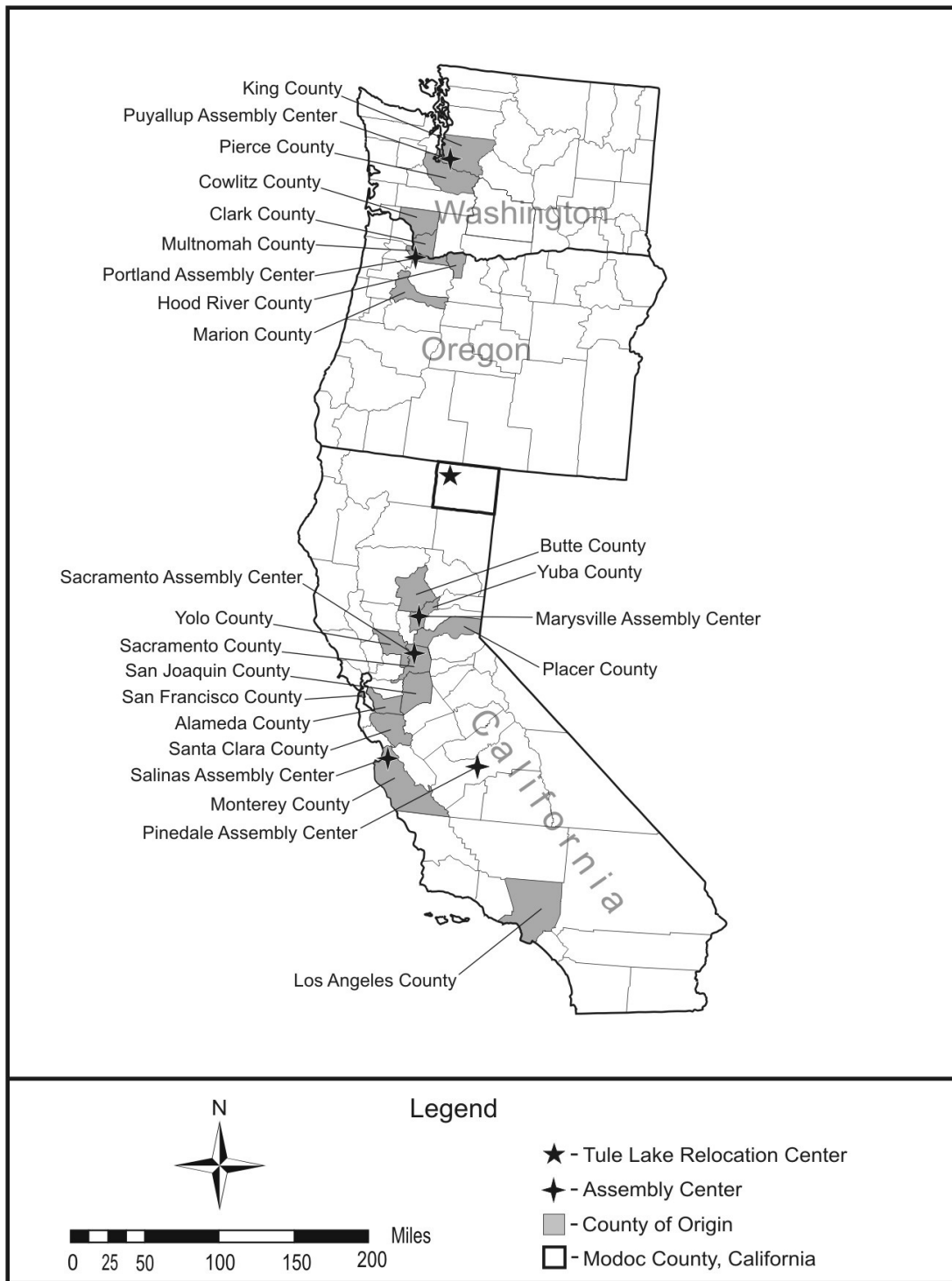
Physical Environment. Of all of the eight western relocation centers, the climate of Tule Lake may have been the most pleasant. It does not appear to have had the extremes that characterized many of the other centers. However, the Tule Lake Basin climate was still very different from the interior lowlands of California and coastal Washington and Oregon, from which most of the evacuees came. It was hot and dry in the summer, and cold and wet in the winter. As a result, summers were dusty and winters were muddy (King, 1973). The most frequent comments about the physical environment of Tule Lake were the windy and dusty conditions that evacuees encountered there.

One evacuee described the environment as:

...Dust. Dust. The weather of Tule Lake, as unpredictable as a woman in a millinery shop. Snow in May, Indian Summer in November—but all the year round, wind, wind, and more wind. Wind gentle as a baby’s breath; strong enough to rattle the windows; wild enough to shriek between the telephone wires—whirling dust and papers like a miniature tornado—sending fine dust particles seeping through the windows; blanketing furniture and floor with a coating of white. Dust. Dust. Dust.

Morimitsu (1943, p. 56)

Figure 6.15. The Western United States origins of Japanese Americans evacuated to the Tule Lake Relocation Center beginning in May 1942. Data from U.S. Army–Western Defense Command, (1943, p. 381, 383) and U.S. War Relocation Authority (1946, p. 61-66).



An evacuee further tells of a Tule Lake duststorm:

Today is no day for anyone to be outside. The sky is black and overcast. The wind is relentlessly blowing and churning up the loose ground and no nook or crevice is immune to the ubiquitous dust. I came home from work and found the room gritty and filthy with grime. Powdery white dust had sifted through the edges of windows and settled on the bed, the shelves, the books, and all the clothings hung on nails. The dust disgusts and sickens me inside. One sleeps and eats with dust. No one acts human in a duststorm. Like animals, all evacuees seek shelter and all activities come to a standstill. Human rationalization is blotted out and all minds are assailed with rancor and hatred. Its only fortunate that these duststorms are sporadic and are usually accompanied by refreshing rainfalls. The ground hardens and evacuees return to normal routine.

Staff (27 May 1943, p. 103-104)

Cold was another issue to be dealt with at the center. The barracks were “insulated” only with gypsum board, and were heated with coal stoves (Jacoby, 1996). Gypsum board was installed in all of the barracks by the end of October 1942 (Staff, 22 October 1942). The original sheet metal stoves burned out with the heavy use of coal in the center and were replaced with cast iron stoves but not before a large percentage of the population was inconvenienced by this oversight (Jacoby, 1996). Residents piled soil around the base of the barracks to block airflow and keep them warmer in the winter months (Staff, 1 June 1944). Fortunately, winter average monthly temperatures during the operation of the center were generally similar to the 1931-1960 averages (Western Regional Climate Data Center, n.d.a).

Most summer monthly temperatures during the 1942-1945 period were several °F warmer than the long-term average (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). However, based on its lack of mention in center newspaper, extreme summer heat does not appear to have been an issue for evacuees at Tule Lake.

Tule Lake experienced overall slightly wetter conditions than normal during its approximately five years in existence. However, precipitation showed tremendous variability even during this brief period with a approximately 13 inches of precipitation in 1945 and only 8 inches in 1946 (Western Regional Climate Data Center, n.d.a). Muddy conditions typically followed precipitation in the center (Figure 6.16). Snowfall during the center’s existence was quite variable ranging from nearly 35 inches in 1943 to approximately 14 inches in 1945 (Western Regional Climate Center, n.d.a). In the days immediately following heavy snowfalls, The Peninsula (known to evacuees as “Castle Rock”) became a sledder’s paradise prior to the center becoming a high security segregation center (Figure 6.17) (Morimitsu, 1943).

Agriculture. The basic goals of the Tule Lake agricultural program were to grow crops and animals that would feed the evacuees of the center as well as those at other relocation centers. surpluses beyond these needs would be sold on the open market. Additionally, the agricultural

Figure 6.16. Muddy conditions on the Tule Lake streets following snowmelt. Francis Stewart photograph, February 1943. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 30, Section D, WRA # B-174, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



program was intended to provide meaningful employment for evacuees (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1943; Jarrett, 1946). The pragmatic nature of the program was perhaps best stated by E.L. Utz, the WRA Chief of Agricultural Production, to technical staff at Tule Lake: “W.R.A. is not a research agency. What we are interested in is good production at reasonable cost” (Staff, 20 August 1942).

