

WORLD WAR COMES TO HUMBOLDT COUNTY

by

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ABSTRACT

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During World War II, for the first time since the arrival of European Americans, the proximity to the war in the Pacific against Japan, and the threat, both real and perceived, of Japanese attack called local residents and the government to partake in civil defense in a way never done before. For a brief time in 1941 and 1942 the populace of Humboldt County grappled with the real possibility (at least in their minds) of a Japanese attack on their homes. These fears were heightened before Christmas 1941 when Japanese submarines really did roam off the Humboldt coastline and Japanese war planes were “spotted” by imaginative coast watchers and military radar operators up and down the West Coast.

This project focuses on seven aspects and causal factors of the local reaction to the coming of the war and some of the steps taken to provide an effective civil defense for Humboldt County. The source material which directly pertains to Humboldt County civil defense response to World War II is limited. Therefore, much of the information comes from oral history sources and local newspapers.

There are not any other graduate-level works on Humboldt County during World War II in Humboldt State’s collection nor is there a wealth of educational materials on

the same subject. Hopefully this project, including the lessons and teaching materials included herein will prove to be of value to local K-12 teachers and a source for future students to use for their own research.

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WORLD WAR COMES TO HUMBOLDT COUNTY

For almost four years the attention of the citizens of Humboldt County was drawn westward towards places in Pacific they had never heard about to the islands of the Japan itself. Humboldt County's proximity to the war against Japan, and the threat, both real and perceived, of Japanese attack helped make the Second World War as traumatic an event as the county had ever experienced. This fact is born out by the number of war dead: no event in 20th Century Humboldt County, except the Influenza Epidemic of 1918, resulted in the death of so many residents in such a relatively short time.¹

Yet the raw numbers, whatever they may be, do not tell the full story of the war's influence on Humboldt County. Humboldt County, in the words of the late historian Glen Nash, appeared "well aware that the Pacific Coast was in danger."² This threat, both real and imagined, called the residents to partake in civil defense in a way they had never done before. This was not just a matter of "meatless Tuesdays" and Victory

¹ One hundred and twenty two names are listed in the Humboldt County subsection of the *World War Honor List of Dead and Missing Army and Army Air Forces Personnel from: California*. National Archives and Records Administration: Archival Research Catalog: <http://www.archives.gov/research_room/arc/wwii/army_aaf_honor_list/california.html>, (1/12/05). Not included in the list is Second Lieutenant Robert M. Viale of Bayside who on February 5, 1945, in Manila in the Philippines won the Congressional Medal of Honor when, in the words of his posthumous citation, "He displayed conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty." Lieutenant Viale was inducted into the army in Ukiah and is not listed in the Mendocino County subsection of the *Honor List* either. How many other men are not listed in the *Honor List*, is unknown.

The Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918-19 took over 200 lives in Humboldt County according to the *Times-Standard's* 150th Anniversary Issue (21 September, 2004).

² Glenn Nash, "When Blimps Once Dotted the North Coast," Humboldt Historian, Autumn 1994; 34.

Gardens, for the first time since European settlement the residents of the North Coast had to consider the real possibility that they would come under attack by an enemy who had already shown the capacity to launch a devastating surprise attack on seemingly impregnable military installations like Pearl Harbor. Civil Defense became a key concern in the opening months of the war as Japanese submarines really did roam off the Humboldt coastline and Japanese warplanes were “spotted” by imaginative coast watchers and military radar operators up and down the West Coast.³

This concern and even fear of Japanese attack is reflected in both the oral histories as found in numerous interviews, both published and otherwise, as well as contemporary journalistic accounts of the period including coverage of events in the two local newspapers, the *Humboldt Times* and the *Humboldt Standard*.⁴ The journalistic perspective provided by the local papers not only reflects the national mood and opinion of the war through wire service stories and columns but also captures the local sentiment toward America’s participation in World War II. These articles provide a snapshot of the local mood that has not altered over the past sixty plus years in the minds of Humboldt County residents who now recall what they were doing during the war years. The value of these headlines and articles is twofold: they allow us to see what the local populace was reading and report how they were reacting to the reality of war. Furthermore, they

³ There were numerous claims of Japanese overflights of cities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle. In actuality, no Japanese planes (even float planes launched from submarines) ever flew over any of these major cities. All alarms were the result of misinterpreted or imagined data.

⁴ The *Humboldt Times* was the morning paper and the *Humboldt Standard* was published in the afternoon. The papers did not merge into the current *Times Standard* until years after the war.

function as a means of sparking memories in those who lived through the events. The articles are the major source for tracking the region's steps towards implementing an effective civil defense program. Newspaper coverage of the war has its limitations, for instance the virulent anti-Japanese bias in the *Humboldt Standard's* coverage of the Japanese American draft resister trial, but even this lack of objectivity and fairness in the articles accurately portrays what the local people were reading and being influenced by and in this case reflects the mood of many in the region.

These articles and headlines have been little used in the past six decades. One noticeable exception was local journalist and historian, Andrew Genzoli, who wrote articles and columns about local topics in the *Times-Standard* twenty to thirty years after the war and continued writing about local history into the 1980s for the now defunct *Humboldt Beacon*.⁵ Genzoli used the events and headlines as reported in the papers to illustrate local reaction to the war in a number of his historical columns. He also wrote local history pieces. One example, found in the *Times Standard* is his article "Enemy Torpedoes! Twenty-Five Years Ago: A Japanese Submarine Sank the Tanker Emidio Off Humboldt Coast."⁶ Over half of this two page article is quotes taken from both local papers' coverage of the attack. Genzoli used the reporting of the time to help his readers recapture how they felt in December 1941. Now, decades further removed from the

⁵ Genzoli's columns run the gamut from historical pieces to current happenings and social reporting. In many of his columns his reporting style can be compared to long time *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen.

⁶ Andrew Genzoli, "Enemy Torpedoes! Twenty-Five Years Ago: A Japanese Submarine Sank the Tanker Emidio Off Humboldt Coast," *Times Standard*, (12 December, 1966), pp. 6-7. call the Humboldt Room and get the exact citation—then add it to the bibliography.

conflict, as we reflect back on the events of December 1941 and World War II, these headlines and articles have an even greater value to those decreasing number of survivors of the war and the increasing number of us who were born years and decades after the war.

Primary sources directly pertaining to Humboldt County's civil defense response to World War II is limited at best and frequently incomplete. Therefore, as mentioned above, much of the information selected for inclusion in this paper comes from oral history sources. Like any type of material, oral history has its limitations. Memories are not always complete, nor are the interviewees always aware of the entire situation. A combination of published sources, including Steve Fox's *Uncivil Liberties* and Eric Muller's *Free to Die for Their Country*, provide the best sources of local reaction to the war. Oral interviews conducted by the author also had value in gauging the mood of those involved and learning more of the daily effect war had on local people. In all cases, the author's hindsight allows for some level of evaluation of the material. This concern and even fear of Japanese attack is reflected in both the oral histories as found in numerous interviews, both published and otherwise, along with the most concrete written records of the day, the coverage of events in the two local newspapers, the *Humboldt Times* and the *Humboldt Standard*.⁷ The journalistic perspective provided by the local papers not only reflects the national mood and opinion of the war through wire service stories and columns but also captures the local sentiment. These articles

⁷ The *Humboldt Times* was the morning paper and the *Humboldt Standard* was published in the afternoon. The papers did not merge into the current *Times Standard* until years after the war.

provide a snapshot of the local mood that has not changed or grown hazy over the past sixty plus years. The value of these headlines and articles is twofold: they allow us to see what the local populace was reading and report how they were reacting to the reality of war. Furthermore, they function as a means of sparking memories in those who lived through the events. The articles are the major source for tracking the region's steps towards implementing an effective civil defense program. Newspaper coverage of the war has its limitations, for instance the virulent anti-Japanese bias in the *Humboldt Standard's* coverage of the Japanese American draft resister trial, but even this lack of objectivity and fairness in the articles accurately portrays what the local people were reading and being influenced by and in this case reflects the mood of many in the region.

This paper will focus on seven aspects of Humboldt County's experience during World War II and briefly compare each to what was going on across the country. In the following seven ways, Humboldt County residents responded to World War II in a profound manner:

- The Panic—December 1941
- Submarine Attack Off the Humboldt Coast
- Humboldt County's Italian and Italian-American Relocation and Internees
- The Japanese Internment court case United States vs. Masaaki Kuwabara et. al.
- Civil Defense on the Home Front in Humboldt County
- War Industries on Humboldt Bay—The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works
- The United States Coast Guard and Coast Defense

THE PANIC: DECEMBER 1941

“HAWAII AND PHILIPPINES/ BOMBED BY JAPANESE” the headline of the first of three Extra editions of *Humboldt Times*⁸ proclaimed on Sunday, December 7, 1941. That day, which in the words of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, would “go down in infamy”⁹ shook the citizens of Humboldt County and the United States to the core because Americans feared their unpreparedness for war.

On December 8, 1941, San Francisco Mayor, Angelo Rossi issued the following proclamation:

To the people of San Francisco. I have declared an emergency in San Francisco. Under the powers conferred on me in this circumstance, I have coordinated all the proper departments of the City and County of San Francisco with the program of the Civilian Defense Council.¹⁰

In the days that followed the attack blackouts were ordered up and down the West Coast to forestall any Japanese attacks or a full-scale invasion. As it turned out, these blackouts’ main effect served to inconvenience the residents of these cities. Jeannette Thompson, a San Francisco native, tells how on Saturday, December 13, 1941, the night of her wedding rehearsal and practice dinner, she, her mother and the Catholic priest selected to perform the ceremony, took “over two hours to find their way across the

⁸ “Hawaii and Philippines Bombed by Japanese,” (*Humboldt Times*, 7 December, 1941), p. 1.

⁹ The newspaper accounts of Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” speech do not emphasize the phrase, “Day of Infamy.” They talk about the speech and its main points, but no special mention is made of the phrase, which has now become so famous. An interesting comparison of the emphasis of the coverage is to the predominately negative response to Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address in 1863.

¹⁰ “Chronology of 1940-1941 San Francisco War Events,” Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco <<http://www.sfmuseum.org/war/40-41.html>>, (12 January 2005).

blackout Golden Gate Park to the church.”¹¹ Thompson and her companions finally arrived and by about 10 PM that night the entire wedding party managed to make their way to the church.

Eureka experienced its own blackout the night of Monday, December 8 on orders from the Humboldt Bay Navy Section Base. “[T]he apparent reason for the blackout was the reported approach of a large number of planes over San Francisco. The flight at one time was reported to have turned north. . . .” thus sparking the blackout order.¹² Nerves were jumpy all over the Northcoast as evidenced by the article, which reported,

[n]umerous reports of planes being sighted last night [though] Sheriff A.A. Ross stated only one had been received by his office. This gave the location of a single plane off Cape Mendocino. Others reported seeing three planes over the Ferndale Valley, but these were unconfirmed.¹³

By the night of December 8 the nearest Japanese carrier was 36 hours northwest of Hawaii, headed for Japan, and not on its way to launch a midnight attack on Ferndale.

While Japanese attacks on shipping up and down the West Coast did occur, (see Section 2, *Submarine Attack of the Humboldt Coast: The attacks on the S.S. Samoa and S.S. Emidio—December 18 to December 20, 1941*) the feared invasion remained imaginary. Over the next few months, even while Japan seemed unstoppable in the Pacific region, the closest any Japanese invasion forces got to the West Coast of the

¹¹ Jeanette Thompson. Interview with the author, San Francisco, 28 December, 2004. The inconvenience caused by the blackout proved temporary and the next morning Jeanette and “Buck” Thompson were married and remained so for almost 60 years until Buck’s death in 2001.

¹² “Blackout Ordered,” *Humboldt Times*, (9 December, 1941), p. 1.

¹³ Ibid.

continental United States were Midway Island and the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska. After the war, discussions with the defeated Japanese and a later review of Japanese naval and military records, made it clear that Japan never intended to invade the West Coast. That revelation remained unknown to Americans during the war years. In the mind of people at the time, “[a] pattern was rapidly forming to bring World War II to the doorstep of the mainland—in fact to the very front door of Humboldt County.”¹⁴ Still expecting Japanese attacks, the Western Defense Command received a report of Japanese ships thirty miles off the coast¹⁵ and the Tuesday, December 9th *Humboldt Times* headlined, "General Reports Large Number of Aircraft Sighted." The Associated Press article went on to say, "[a]n apparent attempt by Japanese warplanes to bomb the San Francisco bay area [sic] was reported tonight by General William Ord Ryan of the Fourth Interceptor Command, who said a large number of unidentified aircraft were turned back at the Golden Gate."¹⁶ General Ord's comments illustrate how even top military brass on the West Coast feared attack after Pearl Harbor.

A not insignificant number of citizens of California, Oregon and Washington State responded to their fear of invasion by organizing a civil defense program starting with the commissioning of air raid wardens, airplane spotters and coast watchers up and down the coast. Articles in the local paper chronicled the formation of California Guard units in Eureka and Fortuna, the delivery of sand to vacant lots across Eureka to be used

¹⁴ Andrew Genzoli, p. 6.

¹⁵ Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco <<http://www.sfmuseum.org/war/40-41.html>>, (1/11/05).

¹⁶ "General Reports Large Number of Aircraft Sighted," *Humboldt Times*, (9 December, 1941, p. 1).

to extinguish incendiary bombs, and blackout directions. In Humboldt County citizens across the region were, in the words of Glen Nash, “. . . well aware that the Pacific Coast was in danger.”¹⁷

Though individuals could not do much to prevent a Japanese invasion of the region, some steps were taken and “airplane watches . . . and a Civil Defense system were set up.”¹⁸ This included across Humboldt Bay from Eureka in Samoa. Alex Frediani, when interviewed years later by Stephen Fox, historian and author of *UnCivil Liberties*, recounted:

I was a freshman or sophomore in high school. I remember that Sunday afternoon when we got notified the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. And just prior to that they [the government] had built a tower out on the sand dunes It was about a two-story tower. I guess they were waiting for the Japanese to land on the beach over there. It was mainly World War I vets that manned that tower, but I pulled duty up there, too. As I think back on it now, it was a joke. These guys were ready to hold off an invasion of the Japanese right there on Samoa!¹⁹

In the immediate aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor, headlines in the local paper did little to assuage the fears of locals. As Japanese forces raced across the Pacific, local readers read about, among other things, attacks on the Philippines, the fall of Wake Island and Japan’s conquest of Singapore. “JAPANESE LAND IN PHILIPPINES” served as the headline above the masthead of the *Humboldt Times* that greeted its readers

¹⁷ Nash, 34.

¹⁸ Nash, 32.

¹⁹ Stephen Fox. *UnCivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege during World War II* (USA: Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com, 2000) 107. *UnCivil Liberties* is the revised name for Fox’s *Unknown Internment*.

the morning of Tuesday, December 10.²⁰ Under the masthead the news wasn't much better. Headlines that morning read: "Planes Hunt Jap Ship in Pacific: Danger of Air Attacks Still Reported by Army Heads" and "Defense Work Moves Into High Gear Locally." On page three readers found a listing of Blackout Procedures. These procedures placed a damper on Ferndale's plans to light its Municipal Christmas tree as reported on page eight.

The headlines didn't get any better over the next few days and weeks. Sunday's paper brought a front-page picture of Private John Haynes, twenty-two, of Eureka who was killed in the Philippines. Haynes, whose cause of death was not given, was Humboldt's first announced casualty. Unfortunately more were to come. "Casualty List Hits Three Homes" a front-page article on Wednesday, December 17 announced.²¹ The names of three local men killed in Pearl Harbor were announced that day.

Despite attempts to make the news look better than we now know it really was by Christmas the news was not good. In the daily War Bulletins on page one, on Christmas Eve, the notice read, "Wake Fate Uncertain."²² The next day the bulletin was grimmer, "Hope for Wake Island Fades."²³ To further dampen local's Christmas cheer the first photos of the remains of the U.S.S. Arizona were published.²⁴ Boxing Day brought the

²⁰ HAWAII AND PHILIPPINES/ BOMBED BY JAPANESE, *Humboldt Times*, (10 December, 1941), p 1.

²¹ "Casualty List Hits Three Homes," *Humboldt Times*, (17 December, 1941), p. 1.

²² "Wake Fate Uncertain," *Humboldt Times*, (24 December, 1941), p. 1.

²³ "Hope for Wake Island Fades," *Humboldt Times*, (25 December 1941), p. 1

²⁴ "First Pictures of U.S.S. Arizona," *Humboldt Times*, (25 December, 1941), p. 9.

capture of Hong Kong and a headline "Japs Advance Near Manila."²⁵ To cap off a grim three weeks the last paper of the year told of the increasingly hopeless situation in Manila, "Japs Near Manila; Situation Grave, Enemy Dive Bombers Control Roads, Defenders Pushed Back Macarthur Announces."²⁶

The story on page one of the *Humboldt Times* on January 9, 1942 had to heighten people's fear of an invasion. In it the Japan Times, described as the official mouthpiece of the Japanese Government stated,

It will be a simple matter for a well-trained and courageous army to sweep everything before it. The contention that the United States cannot be invaded is as much a myth as that the Maginot Line could not be taken or that Singapore or Pearl Harbor are impregnable.