Figure 6.17. Tule Lake evacuees pull sleds up the slopes of Castle Rock (i.e., The Peninsula) amid fresh snow. Francis Stewart photograph, January 1943. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 29, Section D, WRA # A-978, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



The agricultural program was ideally suited to do this with fine soils available for farming as well as ample water, level lands, a decent growing climate, and significant numbers of rural, agriculture-oriented evacuees (Staff, 24 June 1942a). A 4-H program was established to involve children in agriculture, acreage was set aside for high school vocational agriculture students, and adult education courses were taught to those with little experience in farming (Staff, 4 July 1942; 7 July 1942; Jarrett, 1946). A staff composed of agronomists, botanists, entomologists, plant pathologists, and soil scientists was established to provide technical assistance to the farm program (Staff, 21 July 1942).

It was expected that the relocation center agricultural program would develop irrigation and drainage systems parallel to the plans of the U.S. Reclamation Service, and that additional lands would be reclaimed from the former lakebed (Staff, 17 August 1942; Cates, 1980). However, various personnel, equipment, and supply realities forced the WRA to scale back its agricultural

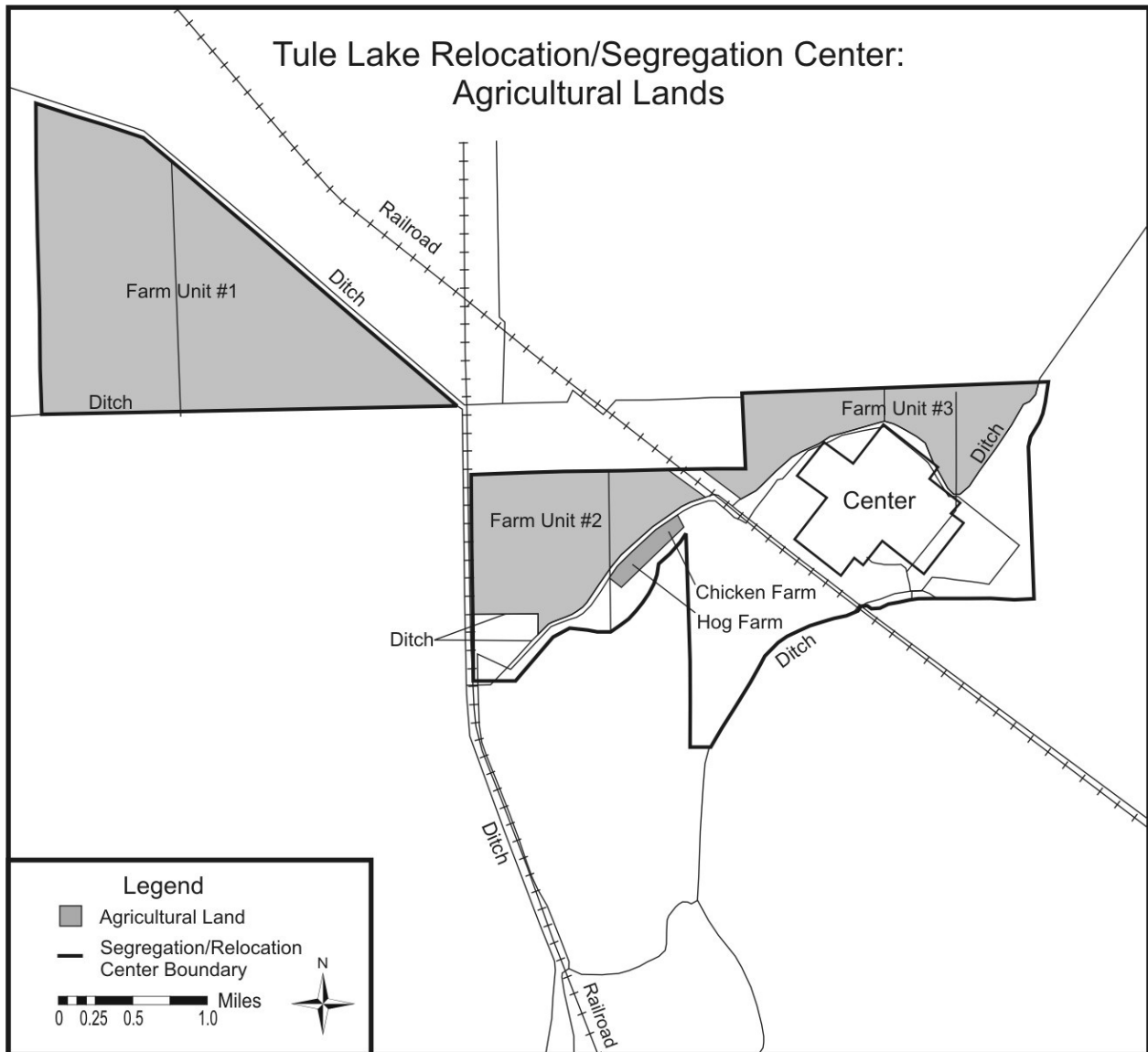
plans early in the center's life and only limited Bureau of Reclamation-approved improvements were completed (Hayden, 1942). Ultimately, three agricultural areas were developed (Figure 6.18). Unit #1 (also known as the League of Nations tract because of the various nationalities of farmers working the land prior to the relocation center establishment), located about six miles northwest of the main part of the center, consisted of 2,300 acres that was farmed in 1942 and 1943. Unit #2 consisted of approximately 700 acres just north and west of the main part of the center. The 475 acres of Unit #3 lay north and east of the main part of the center (Jarrett, 1946). Following segregation in fall 1943, each farm was surrounded by a security fence, an inner warning fence, and 16 guard towers (Burton et al., 2002).

The Tule Lake agricultural program consisted of crops grown for direct human consumption, livestock, and the feed crops for livestock. The Tule Lake farm program began in spring 1942 and continued through 1945 (Jarrett, 1946). Twenty-nine different types of produce were grown on a total of 3,579 acres over four growing seasons (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). These included traditional cool weather root crops like potatoes, onions, carrots, and rutabagas. Warm weather vegetables such as tomatoes, cucumbers, and celery were not successfully grown until the 1945 growing season (Staff, 7 September 1945). Traditional Japanese vegetables grown on center farmland included daikon, gobo, and nappa. Peak production occurred in 1943. Total produce production peaked in 1943 at over 10,000,000 pounds. Produce was stored and preserved for subsequent center consumption or shipment to other centers in a variety of manners including packing houses, grain elevators, above- and below-ground root cellars, and a pickling plant (Staff, 4 September 1942; 4 November 1942; 9 January 1943; 13 January 1943; 26 July 1943). Additionally, the laundry/ironing buildings within the blocks were often used for the fermentation of vegetables to make the traditional Japanese *tsukemono*, a sauerkraut-like food (Jacoby, 1996). While firm tonnages are not available, excess produce was shipped to other centers beginning in fall 1942 and continued through at least 1943. These farm produce successes occurred despite a generally short growing season and persistent labor shortages at Tule Lake (Jarrett, 1946).

Five different feed crops were grown for center livestock on a total of 4,096 acres over four growing seasons (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Among these feed crops were four different types of grain as well as alfalfa. As opposed to produce, peak feed crop production occurred in 1945 when grain and alfalfa were sold on the open market as well as used in the center (Jarrett, 1946).

The livestock operation was located in Unit #2 and consisted of hog, chicken, and turkey farms (Tables 6.1 and 6.3). Hogs were raised primarily on center garbage (Figure 6.19). The first hogs were slaughtered in November 1942 and the last in early January 1946 with an average of 50 per week during most of each of those years. A total of 1.5 million pounds of dressed pork was produced by the center hog farms during 1942-1946 despite facility and cultural issues (Table 6.3). A slaughterhouse was completed by August 1943 but refrigeration facilities were not in place until August 1944. Even with facilities in place, slaughterhouse workers were hard to obtain because of their low standing in Japanese society (Jarrett, 1946). Over 1,600 chickens were butchered and over 29,000 dozen eggs were collected during the operation of the chicken

Figure 6.18. Agricultural lands of the Tule Lake Relocation Center. Adapted from Burton et al. (2002, p. 295).



farm from 1942-1944 (Table 6.3). Chickens were primarily fed to center hospital patients. The chicken operation was beset by problems including a fire that killed 6,000 birds and destroyed much of a brooder house, high mortality rates from inadequate facilities, and labor shortages. Turkeys were successfully raised in 1943 prior to the major November center conflict (see below) (Jarrett, 1946).

Business and Industry. The Tule Lake Relocation Center included a wide variety of Consumer Cooperative businesses located in recreation buildings of the center's blocks. These businesses

Table 6.1. Produce, feed crops, and livestock raised at the Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center, 1942-1945. Data from Jarrett (1946).

Produce	Produce (cont.)	Feed Crops	Livestock
beans	onions (dry)	alfalfa	Chickens
beets	onions (green)	barley	Hogs
broccoli	parsnips	corn (field)	Turkeys
cabbage	peas	oats	
carrots	potatoes	rye	
cauliflower	pumpkin		
celery	radish		
cucumbers	rutabagas		
daikon	shingiku		
endive	spinach		
garlic	squash		
gobo	Swiss chard		
lettuce	tomatoes		
mustard greens	turnips		
nappa			

included general stores, canteens, beauty parlor, barber shop, radio repair shop, shoe repair shop, and bank. Additionally, a fish store was located in one of the firebreaks (Jacoby, 1996; Burton et al., 2002). Evacuees also shopped via mail order catalogs (Sakoda, 1943).

Tule Lake initially included three types of industry, two of which were aimed at food. A bakery and a tofu factory as well as a furniture factory were present in the warehouse area (Burton et al., 2002).

Landscaping and Gardening. Unlike many of the other relocation centers, little mention is made of gardens and landscaping at Tule Lake. It is not clear why this is the case; however, available water may have been an issue. From the center's inception, the well-based, domestic water

Table 6.2. Produce and feed crops raised at Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center, 1942-1945. Data from Jarrett (1946).

	1942	1943	1944	1945	<i>Total</i>
Produce					
Total Acres Harvested	1,425	1,300	400	454	3,579
Total Production (lbs)	9,116,841	10,022,679	4,628,464	6,136,524	29,904,508
Consumed at Center (lbs)	?	?	?	?	?
Shipped to Centers (lbs)	?	?	?	?	?
Sold on Market (lbs)	?	?	?	1,500,000	1,500,000
Shrinkage & spoilage	?	?	?	?	?
Market Value (\$)	?	?	?	\$202,505	\$1,046,660
Feed Crops					
Total Acres Harvested	850	1,802	850	594	4,096
Total Production (lbs)	?	998,584	1,534,465	2,239,350	4,772,399
Fed at Center (lbs)	?	?	?	?	?
Shipped to Centers	?	?	?	?	?
Market Value (\$)	?	?	?	?	\$74,076
Market Value (\$)	?	?	?	?	\$74,076

supply was used for not only human consumption and other domestic purposes, but also for main area gardens and lawns. As a result, domestic water shortages plagued the center from July 1942 until mid-May 1945 (Staff, 24 July, 1942; 4 May 1945). A main area irrigation system was initiated in mid-July 1944 but not completed until June 1945 helped alleviate this problem by taking water from a canal and dispersing it downslope through each of the wards (Staff, 13 July 1944; Staff, 1 June 1945).

Tule Lake's gardens often relied on the gathering of natural materials. However, evacuees sometimes used human-made materials such as oil barrels to serve as ponds (King, 1973). One local commented that the Japanese "raised the most beautiful gardens that we have ever seen here; they raised things that have never been raised since they left" (Ager, 1973). Beautification

Table 6.3. Livestock raised at Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center, 1942-1945. Data from Jarrett (1946).

	1942	1943	1944	1945	<i>Total</i>
Chickens	?	?	0	0	?
Total Number Butchered	?	?	0	0	<i>1,654</i>
Meat Dressed Weight (lbs)	?	?	0	0	<i>4,962</i>
Market Value (\$)	?	?	0	0	?
Eggs (dozen)	?	?	0	0	<i>29,595</i>
Market Value (\$)	?	?	0	0	?
Hogs					
Total Butchered	?	?	?	?	?
Dressed Weight (lbs)	?	?	?	619,953	<i>1,500,000</i>
Market Value (\$)	?	?	?	\$153,870	<i>>\$153,870</i>
Total Sold	?	?	?	381	<i>>381</i>
Dressed Weight (lbs)	?	?	?	34,126	<i>>34,126</i>
Market Value (\$)	?	?	?	\$6,826	<i>>\$6,826</i>
Dressed Weight (lbs)	?	?	?	?	?
Market Value (\$)	?	?	?	?	?
Turkeys					
Total Butchered	0	?	0	0	?
Dressed Weight (lbs)	0	9,595	0	0	<i>9,595</i>
Market Value (\$)	0	\$3,112	0	0	<i>\$3,112</i>

was also enhanced by center Boy Scouts who planted 10,000 trees within the center beginning in April 1943 and over 12,000 bare-root shrubs sent by Washington State University (Staff, 11 July 1942; Staff, 9 April 1943). Evacuees also enhanced the looks of the center by modifying their barracks with entryways and awnings (Figure 6.20).

Figure 6.19. Feeding hogs mess hall garbage, Tule Lake Relocation Center. Francis Stewart photograph, November 1942. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 28, Section D, WRA # A-473, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



Education. Education in the center occurred at the nursery, K-12, and adult levels. Eight nursery schools operated in the center in fall 1942, serving children from 18 months to 4 years in age (Jacoby, 1996). The K-12 school system at Tule Lake was based on a progressive “community schools” curriculum developed by Stanford University’s School of Education (James, 1987). The Tule Lake school system, like those at other relocation centers, suffered, at least initially, from available classroom space, textbooks, and equipment (Kanda, 1984). Classes were first held in barracks within the blocks. Until classroom furniture was constructed evacuee students sat on the floor and wrote on cracked benches (James, 1987; Jacoby, 1996). An absence of teaching materials and teacher attrition also plagued the schools (James, 1987). For example, students in a typing class never had access to a typewriter so instead used paper keyboards

Figure 6.20. View down a Tule Lake street showing entryway modifications evacuees made to barracks. Francis Stewart photograph, November 1942. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 28, Section D, WRA # A-462, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



(Commission of Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1982). A formal high school building was not completed until February 1944. It included four classroom buildings connected by covered walkways, a science and crafts building, a shop building, a library, an auditorium/gymnasium, and an administration building (Burton et al., 2002). K-12 courses were taught by Caucasian teachers and assisted by evacuees who typically did not have teaching education background or teaching experience because of pre-war prejudice against Japanese teachers (Jacoby, 1996). Teacher and assistant turnover was a huge issue because of center instability (see below). Out of a peak staff of about 200, 313 teachers quit their jobs between February and September 1943. During the same period, 197 new teachers were hired (James, 1987). Classes ground to a halt several times—once when several hundred high school students were taken out of school for two weeks to help harvest the potato crop in fall 1942 and again when teachers staffed the registration tables for the “loyalty questionnaire” (Appendix C) in February 1943.