The Japan Times correctly predicted that all the Philippines and Singapore would fall to the Japanese in the not far future, and asserted after that, "it will be for us to say when and how we will strike."²⁷

People expected almost anything. Going back to Japan's surprise attack on the Russians at Port Arthur during the Russo-Japan War and continuing through the bombing of civilian targets in China in the 1930s as well as the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor the Japanese had demonstrated a willingness to do anything to win. Nothing the Japanese had done in the previous thirty six years indicated they would avoid bombing cities and towns along the West Coast for moral reasons. The Sunday, December 28 paper

²⁵ "Japs Advance Near Manila," *Humboldt Times*, (26 December, 1941), p.1.

²⁶ "Japs Near Manila," *Humboldt Times*, (31 December, 1941), p. 1.

²⁷ "Japs Claim It Will Be Simple To Invade The U.S.," *Humboldt Times*, (9 January, 1942), p. 2.

contained a full-page notice from the U.S. Office of Civil Defense instructing the already jumpy citizens of Humboldt County, "WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID."²⁸ Fear of Japanese attack of all kinds, including the most horrible, reached levels that in hindsight we would consider extreme. For example, on December 19, 1941, the *Los Angeles Times* published an article informing its readers, "What to Do in Case of Poison Gas Attacks."²⁹ While this seems a prime example of post-Pearl Harbor hysteria, the reader should also be aware that the Japanese Army used poison gas against the Chinese during the 1930s and 1940s and had stockpiles on hand. In fact, a September 2003 article of the *Mainichi Shimbun* (one of Japan's leading newspapers) reported that at the end of World War II the Japanese Army had over 3,000 tons of mustard and other gas on hand.³⁰

These fears of chemical or other attack weren't confined to the urban areas, Glen Nash, a reporter for the Humboldt Times, mentions in "When blimps once dotted the North Coast" that "[r]adiological monitors were trained to detect any radioactive material in case of a nuclear bomb attack."³¹

²⁸ "What To Do In An Air Raid," *Humboldt Times*, (28 December, 1941), p. 6.

²⁹ Teaching with Historic Places: The War Relocation Camps of World War II, When Fear Was Stronger Than Justice. <<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89facts1.htm>>, (1/16/05). It is important to remember that people living in 1941 were all too well aware that poison gas had been widely used, with horrific results, just twenty three years earlier on the battlefields of the First World War. People living on the West Coast might have been afraid of poison gas attacks because so many of them remembered them from the previous war.

³⁰ "1000 Tons of Imperial Army's Poison Gas Missing." *Mainichi Shimbun*, (April 21, 2003). <<http://mdn.mainichi.co.jp/news/archive/200304/21/20030421p2a00m0fp025002c.html>>, (2/11/05).

³¹ Nash, 32, 34. This claim does appear unlikely, particularly because in 1941 and 1942, even the possibility of the atomic bomb was not widely known. Nash seemed to be

This fear did not diminish immediately. “On the night the night and early morning of February 24 and 25, 1942, a singular event unfolded in the skies over Southern California – the continental United States was attacked by an enemy.”³² In the words of Major Jack Ilfrey, a pilot stationed in the Los Angeles area as part of U.S. Army Air Corps’ First Fighter Group, “For hours the sky glowed with shell bursts as ack-ack gunners lofted thousands of rounds of high explosive ammunition.”³³ It appeared as if Los Angeles was undergoing an air raid by Japanese aircraft. At least that is what many people thought. The next morning, an extra edition of the Los Angeles Times, an enormous headline declared, “LA. AREA RAIDED!” It went on to say in smaller, though still substantial print, “Jap Planes Peril Santa Monica, Seal Beach, El Segundo, Redondo, Long Beach, Hermosa, Signal Hill.”³⁴ Of course, by then others were starting to reevaluate what they had thought the night before, in the words of Major Ilfrey, “. . . by the time the sun rose and the smoke cleared, it was noted that nary an enemy bomb had actually fallen upon the balmy shores of Southern California. Thus the whole shooting match was soon dismissed as a grandiose false alarm.”³⁵ Sadly, “Eight people died during the raid, three of heart attacks, the others in accidents related to the blackout. Sixty-year-old California State Guard Sergeant Henry B. Ayers died of a heart attack at

aware of this, because immediately after the above quote, he inserted the following statement in parentheses, “this writer went through this training.”

³² Beneath LA: The Great Los Angeles Air Raid <<http://www.beneathla.com/go.cgi?=raid>>, (1/15/05).

³³ Jack Ilfrey. The Official Website of the First Fighter Group: <The Great Los Angeles Air Raid <http://www.geocities.com/Pentagon/Quarters/6940/1stfg.html>>, (1/15/05).

³⁴ Beneath LA website

³⁵ Jack Ilfrey.

the wheel of the Army truck he was driving while hauling ammunition at the height of the barrage.”³⁶ Furthermore, over thirty Japanese Americans, already reeling from the announcement of Executive Order 9066, the Japanese Relocation Order on February 19, (see Sections Three and Four) were taken into custody, mostly after being accused of trying to signal Japanese airplanes the night of February 24 and 25.³⁷ While the various levels of governments and the citizens of the Pacific states expended a great deal of effort preparing for air attacks and invasions that never came, there were in fact successful attacks by the Imperial Japanese Navy along the West Coast.

³⁶ The History Net: Phantom Raid on L.A. <<http://www.thehistorynet.com/wwii/blphantomraid/index1.html>>, (1/20/05).

³⁷ The History Net: Phantom Raid on L.A. The text of the Air Forces Report can be found in the Appendix and is available online from *The Virtual Museum of San Francisco* at: <<http://www.sfmuseum.net/hist9/aaf2.html>>

SUBMARINE ATTACK OFF THE HUMBOLDT COAST: THE ATTACKS ON THE S.S. SAMOA AND S.S. EMIDIO—DECEMBER 18-DECEMBER 20, 1941

Between December 18 and Christmas Eve, 1941, nine Japanese I class submarines took up positions off the West Coast. As per Japanese war plans, five submarines were placed outside of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, the mouth of the Columbia River and Seattle while the other four stationed themselves off rural areas like Humboldt County. Surprisingly, the four submarines sent to find and destroy ships off the coast from major ports like San Francisco, Seattle and Los Angeles searched in vain for targets. Instead the first attacks took place in less traveled areas where seemingly fewer targets would be found. Over the course of the week they were in position, the nine submarines sunk two American merchant ships and attacked six others killing six seamen. The first ship attacked, the S.S. Samoa and the first ship sunk, the S.S. Emidio, were both attacked off Cape Mendocino by the I-17.³⁸

In the immediate aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack nine of the twelve long-range Japanese submarines dispatched to the Hawaiian Islands to support the attack force, sailed to positions along the West Coast. The nine submarines, despite their hope to find and sink at least one of the three American aircraft carriers in the Pacific, had not experienced any combat around Pearl Harbor and were directed to disrupt West Coast

³⁸ Donald J. Young. "West Coast War Zone." World War II Magazine, July 1998. <<http://www.thehistorynet.com/wwii/blwestcoastwarzone/index1.html>>, (1/24/05).

shipping as much as possible before returning to the Japanese controlled Marshall Islands.³⁹

One of those submarines, the I-17, was ordered to patrol in the shipping lanes off Cape Mendocino. The I-17, like all the submarines dispatched to America's West Coast by the Japanese Navy was a formidable weapon. The 355 foot long submarine was less than one year old, had a range of up to 15,000 miles, carried a crew of between 90 and 100 men and its diesel engines could propel it on the surface at a speed of 23 1/2 knots (about 27 miles per hour). Submarines like the I-17 could carry up to 18 torpedoes and also mounted a 5.5" deck gun. The 5.5 inch gun on the deck of the I-17 was capable of firing at six aimed shot per minute. Each explosive shell weighed 83 pounds.⁴⁰ Because a submarine's supply of torpedoes was limited, submarines at this time used their deck guns as preferred means of attack against unarmed merchant ships. In fact, Young in his article says the Japanese commanders of the nine submarines sent to the West Coast were ordered to fire no more than one torpedo at any merchant ship.

This combination of weaponry, range and speed made the I-17 more than a match for any of the merchant ships that carried cargo from the ports of the West Coast. The typical cargo ship of the time had a top speed of 12-15 knots (13-17 miles per hour) and tended to cruise a speed of closer to 10 knots. Furthermore, these ships were not designed for maneuverability, particularly when fully loaded. They tended to ride low in the water and plod along. And, in December 1941, they were unarmed and defenseless.

³⁹ Donald J. Young.

⁴⁰ Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp. Stories and Battle Histories of the Imperial Japanese Navy's Submarines <http://www.combinedfleet.com/140_50.htm>, (1/24/05).

Early in the pre-dawn morning of December 18, 1941, the I-17 patrolled on the surface 15 miles off Cape Mendocino and the small town of Petrolia. Lookouts on the submarine spotted the S.S. Samoa, a cargo ship loaded with lumber and bound for San Diego. The commander of I-17, Kozo Nishino, ordered an attack. Like any submarine commander, Captain Nishino would have been eager to sink an American vessel, particularly in light of what he and his crew had gone through the previous eleven days. On December 7, Nishino and his crew had participated in the attack on Pearl Harbor, and then waited in vain for American warships to steam in or out of Pearl Harbor so I-17 and her sister ships could attack. None came. All Captain Nishino and the crew of I-17 got for there effort was the terror of an emergency crash-dive on December 10, when I-17 was spotted on the surface by an American patrol plane. When they later resurfaced, they were again spotted, but this time after crash-diving they were attacked by armed American warplanes. Nishino and his crew escaped unharmed. After surviving the attack, I-17, along with eight other submarines, spent the next four days in a frustrating pursuit of an American aircraft carrier. This pursuit ended on the 14th without I-17 or any of the other submarines coming close to the faster American carrier and its escorts.⁴¹

Even if Nishino had not been an officer in the Japanese Navy at a time when Japanese militarism was at his peak. Even if he and his crew hadn't been raised in the decades prior to the Second World War when Japanese children were taught that the highest virtue was to fight and die pursuing the military goals of Emperor Hirohito, Nishino and his men would have to have been eager to engage the enemy, even if the

⁴¹ Ibid.

enemy was the S.S. Samoa, a cargo ship loaded with lumber and headed for San Diego and not an American aircraft carrier or battleship.⁴²

Moments before *Samoa* crossed the bow of *I-17*, First Mate John Lehtonen, on watch at the time, spotted a dim light from the approaching enemy sub and yelled down to the captain, "A submarine is attacking us!" Captain Nels Sinnes, who had been asleep, sat bolt upright in his bunk, quickly pulled on his pants and shirt, grabbed a life jacket and yelled into the crew's quarters for everyone to report to their lifeboat stations. As crewmen began tearing the canvas covers from the lifeboats, the Japanese opened up. "Five shots were fired at us," Captain Sinnes later recalled. "One, apparently aimed at our radio antenna, burst in the air above the stern. Fragments fell to the deck."⁴³

Fortunately for the *Samoa*, the damage done by *I-17*'s first attack was minimal. Unfortunately for the crew of the lumber carrier, *Nishino*, growing frustrated with the lack of results from the shelling, ordered a torpedo fired at the ship from a distance of only 70 yards. As the crew saw the wake of the torpedo approaching and passing from view under the ship, in the words of *Samoa* Captain Sinnes, "the miracle happened. The torpedo went directly beneath us, didn't even touch the hull and continued beyond. A short distance away it exploded. There was a huge shower accompanied by smoke and flames. Fragments from the torpedo also fell on our deck."⁴⁴

Miraculously, at least in the eyes of the men of the S.S. *Samoa*, they had survived certain destruction. Of course, there was a Japanese submarine, less than a football field length away, with a captain and crew eager to destroy them, but their luck held. In the pre-dawn darkness, Sinnes said the submarine closed to within 40 feet to try to evaluate

⁴² James Bradley. *Fly Boys: A True Story of Courage* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2004).

⁴³ Donald J. Young.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

how much damage the Samoa had suffered and to ascertain if further shelling would be necessary. According to Captain Sinnes,

There was a shout: "Hi ya!" from the submarine.

"What do you want of us?" I replied. There was no answer. Then it disappeared, evidently thinking that we were sinking on account of the heavy port list. The list was due to the ship's engineer shifting water between the ships ballast tanks. Furthermore, a few days earlier, due to stormy weather, the ship had lost most of its #1 lifeboat, "parts of which were still hanging from its davit."⁴⁵

This Samoa's list and the shattered remains of the #1 lifeboat were what Captain Nishino saw before he and his crew withdrew. Captain Sinnes and his crew likewise withdrew and steamed as fast as they could to San Diego, safely arriving two days later.

Nishino and his crew were not finished. They remained on patrol, off Cape Mendocino and waited for another opportunity to attack. At about 1:30 in the afternoon on December 20 the S.S. Emidio, an oil tanker that left Seattle on the morning of Wednesday, December 17th sailed into the now dangerous waters off Cape Mendocino.

It is interesting, that none of the sources chronicling the Emidio's last voyage make mention of Emidio's captain, Clark Farrow, receiving a warning about the attack on the S.S. Samoa in the same area his ship would soon be transiting. It remains to be seen whether the military did or did not warn shipping of the presence of the I-17 off the Humboldt coast, or whether the captain of the Emidio received and ignored such a warning. To further muddy the waters, the sources contradict each other as to the other warnings Captain Farrow did or didn't receive.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Andrew McGuffin, in his award winning Barnum paper, *Humboldt County's Participation in World War II*, writes, "According to the second mate [John A. Stepkins], however, at some point during the third night (Dec. 19-20) Captain Farrow received a report from the authorities that another tanker had been attacked by a Japanese submarine off the Columbia River in northern Oregon."⁴⁶ No mention is made of the earlier attack on the Samoa, but according to Second Mate Stepkins, "[Farrow] neglected to inform his officers or record the incident in the ship's log. Hence the crew believed all was well."⁴⁷ If Stepkins is correct and Captain Farrow ignored the warning of a submarine attack off the mouth of the Columbia River, it is possible that Captain Farrow could also have ignored an earlier warning about I-17's attack on S.S. Samoa, but this is speculation. Furthermore, there is a vast difference between receiving a warning of a submarine attack in an area you left two days before (near the mouth of the Columbia River) as opposed to a warning of enemy submarine activity in an area you haven't yet reached (the waters off Cape Mendocino). Perhaps Captain Farrow didn't want to further worry his crew with news of submarine activity in an area two days steaming behind.

In Farrow's defense, Bert Webber, author of *Retaliation: Japanese Attacks and Allied Countermeasures on the Pacific Coast in World War II* writes that "Captain Clark

⁴⁶ Andrew McGuffin. *Humboldt County's Participation in World War II*. p. 5-6. McGuffin is the only source to mention Second Mate Stepkins' unpublished journal. The journal is kept at the Del Norte Historical Society.

⁴⁷ McGuffin, p. 6.

A. Farrow, the tanker's skipper, said later that he was on a course set by the U.S. Navy, who had told him there were no submarines in the vicinity."⁴⁸

Regardless of whether or not Captain Farrow received any submarine warnings for the waters off Cape Mendocino, as the sun rose the morning of December 20, 1941, the Emidio sailed southward along the Humboldt County coast towards the lurking I-17.

Later that day, at around noon, as the Emidio approached Cape Mendocino and the Blunt's Reef Lightship, floating six miles off the Cape,

Stepkins (by then the officer on watch) spotted a speck on the horizon to the north of where the lightship would be. Stepkins believed the speck to be either a fishing vessel or a friendly submarine. The crew sounded no alarms as they were accustomed to seeing enemy submarines off the coast in the months preceding the outbreak of the war.

An hour and fifteen minutes later, at 1:10 p.m., Stepkins confirmed that the object was a submarine and reported it in the log. Captain Farrow, once notified, ordered the life-boats to be readied. He also ordered the ship change course to head in the opposite direction. Farrow believed the submarine to be unfriendly, but made no attempt to send a radio message for assistance.⁴⁹

Captain Farrow attempted to outrun the submarine, but his ship "had no chance to escape. We were rapidly overtaken. The sub was making 20 knots. I tried to get behind her but the [sub] reversed course and kept after us."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Bert Webber. *Retaliation: Japanese Attacks and Allied Countermeasures on the Pacific Coast in World War II*. (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1975). In the paragraph about the Emidio, Webber, neglects to mention that the Emidio was torpedoed (he only mentions it being shelled) and while he lists the attack on the Samoa in an earlier listing of attacks off the California coast before Christmas 1941, he calls the attack on the Emidio, "[t]he first submarine attack on commercial shipping immediately off the northwest coast." Inasmuch as the two attacks took place off Cape Mendocino in the same section of ocean, this statement is inaccurate.

⁴⁹ Andrew McGuffin, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁰ Donald J. Young.

Captain Farrow ordered his radio operator to send word that an enemy submarine was attacking them. Just after the message was sent the I-17 opened fire. It fired three shots, one which destroyed the Emidio's radio antenna, thus making further communication with the Blunts Reef Lightship impossible. Fortunately for the Emidio and her crew, the radio operators on the lightship relayed the S.O.S. message on to the Army Air Corps and two bombers were sent to help the Emidio.⁵¹

Not knowing if their S.O.S. was received Captain Farrow and his men “tried to surrender to the Japanese by hoisting a white bedspread while simultaneously preparing to abandon ship. The Japanese responded by firing another shell at Emidio.”⁵² The Captain ordered the men to abandon ship and as they were attempting to do so a shell struck “spilling” three men, R.W. Pennington, Fred Potts and Stuart McGillvray into the water in the words of a crewmember. “Other lifeboats were put over the side to search for the three missing men, but we couldn’t find them.”⁵³

Twenty-nine members of the 36-man crew boarded lifeboats and simultaneously searched for the missing three sailors and rowed madly away from the doomed ship and the I-17. Three men in the engine room did not respond to the call to abandon ship. The I-17 took another shot at the fleeing lifeboats then dived.

A couple of minutes later the reason for the sudden disappearance became apparent. “It may have been 10 or 15 minutes after the SOS when two US bombers came roaring overhead from the coast,” said [Captain] Farrow later. “To us in the lifeboats it was a welcome sight. One of the

⁵¹ McGuffin, p. 7.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Donald J. Young.

two planes, circling where the sub had gone down, dropped a depth charge. We couldn't tell if it hit or not."⁵⁴

Seeing that help, in the form of Army Air Corps bombers had arrived, the men of the Emidio headed back to the ship. Some like "[t]he Third Assistant Engineer B. Winters, Fireman Kenneth K. Kimes and an oiler [B.F. Moler] were in the engine-room talking about their adventure."⁵⁵ Unfortunately for these men Captain Nishino had not given up.

We were still looking at where the sub went down when we saw its periscope slowly push above the surface. While still partly submerged it fired a torpedo from 200 yards. We could see its trail as it sped straight for the ship. It struck with a loud explosion.⁵⁶

While those on the deck could see the torpedo approach, the three in the engine room were completely unaware they were about to be torpedoed and that the torpedo would enter the very engine room in which they were standing.

Astoundingly, Moler saw it penetrate the engine room bulkhead and pass so close to him that, as he told an examining medical officer the next day at the Eureka naval section base, "I could have reached out and touched it. It exploded on the other side of the engine room and killed Kimes and Winters outright." Despite three broken ribs and a punctured lung, Moler "somehow swam and climbed up to the upper deck and jumped overboard."⁵⁷

Moler was picked-up by a lifeboat along with the radioman who had also jumped overboard after radioing "Torpedoed in stern." The thirty one survivors rowed their boats almost twenty miles to near the mouth of Humboldt Bay where they were picked-up by a

⁵⁴ Donald J. Young.

⁵⁵ McGuffin, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Donald J. Young.

⁵⁷ Donald J. Young.

lightship.⁵⁸ As would be expected, the attack and the arrival of the survivors in town was the lead story in the local papers. An Extra Edition of the Humboldt Times on Sunday, December 21 Headlined: SURVIVORS OF TANKER TO BE LANDED HERE.⁵⁹ Upon arrival in Eureka, the crew of the Emidio spoke of the attack.

When interviewed by the press Captain Farrow and his crew called the attack, "shameful and ruthless," as they charged the Japanese with deliberately shelling their lifeboats before they could be lowered. "If they had been armed," they boasted, "we would have had a good chance against the submarine," as she was within easy range.⁶⁰

As for the Emidio, despite the damage from the shells and the torpedo the ship did not sink. Drifting northward the ship covered about 85 miles from the site of her shelling and torpedoing until she ran aground on the rocks outside Crescent City. As described on Redwood National Park's website:

[S]he came ashore on Steamboat Rock, near the entrance to Crescent City harbor, on the night of December 25. Hundreds of people crowded Battery Point the next day to view the wreck. The tanker's bow was out of the water, and her after portion was submerged. One of the curious reported, "The bridge and forward deck are out of the water, the ship's stack with the letter, G, rising out of the water at the stern, which appears to be riding on the rocky bottom. The bow moves with the rise and fall of the waves."⁶¹

Nine years were to pass before the rusty bow was finally broken up for scrap, and the forward bollards placed at the foot of H Street as a memorial.⁶²

⁵⁸ Donald J. Young.

⁵⁹ "Survivors of Tanker to Be Landed Here," *Humboldt Times*, 21 December, 1941, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Del Norte Triplicate, Dec. 26, 1941. <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/redw/history13a.htm>, (1/23/05).

⁶¹ Redwood National Park History Basic Data. <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/redw/history13a.htm>, (1/23/05).

⁶² Redwood National Park History Basic Data.

As for the I-17, after sailing south towards Los Angeles upon the false report that three U.S. Battleships were headed that way, the submarine unsuccessfully attacked the tanker Larry Doheny on December 23rd and finally low fuel supplies forced Captain Nishino and his crew to head back to base at Kwajelin in the Marshall Islands.⁶³ A few months after their December attacks Captain Nishino and his crew made news again on the night of February 23, 1942 when they returned to the West Coast and shelled an oil refinery at Ellwood City, near Santa Barbara, California.⁶⁴ I-17 survived this tour along the West Coast as well as others in the Pacific. Finally, Australian forces sank the I-17, under a new captain, on August 19, 1943 off the coast of New Caledonia, a Pacific island east of Australia.⁶⁵

In the case of the story of the Emidio and the Samoa, all of the sources available: the Humboldt Times, Donald Young's article, Andrew McGuffin's unpublished Barnum Paper, the Redwood National Park website, the Imperial Navy website and Bert Webber's *Retaliation*, offer information. Surprisingly, the source that offered the most new information was McGuffin's Barnum paper because he included quotes from the unpublished journal of the Emidio's second mate, John A. Stepkins from the Del Norte Historical Society. Young's treatment of both attacks includes the best description of the events while Webber's *Retaliation* only mentions the Emidio as being attacked and sunk but offers few details. A check of the local newspapers shows both Young and McGuffin accurately cite the reports of the day. The Imperial Navy website includes an enormous

⁶³ Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp.

⁶⁴ Webber, pp. 29-31; Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp.

⁶⁵ Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp.

amount of information about Japanese submarines and the career of the I-17 in particular and the Redwood National Park website makes extensive use of the Del Norte Triplicate. Taken in their entirety, the sources allow for a fairly comprehensive understanding of the story of the Emidio and the I-17.

COMPARING THE JAPANESE AND ITALIAN EXPERIENCES AT THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II

"Make sure to call it the Italian Relocation, not the Italian Internment" Steve Fox, author of *UnCivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege During World War II* said when discussing Humboldt County's experience in World War II.⁶⁶ He clarified the point by emphasizing that while most every Italian alien living in the security zones declared along the West Coast was forced to relocate away from the coast, (for less than a year in most cases) they were not sent to relocation camps (such as Manzanar and Tule Lake) as the Japanese and made to stay there. Fox's admonition to call the Italian Relocation by its proper names illustrates that what happened to Italians living along the West Coast was not the same as what happened to the Japanese and Japanese-Americans. The main reasons for this can be narrowed down to racism, economic considerations and political considerations.⁶⁷ Each of these deserves a brief discussion before looking at the specific differences in treatment.

⁶⁶ Steve Fox, Interview with the author, McKinleyville, 31 January, 2005.

It is illustrative to note that Fox changed the name of his book from the *Unknown Internment* to *UnCivil Liberties*. Based upon the author's discussions with Fox this change in title reflects Fox's desire to accurately call each of the different events Italian and German aliens and Japanese Americans and aliens underwent during the war.

⁶⁷ Eric Muller, author of *Free to Die for Their Country*, recently posted the following comment online regarding the attempt by some to "restore some credibility to the now-discredited claim of military necessity" for the internment of the Japanese: "[they would have to overturn] the settled understanding, supported by several decades of comprehensive research by numerous scholars, that racism, economic jealousy, and war hysteria led these actors [local, state and federal officials] to take the actions they took." Muller, Eric. *A Critique of Michelle Malkin's "In Defense of Internment," Part One*, 1-7 August, 2004, <<http://modelminority.com/article848.html>>, (3 February 2005).

Racism: While some authors, such as Fox News commentator and Creators Syndicate Columnist, Michelle Malkin in her August 2004 book, *In Defense of Internment*⁶⁸ downplay the role racism played in the very different ways Italians, Germans and Japanese were treated by the U.S. government at the beginning of World War II, one basic difference separated Japanese immigrants from Italian and German immigrants. In the decades before the war Italian immigrants living in the United States enjoyed one

⁶⁸ Michelle Malkin. *In Defense of Internment: The Case for "Racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Regenery Publishing, 2004). Malkin in her book *In Defense of Internment* does correctly state that about half of internees were European or of European descent. However, this claim, while accurate is also misleading because of how most people use and understand the word *internment* to describe what happened to Japanese and Japanese-Americans. As was impressed upon the author in his 31 January, 2005 meeting with Steve Fox, the internees were people who were found to be a threat through some process of investigation or at least accusation—for instance, being active in (or accused of being active in) a pro-fascist organization. They constituted a small percentage of the total number of people forcefully displaced by the U.S. Government and as confirmed by Mr. Fox, about half of them were of European origin or descent. The 117,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans are more accurately called relocatees and the camps in which they were required to stay more accurately can be called relocation camps. However, these camps, like Tule Lake and Manzanar, are generally called internment camps and those people living within them are called internees.

The number of Japanese and Japanese American relocatees is put at 117,000 by the National Parks Service on the Manzanar Historic Resource webpage.

<<http://www.nps.gov/manz/hrs/hrs0b.htm>>, (6 February 2005).

As mentioned in the text, Malkin is a columnist and commentator. The subtitle of her book, *The Case for "Racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terror* makes clear the point of view she supports. Additionally, in an August 11, 2004 column, Ms. Malkin stated most people did not know about other European internees (using the narrow definition of the word) because "Thanks to a left-wing monopoly on the teaching of World War II history, not many other Americans know about these long-forgotten internees, either." This comment may also betray some level of bias on the part of Ms. Malkin. Source: The Forgotten Internees of World War II, (11 August, 2004).

<<http://www.townhall.com/columnists/michellemalkin/mm20040811.shtml>>, (4 February 2005).

major privilege Japanese immigrants did not—the right to become naturalized citizens of the United States. Those Italian immigrants who were not citizens by December 7, 1941 were foreign nationals mostly for reasons of economics (becoming a citizen would have made no real difference in everyday life), lack of time (many women in particular, didn't have the time to prepare for the citizenship test) or illiteracy. By comparison, with a very few exceptions,⁶⁹ a Japanese alien, even a literate, wealthy person, who had been here for decades was not allowed to become a naturalized American citizen, or had their opportunity to migrate to the United States limited, and in many states could not own land due to the following laws and Supreme Court case.

- 1870 Naturalization Act limits American citizenship to "white persons and persons of African descent," barring Asians from U.S. citizenship.⁷⁰
- 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act restricts Chinese immigration.⁷⁰
- 1907 Under the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan, the United States agrees not to restrict Japanese immigration in exchange for Japan's promise not to issue passports to Japanese laborers for travel to the continental United States. Japanese laborer are permitted to go to Hawaii, but are barred by executive order from migrating from Hawaii to the mainland.⁷⁰
- 1913 California Alien Land Law prohibited "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (i.e. all Asian immigrants) from owning land or property, but permitted three year leases.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Eric Muller, in *Free to Die for Their Country*, does write of about a handful of Japanese who fought for the United States during World War I and later received citizenship after lobbying on their behalf from among others, the Veterans of Foreign Wars. John C. Yu in his *Timeline Related to Internment* also cites this June 1935 act of Congress which affected honorably discharged Issei who served in the U.S. Military between April 6, 1917 and November 11, 1918 (America's involvement in World War I).

⁷⁰ Steve Mintz. *Landmarks of Immigration History*. <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/immigration_chron.cfm>, (2 February 2005).

- 1920 California Alien Land Law prohibited leasing land to "aliens ineligible to citizenship." By 1925, it was also prohibited in Washington, Arizona, Oregon, Idaho, Nebraska, Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, Minnesota, and Missouri. During World War II, Utah, Wyoming, and Arkansas also joined.⁷¹
- 1921 Quota Act limits annual European immigration to 3 percent of the number of a nationality group in the United States in 1910.⁷⁰
- 1922 In *Ozawa v. U.S.*, the Supreme Court reaffirmed that Asian immigrants were not eligible for naturalization.⁷¹
- 1924 The Johnson-Reed Act limits annual European immigration to two percent of the number of nationality group in the United States in 1890.⁷⁰
- 1924 Oriental Exclusion Act prohibits most immigration from Asia, including foreign-born wives and children of U.S. citizens of Chinese ancestry.⁷⁰

Even if for the sake of argument we assume, racism played no role in the decisions made by the Federal Government regarding the treatment of Japanese-Americans and Japanese aliens in 1941 and 1942, thanks to a series of laws and court decisions over the previous seventy years Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans started on a playing field that was decidedly not level as compared to Italian and German immigrants because all Nisei (Japanese immigrants) were prevented from becoming American citizens and had been for over 70 years.

Economic Considerations: In 1941 there were between 110,000 and 120,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans living in the Western States and a comparative handful

⁷¹ John C. Yu. *Timeline Related to Internment* <<http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/intern05.htm>>, (31 January 2005).

elsewhere⁷². This compared with tens of millions of Italian and German immigrants and descendents nationwide. It was impossible to relocate that many people—even if a good reason had existed—and furthermore, such a dislocation would have crippled the American economy at a time when the nation was shifting to war production.

A much smaller, but illustrative example occurred in Hawaii in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor where despite the presence of approximately 157,905 Japanese and Japanese-Americans out of a total population of 423,330 no large-scale internment and relocation occurred partly because forcing over 1/3 of Hawaii's population to leave would have not only been enormously costly and difficult, it would have left Hawaii enormously short of workers.⁷³ This was in spite of at least one legitimate instance of Japanese aliens giving comfort and support to the enemy. In Hawaii, steps were taken to determine the individual loyalty Japanese and Japanese Americans and “for the most part, in Hawaii this meant only detention and relocation of aliens whose conduct marked them

⁷² The 1940 US Census lists a total of 254,918 Asians and Pacific Islanders living in the continental United States. Hawaii was not a state in 1940 and its numbers are listed separately. <<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tab01.xls>>, (12 February 2005).

⁷³ 1940 United States Census: Hawaii. <<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tab26.xls>>, (12 February 2005). As stated above, in Hawaii there actually was an example of Japanese aliens aiding the enemy. On the morning of December 7, 1941, on the small agricultural island of Niihau (the westernmost Hawaiian island—off the southwest coast of Kauai) a Japanese pilot crash landed his plane and was able to get three local Japanese to aid him in his violent attempt to escape. Furthermore, in the weeks and months before Pearl Harbor the Japanese consulate in Honolulu did employ spies to track the movements of the US Fleet. Yet despite these events and the utter lack of anything similar on the mainland, Hawaii's Japanese were not interned and relocated to the American interior. Online accounts of this incident are available from both Michelle Malkin <<http://www.townhall.com/columnists/michellemalkin/mm20040810.shtml>> and Herber A. Holbrook <http://www.pacshiprev.com/PacificArchivesSubDirectory/page21.html>.

as unacceptable security risks, about 500 in number.”⁷⁴ If it was impractical to relocate 157,905 or so Japanese and Japanese-Americans in Hawaii then it stands to reason it was impossible to do so to millions of German and Italian aliens and American citizens living along the Pacific, Atlantic and Southern coasts. However, that realization took a few months to develop as will be discussed later.

Politics: Love him or hate him, (or both as was the case for many), perhaps no president of the last century engendered such passionate feelings as Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Regardless of what people felt about him, most agreed that Roosevelt was a consummate politician. The political math of internment politics is clear. If Roosevelt had attempted to relocate tens of millions of Italian and German American voters he would have had to confront the real possibility of losing in 1944.

[T]here had been at least one sobering trend in the otherwise satisfying victory over Wendell Willkie in 1940: Italian American voters were drifting away from the Democratic Party in the large urban centers of East. . . . Rep. Carl Curtis, a Republican from Nebraska, was overheard to say during the Tolan Committee hearings in March 1942 that the Italians “will all be Republicans. . . when they find out what is going on.”⁷⁵

As it turned out, Roosevelt’s victory over Thomas Dewey in November 1944 was the most narrow of his elections. Enraging even a quarter of the Italian and German American voters could have closed the 3.6 million vote margin by which the president

⁷⁴ Herber A. Holbrook. “The Niihau Island Incident.” Pacific Ship and Shore Historical Society Newsletter (March 1996). <<http://www.pacshiprev.com/PacificArchivesSubDirectory/page21.html>>, (12 February 2005).

⁷⁵ Stephen Fox. p. 148. In early 1942, the Tolan Committee, named for its Chairman, John H. Tolan, investigated the steps being taken toward enemy aliens along the West Coast. The committee proved to be a strong force for the lifting of restrictions on Italian and German aliens, but approved of the steps being taken against Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans.

won.⁷⁶ Conversely, in light of the anti-Japanese hysteria sweeping the country in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, it can be argued the move to intern the Japanese and Japanese Americans carried little political risk. To what extent Roosevelt considered this is unknown, though it is interesting to note that his order to lift the ban on Japanese and Japanese Americans in the Western States came after the 1944 election.⁷⁷ Attorney General Biddle in recalling the May 26, 1944 Cabinet meeting wrote,

The Secretary of War raised the question of whether it was appropriate for the War Department, at this time, to cancel the Japanese Exclusion Orders and let the Japs go home. War, Interior and Justice had all agreed that this could be done without danger to defense considerations but doubted the wisdom of doing it at this time before the election.⁷⁸

Biddle, if accurate, demonstrates that Roosevelt's decision to delay the release of Japanese relocates until after the November 1944 election was politically motivated. Doing so beforehand would have angered voters whose memories of Japanese atrocities such as the Rape of Nanking and the Bataan Death March were still strong.