With the development of Tule Lake as a segregation center beginning in fall 1943, education in the center changed dramatically. No public school was held from summer 1943 until January 1944 because of a succession of crises and the subsequent declaration of martial law. As a form of protest against the U.S. Government, evacuees developed private schools as complements to, or replacements for, the center's public schools (James, 1987). Students in the Japanese language schools were educated on a variety of subjects in Japanese ways of learning and via Japanese language (Takeshita, 1984). When the public schools reopened in January 1944, they had only 68% of their pre-segregation enrollment. By fall 1944, public school enrollment at Tule Lake stood at about 2,300 students, about 50% of what it was in fall 1942 while, at the same time, private Japanese language schools enrolled about 4,300 students (James, 1987). Reflective of the above problems, the Tule Lake center schools never received accreditation from the State of California (Myer, 1971).

Elementary school-age children of Caucasian staff attended a separate school near the staff housing area. High school age children of staff attended Tulelake High School (Burton et al., 2002; Turner, 2002).

Adult education courses ranged from English to flower arranging to woodworking. By August 1942, 35 adult education courses were offered in the center (Jacoby, 1996). Over 880 evacuees enrolled in woodworking classes alone in August 1942 as a way build or learn to build various furniture items for evacuee apartments (Staff, 18 August 1942).

Recreation. The center's recreation program focused on the recreation buildings in each of the residential blocks as well as the outside open spaces throughout the center and, later, the gymnasium/auditorium. The program included a variety of athletic events including touch football, basketball, baseball, and track and field (Otani, 1943; Jacoby, 1996). To some, basketball was the center favorite while others saw baseball as more popular (Otani, 1943; Jacoby, 1996). Baseball was sufficiently popular that the center newspaper, the *Newell Star*, published a 74 page "book" on the 1944 center baseball season (Staff, 31 December 1944). Other sports mentioned in various editions of the center newspapers included boxing, volleyball, weight lifting, tennis, and table tennis. *The Daily Tulean Dispatch* and later, *The Newell Star*, typically dedicated at least an entire page of each issue to center sports. Local baseball, basketball, football, wrestling, track and field, and volleyball teams all show up in these issues.

Other popular recreational activities included variety shows, programs centered around the observance of holidays, dances, and board games (Figure 6.21) (Jacoby, 1996). Scouting activities and movies also show up frequently in the pages of the center newspapers. Less organized but nonetheless popular activities included hiking, kite flying, ice skating, and sledding. Hiking was a favored activity on Castle Rock adjacent to center. On one organized hiking trip, some 2,000 evacuees ascended the hill (Staff, 22 September 1942). Kite fliers took advantage of the winds of the area (Staff, 6 August 1942). With the cold and snow of winter

Figure 6.21. Farm foremen posed in front of the Labor Day Parade prize winning float, Tule Lake Relocation Center. Francis Stewart photograph, September 1942. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 33, Section D, WRA # D-227, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



came opportunities to ice skate on artificial rinks within the blocks and sled on Castle Rock (Figure 6.17) (Staff, 12 January 1943; Morimitsu, 1943).

Tule Lake also had several libraries to serve the reading needs of the evacuees. Libraries were typically formed on book and magazine donations from individuals and churches (Staff, 24 June 1942b). The California State Library system also made much of its collection available for loan to Tule Lake evacuees (Staff, 10 August 1942).

Culture and Art. The arts appear to have flourished at Tule Lake, partly because the evacuees had time to spend on them and partly because art, and its resulting beauty, had always been a part of Japanese culture. Japanese culture, in turn, flourished at Tule Lake as at no other center, likely because segregation congregated those most “Japanese” in their beliefs (see below).

Artificial flowers were made from the ample mollusc shells left by Tule Lake prior to human diversion of the Lost River waters into the Klamath Basin (Eaton, 1952). Mollusc shells were also used for jewelry, pictures, and small household decorations (King, 1973). Classes in flower arrangement were taught to overflow crowds. To meet the material needs of the classes, four “Procurement Clerks” left the center each day to scour the surrounding environment for flower arranging materials such as cattails, tules, willows, wild plums, and sagebrush. When the local resources were depleted, they were able to travel to the Modoc National Forest to obtain cedar, mahogany, and pine greens (Eaton, 1952).

A small tea room was constructed within one of the Tule Lake barracks to teach the tea ceremony (Eaton, 1952). Japanese folklore was also very popular at Tule Lake (Okihiro, 1984). Traditional foods such as *mochi* (i.e., sticky rice pounded and molded into balls) and *tsukemono* were served at the center on special occasions (Staff, 27 May 1943; Staff, 9 January 1943). A Japanese language library included periodicals and books. Another library was established for books received from Japan via Red Cross shipments (Staff, 3 February 1943; 18 January 1945). Japanese language versions of the center newspapers began in September 1942 and continued until February 1946. Traditional Japanese athletic activities included *sumo* and *judo*. Sumo tournaments, complete with traditional ceremonies, occurred during the center’s existence including several events after segregation (Figure 6.22) (Opler, 1945). More than 1,000 evacuees were enrolled in the judo program in spring 1944 (Staff, 18 May 1944).

Figure 6.22. A sumo tournament at Tule Lake Segregation Center. John Bigelow photograph, October 1944. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 34, Section D, WRA # G-755, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



Faith and Spirituality. Various editions of *The Daily Tulean Dispatch* and later, *The Newell Star*, show that at least four different churches were present within the confines of Tule Lake. Buddhism was the dominant religion of the center with eight Buddhist churches (Jacoby, 1996; Burton et al., 2002). In fact, many evacuees expressed a new or renewed interest in Buddhism at Tule Lake, likely because of segregation and the concentration of evacuees who were more oriented toward Japan (Kitagawa, 1967). Three non-denominational Christian churches, one Catholic church, and at least one Seventh Day Adventist church were also present (Staff, 5 October 1944; Jacoby, 1996; Burton et al., 2002). Religious traditions were observed at Tule Lake. Buddhists celebrated *Obon* (i.e., event honoring one's dead ancestors) while Christmas and Easter were celebrated by Christians (e.g., Staff, 17 July 1942; 30 March 1945).

Health. The center's health care needs were served by the 225-bed center hospital under the direction of a Caucasian but otherwise staffed by Japanese American physicians. This professional staff included twelve physicians or surgeons, seven registered nurses, eleven dentists, and twelve pharmacists. Early on, the hospital had an excellent reputation among evacuees and hospital staff; however, this changed beginning in fall 1942 when a new Caucasian director was appointed to the position. By fall 1943, conditions had deteriorated such that, during a riot, a group of *Kibei* (i.e., second generation Japanese Americans born in the U.S. and educated in Japan) entered the hospital and assaulted the director (Jacoby, 1996). Many evacuee physicians also relocated from the center to medical positions outside the military exclusion zones (see below) during the new director's regime (Cates, 1980). Hospital facilities and personnel were minimal and the result was that serious medical cases ended up in deaths that should not have been. Further, unsanitary conditions occurred in the operating room because of faulty construction (Somekawa, 1984).

Among the center's health problems were tuberculosis, including 75 reported, active cases in fall 1942, and intestinal distress likely associated with the generally low quality of the center's domestic water supply (Cates, 1980). The presence of ample, nearby water in irrigation canals and the Tule Lake sump led to mosquito problems at the center thus fears of mosquito-borne diseases. Hospital Sanitation Department personnel treated all nearby stagnant water, as well as irrigation ditches, with repellent oil and chemicals to prevent the hatching of mosquito larvae (Staff, 17 August 1944). Barracks windows were also screened to keep the insects away from evacuees (Staff, 23 July 1942).

Government. The Tule Lake Relocation Center had several forms of "self-government", including a Block Managers Committee and a Community Council. The Block Managers were selected by the center's EuroAmerican administration. A Temporary Council, consisting of Nisei from each of the 62 evacuee residential blocks, was in place until after a charter was ratified in November 1942. An Issei Planning Board was elected soon after to act in an advisory capacity to the administration. A 28 member Permanent Council was also elected in the days following the ratification of the charter.

As at other centers, the power of the evacuee government was quite limited. The various arms of evacuee government acted as advisory groups and sounding boards for the administration, and transmitted the policy and procedure information to evacuees in each of the residential blocks. Further, government at the center was muddled the birth of various committees including the Mess Workers and the Farm committees (Cates, 1980).

The registration crisis (see below), and the administration's response to this crisis, led to mass resignations by the elected evacuees on the Council, Block Managers Committee, and the Planning Board (Cates, 1980). It is unclear to what degree self-government operated in the months following the registration crisis.

Community. Tule Lake, like all of the centers, was beset with internal problems. This was unavoidable given the generally uncomfortable conditions, the mixing of Japanese Americans from different regions and different socioeconomic levels, and the relocation center-caused demise of the Issei-dominated family structure. However, Tule Lake's internal problems far surpassed those of the other centers.

The registration program, including the Application for Leave Clearance (or more commonly known as the "loyalty questionnaire") (Appendix C), was given to the center populace beginning in mid-February 1943. Evacuees were troubled that the application implied that the U.S. Government would force evacuees to leave the center. This did not sit well with many residents, especially if they would need to relocate to new parts of the country rather than the West Coast. Answering yes to Question 28 of the loyalty questionnaire forced Issei to renounce their Japanese citizenship without being able to become U.S. citizens. Stemming from these issues were many questions from the evacuees, and the administration did a poor job of responding to the questions. By the time they did, the issue had become polarized within the relocation center blocks and few evacuees initially registered. Threats by the administration and the military did little good. When the administration arrested a group of those who had not registered, a general strike of evacuee workers was called. Of the total 10,843 evacuees eligible to register, 3,218 ultimately did not. Of the 7,625 that registered, 1,238 answered "no" to question 28 of the loyalty questionnaire. No other center failed to register more than 26 evacuees, and only Manzanar had a higher number of "no" answers (War Relocation Authority, 1946; Jacoby, 1996).

Segregation of "loyal" evacuees from "disloyals" occurred because the WRA decided that it was in the best interest of center harmony not to mix the two groups in the same center. Tule Lake became the WRA Segregation Center for the disloyals in September 1943 because of the size of the center and the existing number of disloyals there. Segregees included those who: 1) had applied for repatriation; 2) had answered "no" to the loyalty question or had refused to answer the question; 3) were denied indefinite leave clearance due to "adverse evidence in their files"; 4) were Department of Justice camp aliens recommended for detention; and 5) were members of the four groups above who chose to remain with their families (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1982).

Segregation highlighted the differences between loyal and disloyal thus leading to more conflict prior to most of the loyals departing on indefinite leaves (see below) or to other centers. Some loyals, known as the “Old Tuleans” remained at Tule Lake after segregation because they did not want to move to other centers or to move to the outside world via indefinite leaves. Further, they likely remained in the center as a way to keep families together. This problem became worse as the disloyals came in from other centers because they were generally even more agitated than the bulk of the remaining Tule Lake population. This was especially true of the approximately 1,000 Kibei who came to the center from Hawaii (Jacoby, 1996). Segregation at Tule Lake ultimately was a much larger issue than at other centers because of the sheer volume of change—i.e., Tule Lake transferred 6,538 loyal evacuees to Amache, Gila River, Heart Mountain, Jerome, Minidoka, and Topaz while receiving 12,173 disloyal segregees from the other nine relocation centers. The result of segregation was that Tule Lake became the most geographically diverse of the ten centers including evacuees from California, Hawaii, Oregon, and Washington (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946). Housing and employment inequities came about because of segregation further fueling center unrest.

Several strikes occurred during Tule Lake’s operation. A labor dispute in early October 1943 resulted in the firing and subsequent rehiring of 43 coal car workers. A farm truck accident that led to the death of a farm worker in the same month sparked a farm work stoppage near the height of the harvest season. Because the Tule Lake agricultural program was so important to Tule Lake, as well as many of the other centers, evacuee workers were recruited from other centers to help harvest the crops (Jacoby, 1996).

The discovery of Caucasian WRA employees stealing food from an evacuee food warehouse and an ensuing fight sparked a large group of evacuees to block trucks, ostensibly transporting food for the strikebreakers at the farm, from leaving the administrative area (Jacoby, 1996). As a result, the project director called in the military police who stayed in control of the center until mid-January 1944 (Jacoby, 1996). Associated with the military takeover of the center, a stockade was added thus creating a “prison within a prison”. Within the stockade was the “bull pen”, a group of unheated tents where prisoners had a blanket or two and no extra clothes to ward off the winter cold. While in operation, the stockade housed over 350 “troublemaking” men who had no legal recourse (Jacoby, 1996). At least two such men were interred in the stockade for no apparent reason and subjected to various torture at the hands of the U.S. Army (Yamanaka, 1984). The gap between the more extremist disloyals and the moderates further widened because the moderate “Old Tuleans” did not object to the stockade (Jacoby, 1996).

The rescinding of the West Coast Exclusion Order in December 1944, led to further conflicts in the center. At that time, 3,066 evacuees at Tule Lake who the Justice Department deemed unsuitable for relocation to the West Coast. These included those who: 1) had refused to register for Selective Service; 2) had refused to serve in the U.S. armed forces; 3) had refused to swear allegiance to the U.S.; 4) had submitted a written statement of loyalty to Japan; 5) were agents or operatives of Japan; and 6) requested revocation of U.S. citizenship. Shortly after this, U.S. Department of Justice hearings officers came to Tule Lake to give loyalty rehearings to any

evacuees who wished to change their answers to the loyalty questionnaire. This sparked the extreme elements of the center to begin pressuring other evacuees, especially the American-born Nisei to expatriate. Within weeks, more than 2,000 Tuleans had applied for repatriation. Ultimately, 5,000 evacuees applied for repatriation. The U.S. Department of Justice attempted to reduce or eliminate these requests by identifying 1,500 very pro-Japanese individuals, quickly approving their repatriation requests, and removing them from Tule Lake in preparation for repatriation. Following the surrender of Japan in August 1945, approximately 3,000 of those who had earlier requested repatriation changed their minds and asked that they regain their U.S. citizenship so they could relocate to the U.S. Ultimately, all but 450 Kibei were allowed to relocate and regain their U.S. citizenship status (Jacoby, 1996).

Interaction with Surrounding Areas

The Outside World. Like the other centers within the West Coast Command's restricted areas—i.e., Gila River, Manzanar, and Poston—Tule Lake evacuees had limited contact with local residents. This was especially true following segregation. Local residents had mixed reactions to the Japanese Americans, ranging from welcoming them because of their past experiences and perceived economic impact on the area, to ambivalence and hatred because of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (Ager, 1973; Jones, 1973).

Initial reaction to the planned construction of the center in the Tule Lake Basin was negative because of racial and economic concerns. Construction of the center lured away much of the basin's labor force, leaving farmers and merchants in a bind. Those farming the prime League of Nations tract of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation lands were upset when they lost their leases to the center. However, local residents who worked in or near the center had frequent interactions with the evacuees, and for the most part, these were positive. The economic impact of the center on local towns was especially appreciated during construction of the center. Construction workers lived in Tulelake, as did subsequent families who helped operate the center (Turner, 2002). Many locals were hired to help build the center and some stayed on to help operate it as well (Jones, 1973). Evacuees were initially allowed to go to Tulelake but this practice ended after about the first two weeks of the center's operation (Ager, 1973).

Unlike the German and Italian prisoners of war (POW's) housed at a camp on the west side of the Tule Lake Basin, Japanese Americans were not allowed to work in the local farm fields (Ager, 1973; Turner, 2002). Because of this, it seems unlikely that the evacuees interacted with the POW's in the area. However, local farmers did interact with evacuees working on the center farms. Evacuees even purchased chickens from local farmers to supplement their diets in the center. Evacuees were also encountered wandering in the local hills east and south of the center, presumably before segregation (Jones, 1973). Community members complained that evacuees enjoyed "special food privileges" not available to those on the outside. Investigations revealed that this was not the case and that the WRA's average daily cost of feeding each evacuee was \$0.45 (Cates, 1980; Turner, 2002). Antagonism toward evacuees extended to the local government.