Regardless of the reasons, there were major differences between the treatment of aliens and American citizens whose roots traced back to Italy and those from Japan.

These differences included:

⁷⁶ Thomas Bailey and David M. Kennedy. *The American Pageant, 10th Edition* (Lexington, Mass., D.C. Heath and Company, 1994) p. A 31. While FDR's margin of 3.6 million votes may seem large, in 1948 Harry Truman defeated Dewey in one of America's greatest upsets by 2.8 million votes, a total not so much less than Roosevelt's win in 1944 .

⁷⁷ Civil Liberties Public Education Network. *Historical Overview of the Japanese American Internment*. <<http://www.momomedia.com/CLPEF/history.html>>, (12 February 2005).

⁷⁸ Bernstein, Joan Z., Chair, *Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Washington D.C. 1982. <www.geocities.com/Athens/8420/politicians.html?200518>, (18 February 2005).

- American born citizens of Italian extraction were not sent to relocation or internment camps. The government viewed Italian-Americans as Americans and they were protected by the same rights as citizens descended from allied nations.
- There was not a round-up of naturalized Italian born American citizens.
- Furthermore, resident aliens of Italian lineage born in countries other than Italy did not face the same restrictions as those born in Italy. More than once in Fox's *UnCivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege During World War II*, stories are told of an Italian without U.S. citizenship not being forced to move because he or she was born in a country other than Italy (Brazil for instance). This was not the case with American residents of Japanese extraction. In fact, over 2000 people of Japanese extraction living in Central and South America were taken into custody and sent to the United States for the duration of the war.⁷⁹ However, it's important to note the same thing also happened to some Italian nationals living in Latin America.
- The scope of Italian Relocation and Internment was radically different as compared to what happened to Japanese and Japanese-Americans. Fox, in the Preface to *UnCivil Liberties* says that the best evidence is between eight to ten thousand enemy aliens were interned. This includes Italians, Japanese and Germans. Exclusion orders were issued to eighty-eight naturalized Italians on the West Coast and there were some Italians among the eighty five total exclusions

⁷⁹ Natsu Taylor Saito. *Crossing the Border: The Interdependence of Foreign Policy and Racial Justice in America*. Yale Human Rights and Development Journal: Volume 1 1998. <<http://modelminority.com/article211.html>>, (18 February 2005).

on the East Coast and in the South. West Coast Japanese aliens wouldn't have needed to be excluded because they were relocated. The Immigration and Naturalization Service detained 3,278 Italians during the war, but only 112 Italians were interned for a substantial amount of time. These numbers pale in comparison to the Japanese experience.⁸⁰

- The length of Italian Relocation was significantly shorter when compared to Japanese resident aliens and Japanese-American citizens. The Federal orders requiring all enemy aliens to leave restricted security zones along the coast were issued in late January and early February 1942 and rescinded for Italians by October 1942.

[On January 29, 1942 Secretary of War] Stimson declared that some enemy aliens would have to move out of so-called "Category A" prohibited areas (primarily waterfront locations and areas surrounding and adjacent to defense industries, power plants, reservoirs and the like) in California no later than February 15, and the rest by February 24.⁸¹

On June 27, 1942, the government, realizing it had made a mistake, relented and allowed the Italians to return to their homes and jobs.⁸²

On Columbus Day, October 12, 1942, a day of special meaning for Italians, Attorney General Francis Biddle announced that Italian aliens in the United States would no longer be classified as enemies. . . . Roosevelt, who wished he had thought of it himself, immediately gave the move his blessing, calling it a 'a masterly stroke of international statesmanship and good politics.'⁸³

⁸⁰ Stephen Fox, Preface ix.

⁸¹ Fox, p. 77.

⁸² Fox, p. xiii

⁸³ Fox, p. 193.

In contrast to this relatively quick reversal of policy for Italian aliens, President Roosevelt did not issue the order allowing Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans back to the West Coast until December 17, 1944⁸⁴ and the Japanese relocation camps did not begin a large-scale release of relocatees until the last year of the war.

⁸⁴ Civil Liberties Public Education Network.

HUMBOLDT COUNTY AND THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN RELOCATION

Documentary film-maker, Michael Dilauro, whose 2004 documentary, *Prisoners Among Us: Italian-American Identity and World War II*, chronicles the Italian-American experience from the late 1800s through relocation and internment emphasizes the historical background that put the Italians in a somewhat compromised position at the beginning of World War II. In a phone conversation, Dilauro mentioned the effects of laws going back as far as the Alien Act of 1798, which placed the first restrictions on aliens living in the United States and greatly increased the time required to live in the U.S. before one became eligible for naturalization—though it did not include immigration restrictions like later laws.⁸⁵ The Nativist movements of the mid nineteenth century, which culminated with the American or “Know Nothing” Party, never reached a level where immigration was restricted. Additionally, the mid-century Nativist

⁸⁵ Michael Dilauro, Phone interview with the author, McKinleyville, 12 January, 2005.

The Alien Act of 1798 increased the time required to live in the United States before one could be naturalized from five years to fourteen years. This was done more for political reasons than any strong anti-immigrant feelings.

In 1798, the party in power, the Federalist Party, drew its strength from the more wealthy citizens of the nation, New Englanders and those living along the Atlantic Coast. The joke of the time was if a warship fired a cannon ball more than fifty miles inland the chances of that cannon ball hitting a Federalist were exceedingly slim. The opposition party, which came to be known as the Jeffersonian Republicans or Democratic Republicans, drew its strength from the Southern states and farmers.

Most new immigrants at this time moved to the countryside and became farmers (not surprising in a country where 95% of the population at that time lived outside of cities or towns). The Federalist feared that these immigrants would soon become Jeffersonian Republicans and for this reason extended the residency requirement to 14 years. This fourteen-year residency requirement was changed back to five years by a Jeffersonian Republican majority in Congress in 1802. None of these 18th Century political machinations had any direct effect on the much later Italian Immigration.

movements had as their targets Irish and Germans for the most part. The arrival of waves of Italian and Southern European immigrants who would populate the New York of Jacob Riis was still three decades in the future.⁸⁶ Furthermore, with the gathering storm of secession and civil war looming on the horizon, the country's attention was quickly diverted from the mid-century Nativist movement to the more pressing matter of national survival.

By the second half of the 1800s as immigrant patterns changed and the Irish and Germans were replaced by seemingly endless waves of Greeks, Poles, Russians, Slovaks and Italians their poverty, lack of education and religious affiliation (Catholic, Orthodox or Jewish) gravely concerned people like the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, who in 1867 wrote in their annual report that immigrants were the class of citizens who:

. . . most strenuously resist the moral restraints of the community....who among our population give unrestricted and unregulated license to the ten thousand drinking places in the city, which are the chief receptacles of drunkenness, debauchery, villainy, and disease[.]⁸⁷

What makes this quote from the New York Association for the Improvement of the Poor even more interesting is the people they were speaking of were still predominantly Irish and Germans, not the much stranger Southern or Eastern Europeans who were only just beginning to arrive.

⁸⁶ For an eyewitness account of life in the immigrant slums of New York City in the late 19th Century, the book to read is *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob Riis.

⁸⁷ Steve Mintz. *Digital History*. <<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/us29.cfm>>, (2/06/05).

However, as the Gilded Age reached its climax, these “new immigrants” offered something the plutocracy then dominating American politics wanted: a seemingly endless supply of cheap labor for the factories and the sweatshops of the nation. As these immigrants crowded into ethnic ghettos along the eastern seaboard and into the “brawny shouldered” cities of the Midwest the trust-dominated Federal Government took no steps to restrict their flow aside from screening for physical and mental defects at locations like Ellis Island. The peak of this immigration came in the first decade of the twentieth century when 8.8 million immigrants entered the United States.⁸⁸

In the aftermath of World War I, as forces of reform and restriction imposed a prohibition of alcohol on America, a prohibition on those who had poured into the American melting pot in the decades before the Great War was proposed, enacted and later strengthened. Thus were the Quota Act of 1921 and the later Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 approved by Congress and signed into law. These two acts effectively ended immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe by implementing quotas, which almost entirely shut off immigration of “new immigrants.”⁸⁹ A chart on historian Steven Mintz’s Digital History website, lists the average inflow of aliens from Eastern and Southern

⁸⁸ Steve Mintz. *Digital History*. Immigration Overview. <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/resource_guides/content.cfm?tpc=21>, (2/06/05).

⁸⁹ The Quota Act of 1921 implemented yearly quotas of 3% of the total number of people from a country as determined by the 1910 Census. Unfortunately, in the eyes of those who did not approve of the Italians and their Eastern and Southern European brethren, this still allowed far too many undesirable aliens to come to the United States. To correct this oversight the much more restrictive Johnson-Reed Act was passed in 1924. This act, while only cutting the yearly quota to two percent changed the determining Census to the 1890 Census when the numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans living in the United States was much lower. This proved to be effective as evidenced by the before and after data from Steve Mintz in the text.

Europe as 685,531 per year from 1907-1914. This number dropped precipitously to 158,367 arrivals per year after passage of the Quota Act of 1921 and dropped even further to only 20,847 immigrant arrivals per year after passage of the 1924 act. Italian immigration essentially ended in 1924, but by that time millions of Italians had arrived in the United States and some of them had made their way to all the way across the continent to California where they began to have children of their own and establish themselves along the coast of the Ocean that most famous Italian navigator and explorer never imagined existed.⁹⁰

“I was born in this house and grew up in this neighborhood. There were Italians living across the street; there were Italians living in the back of us; there were about ten blocks of Italians here that were really all Italian.” So said, life-long Eureka resident Anita Pera, when interviewed by Steve Fox for *UnCivil Liberties*.⁹¹ By 1941 Italians, both citizens and aliens were an entrenched part of Humboldt County. Their children attended the local schools, some, like my Bay Area born grandfather, played baseball for the town and company teams in the Redwood League, and many, or so it seemed, fished the teeming though treacherous waters off Humboldt County. Many of the foreign born became citizens, while some were like the mother of Gino Casagrande did not, because in his words, “[t]he thing she was worried about was taking care of her family. She wasn’t

⁹⁰ According to Steve Fox, pp. 4-5, “[b]y 1940, 100,911 Italians (about half of them naturalized) lived in California. This compare[d] to 71,727 foreign-born Germans [the majority who were naturalized] and 33,569 alien Japanese.” Due to the Naturalization Act of 1870, the Japanese were not allowed to become citizens. Therefore, at most, a handful would have been citizens.

⁹¹ Fox, p. 20.

worried about being a citizen. Not that she had anything against the country, but she never thought about it.”⁹² Most of the Italians who didn’t become citizens were too busy to study for the citizenship exam or lacked the literacy necessary to take and pass the test. And, in a time where the government provided scant services to its citizens, being a resident alien made little or no difference in a person’s life. That is, until the days and months after December 7, 1941.

Pearl Harbor changed everything for Italian aliens living or working in the soon to be declared security zones. But it did take a little time.

Ironically, immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. . . there was no hurry to rid California of its enemy aliens. Not until after the hastily convened Roberts Commission (named after Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, who headed it) released its report [on January 25, 1942], alleging that Japanese Americans on Oahu had aided Japan’s air assault, did the hue and cry to do something about Axis aliens on the mainland commence in earnest.⁹³

In an interview, Steve Fox listed the major steps leading to the Italian relocation and internment yet also emphasized the how quickly the relocation and attendant restrictions ended. According to Fox, the chronological progression of the major events of the Italian Relocation and Internment and the ending of restrictions was:

- The shock of December 7, 1941 to the nation in general and the West Coast in particular. The fear engendered by the attack on Pearl Harbor was soon directed towards Italians, Japanese and Germans.
- The growing concern with enemy aliens along the West Coast, the steps taken to prevent them from committing sabotage and the role of General Dewitt, the commander of the western region in increasing this concern.

⁹² Fox, pp. 14-15.

⁹³ Fox, p. 61.

- The initial feeling in the first months of the war by people like Dewitt that all three groups of enemy aliens be relocated away from the West Coast and the real lack of immediate opposition to this plan.
- The role of the Tolan Committee (named after its chairman, Congressman John H. Tolan) in raising governmental awareness of the consequences (political, economic, logistical) to a relocation and internment of all three nationalities.
- The backing away from the full-scale internment idea for the Italians and Germans.
- October 12, 1942: The official rehabilitation of Italians in the eyes of the U.S. Government when Italians were taken off the enemy aliens list.⁹⁴

While the relocation only lasted a few months, to Italians living on the wrong side of the highway in Eureka and Arcata or too near the seacoast up and down the West Coast, the order to remove themselves from their own homes was shocking.

On the afternoon of December 7, 1941, the citizens of Humboldt County, both citizen and resident alien, were stunned by radio broadcasts announcing that Japanese forces had launched an attack on Pearl Harbor. Some resident aliens realized that this attack by an Axis ally of Italy would bode ill for Italian aliens living in the United States. As Marino Sichi of Arcata remembered, “I remember my dad had one or two records of Mussolini making speeches. He kept them; he was for Italy. . . . [b]ut dad took those records out in the back yard and smashed ‘em into a million pieces and buried them.”⁹⁵ As early as the afternoon of December 7, 1941 FBI agents across the country began arresting enemy aliens from all three Axis powers. Despite this, according to Steve Fox, “In the first days and weeks after Pearl Harbor enemy aliens were treated more as a

⁹⁴ Stephen Fox, Interview with author, McKinleyville, 31 January, 2005.

⁹⁵ Fox, p. 43.

nuisance than a serious threat.”⁹⁶ This was less true for Japanese aliens in general and both Italian and Japanese who owned fishing boats.⁹⁷ This roundup of resulted in the arrest “of 3,000 people whom [the Government] considered ‘dangerous’ enemy aliens, half of whom were Japanese.”⁹⁸ Benito Vanni of Daly City, whose father was temporarily interned, at the beginning of the war said, “My dad, was picked up at the produce market on a rainy Saturday morning. When the two people from the FBI and my dad came in the front door, my sister and I were there to greet them. We were scared stiff.”⁹⁹

However, aside from the limited number of aliens taken into custody, most aliens from all three Axis powers did not lose their freedom. The main impositions on them were an order to turn over all guns, radios and other contraband materials, restriction from military zones declared in the immediate vicinity of vital military and economic assets along the West Coast. Enemy aliens nationwide complied, in some places to such an extent that the authorities did not have room to store everything. In Humboldt County the local police expected that they also would be inundated with contraband materials

⁹⁶ Fox, p. 84. Regarding the start date of the roundup of enemy aliens Fox says, “The government began an immediate roundup of dangerous Italian and German aliens on December 8. . .”

⁹⁷ Fox, p. 97. In 1930 the California Chamber of Commerce had concluded that Italians managed 80 percent of the state’s fishing business—some ten thousand employees. Among those affected by the relocation order were fourteen hundred of the two thousand employees of San Francisco’s half-a-million-dollar-a-year fishing industry.

⁹⁸ J. Burton, et. al. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*. http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/ce3b.htm, (2/20/05).

⁹⁹ Fox, p. 84.

from enemy aliens, the *Humboldt Times* reported on December 28, 1941.¹⁰⁰ Also, in the immediate aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attacks those Italian and German aliens in the final stages of receiving their citizenship found the process halted pending clarification from the Federal Government. In Eureka, on December 10, 1941, thirty four local aliens were sworn in by Judge Harry Falk as citizens but hearings for twelve more Italian and German aliens were postponed indefinitely upon receipt of word from the Department of Justice in San Francisco.¹⁰¹

This less onerous treatment did not last. On January 2, 1942 a story headlined “Government To Limit Travel By Enemy Nationals—Must Get Permission To Leave Home Community,” indicated that changes were afoot regarding the free movement of enemy aliens.¹⁰² Additionally the story went on to say that enemy aliens were required to notify the authorities before they changed their address. Over the next few weeks and months concern grew that enemy aliens from all three Axis nations posed a threat to the security of the West Coast and in late January this concern would turn to action.

The most stunning blow came. . . with the government’s successive announcements in late January that it was establishing eighty-six prohibited and restricted zones on the West Coast to be cleared of all aliens for their own protection was being undertaken on the recommendation of the army to aid the “national defense” and to “protect” the aliens.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ “Police Here Ready to Receive Any Cameras, Radios of Axis Citizens,” *Humboldt Times*, (28 December 1941), p. 1.

¹⁰¹ “US Citizenship Granted to 34, But Two Groups Out,” *Humboldt Times*, (10 December, 1941), p. 3.

¹⁰² “Limit Travel By Enemy Nationals—Must Get Permission To Leave Home Community,” *Humboldt Times*, (2 January 1942), p.1.

¹⁰³ Fox, p. 89.