A sign in the Modoc County Sheriff's Office read:

*JAP HUNTING LICENSE
ISSUED HERE
Open Season Now
No Limit*

Cates (1980, p. 270)

The various protests and unrest that characterized much of the Tule Lake Relocation Center's history did little to help the local's perception of the Japanese Americans (Turner, 2002). Local Caucasians were also concerned that the Japanese would remain in the area and farm the rich soils of the Tule Lake Basin following the closing of the center (Jones, 1973).

Accounts differ as to the openness of the center to visitors. One source stated that visitors were regularly welcome at the center (Jacoby, 1996). One example of this was a farm field day held at the center. This field day was used to show local farmers what evacuees were raising on their farm lands, and included a dinner served within the main part of the center (Schindler, 1973). A Klamath Falls minister helped arrange visits between evacuees and church members (Turner, 2002). Tule Lake athletic teams competed with Klamath Falls teams at the Tule Lake Relocation Center on at least several occasions (e.g., Staff, 9 March 1943; Staff, 22 April 1943). Presumably, interactions between locals and the center population decreased dramatically when the center became a segregation center in fall 1943.

Evacuees could leave the center on short-term, seasonal, and indefinite leaves. Short-term leaves ranged from several days to a few weeks and were typically for personal business or medical issues. Seasonal leaves were granted to evacuees for seasonal agricultural employment. The purpose of indefinite leaves was to permanently depart the centers for relocation to the "outside world", join the armed forces, be interned in a Department of Justice Internment camp, be committed to an institution, or be repatriated to Japan (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946).

Tule Lake evacuees were allowed to depart on seasonal leaves beginning in late summer 1942 to help harvest various crops including sugar beets throughout the Intermountain West. However, relatively few of Tule Lake's evacuees answered the call to help farmers and the war effort because of fear of repercussions by the pro-Japanese element within the center (Turner, 2002). A total of 990 seasonal leaves were issued in 1942, 1,050 in 1943, and only one following segregation in 1944 (War Relocation Authority, 1946). Included among those on seasonal leaves were significant numbers of the Bellevue, Washington Japanese American community, many of whom ended up working for farmers in northern Montana (Neiwert, 2005).

Relocation from the center was encouraged early on but essentially ended with the changing focus of the center to segregation. However, relocation did not reduce Tule Lake's population in the same way as it did other centers because Tule Lake received many more disloyal evacuees

than the loyal evacuees it sent to other centers. Because of this imbalance, Tule Lake reached its peak population in December 1944 (Figure 6.23). Relocation was generally slow from the center's inception through March 1943 (Figure 6.24). More than 100 evacuees relocated from the center in each of the months from April 1943 until September 1943. Monthly relocations did not again exceed 100 until January 1945, one month after the West Coast exclusion order was lifted. In only two of the next 14 months did relocation fall below 100. Overall, 1,508 departed in 1943, only 205 departed in 1944, 11,781 departed in 1945, and 7,341 departed in 1946. Various editions of the *Daily Tulean Dispatch* and later, the *Newell Star* plus Holland et al. (1946), show that Tuleans relocated to 39 states plus the District of Columbia (Figures 6.25 and 6.26).

Only 57 Tuleans volunteered to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II. Thirty-two of these became war casualties including 10 killed. Reflective of the controversy surrounding the loyalty questionnaire, Tule Lake had 27 Selective Service violations; however, none of the accused were convicted (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946). Many of the Tuleans who volunteered for the U.S. Army became part of the famous 442nd Regimental Combat Team that served valiantly in the European Theater of Operations (e.g., Doi, 1984; Kanda, 1984).

Figure 6.23. Resident population, including evacuees on short-term and seasonal leaves, Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center, California. Data from U.S. War Relocation Authority (1946, p. 18).

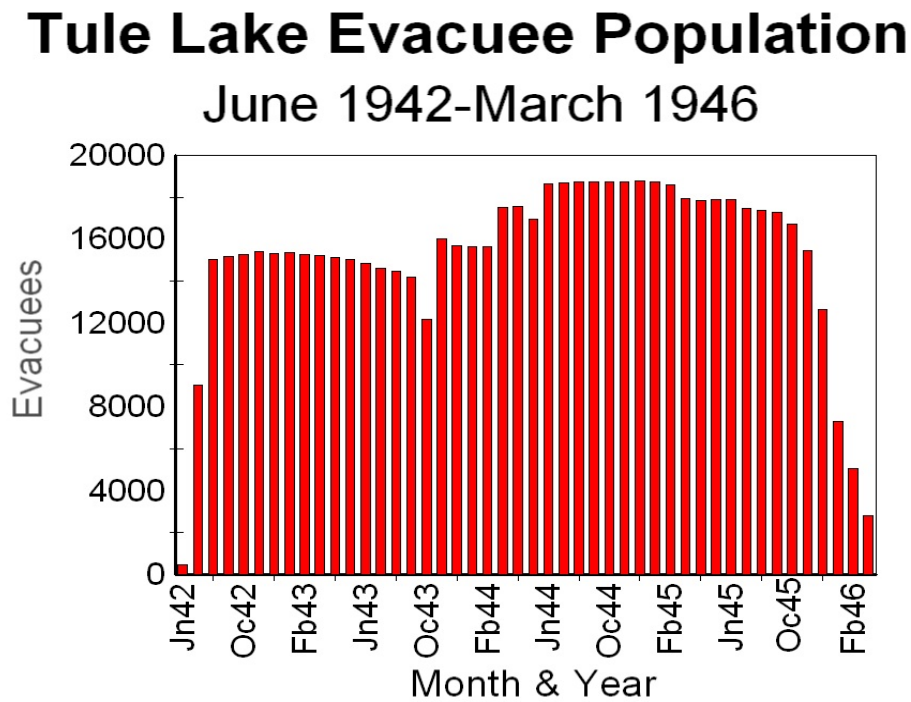
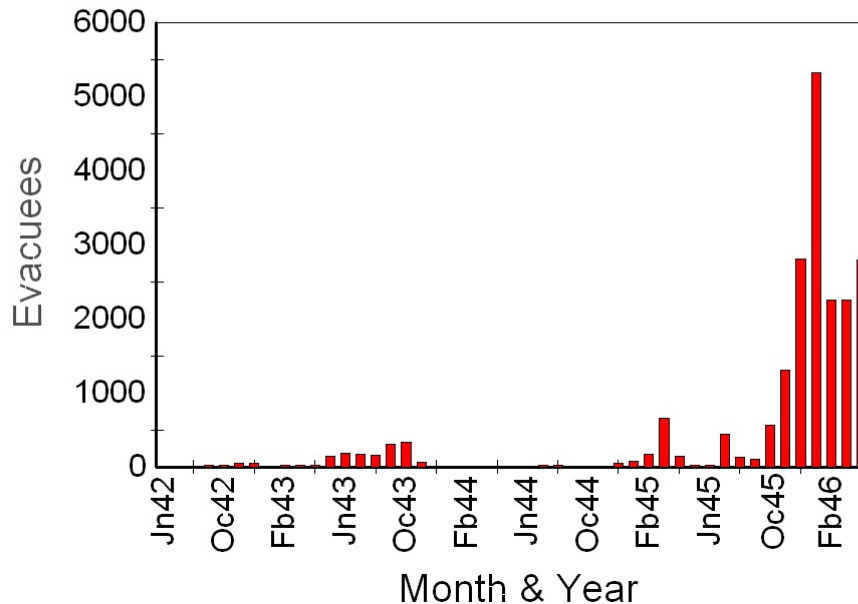


Figure 6.24. Indefinite leaves (i.e., relocations), Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center, May 1942-March 1946. Data from U.S. War Relocation Authority (1946, p. 40).

Tule Lake Long-Term Departures June 1942-March 1946



Other Relocation Centers. Tule Lake’s interactions with other centers were primarily limited to evacuee transfers and farm produce shipments. Tule Lake athletic teams apparently did not compete with the teams of other relocation centers.