Steve Fox lays a great deal of the responsibility for the increased call for relocation and other steps to protect America from the threat of fifth column activities by enemy aliens at the feet of the Roberts Commission which was released on January 25. What is interesting is the actual language of the commission's report. While the report claims (correctly as it turned-out) that in the months before the December 7 attack there was spying by agents of the Japanese government, it does not mention a word about American born Japanese and not once is the word "conspiracy" used in the report.¹⁰⁴

There were, prior to December 7, 1941, Japanese spies on the island of Oahu. Some were Japanese consular agents and others were persons having no open relations with the Japanese foreign service. These spies collected and, through various channels transmitted, information to the Japanese Empire respecting the military and naval establishments and dispositions on the island.¹⁰⁵

Nothing in the report's language strikes a twenty-first century reader as concrete proof of a vast conspiracy (or any conspiracy) among the Japanese alien and Japanese American populations on Hawaii or the mainland. What is also striking is the lack of any statement about Japanese or Japanese-American sabotage. This shouldn't be a surprise considering that after the Niihau incident on December 7 and 8, there were no incidents anywhere in Hawaii or on the continental United States that a dispassionate observer

¹⁰⁴ After the first days of the war, spying by agents of the Axis powers was essentially ended. In fact, the only large-scale spying during the war was by agents and sympathizers of our Soviet ally.

¹⁰⁵ US Congress. Senate. Attack on Pearl Harbor by Japanese Armed Forces. 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., 23 January 1942. <<http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/pha/roberts/roberts.html>>, (20 February 2005).

could judge to be sabotage.¹⁰⁶ Certainly there was nothing on the scale of the Black Tom munitions explosion of 1916.¹⁰⁷ Ironically, this lack of fifth column activity appeared as proof to people like General Dewitt that the removal of Japanese and Japanese-American populations from the West Coast must be undertaken before they could perpetrate acts of sabotage. The general mindset among those in favor of removing or excluding enemy aliens seemed akin to someone with a rattlesnake under their porch. Even if it had not have yet struck at anyone, the prudent thing to do is to remove its threat from the area completely. An analogy with a rattlesnake might actually not be appropriate to the mindset of many in power at that time for at least a rattlesnake gives a warning shake of its tail before striking. Considering the American antipathy to the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the rattlesnake seemed less treacherous. Overall, the Roberts Commission Report raised concerns of sabotage and other fifth column activities to a level which demanded that action be taken.

This growing fear sparked by the Roberts Commission Report resulted in the order by the War Department on January 29 for the first voluntary relocation order and

¹⁰⁶ Not only were there no successful acts of sabotage during the Second World War the only known attempt by German Navy U-boats to land a group of saboteurs along the Mid-Atlantic Coast was quickly detected. The assailants were quickly rounded up and almost as quickly convicted by a military tribunal. Most were executed. Interestingly, in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks this example of wartime justice was cited as a precedent for the proposed tribunals of alleged terrorists captured in Afghanistan and sent to the detention center at Guantanamo Bay.

¹⁰⁷ In July 1916, as America was debating whether or not to get involved in the First World War a tremendous explosion rocked the New York/New Jersey Area as an explosion destroyed a dock complex and the munitions and military supplies there. At the time the explosion was widely believed to be the work of German saboteurs. Years later the German government agreed to pay damages for the explosion.

culminate in February with the issuing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19. These orders would affect the Italian aliens living in Humboldt County in ways that far surpassed being required to surrender their shortwave radios, cameras and weapons.

“Waterfront Soon Barred To Aliens” the front page article in the Humboldt Times announced February 3, 1942.¹⁰⁸ Effective February 24, all enemy aliens living in Humboldt County would have to remove themselves east of Highway 101 between the Eel and the Mad Rivers. The article concluded on a note that indicated this removal might have economic consequences. “Even enemy alien mill workers will not be allowed to go within these forbidden confines.”

While Humboldt Times subscribers may have had to wait until Tuesday, February 3 to learn about the impending removal, local Italians found out earlier. Years later Alex Fredani of Eureka recounted the day in Samoa when his family heard the news:

February 1 was when we found out about it. I can remember this guy coming up, [and saying], ‘You gotta get out of town right now!’ Dad was working and mother said, ‘Why?’ “Because otherwise they’re going to arrest you and throw you in a concentration camp!”¹⁰⁹

After Fredani’s father came home and spoke with the Samoa mill’s general manager he learned that the man who had come to the door had been mistaken and in fact Italians had two or three weeks to move.

While having two or three weeks to move inland from Samoa and the immediate vicinity around Humboldt Bay was certainly a cause for stress and concern, people like

¹⁰⁸ “Waterfront Soon Barred To Enemy Aliens,” *Humboldt Times*, (2 February, 1942), p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Fox, p. 107.

the Fredanis were fortunate when compared to enemy aliens and citizens elsewhere. Due to the geography of the San Francisco Bay, Italians were forced to move far greater distances from the coast than their compatriots in Humboldt County. In the Bay Area, people as far inland as Pittsburg, California (a hour's drive East from San Francisco) were forced to move from homes that in many cases they had built themselves as they helped establish the town.¹¹⁰ Fox tells a poignant story of the death and funeral of an elderly Pittsburg woman whose family, because of the restrictions, had to hold their mother's funeral in Oakley, a town further inland, so that her Italian alien children and friends could attend.

Because they were not required to move such a great distance, Italians in Humboldt County, for the most part, did not have to sell their homes or businesses. Additionally, their American born or naturalized children or spouses could act as surrogates and run their businesses or check on their property in their stead.

My favorite story is one about Dan Banducci who owned Classic Billiards. . . . [It was on the west side of Fourth Street and the exclusion line.] Dan was not allowed to tend his business. . . . He used to stand across the street by [Humboldt Capital Bank] and shout instructions to his son Gino . . . on how to run the business. Dan used to get pretty excited sometimes, but Gino was just a high school kid.¹¹¹

In Humboldt County the line over which enemy aliens could not cross tended to follow Highway 101. If approaching Eureka from the south, this meant the line was

¹¹⁰ Fox, p. 93.

¹¹¹ Fox, pp. 175-76.

figuratively drawn down Broadway¹¹² and then took a right-hand turn onto fourth street, which it followed the rest of the way across town. The line exited Eureka and crossed Ryan's Slough next to the Target store built in 2004 and continued from Eureka to Arcata where it intersected the city along "G" Street (where the modern-day freeway runs) and continued northward to the Del Norte County line. Those most affected by this exclusion were fishermen and ranchers in the Arcata Bottoms as well as Italian and German aliens living on the west side of the line in Old Town Eureka, Arcata, Samoa and Manila as well as anyone who worked on the wrong side of the highway. And the consequences for being on the wrong side of the highway were real.¹¹³

Marino Sichi, who was born in Italy in 1920 but moved to Arcata in 1922 when he was two years old, was forced to move, along with his parents from their chicken farm west of Highway 101. Sichi said, "[w]e could look over here, but we couldn't come near [the old house]." Soon thereafter, the twenty one year old Sichi was turned-in for being

¹¹² In 1941 the west side of Broadway was mostly marshes and tidal lands. The only developments of any magnitude on the west side of the highway were Pacific Lumber's large retail lumber yard (where Bay Shore Mall now stands) and a souvenir shop called the Stumphouse (across from what now is the Main Eureka Post Office). It was only when one turned onto Fourth Street (now Southbound Highway 101 through Eureka) that any significant amount of buildings were found in what is now called Old Town.

¹¹³ One other group of people affected were Italian students at Arcata High, the one Humboldt County High School on the ocean side of the line. Joe Nieri, pp. 128-131, of *UnCivil Liberties*, recounts how when the order came he was not allowed to complete his senior year. He had to leave school and was not allowed to continue playing for the varsity basketball team. In his words, "I happened during the basketball season, I remember that. I was sitting on the gymnasium steps, when the principal came to me and told me I had to leave school. That was my last day. I still remember sitting on those brick steps and thinking, 'This is it. Three-thirty's [and the end of the school day] is coming.' I had a big lump in my throat, and I said goodbye to all those guys." Fortunately, Nieri was allowed back to school that autumn to complete his senior year, but he was not allowed to play his senior year of basketball over again.

out past the eight o'clock curfew while he had been visiting with his future wife. Sichi, who recounted in his interview with Fox, said the local police chief didn't even realize he wasn't born in Arcata. Unfortunately that didn't help him and he was taken into custody by the FBI and taken to San Francisco where he spent the next few months in a detention center with people of numerous nationalities, including Japanese and Germans. Sichi returned shortly before the restrictions were lifted on Italians in the summer of 1942. He eventually was drafted into the army but was discharged for a medical condition. He did however get his U.S. citizenship while in the Army.¹¹⁴

Even taking into account the worst experiences of Italian aliens, the fishermen forced to relinquish their boats to the Navy or Army, the people forced to move far greater distances than happened locally, the experience of the displaced Italian pales in comparison to what happened to the Japanese and Japanese-Americans. It is difficult to equate the experiences of Italian aliens in Humboldt County or even in the Bay Area with forcibly being relocated to camps east of the crest of the Sierra Nevada Mountains as the Japanese aliens and their native born children and grandchildren were forced to do.

While the treatment of non-Japanese enemy aliens was bad, it could have been much worse and equaled that of the Japanese aliens—though even then it would not have affected the American born children and grandchildren of the German and Italian immigrants. No serious discussions of relocating Italian and German-Americans took place. However, high-level discussions about what to do with the Italian and German

¹¹⁴ Fox, pp. 134-138. Marino Sichi's account of his experience is one of the most fascinating and lengthy interviews in *UnCivil Liberties*.

enemy aliens did occur among the Army in the person of General Dewitt and the civilian side of the government and until mid 1942, General DeWitt, at least, was still operating under the premise that after the Japanese and Japanese-Americans were removed to the interior, the Germans and Italians would be next.

During the last week of March [1942], DeWitt issued his long-anticipated orders excluding everyone of Japanese ancestry. . . . In the meantime, no Italian or German alien would be able to leave Military Area No. 1 [the western halves of Washington, Oregon and California as well as southern Arizona] without permission. DeWitt again called on the Federal Security Agency in San Francisco to help with the evacuation, which he repeated would include Italians, Germans and Japanese.¹¹⁵

Fears of an Italian and German relocation intensified on April 27 when Lt. General Hugh H. Drum, General DeWitt's East Coast counterpart, "announced his intention to establish prohibited and restricted area covering the entire Atlantic seaboard and inland—some sixteen states and fifty two million people. . . ."¹¹⁶ This statement, and the ensuing storm of controversy motivated President Roosevelt to order Secretary of War Henry Stimson "to take no action against Italians and Germans on the East Coast without first consulting him—period. Alien control, he said, except for the Japanese was a civilian matter."¹¹⁷ It really was not until this time, thanks to increasingly effective lobbying on the part of Italian and German Aliens, the growing sense of political danger in alienating millions of voters in a mid-term election year, and the efforts of the Tolan Committee that the trend towards relocating Italian and German aliens after the Japanese

¹¹⁵ Fox, p. 184.

¹¹⁶ Fox, p. 187.

¹¹⁷ Fox, p. 188.

started to swing the other way—at least in the eyes of the civilian authorities, the military took a little while longer.

Congressman John Tolan, the chairman of the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, was sympathetic to the plight of Italian and German aliens. Tolan, a congressman from Oakland, California, wanted his hearings to “exert a calming influence, by publicizing the impact of the relocation program on the economic and social fabric of the West Coast.”¹¹⁸ Through a series of hearings held up and down the West Coast in February and March 1942, Tolan attempted to show both the impracticality of a forced relocation of European aliens while raising the level of awareness among proponents of relocating all enemy aliens from the West Coast of the overall negative effect on morale and the war effort such a relocation would have. According to Fox, the Tolan Committee and its carefully selected witnesses based their argument that there should be some mechanisms in place to offer relief to loyal aliens. The four issues were: “first, hardship; second, whether Italians and Germans should be treated differently than Japanese; third, exemptions; and fourth, whether the army knew better than local authorities how to handle the situation.”¹¹⁹ Numerous witnesses appeared over the course of the hearings pointing out not only the impracticality of the discussed relocation of Italians and Germans, but how such a move ran counter to the ideals and traditions upon which the country had been founded. Frequently mentioned among those who testified were Italian aliens who had children fighting and dying in the

¹¹⁸ Fox, p. 153.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

United States military. Also working in both the Italians and Germans favor was how numerous members of both groups had been able to work their way up the system and become visible and productive members of society. A.P. Giannini, the founder of Bank of America was such an example. Such upward mobility, coupled with the variety of businesses and institutions that Italian and German immigrants participated in made the proposed task of removing them much more difficult than the Japanese who were more narrowly focused, due mostly to racism, in the agricultural and fishing industries.

The Italians and Germans had one other advantage that their fellow Axis aliens, the Japanese, did not. Because they had been able to make a living in diverse fields since soon after their arrival, there was not, nor had there been widespread, long lasting economic competition and the attendant anger and bad feelings between so-called native Americans and Italian and German immigrants. In the case of the Japanese, it was partially because they were forced into truck farming and came to dominate certain focused aspects of California's agricultural industry, such as the growing of strawberries and artichokes that lead California to pass laws limiting Japanese land ownership such as the California Alien Land Law of 1913. Except in areas like fishing and garbage collection, the Italians never controlled as large a share of the industry as the Japanese in those focused areas of agriculture. And while California's farmers had a long developed ability to raise hell with their state representatives, as well as crops, no powerful garbage or fishing lobby ever bent the ear of Sacramento politicians and demanded laws be passed which protected their right to pick up the trash or bring in the anchovy harvest.

During the hearings, Tolan brought in numerous local officials to plead the case for the Italians. Mayor C.A. “Cappy” Ricks, the mayor of Martinez, California and a friend of Tolan spoke out for the Italians in his town. He gave numerous examples of the hardships his constituents were facing and would continue to face if nothing was done.

In contrast to their support of Italian and German aliens, Tolan and his committee were fully supportive of the relocation of Japanese aliens and their citizen children and grandchildren. Fox and other sources make clear that the Tolan Committee’s concern was limited to Italian and German Americans. Considering the era and the West Coast’s longstanding enmity towards Asians this isn’t surprising. Furthermore, even if Tolan and his fellow congressmen wanted to stop Japanese relocation, too much momentum had already built up.¹²⁰ Any attempts to get the government to reevaluate its position

¹²⁰ To give an example of the mindset of many in politics and the media at the time, on February 4, 1942 California Governor Olson announced that Japanese residents of California planned sabotage and went on to say that “all loyal Japanese citizens must when called upon, show their loyalty in cooperating in the execution of [plans] . . . for locating and regulating the adult Japanese population in California for the duration of the war.” “Olson Says Japs Plan Sabotage—Fifth Column Work Planned In California,” *Humboldt Times*, (5 February), 1942, p. 1.

The Times’ editorial writer, who a few days earlier had called for fair treatment of Italian and German Americans took a radically different tack in regards to the Japanese in an editorial entitled, “It’s Up To Us To Prevent Sabotage By Jap Groups.” The editorial concedes that “If there were 100,000 Californians in Japan, a great many of them would help the United States. . . .” However, it goes on to say “Anyone who knows the history of Japanese *penetration* [italics mine] in California knows that they include a great many who did not come here just to make a living; but came for the specific purpose of serving their own country in the event of war. They differ materially from most of the Italian and German aliens in this respect.” If editorials like this reflected the public mindset at the time, it would have been foolhardy for the members of the Tolan Committee to attempt to do more than they did.

towards the Japanese at that juncture would have been in vain and may have damaged the committee's efforts to make accommodations for Italian and German aliens. Taken in conjunction with the 1997 attempts by Italian internees to receive similar compensation as Japanese relocatees and internees did during the Reagan administration, it seems likely we will see more research and publication of materials pertaining to the experience of Italian and German aliens during World War II.

"Up To Us To Prevent Any Sabotage By Jap Groups," *Humboldt Times*, (6 February, 1942), p. 4.

THE JAPANESE INTERNMENT COURT CASE:
UNITED STATES VS MASAACKI KUWABARA ET. AL.

During the Second World War Federal Courts across the western states held seven trials about Japanese American draft resisters. In five of those cases the judges quickly found in favor of the government and sentenced the resisters to time in either Federal Prison or at best sent them back to their relocation camp. In a sixth case, the judge found in favor of the government, but only fined the resisters one dollar each, sentenced them to time served and remanded them back to the custody of the War Relocation Authority. In only one case, did the judge dismiss the charges and rule in favor of the accused. Even with a favorable verdict the defendants still had to return to their relocation camp. Ironically, that case took place in an area both infamous and proud of its record of intolerance toward Asians—Humboldt County. In a further irony, Louis E. Goodman, the San Francisco judge selected to travel to that bastion of intolerance towards Asians and hear the draft resister case along with a number of other minor cases, was a man whose upbringing predisposed him to look favorably on the oppressed sons of immigrants. In May 1946, Goodman, the son of Jewish immigrants, probably from Germany, delivered the following remarks at “I am an American Day”:

[w]e are a nation of immigrants. Very few can trace their ancestry to the first generation. All that matters is that new citizens unreservedly subscribe to the doctrines that have enriched and will continue to enrich our American way of life. Among these, the most important is that of unity. No man or woman can honestly give the pledge of allegiance if there is a reserved intolerance as to a fellow citizen’s origin or color or creed. Any who have or assert such reservations seek only divide us and

are unfit to come or remain under the protection of the stars and thirteen stripes.¹²¹

Twenty seven Japanese Americans, all born in raised in the United States traveled from the Tule Lake Relocation Camp in mid-July 1944 to be tried in Federal Court on charges of draft evasion. They were sent to Eureka because it had the nearest Federal Courthouse to Tule Lake. They came to Eureka in July because every summer the Federal Court in San Francisco sent a judge to Humboldt County to hear a week or two's worth of cases, perhaps do some fishing and enjoy the hospitality of the local bar association. The entire exercise was, in the words of Judge Goodman's Law Clerk, Eleanor Jackson Piel, "absolutely a boondoggle. Every year the district court went up for a clambake and in order to justify the trip they brought out a few people who'd sold alcohol to Indians."¹²² A review of the local newspapers in mid-July 1944 confirms Ms. Jackson Piel's recollections: there were a number of cases involving the illegal sale of alcohol on Indian Reservations, one case regarding theft of a parcel from the mail, as well as a case concerning two Sacramento Area hotel operators accused of charging more for their rooms than was legally allowed. Then there was the case of the draft resisters.

By 1944 Tule Lake was the camp where troublemakers (at least in the eyes of the War Relocation Authority) and those Japanese refusing to pledge loyalty to the United States and renounce their loyalty to Japan were sent. It was the War Relocation Authority's equivalent to Pelican Bay State Penitentiary, you had to do something wrong, while incarcerated, to get sent there. Japanese and Japanese-Americans at Tule Lake

¹²¹ Muller, p. 133.

¹²² Muller, p. 131.

tended to fall into one of three categories. The first was relocatees who had applied for repatriation (in the case of Issei) or expatriation (for Nisei) to Japan. The second group comprised those men who had answered “no” or refused to answer two key questions of a WRA questionnaire. The questions inquired into their loyalty to the United States and their feelings toward Japan. The third category comprised family members of groups one or two.¹²³ Many of the twenty seven draft resisters went in order to keep their families together when their fathers were sent to Tule Lake. It was there, tucked away in the Northeast corner of California, that these young Americans, placed behind barbed wire by their own government, received draft notices ordering them to present themselves at the Tule Lake Hospital in early May to take their pre-induction physicals so they could go and do their part to defend that same government.¹²⁴ Twenty seven young men chose not to do so. They did not take their physicals or meet with the draft board and by July 1944 the process moved forward far enough to try the twenty seven en mass for draft evasion.

And so escorted by Federal Marshals they came to Eureka, a town whose newspaper had boasted just seven years earlier that “Humboldt County has the unique distinction of being the only community [on the West Coast] in which there are no oriental colonies.”¹²⁵ A town where the local bar expected the same verdicts as had been rendered elsewhere in similar cases and expected those verdicts rendered in a timely

¹²³ Muller, p. 59.

¹²⁴ “Japanese Due In Eureka Monday For Trial In Federal Court On Charges Of Draft Evasion,” *Humboldt Standard*, (15 July, 1944), p. 1.

¹²⁵ Lynwood Carranco ed. *Redwood Country* (Belmont, CA: Star, 1986), 46-51.

enough manner so as not to detract from the social calendar. Fortunately for the 27 young Americans from Tule Lake Judge Goodman also came to town and once there was able to enlist the aide of a law school classmate of his, Humboldt County attorney and character of the first order, Blaine McGowan. Based upon the small article on page one of the *Humboldt Standard* on Monday, July 17, the defendants were going to need all the help they could get.

Not Enough Food Japs Complain in Jail Here

That wasn't exactly the complaint of the Japanese prisoners in the county jail today; their complaint was "Not enough mealee."

According to the custom of all county jails, only two meals a day are served to prisoners by Sheriff Arthur Ross and his assistants. But each of these has plenty of body and quantity, the sheriff's deputies said.

Some kind of meat, such as stews and often a quarter of beef is served every day, and each meal has plenty of succulence and nutriment, said Sheriff Arthur A. Ross. But this doesn't seem to be enough for those who have been raised on rice in the old country.

They want "three mealees, so solly, please."¹²⁶

The unnamed author of this article didn't specify when places like San Jose, where defendant Jimi Yamaichi hailed from, had become the "old country" nor was it explained why twenty seven draft resisters born and raised on the West Coast spoke would speak with any accent other than a California one.

On Monday, morning, July 17, 1944, when the first six of the resisters appeared before Judge Goodman, each asked for an attorney and were duly assigned Arthur W. Hill Jr. and Chester Monette as their defense council. The *Humboldt Standard's* reporter

¹²⁶ "Not Enough Food Japs Complain in Jail Here," *Humboldt Standard*, (17 July, 1944), p. 1.

wrote of the first six defendants “All are American born Japs and speak good English.” It is interesting to note the mention of the defendants’ linguistic acumen. The reporter, who does not have a byline, went on to state “Twenty-one more of their nationality are housed in the county jail. . . .”¹²⁷ What nationality the reporter meant, Japanese or American, was not stated in the article. The reporter concluded by noting that that evening local attorney Lawrence F. Puter would fête the visiting court personnel at the Eureka Inn. It would be at that dinner that Judge Goodman would give his first public indication that his agenda might be different than that of his hosts.

Arthur W. Hill Jr., one of the two court-appointed attorneys of the resisters, served as master of ceremonies for the dinner Tuesday night. Hill and the rest of the guests had to be impressed by the wartime menu, which included for each guest two large broiled steaks smothered in mushrooms, shoestring potatoes and whole kernel corn. This was in addition to the crab cocktail appetizer and the dessert of green apple pie and a slice of cheese. The speakers at the event were also plentiful and included the Eureka city attorney, a local judge, Humboldt County’s state senator, the aforementioned Hill and Judge Goodman. According to the Standard’s reporter, Hill, who was the master of ceremonies, told the audience how he had been selected by the visiting judge to prepare a defense for the twenty seven Japanese Americans (which he probably did so that no listener nor reader would think he volunteered to defend the accused), “Master of ceremonies Hill . . . concluded his remarks about his clients with the words “So sorry,

¹²⁷ “6 Japanese Appear In Court Here,” *Humboldt Standard*, (17 July, 1944), p. 3.

please.”¹²⁸ Whether or not Mr. Hill had read the earlier front page article in the Humboldt Standard and therefore was confused in regards to his clients’ first language is unknown, but his opinion towards his clients was crystal clear.

Hill was followed to the podium by State Senator Irwin T. Quinn who had recently investigated the living conditions at Tule Lake and was therefore, according to Hill, qualified to speak on the subject of the trial in particular and Japanese relocation in general. Senator Quinn spoke of his fears that problems would develop at Tule Lake “before this thing was over.” The article doesn’t state what kind of problems the senator was talking about. The senator believed that the draft resisters and Japanese Americans in general, who were protected by the Constitution the same as anyone else, didn’t appreciate the protections they received. In his word, “they [Constitutional protections] mean nothing to them.” Senator Quinn concluded, “Fortunately there are laws that take care of that.”¹²⁹

After a discussion of the artistic merits of the New Deal murals in the Federal Courthouse, the prosecuting attorney, Emmett Seawell got up to speak. In his remarks he expressed

that it is wonderful that we have a democracy in which 27 Japs can be brought here in safety, given all the protection guaranteed by our Constitution and laws, assured of a fair trial, with the prominent and leading attorneys appointed to defend them. . . .It could not happen in any other country in the world.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Matthew T. Rice. “Federal Court Attaches, Local Bar Members Attend Annual Dinner,” *Humboldt Standard*, (18 July, 1944), p. 3.

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Ibid

Then it was Judge Goodman's turn to speak. While in hindsight it is easy to surmise his discomfort with the willingness of both defense and prosecution to declare the draft resisters guilty and get back the more social aspects of the week, at the time, the reporter for the *Humboldt Standard*, Matthew T. Rice, didn't notice. Rice used four paragraphs of copy describing the jurist's opinion of the aforementioned murals (Goodman took no offense to them) and only one sentence, the final one of the article, to describe the judge's reference to the draft resisters.

Apparently referring to the presence of the Japanese prisoners here, [Goodman] exhorted the people to be calm and just in spite of all their war sacrifices, and to adhere to the principles and doctrines of our forefathers.¹³¹

Tuesday morning, with the guidance of their defense attorneys, Hill and Monette, 12 resisters pled guilty to draft evasion. Hill's stellar defense strategy was to claim that his clients' feelings were hurt when they were reclassified from 1-A status to enemy alien status (4-C). Judge Goodman accepted the pleas and Hill and Monette must have left the courtroom feeling everything was fine. It wasn't, at least for them. That night, Judge Goodman contacted a law school friend of his, local attorney Blaine McGowan and asked him to take the case of the 27 and actually mount a defense. McGowan was something of a character, according to Muller, he was known to wear ostrich skin cowboy boots to court and he didn't like to lose. This was impressed upon his new clients the first time he met them Wednesday morning.

Tom Noda, one of the Tule Lake resisters, recalls that, "[t]he first words he said, when he came in, was that he ha[d] no love for Japs. But he said

¹³¹ Ibid

he had never lost a case and he didn't intend to lose this one." The Nisei gulped when they heard him call them "Japs"; they "thought we have no chance." But McGowan started to defend them.¹³²

In court later that day, McGowan motioned to withdraw the 12 guilty pleas. Judge Goodman took the request under advisement and ordered all 27 resisters to return to court the next day. Thursday morning he allowed the 12 to withdraw their pleas and listened to a motion by McGowan to throw out the indictment. U.S. Attorney Seawell was taken aback by this change and asked for a delay until Saturday morning so he could receive guidance from the Attorney General. Defense attorney, Chester Monette withdrew from the case because his clients weren't listening to his advice to plead guilty. It is likely that Monette saw the turn this case had taken and didn't want to be identified as the attorney who got the Japs off.

And so the trial remained in recess until Saturday when Judge Goodman ruled to accept McGowan's motion to quash the indictment. Judge Goodman's feelings towards the government's are made obvious by his own words.

It is shocking to the conscience that an American citizen be confined on the ground of disloyalty and then, while so under duress and restraint be compelled to serve in the armed forces or be prosecuted for not yielding to such compulsion.¹³³

The *Humboldt Standard*, the afternoon paper, reported on the verdict in its typical understated way: "JAP DRAFT CHARGES DROPPED" the page-spanning headline read. Judge Goodman had accepted portions of McGowan's argument and added reasons of his own. The best summation of the verdict and the legal strengths and weaknesses is

¹³² Muller, p. 139.

¹³³ "Judge Dismisses Nisei Draft Charges," *Humboldt Times*, (23 July, 1944), p. 1.

in Muller's *Free To Die For Their Country*¹³⁴, but the summation provided Sunday morning by the *Humboldt Times* of Judge Goodman's ruling, without the benefit of Muller's nearly 60 years of perspective, is impressively on-point. The *Humboldt Times* article lists the main points of the judges' ruling starting with Goodman's declaration that the government's case was "wholly inconsistent with fair and just compulsory military service in a free society" and also included that:

- The defendants were deprived of their liberty without due process of law.
- The actions under selective service law to impel the defendants to report was unlawful and the defendants weren't lawfully subject to registration.
- The defendants were legally entitled to be classified with 4-C draft status and thus be ineligible for the draft.
- The defendants weren't acceptable for the draft because they had applied to be expatriated to Japan.

Judge Goodman did not question the government's right to draft its citizens and even resident aliens during times of war. Nor did he challenge President Roosevelt's right to relocate enemy aliens in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. In his ruling he made clear that those were not issues relevant to the case. He only concerned himself with the treatment of the draft resisters after they came into government custody.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Eric Muller, a former Federal Prosecutor, is a law professor at the University of North Carolina. In his chapter on the case, *A Shock to the Conscience*, Muller goes into great detail explaining how Judge Goodman's decision was precedent setting and intruded into an area of law, substantive Due Process, where the Supreme Court wouldn't tread for another eight years in the *Rochin v. California* case. In that case, evidence was obtained by pumping the accused stomach against his will. This practice, was in the words of Judge Felix Frankfurter, "too close to the rack and the screw to permit of constitutional differentiation." Muller, p. 149.

¹³⁵ "Judge Dismisses Nisei Draft Charges," *Humboldt Times*, (23 July, 1944), p. 1.

One final note, aside from duly noting in Monday's paper that the 27th defendant, Tsugio Iwohara, had registered with the local draft board before being taken back to Tule Lake, the *Humboldt Standard* didn't report on the story anymore. The *Humboldt Times*, on the other hand, published an editorial on Sunday, July 23 entitled, "Trial Proceedings Must Follow Law of the Land" which deserves mention considering Humboldt County's long history of anti Asian bias. The editor begins by quoting Judge Goodman "The time-honored doctrine of due process . . . must not give way to overzealousness in an attempt to reach via the criminal process those we regard as undesirable citizens." The editor then comments how a layperson really isn't qualified to determine whether or not Judge Goodman's decision had a strong legal foundation. He goes on to mention that neither the judge nor the respective counsel had any strong liking for the defendants and writes that "Few Americans have any liking for American citizens . . . who put loyalty to the land of their ancestors above loyalty to the land of their birth." Finally the editor concludes in a tone that is frankly surprising, considering Humboldt County and the nation's feelings as a whole toward the Japanese.

The principal that a man may not be deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law must be safeguarded in every case, no matter who is on trial, or else no citizen is safe against illegal proceedings. The ruling was primarily a victory for American justice under law, and only incidentally a victory for certain individuals.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ "Trial Proceedings Must Follow Law of the Land," *Humboldt Times*, (23 July, 1944), p. 8.

COASTAL DEFENSE IN HUMBOLDT COUNTY

During the first months of World War II residents, local, state and the federal governments as well as the military were gravely concerned that the Japanese might attack somewhere along America's largely undefended West Coast. At first, as evidenced by the blackouts and numerous false reports of Japanese warplanes flying towards major cities, the main fear centered on a replication of the Pearl Harbor attack. These fears were heightened by false sightings of Japanese warships off the coast and the actual attacks by Japanese submarines on merchant vessels up and down the coast.

Fear of a Japanese invasion of the West Coast was also present and had the Japanese wanted to land a force somewhere along the Pacific coast, they probably could have, but at the cost of appalling casualties and losses of ships and other war material simply due to the enormous logistical difficulty of fighting on the opposite side of the Pacific. Such an attack would have been suicidal in the long and perhaps short run for the Japanese and most likely would have quickly turned the tide of war in the Pacific towards the Americans. For all of these reasons the Japanese never seriously considered such an invasion, though the Americans did not know it at the time. These fears all became moot after the Battle of Midway in June 1942, after which the Japanese were no longer in a position to contemplate such a move.

Concerns about Japanese spies and saboteurs being landed by submarine along the largely unpatrolled coast were somewhat reasonable, particularly in light of the similar German attempt to land English speaking Germans in two places along the

Atlantic coast in June 1942. Before coastal patrols were fully established it would have been easy to land a small boat of spies. Of course, once ashore, any Japanese agent would have to avoid all contact with Americans, because unlike the Germans who at least had a limited chance to blend in to the predominantly white population a Japanese spy would have been instantly noticeable as an Asian. The relocation of all Japanese and Japanese Americans from the western states further compounded any potential saboteur's task and made the chance of success practically nil.

Submarines were the only real Japanese method to harass and attack Americans along the West Coast. As demonstrated in December 1941 Japanese I-class submarines had the ability to sail to the West Coast and wreak havoc among West Coast shipping. But for a number of reasons the Japanese Navy did not take full advantage of this capability. The major reason was the Imperial Navy viewed its submarines more as weapons to be used in fleet versus fleet combat, not as commerce destroyers. This ran opposite to German thinking where the U-boats nearly succeeded in outstripping the Allies' ability to replace the ships and material destroyed by the German wolf packs in the mid Atlantic. In fact, once Germany declared war on the United States and dispatched U-boats along the East Coast and in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico, they managed to sink a far greater number of ships than the Japanese ever accomplished. Had the Japanese pursued a goal of destroying West Coast shipping with the same commitment as the Germans, coastal defense and civil defense on the West Coast would have been much more important. As it turned out, the major benefit of West Coast civil defense and coast defense efforts was to help calm the fears of the American populace.

Humboldt County, with its long coastline was near the geographic center of the West Coast's defense. The December 1941 attack on the S.S. Samoa and the sinking of the S.S. Emidio demonstrated the need for protection and patrol along the Northcoast and most defense efforts in and around Humboldt County focused on submarine patrol and suppression. Humboldt County's defense can be split into four categories: beach patrol, carried out by the Coast Guard, ocean patrol, done by the navy with planes and eventually blimps, radar surveillance based out of the "secret" radar station near Klamath, and Civil Defense procedures across the county (which will be covered in a later section).

In the days after Pearl Harbor local governments and organizations raced to establish observation and reporting systems. Local men and women began scanning the skies for Japanese bombers and watching the sea for an approaching Japanese armada. As early as Tuesday, December 9 the *Humboldt Times* published articles discussing the call for Coast Watchers, Air Raid Wardens, Block Captains and other volunteers.