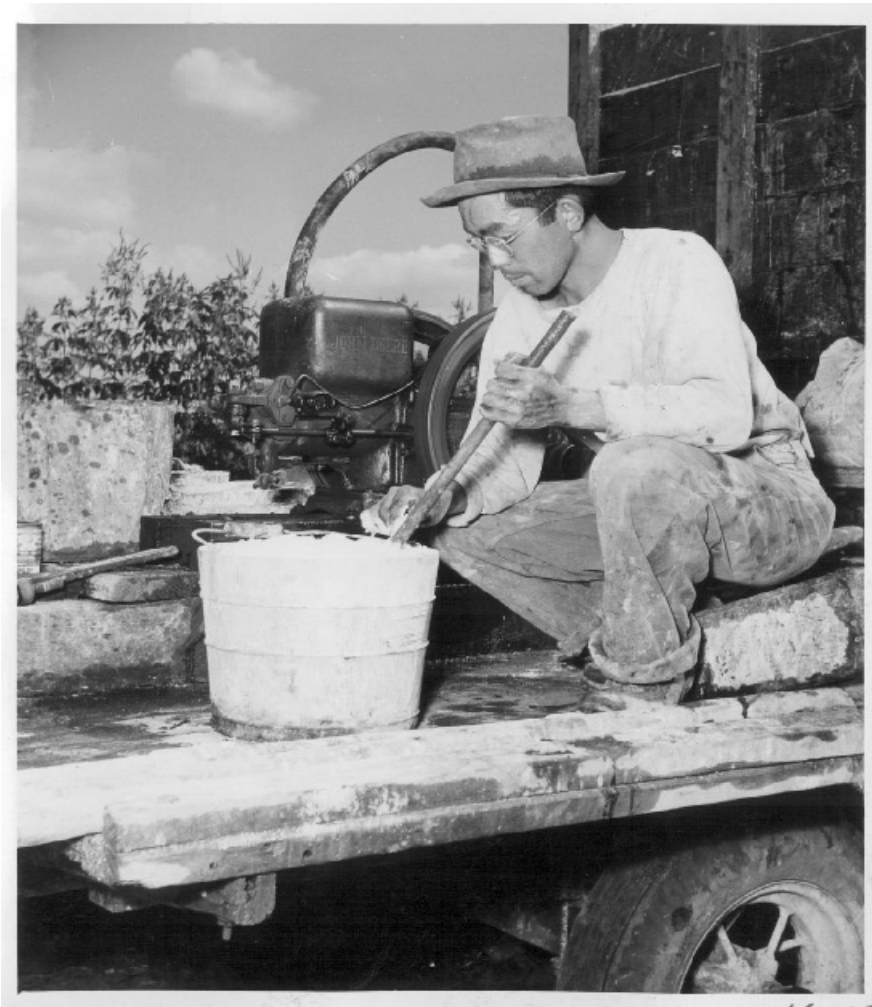
Tule Lake received a total of 12,173 “disloyal” evacuees from each of the other nine relocation centers. In turn, the center transferred 6,538 “loyal” evacuees to Amache, Gila River, Heart Mountain, Jerome, Minidoka, and Topaz (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946). Twenty Tulean “troublemakers” were sent to Moab, Utah and subsequently the Leupp, Arizona isolation center (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946; Cates, 1980). A total of 4,423 Tuleans were repatriated to Japan beginning in September 1943 after answering “no” to the loyalty questionnaire. The majority of these individuals were segregees who were transferred to Tule Lake from other centers (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946).

Farm produce was shipped to Gila River, Heart Mountain, Manzanar, Minidoka, Poston, and Topaz, as well as various assembly centers (Staff, 31 August 1942; 3 September 1942; 9 September 1942; 6 October 1942; 21 August 1943; Jarrett, 1946). Conversely, Tule Lake received produce from Gila River and Manzanar (Staff, 9 January 1943; 9 October 1943). Farm

Figure 6.25. Geography of Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center indefinite leaves (i.e., relocations), May 1942-March 1946. Data from Holland et al (1946).



Figure 6.26. Former Tulean Atsusa Sakuma mixes a spray mixture to combat potato blight on a farm near Chicago. Sakuma relocated to the Midwest from the Tule Lake Relocation Center. Prior to evacuation, he was a strawberry farmer in Washington state's Skagit Valley near Mt. Vernon. Charles Mace photograph, July 1943. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Volume 41, Section E, WRA # H-13, War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Series 11: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California.



workers from Poston and Heart Mountain came to the center in October 1943 during the period of unrest to complete the farm harvest (Jarrett, 1946).

Closing Tule Lake and Another Relocation

Public Proclamation #21 on 17 December 1944 ended the West Coast Exclusion Order that had been in effect since 1942. All relocation centers were to be closed by the end of 1945. However, on 18 October 1945, WRA chief Dillon Myer and U.S. Department of the Interior head Harold Ickes announced that the Tule Lake Relocation Center would remain open until 1 February 1946 (Staff, 18 October 1945). This announcement coincided with the beginning of the rapid emptying of Tule Lake. On 1 October 1945, the center's evacuee population was 16,740 (Figure 6.23). By 1 January 1946, the population stood at 7,303. Because of the large number of evacuees remaining in the center as of 1 February 1946, including several hundred who wished to repatriate to Japan, the center remained open beyond the 1 February deadline (Staff, 31 January 1946). All evacuees were either relocated or repatriated, and the center officially closed by 20 March 1946 (U.S. War Relocation Authority, 1946).

Impacts of Tule Lake on Today's North Central California Landscapes

Evacuee Dispersion. Long term residents don't recall any Japanese Americans remaining in the Tule Lake Basin after the closure of the Tule Lake Relocation Center (Jones, 1973). The 1950 census showed that 17 Japanese lived in Modoc County as opposed to the four who lived there in 1940. The Japanese population of Modoc and the six surrounding counties rose from 85 in 1940 to 192 in 1950 suggesting that relatively few Japanese Americans relocated from Tule Lake to nearby parts of north central California, south central Oregon, and northwest Nevada (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1943a; 1943b; 1943c; 1952a; 1952b; 1952c). This may, in part, reflect the fact that the Tule Lake Basin and surroundings were geographically distinct from the areas from which most of the evacuees came. It may also be reflected in the dissension that wracked the Tule Lake center. However, it is likely that most of Tule Lake's evacuees relocated to points south in California after the closure of the center (James, 1987).

Land Dispersion. After closure in March 1946, some of the former center's lands were distributed to war veteran homesteaders while other parcels were retained by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (Burton et al., 2002). The parcels allocated to war veterans included lands immediately north, west, and south of the main part of the former center (Turner, 2002). One land parcel was also allocated to the California Department of Transportation for use as a maintenance facility (U.S. National Park Service, 2001).

Infrastructure Dispersion. Soon after the closing of Tule Lake Relocation Center, the Bureau of Reclamation transferred some of the buildings to war veteran homesteaders while retaining others for the management of Bureau lands (Thye, 1947). Of those transferred, some whole barracks were taken away while others were dismantled in place (King, 1973). The approximately 980 buildings retained were held for later transfer to homesteaders, government agencies, and non-profit groups. Most of the retained buildings were removed between July and December 1946 (Burton et al., 2002). Various surplus items, including heating stoves, beds, mattresses, blankets, hand tools, and fertilizer, were given to homesteaders. Equipment from the

hospital was made available to area hospitals (Thye, 1947). Equipment or buildings from the center were dispersed as far afield as Lakeview and Klamath Falls, Oregon as well as Yreka and Alturas, California (Turner, 2002). It is not clear why numerous buildings remained in the Military Police compound; however, these were purchased around 1963 and turned into a subdivision on site (Figure 6.12) Burton et al., 2002).