Real help arrived in August 1942 when the Coast Guard was finally able to send 80 and then a total of 250 soldiers to patrol the local beaches. These men formed Company C and stayed on patrol until September 1944 when they were transferred elsewhere. At first, according to Willis J. Tyson, who was a member of Company C, teams of two men patrolled a section of beach one or two miles long. If they saw anything they were to run to the nearest jeep mounted radio or a building with a phone and report. They did not have portable radios. At first Tyson recounts they didn't even

have two guns for each team—they had to share a gun.¹³⁷ Eventually a series of phones were set up so reports could be quickly made in the event anything was spotted. In late 1942 a number of Army cavalry horses were sent to augment the foot patrols. These trained horses were not needed on the increasingly mechanized battlefields of World War II and according to Bert Webber in *Retaliation* in Oregon the real impetus to get surplus army horses from the Army Remount Service (at least in Oregon)) came when the commanding officer of the 13th Naval District (Oregon) spent a full day slogging through the sand while carrying out inspections. Apparently the officer thought riding a horse would be better and after the appropriate requests were made the horses and officers trained in their upkeep be made available to the Coast Guard. Regarding the coastguardsmen's lack of horse riding experience, in the eyes of the cavalry officers sent to train the men and make certain the horses were properly cared for "green hands were preferred for training in horsemanship and stable management . . . [because A]ny man can be taught to ride, but it takes an act of God to change a horseman's habits."¹³⁸ In Humboldt County regions too rough to patrol by horse were often assigned to men and attack dogs. Most of the dogs were German shepherds and according to Tyson were not to be fooled with by anyone but their handler.¹³⁹

It is a good thing the Japanese never decided to invade Humboldt County. Aside from military planes based out of the area and later at the new Arcata/McKinleyville

¹³⁷ Dan Hoff, "Seamen on horseback protected Humboldt coast in WWII," Humboldt Historian, (May-June 1983); 12.

¹³⁸ Webber, p. 87-88.

¹³⁹ Hoff, p. 13.

Airport, the main defense along the Samoa Peninsula was a 105 millimeter howitzer emplaced not far from the Samoa Elementary School. Flanking the real cannon on both the north and south sides were a series of redwood howitzers—redwood logs milled to look like the barrels of a real cannon and mounted on wooden wagon wheels.

Anti-submarine patrols based at first out of the Bay Area and later Samoa and the new airport were the most active military operations locally and the only ones to have seen combat. As mentioned in the narrative about the sinking of the S.S. Emidio, two patrol bombers based in the Bay Area responded to the Emidio's S.O.S. and forced the I-17 to dive to safety. This was the first combat action taken off the Humboldt coast by the military. However, given the speed at which patrol bombers flew at that time (about 200 miles an hour) and the distance from places like Santa Rosa and Alameda to the Humboldt coast response times were slow and time on station was limited because of the over 200 mile trip to the airbase. To remedy this the Navy took two approaches. The first was the building of what is now the Arcata/McKinleyville Airport. Planning and construction were actually started before Pearl Harbor, but work really didn't pick up until the war began. However, despite the prediction made in the January 3, 1942 *Humboldt Times* that with two crews each working a ten hour shift the airport would be completed by May or earlier, the Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Arcata wasn't formally commissioned until July 7, 1943 as an auxiliary to N.A.S. Alameda.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ "Work On Airport Soon To Move Into High Gear," *Humboldt Times*, 3 January, 1942, p. 1.; M.L. Shettle Jr., "Navy Auxiliary Air Station, Arcata," The California State Military Museum, <www.militarymuseum.org/NAASArcata.html>, (15 July 2004).

On May 22, 1943, just a few months before the airport was commissioned the Navy started patrols with blimps based in Samoa at the airport. Prior to that blimps out of San Francisco patrolled the coast. These blimps, called K type patrol airships, carried a crew of ten and their maximum airspeed was 67.5 knots (between 75 and 80 miles per hour), though they could travel as fast as 100 miles per hour with a strong tail wind. However, they tended to cruise at closer to 50 knots. The K type patrol airships had a range of about 2,000 miles and could stay on patrol for up to 38 hours. They carried four depth charges and also mounted a 50 caliber machine gun. To detect submarines the blimps were equipped with radar that could detect a sub's periscope at up to four miles and a Magnetic Anomaly Detector (MAD) which registered a response when it passed over or nearby a large metallic object, like a submerged submarine. Like all blimps they were carried aloft by a large non-rigid gasbag filled with helium and lacking any framing structures within. The blimps' main duties included anti submarine patrol and convoy and floating dry dock escort for dry docks built at the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works complex in Eureka.¹⁴¹

While most Japanese submarines were long gone from the West Coast before the blimp base in Samoa opened, Eureka resident and blimp crewman Simon "Sy" Beattie spoke to Andrew McGuffin in 1996 of an attack by his airship on what may have been a Japanese submarine.

I picked up a strong mag [magnetic] contact up at Trinidad Head and we dropped quite a few depth charges on it. One of the first things I asked for were the known whereabouts of any old shipwrecks in that area. . . *first* I

¹⁴¹ Nash, p. 34.

asked for known whereabouts of any subs, if we had any of our subs in that area. They reported back negative so we went ahead and dropped our stuff on it. It never surfaced but there were people at Samoa who said that stuff had washed up there on the north jetty. After I had dropped the depth charges, I was ordered to proceed to Moffet Field and fill in on the details

By the time I got back it had died down. But the people up at Trinidad, Glen Saunders and other people who stood on the beach there and watched us, said they could smell diesel fuel at night but didn't know where it was coming from. Because [the submarine] would resurface at night and charge its batteries, see.¹⁴²

Whether or not Beattie and his crewmates found and successfully attacked a Japanese submarine is unknown. However, the blimp crews did carry out a mission over Eureka, which caught the attention of the local populace. Some of the crewmen of the blimps had girlfriends at Eureka High so one day, at the end of a patrol, the blimp flew very low over Eureka High—so low in fact, that the handling ropes that dangled from the blimp dragged across the school's roof. To further impress the ladies the crew revved their engines before proceeding across the bay to base. This unauthorized form of recruitment did not sit well with the administration of Eureka High who immediately called the commander of the blimp base who chewed out the flight crew to such an extent the stunt was never repeated.¹⁴³

While blimp operations proceeded fairly smoothly and provided effective anti submarine patrol off the North Coast, the McKinleyville air base proved to be of limited value during the war. Although the original plans called for the basing of a squadron of twenty four Ventura anti submarine patrol bombers at the base, the foggy conditions soon changed that plan. Instead, an auxiliary squadron comprised of numerous types of

¹⁴² McGuffin, p. 12-13.

¹⁴³ Nash, p. 35.

aircraft was based there and the airport's main use was as a rocket training facility for squadrons based out of Santa Rosa. Following the war the airport was used for fog dispersal training, but during the war its greatest contribution of the base and its 153 officers and 532 enlisted men was to the economy of Humboldt County.¹⁴⁴

The most high tech aspect of local coast defense was the radar hidden in a false farmhouse/barn complex near the mouth of the Klamath River on the Del Norte County side. Radar Station B-71 was the northernmost military radar in California and was one of sixty five eventually built along the West Coast. The buildings were constructed of cinderblocks covered with shakes and shingles so the buildings looked like just another ranch in the area. Unlike most local farms, Military Policemen and dogs patrolled the premises of Radar Station B-71. In fact, if you visit it today you can still see the emplacement mounts for the two 50 caliber machine guns. Over the course of twenty four hours about 35 Army Air Corps soldiers housed in barracks near Klamath manned the station. The station went into service in late 1942 and remained in service until the end of the war when it was abandoned by the military and went back to private ownership. Years later the station's buildings were acquired by the National Park Service with the creation of Redwood National Park. The radar station still stands and is on the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ M.L. Shettle Jr.

¹⁴⁵ McGuffin, p. 11-12; "Radar Station B-71—Aviation: From San Dunes to Sonic Booms: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary," <www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/aviation/rad.htm>, (27 February 2005). The National Register website gives the best account of history of the radar station and also has five color photos of the buildings as they look today.

THE CHICAGO BRIDGE AND IRON WORKS

At its peak the largest industrial complex ever erected in Humboldt County employed 3,000 people at one time, (including 800 women) working around the clock to build floating dry docks and floating cranes for the U.S. Navy. No local companies had the capital resources or technical expertise to plan, develop and oversee such a monumental undertaking, so the contract was awarded to an organization with great experience planning and building enormous steel and iron structures: The Chicago Bridge and Iron Company. The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works complex was created almost overnight to meet the Navy's needs for moveable dry dock facilities for use in the Pacific.¹⁴⁶ Why did such a large operation choose Humboldt Bay? There are three main reasons, the first is that Humboldt Bay and Eureka had the room to build floating dry docks. The second reason was at the beginning of the war Eureka possessed a surplus of

¹⁴⁶ Floating dry docks were of critical importance in the Pacific during the Second World War. If a ship was damaged and its hull needed repair often the only way such repairs could be made was by taking the ship out of the water. This required a dry dock. In times of peace such repairs would have been made at Pearl Harbor or along the West Coast in shipyards like Mare Island and San Diego. However, towing or steaming a crippled ship all the way back to the West Coast took a great deal of time and many repairs could be done much closer to the front if a dry dock facility was available. However, in the small Pacific islands and coral atolls where much of the fighting took place, no such facilities existed. But, if a floating dry dock was available, the Navy only had to tow the dock to a protected harbor with deep enough water (over 50 feet) and set up shop in tandem with repair ships and other maintenance and repair vessels and crews. The difference between having to tow a torpedo damaged war ship thousands of miles to Pearl Harbor or the West Coast and having a repair base just one or two days steam away was vast. By placing floating dry docks near the front the Navy was able to save weeks and even months of transit and repair time.

housing and labor necessary to support such a large venture. The final reason is that Humboldt Bay was and remains one of the few bays on the West Coast without a bridge spanning the mouth of the harbor. Therefore, enormous floating dry docks of any height could be taken out to sea without concern of fitting under a bridge.

In January 1942 the Navy selected Humboldt Bay as the site for the complex and hired three engineers to find a suitable site. They quickly selected a sixty acre site at the foot of Washington Street in Eureka. At the time, the site was mostly mud flats and marshes so the first task was to fill in the low-lying land. Even before the yard was opened, in April 1942 a welding school was opened at Eureka High to train people in the craft of welding steel hulled vessels. Once production began at the yard this school was moved to the job site. Teams of workers working all kinds of jobs swarmed across the plant complex. In a phone interview, Eureka resident and then high school student George Fini recounted that as soon as he turned 16 he worked at the yard during the summer. His neighbor Ed Lax was the Mechanical Superintendent for the yard and hired young Fini as an assistant/gopher each summer. Fini worked on a crew comprised of a welder, a burner, a couple of machinists, and couple of helpers. Fini's crew was not the only type at the complex, there were electrical and mechanical crews among others. According to Fini, "everybody had a certain detail—our department put in depth gauges for the compartments so the operators could judge how deeply the dry dock was sunk."¹⁴⁷ Other details installed complete kitchens and living quarters for the dry dock's crews

¹⁴⁷ George Fini, Interview with the author, Eureka, 20 February, 2005.

while others applied paint and all the other steps necessary to build and equip such enormous structures.

According to Fini, the plant built the dry docks in sections, which were slid into the bay on relatively small ways (launching ramps). Once in the bay the sections were connected. “We’d put two or three sections together in Humboldt Bay and they [the Navy] would bring them out in smaller pieces to be fully assembled elsewhere.”¹⁴⁸ Even though the plant was guarded and you had to go through a security checkpoint to get to work Fini remembered that despite the military’s concern with security, there was never a ban on speaking about his work at the factory though the local papers did not print articles about the launching or departure of the sections.¹⁴⁹

Things moved quickly and within one year the crews at the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works launched their first floating dry dock, the Reclaimer, YFD-20 to great fanfare on January 13, 1943. Unfortunately that was about the last thing that went right for the YFD-20. The 205 foot Navy seagoing tug, the U.S.S. Sioux was sent to tow the Reclaimer to its secret destination somewhere in the Pacific. The Sioux was a brand new seagoing tug, 85% of its crew had only recently been inducted into the Navy and had only been together on board for a month. Its first official mission was the seemingly simple task of steaming from Alameda to Humboldt Bay and retrieving the YFD-20.

¹⁴⁸ George Fini. Dry dock sections were classified by their width and the size of ship they could handle. The smaller sections were called cruiser sections and the largest sections were battleship sections. It took ten battleship sections to form a floating dry dock large enough to accommodate a battleship or aircraft carrier.

¹⁴⁹ George Fini.

The inexperience of the crew became more apparent the morning after Sioux sailed into Humboldt Bay and docked at the Hammond Lumber Company dock. That morning the men of the Sioux found themselves in an embarrassing situation. Their ship, which drew 16 feet, had come in on the high tide the night before and docked where the next morning's low tide left only nine feet of water. After a number of hours stuck in the mud without power and water because the ship was resting at such an angle the onboard generators wouldn't work the crew of the Sioux was able to move out to deeper water and anchor.¹⁵⁰

On Wednesday, January 13, 1943 the Sioux took the YFD-20 and its crew of 13 men under tow and with help from local tugboats maneuvered the enormous floating dry dock out of Humboldt Bay. Pulling the four storey high and one city block long dry dock limited the Sioux's speed to only three knots. While fine in most cases, it wasn't this time because a large Pacific storm was bearing down on the Sioux and YFD-20 and at three knots they couldn't outrun it. By the time they were off Cape Mendocino, the Sioux and YFD-20 along with another Navy tug, the U.S.S. Bagaduce, were caught in the storm. They continued to battle their way south until on Friday the 15th at 10:10 PM the ten inch towing line between the Sioux and YFD-20 snapped leaving the Reclaimer adrift. To compound problems one of the Sioux's main engine quit working. Fortunately when this happened they were near the Golden Gate so Sioux left the other tug and the dry dock and raced into San Francisco Bay to get more towing gear at Treasure Island.

¹⁵⁰ Glenn Nash. "The Chicago Bridge & Iron Company," Humboldt Historian, (November-December 1993); pp. 4-9. The story of the Reclaimer is told in Nash's article and all information about the fate of the dry dock is from Nash's article.

Shortly after midnight the tug steamed out the Golden Gate into the 30 foot seas and headed back towards YFD-20 at a speed of only 12 knots. By this time the Reclaimer was in the tow of a third Navy tug, the S.S. Ute, however, due to the enormous seas and fierce winds, the Ute, wasn't able to fully control the enormous dock. It took the Sioux until midday Sunday to catch up with the Ute and the Reclaimer off the coast of Monterey where the Sioux's crew rigged up a second towline on the giant dry dock and both tugs tried to tow the dock simultaneously. At midnight Sunday, a third ship, the S.S. Skinner, a merchant ship the Navy had commandeered to aid in the rescue arrived. At 1:30 AM Tuesday morning with a line attached from the Skinner to YFD-20 the Sioux and the Ute handed over responsibility to the large merchant vessel and apparently left the area (Nash's narrative does not say). However, later that day, the Skinner's "lost the tow in the fog" and the YFD-20 drifted towards Point Bonita where it smashed into the rocks and sunk. According to Glen Nash, nothing was ever learned of the fate of thirteen men onboard the YFD-20 and "to this day, no official record exists."¹⁵¹ Most likely due to wartime security concerns, no information about the Reclaimer, its launch or its eventual fate was printed in January 1943 in the local papers.

After this most inauspicious beginning, the men and women at the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works went back to work building more floating dry docks for the Navy. The number of employees rose and by early 1944 hit its peak of over 3,000 including 800 women. As more dry dock sections were completed the yard and its workforce expanded which contributed to a housing shortage in Eureka. To remedy this, the military built a

¹⁵¹ Nash, pp. 7-9.

series of military housing units in Eureka. Many of these housing units were later demolished to build the Eureka Mall (or the Old Mall to some). However, many of the military housing units still stand: the best examples are across Harris Street from the Eureka Mall and north of Zoe Barnum High School.

As the end of the war drew nearer the number of shifts and workers decreased at the plant. By October of 1944 the plant was down to two nine hour shifts and by March of 1945 the number of employees was down to 800. The complex employed only 450 by November 1945 and closed for good in 1946.¹⁵² With that a frantic and somewhat unique chapter of Humboldt County history closed as well.

Over the course of four years over 8,000 local men and women worked at the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works plant. The Navy spent over \$50,000,000 (including \$20,000,000 in payroll) on the plant and for the 18 complete dry docks or sections and six floating crane barges, which were used across the Pacific to repair naval vessels.¹⁵³ Today, there is nothing left to indicate that this enormous industrial complex ever existed on the shores of Humboldt Bay.

¹⁵² Nash, pp. 9-10.

¹⁵³ Kathy Dillon. "The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works," *Times Standard*, (5 January, 1992), pp. C 1-2; Nash, p. 10.

CIVIL DEFENSE ON THE HOME FRONT IN HUMBOLDT COUNTY

In the days after Pearl Harbor the citizens and various levels of government in Humboldt County sprung to action to prepare the local populace and towns for the feared Japanese attack. Civil defense preparation started within 24 hours of the Pearl Harbor attack and involved among other things the commissioning of block captains, air raid wardens, plane spotters and over time war bond and scrap iron drives. While predominantly young men were taken into service of their country and working adults were engaged in war industries like the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works, men and women, students and retired people were all active in civil defense. Awareness of the importance of civil defense was heightened when for instance the local papers printed notices like that found in the Sunday, December 28, 1941 *Humboldt Times* which contained a full-page notice from the U.S. Office of Civil Defense instructing the already jumpy citizens of Humboldt County, "WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID."¹⁵⁴ Activities such as children collecting cans and scrap metal and school kids and their families raising money for war bonds made the entire populace feel they were contributing to the war effort and the defense of Humboldt County.