Remains of Tule Lake. Much evidence remains of the center. Burton et al. (2002) describe in detail the nature of Tule Lake as of about 2000. Further, along with two students, I visited the former center in June 2003. As opposed to most of the other seven western relocation centers, numerous center buildings are still in place at Newell. This is especially true within the former military police compound where at least 33 buildings remain as does the original road and security fence network (Figure 6.27). Two buildings remain in the former administration area including the former administrative staff recreation building, now the Newell General Store (Figure 6.28). The jail is still in place as well (Figure 6.29). A total of eight buildings remain in the former warehouse and industrial areas. Most of the evacuee residential area has been displaced by the Tule Lake Airport thus all buildings, most of the concrete slabs, and much of the road network is gone. The best remaining evidence of the former evacuee residential area is found in Ward 8 east of the airport where the red cinder road network, concrete slabs of the latrines and laundry facilities, and sewer manholes remain (Figure 6.30). It is in this section that the basalt rock remains of numerous barrack gardens can be found (Figure 6.31); however, no evidence of former garden ponds was seen. Part of the “man-proof” fence remains on the north side of the former evacuee residential area (Figure 6.32). Much evidence also remains of the farm operations in the surrounding areas including irrigation and drainage infrastructure in the farmlands, roads and foundations at the hog farm and chicken farm, sewage treatment plants, and landfill (Burton et al., 2002).

A display at the Museum of Local History in Tulelake notes that many Tule Lake Relocation Center barracks ended up in and around the surrounding communities of Tulelake, Malin, and Merrill. Literally hundreds of the former barracks can still be seen throughout the Tule Lake Basin (Figure 6.33) (Pease, 1965; Turner, 2002). A large monument located along California Highway 139 includes a state historical marker that commemorates the center. The Museum of Local History at the Tulelake-Butte Valley Fairgrounds in Tulelake includes an exhibit and gift shop with books on the relocation center. The City of Tulelake Library has a modest collection of oral histories related to the relocation/segregation center. Lava Beds National Monument also has a collection of artifacts from the center (Burton et al., 2002). The Klamath Falls Bureau of Reclamation office has maps, photographs, reports, and files related to agriculture in the relocation center. The 17 February 2006 designation as a National Historic Landmark will provide protection for the center’s remains at Newell as well as opportunities for reflection and education (U.S. National Park Service, 2006).

Figure 6.27. Former Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center military police compound barracks, Newell, California. Author photograph, June 2003.



Figure 6.28. Former Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center administrative staff recreation building. As of June 2003, building served as grocery store. Author photograph, June 2003.



Figure 6.29. Remains of the Tule Lake Segregation Center jail beneath arrow. Author photograph, June 2003.



Figure 6.30. Remains of a latrine concrete slab in the evacuee residential area east of Tule Lake airport. Bulldozed concrete lying atop slab. Author photograph, June 2003.



Figure 6.31. Subtle basalt boulder remains of evacuee barracks garden within the evacuee residential area, Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center. Eight inch by five inch yellow field notebook for scale in the middle of the former garden. Author photograph, June 2003.



Figure 6.32. Remains of Tule Lake Segregation Center's "man-proof" perimeter fence and a cinder perimeter road. Author photograph, June 2003.



Figure 6.33. Former Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center staff housing building now in Tulelake, California. Author photograph, June 2003.



North Central California's Tule Lake Basin Today. The Tule Lake Basin has been an area of significant change in the 60 years since the Tule Lake Relocation/Segregation Center closed. Much of the change and resulting conflict has centered on agriculture and water.

Soon after the last evacuee departed, the Tulelake Growers Association used the main part of the center as a camp for farm laborers of a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds. Homesteaders also lived at the former center until their barracks were moved to their homesteads. During this time, the Tulelake Growers Association used several of the WRA warehouses for grain storage. A general store opened in the former WRA Administration recreation hall and the Bureau of Reclamation occupied several buildings in its supervisory role over the site. By 1949, Grandview Elementary School was operating at the site for the various homesteader's children. With a school, store, café, bus stop, and full utilities, Newell was awarded official townsite status by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1949. City lots were auctioned off by the Bureau of Reclamation beginning in 1951. At around the same time, Tulelake Airport was constructed on lands formerly occupied by evacuee barracks to provide ready access for sportsmen coming to the area, and later for the area's crop-dusting needs. Despite other attempts at growth including the Newell Potato Cooperative and the United States Pumice Supply Company locating in former WRA warehouses, Newell's population leveled off beginning in the late 1950s. A primary cause of this was that insufficient private farmland was adjacent to Newell to support a full-fledged town, and more-established Tulelake was only seven miles away. Through time, Newell has had

its share of downs including closures of a pumice plant, a potato packing warehouse, and the school (Turner, 2002). However, as of June 2003, Newell had regained its elementary school, and retained its grocery store and the Tulelake Airport (Figure 6.34). Additionally, it continued to serve as housing for low-income families, many of whom work in area agriculture.

Drawings were held in 1946, 1948, and 1949 to allocate a total of 216, 80-acre Bureau of Reclamation farm units to World War II veteran “homesteaders”. Some of these farm units were on land previously occupied and/or farmed by the evacuees. Each homesteader received one complete barracks from the former Tule Lake Segregation Center. These newcomers mostly continued to grow what farmers had long grown in the basin—barley, alfalfa, clover, flax, and potatoes. Perhaps because of the successes of the Japanese American farmers on Tule Lake Relocation Center lands, some area farmers following World War II tried growing carrots, celery, sugar beets, strawberries, and melons. However, the short growing seasons and distances to markets steered them back to their long-time staples. By the 1960s, approximately 66% of the original post-World War II homesteaders had sold out and left the farming because of the weather, business, and remoteness issues (Turner, 2002).

While some farmers have benefitted economically from waterfowl by catering to hunters, others’ farmlands have sustained significant damages from migratory waterfowl and hunters alike (Pease, 1965; Turner, 2002; Wilson, 2002). As a result of these damages and the desire for more

Figure 6.34. View south at Newell, California and the base of The Peninsula. Author photograph, June 2003.



farmland, farmers pressured the Bureau of Reclamation to open the entire League of Nations tract to homesteading. Conversely, wildlife enthusiasts wanted the lands to be part of the Tule Lake Wildlife Refuge. In 1964, the issue was resolved in favor of wildlife when these lands were incorporated into the refuge (Foster, 2002). Additional lands at The Peninsula were placed under Tule Lake Wildlife Refuge jurisdiction in 1980 to protect birds of prey nesting habitat. These transactions have led to the growth of the Tule Lake National Wildlife Refuge to over 38,000 acres (Turner, 2002).

In recent years, the use of Klamath River water has been at the center of controversy. Endangered Species listings occurred for Klamath River Basin endemics short-nose sucker (*Chasmistes brevirostris*) and the Lost River sucker (*Delistes luxatus*) in 1988, followed by Coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) in 1997. These listings have led to conflict between irrigated farmers, U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, National Marine Fisheries Service, and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service employees, Klamath and Yurok tribal members, sportsmen, commercial fishermen, and members of various environmental groups. Several drier-than-normal years have intensified the conflicts and forced managing agencies to decide how to use the very limited water resources of the Klamath Basin. After numerous court hearings, lobbying of politicians, public demonstrations, and acts of non-violent, civil disobedience, the issue of how to provide water for basin agriculture, while at the same time maintaining sufficient flows for endangered species, has yet to be answered (Turner, 2002). Attempts at providing a water bank to enhance Klamath River flows have led to conflict between farmers who are pumping groundwater to sell to the U.S. Government, and homeowners who are seeing their well water levels drop as a result of the pumping (Clarren, 2005). Part of the salmon issue may be resolved if PacificCorp removes the four lower dams on the Klamath River, re-opening 350 river miles of spawning habitat (Wilkison, 2006).

As of 2000, the population of Modoc County was 9,449, a 2.4% decline since 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). With much of the county federally owned and with the uncertain status of water available for agriculture, it is likely that population will continue to gradually decline or remain level in the coming years. Each of the four towns of the Tule Lake Basin—Merrill, Malin, Tulelake, and Newell—struggle to remain economically and socially viable given the proximity to growing Klamath Falls and the uncertainty of agriculture (Turner, 2002).

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