Within days of the Pearl Harbor attack the citizenry was organizing to defend their homes and hometowns. Mandatory blackout rules and regulations were published in the *Humboldt Times* on Wednesday, December 10th. In the article local residents were instructed how to properly prepare their homes to ensure no light escaped during a

¹⁵⁴ "What To Do In An Air Raid," *Humboldt Times*, (28 December, 1941), p. 6.

blackout. People were also directed by the County Defense Council how to prepare their car lights for blackout driving and drivers received directions to leave the center two lanes of the road clear for official vehicles. This was in addition to the 35 miles per hour speed limit during blackout conditions.¹⁵⁵ In Thursday's paper the call went out for more airplane spotters countywide. At both the county and city level people were preparing for a Japanese attack. Dayton Murray, the man responsible for organizing the county's plane spotter network, said more spotters were needed and was concerned that people were not taking the threat of Japanese air attack seriously enough—though based upon the earlier reports of Japanese planes cruising up and down the Eel River Valley, perhaps Mr. Murray's concern should have been airplane spotters who were too eager to spot Japanese warplanes.

At the same time that Mr. Murray was calling for more plane spotters the call went out in Fortuna for volunteers to work as air raid wardens to organize Fortuna's response to Japanese bombings. Interestingly, the article went on to mention that two Fortuna High students would assist each warden in the course of his duties.¹⁵⁶ Across the county people were preparing, in Eureka, George Fini's future father in law volunteered to be a block captain. In Ferndale an auxiliary dam was proposed on Francis Creek near

¹⁵⁵ "Defense Authorities Outline Blackout Course—New City Ordinance Here Makes Rules Mandatory," *Humboldt Times*, (10 December 1941), p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ "Fortuna Maps Course in Case of Emergency Raid," *Humboldt Times*, (11 December, 1941), p. 5.

town to provide the town with an emergency supply of water for fire suppression as well as provide auxiliary power in the event of an emergency.¹⁵⁷

As December turned to January preparations for an air raid reached high gear as Eureka tested its new air raid siren and the local Defense Council announced that sand for use in the case of an incendiary bomb attack had been dumped and was ready to use at 55 locations across Eureka. While this preoccupation with incendiary bombing may seem strange there were legitimate reasons to fear such an incendiary bomb attack over a traditional high explosive bomb attack because incendiary bombs were lighter than conventional high explosive bombs and the threat of fire was real in an area comprised almost exclusively of wooden buildings. Furthermore, locals would have been aware of the enormous damage done to London by fire during the London Blitz just one year earlier. Additionally, all must have been aware of the damage fire did in San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake. Other potential Japanese threats were not forgotten as indicated by an article in the January 3 *Humboldt Times* updating readers on the status of a soon expected delivery of gas masks.¹⁵⁸ The same paper also described completion of an evacuation plan for Eureka under which 3,000 local women and children would be sent to safer locations inland in the event of Japanese attack or invasion.¹⁵⁹

Defense preparations reached all the way down to local elementary schools. For instance, in Arcata at College Elementary School (on the Humboldt State Campus) the school and university administration arranged for students in the elementary school to be

¹⁵⁷ "Ferndale Plans Auxiliary Dam," *Humboldt Times*, (26 December, 1941), p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ "Gas Masks Expected Soon," *Humboldt Times*, (3 January, 1942), p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ "Evacuation Plan Ready If Needed," *Humboldt Times*, (3 January, 1942), p. 1.

sent home immediately on buses in the event of an attack. College students apparently weren't quite as high a priority as they were directed to stay on campus (though they were told not to gather in one place).¹⁶⁰ Meanwhile, K-12 students in Eureka had their lunch shortened so they could end the school day earlier and make their way home before dark and before any blackout fully took effect.¹⁶¹

Throughout the war schools were actively involved in the war effort in other ways than those just described. George Fini recounted how he and his friends took part in the ubiquitous can and scrap metal collection drives as well as war stamp and bond drives (war stamps were less expensive than bonds—once a sufficient number of stamps were purchased they could be traded for a war bond). He also mentioned that he and his metal shop classmates made ashtrays for USO clubs.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ "School Arranges Raid Precaution," *Humboldt Times*, (14 December, 1941), p. 3.

¹⁶¹ "Eureka Schools to Alter Classroom Schedules," *Humboldt Times*, (13 December, 1941), p. 3.

¹⁶² George Fini.

CONCLUSION

The national coverage of the war as it appeared in the *Humboldt Times* and *Humboldt Standard* when compared to the rich oral interviews with local men and women and others as well as the two papers' coverage of local events works as a catalyst to recover the feelings of local men and women during the Second World War. As demonstrated in the columns of Andrew Genzoli in the decades after the war, the use of articles about the events of the war was an effective means of sparking memories in those old enough to remember or helping younger readers begin to understand what people at the time felt. What the interviews and the articles show us, whether they were done in the 1960s by journalist Andrew Genzoli, the 1980s by historian Steve Fox, the 1990s by University of North Carolina Law Professor and former Federal Prosecutor Eric Muller or in the first decade of the twenty first century, is that people were afraid and reacted accordingly.

Fear of Japanese attack was real in the first months of the war and in some cases like the attack on the S.S. Emidio it was justified. In response to that fear, and the threat that caused it, steps were taken locally to prepare a civil defense and as the war progressed defenses were established to protect the region and the entire West Coast from the possibility of such an attack. This fear, along with all the other emotions the war caused, is as tangible and important part of Humboldt County's experience in World War II as the Medal of Honor Citation for Robert Viale or the "secret" radar installation on the bluffs above the Klamath. In fact, for most men and women and children at the time,

their emotions and experiences were the war, not distant events reported in the local papers or heard on the radio.

Tip O'Neil, the long time Democratic Speaker of the House, once famously said, as others had before him, that all politics are local. In his opinion, it all came down to how events and policy decisions affected individuals at the local level. History is not very different. Historical events taking place a world away affect people locally and it is that local reaction that creates the historical reality people remember and the regional events the local media reports. The events of the Second World War profoundly affected the men and women of Humboldt County, some directly through service or loss, most indirectly through its emotional effect, but in all cases the emotional affect on the county and its populace was real and enormous.

WORLD WAR COMES TO HUMBOLDT COUNTY LESSON PLAN

Introduction:

World War II affected the United States and Humboldt County profoundly, yet over 60 years later, the Second World War is almost as distant to our students as the American Revolution and the Civil War. Furthermore, with the death of more and more members of the World War II generation, our students are losing the opportunity to make a personal connection with the men and women who lived through the war years. While we can not turn back time, we can take steps to make World War II more relevant to our students. By tying the study of the war to local events and local reactions to the threats posed by the Japanese and other Axis powers so our students better understand how the events of World War II affected our local community.

In this seven-day lesson plan, students will study seven aspects of Humboldt County's experience during the Second World War. Each day's lesson is designed to stand-alone in the event a teacher wants to use only one portion in his or her classroom. While each topic is assigned a day, some of the topics, could easily be expanded into a multi-day case study.

The theme that links these seven topics together is: *Citizens and residents along the West Coast were profoundly affected by World War II and responded to the threat first with panic then in time by establishing an effective civil defense.* From the original panicky responses to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, to the eventual development of the Naval airfield at McKinleyville, the radar station near the mouth of the Klamath

River, and the enormous Chicago Bridge and Iron Works complex in Eureka, Humboldt County in particular and the West Coast in general responded to the threat of Japanese aggression in a myriad of ways. Underlying every response, however, was the goal of protecting the home front. Sometimes this goal was fueled by fear as demonstrated by the Japanese relocation and Italian exclusion; other times it was almost laughable, as illustrated by reports of Japanese planes flying up to the Golden Gate in the nights after Pearl Harbor. The fear of attack however was real and people across the region responded to their fears in different ways.

The topics and timeline for the seven days are as follows:

Day 1: The Panic—December 1941. This lesson describes the panic that swept the West Coast in December 1941. This lesson uses newspaper headlines and other primary documents to show how much the people of the West Coast felt they were at risk of Japanese attack.

Day 2: Submarine Attack Off the Humboldt Coast. This lesson focuses on the two attacks on merchant ships by the Japanese submarine I-17 off the Humboldt Coast. Using online resources as well as maps and first person quotes from the men of the S.S. Emidio and the S.S. Samoa students will learn the story of how the war briefly came to our local waters.

Day 3: Humboldt County's Italian and Italian-American Relocation and Internees. The third day examines the experience of local residents who were relocated or interned. Using written resources and first person interviews from Steve Fox's *UnCivil Liberties* students will learn how in the name of civil defense, loyal Italian aliens

were forced to move from their homes and in some cases leave their schools.¹⁶³ Students will also use a map to visually represent the areas of Humboldt County from which enemy aliens were excluded.

Day 4: The Japanese American Draft Resister Court Case. Day four will compare the plight of Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans, Italian aliens and German aliens. By using the court case of 27 Japanese American draft resisters students as a case study, students will learn how in the Federal Courthouse in Eureka a federal judge took a stand for equal treatment of all Americans.

Day 5: Civil Defense on the Home Front in Humboldt County. Day five offers students a brief overview of the steps taken by the armed forces to protect the Humboldt coast. The lesson includes information about the Coast Guard and their beach patrols to prevent Japanese submarines from landing spies, US Navy Blimps that were based at the Samoa airport and patrolled off the coast in search of enemy submarines, and about the “secret” radar station that looked like a farmhouse and barn near Klamath. Students will plot these facilities on a Humboldt County map to become more aware of the widespread effort to protect the coast.

Day 6: War Industries on Humboldt Bay. Day six examines the largest industrial complex in Humboldt County history, the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works dry dock building facility, that emerged almost overnight at the foot of Washington Street in Eureka. This complex employed over 3000 people working around the clock to build

¹⁶³ Stephen Fox. *UnCivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege during World War II* (USA: Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com, 2000) 107. *UnCivil Liberties* is the revised name for Fox’s *Unknown Internment*.

floating dry docks to repair damaged Navy vessels in the Pacific. Using photographs and a list of facts about the complex students will become aware of the enormity of the operation

Day 7: The US Coast Guard and Coastal Defense. This concluding lesson examines how local people prepared the Civil Defense across the county. From dumping sand in the vacant lots of Eureka to use for extinguishing fires caused by Japanese incendiary bombs, to enforcing blackouts, and appointing block captains, the people of Humboldt County were active in civil defense. This lesson will use quotes from interviews and excerpts from the local newspapers to demonstrate some of the ways local people worked to protect themselves from attack as part of Humboldt County's civil defense preparations.

All lessons are designed for inclusion in a large unit in an eleventh grade U.S. History class. Taken independently or as a whole, they address the 11th grade U.S. History and Social Science standards as illustrated at the end of the lesson plan.

Prior Content Knowledge and Skills:

Since this unit focuses on local history, almost all students should begin with at least some basic understanding of the local geography. When the teacher mentions Arcata or Eureka, the students will be familiar with the geographical proximity of these cities within the county. Additionally, 11th graders should already possess some understanding of World War II having studied it in 10th grade World History. How much specific knowledge students possess of the events detailed in these lessons, will vary

greatly. If, for instance, a student read a book like *Farewell to Manzanar* or *Snow Falling on Cedars* in an English class they should already have some good understanding of the Japanese Relocation. However, it will be the very rare student who possesses a good understanding of what happened to German and Italian aliens.

High school students should possess all the necessary skills to participate in these lessons. During the course of the lessons they will be required to take notes and participate in discussions, use maps and primary source documents and read and interpret excerpts from interviews of eyewitnesses to these events. If the teacher so chooses, he or she may lecture about the main aspects of each lesson topic. Some topics are more suited to a lecture-discussion—for instance the Japanese American draft resister trial—while others have a more visual dimension such as the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works plant.

Discussion of the Content Hook:

Since this lesson plan is comprised of seven stand-alone lessons, each will have its own 3-10 minutes hook. To begin the unit a hook focusing on the widespread panic that gripped the region in December 1941 will be used. This hook is as follows:

The class will begin by examining overheads of headlines from the *Humboldt Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and from the first months of the war as well as quotes from people and politicians¹⁶⁴. The teacher will read aloud and comment on the quotes from the overhead, including the announcement from San Francisco Mayor Angelo Rossi. America's shock should be evident in the

¹⁶⁴ The materials for the introductory hook can be found in Appendix A.

newspapers and the students will begin to understand just how much the attack on Pearl Harbor frightened people on the West Coast.

Next, students and teacher will compare the reaction of people in Humboldt and along the West Coast as illustrated by the overhead with the reactions of people in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks.¹⁶⁵ The teacher then will ask the class: “What steps were taken in the aftermath of September 11th to protect the American people?” Students hopefully will give answers including increased security at airports, the implementation of the Patriot Act, and the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. After this discussion, the teacher will explain that in the next few days, students will study how the government and local people took steps to protect the West Coast in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. Finally, the class will transition into a more specific lesson on the panic of December 1941 and early 1942 for the remainder of the class period.

¹⁶⁵ It is important that we keep in mind that our students get younger each year and that they are not old enough to remember events we consider recent. This has already happened with events like Desert Storm, which none of my 11th graders remember. In a few years teachers will have to consider showing clips of television coverage from September 11 to show their students a more recent example of the panic caused by a surprise attack on U.S. soil. When our students grow too young to remember September 11, another possible way to make them aware of the panic that surrounded the attacks is for students to interview their parents and guardians about their recollections of 9/11.

Lesson Content:

Day 1: The Panic—December 1941—February 1942

Hook: (10-15 minutes) See above

Lecture/Discussion: (15-20 minutes)

Building upon the comparisons brought up during the hook, the teacher will lecture the class on some of the ways people in Humboldt County, San Francisco and Los Angeles reacted to the threat posed by Japan. The teacher will use the background lecture material and the overhead of newspaper headlines and quotes to show students the intensity of the reaction.

All materials necessary for this and the following lessons can be found in the appropriate appendix. At the end of each daily lesson there is a listing of the materials used in the lesson and the appendix in which those materials can be found.

Main points to be covered by the teacher: These points will be demonstrated by the information in the lecture or the quotes on the overhead.

1. California and the West Coast was unprepared for a Japanese attack.
2. It was reasonable for people along the West Coast to think the Japanese might attack.
3. The Japanese never sent surface naval vessels anywhere near the West Coast—only Japanese submarines sailed off the coast.

Questions to be asked by the teacher: As the lecture is delivered (or at its completion) the teacher should ask their students the following questions:

1. Was the reaction by people on the West Coast appropriate to the threat they were facing?

2. Why were there so many false reports of Japanese planes and ships off the coast?
3. How do the reactions of Americans first in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor and more recently in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 parallel each other?

Reading Activity: (10-15 minutes) Students read the *Official History of the Battle of Los Angeles* from the United States Air Force and then finish the lesson by comparing what really happened with what people thought was happening at the time.

Closing Idea: (1-2 minutes) How does the actual story of the Battle of Los Angeles and what people thought was happening at the time compare with the actual story of Japanese intentions toward the West Coast and what people thought at the time? How did people's panic cloud their judgment yet impel them towards the establishment of an effective civil defense?

Materials (in Appendix B):

1. Background information for teacher
2. Map of the Pacific—either a wall map or an overhead—an overhead map is available at the National Park Service website, *The War Relocation Camps of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger Than Justice*
<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89locate1.htm>
3. Overhead of newspaper headlines
4. Official History of the Battle of Los Angeles

Day 2: Submarine Attacks Off the Humboldt Coast —December 1941

Hook: (10 minutes) Teacher places the two pictures of S.S. Emidio before and after its sinking on the overhead. Teacher then reads aloud the story of the attack on the Emidio.

Lecture/Discussion: (15 minutes) Using the lecture notes and the overhead, the teacher will discuss what happened off the West Coast in December 1941.

Main points to be covered by the teacher:

1. Japanese submarines were active off the coast of California and the West Coast.
2. The I-17 and Humboldt County were at the center of this action.
3. Despite all the firepower carried onboard the nine submarines only two ships were sunk and six others were attacked. The total death toll was six merchant seamen.
4. These attacks furthered the panic of people along the West Coast.
5. The Japanese Navy believed that its submarines would be better used trying to hunt and sink American warships out in the Pacific and never again sent so many submarines off the West Coast.

Map Activity: (10 minutes) Teacher hands all students a map of the West Coast.

Students will find the five major ports off which submarines were placed. Students will then fill in the position of the I-17 off Cape Mendocino.

Evaluation: (15-20 minutes) Students will write a 200 word essay comparing the response by Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor to the response by Americans after the September 11 attacks. In their paper students will show the progression from panic to the establishment of an effective civil defense.

Materials (in Appendix C):

1. Overhead of before and after Emidio pictures
2. Map of West Coast handout and overhead found at:
<http://www.eduplace.com/ss/maps/pdf/westus.pdf>
3. Emidio and I-17 Notes Overhead
4. Teacher notes
5. Attempted sinking of the S.S. Samoa handout
6. Map of the Pacific —either a wall map or an overhead—an overhead map is available at the National Park Service website, *The War Relocation Camps of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger Than Justice*
<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89locate1.htm>

Day 3: Humboldt County's Italian and Italian-American Relocation and Internees

Hook: (10 minutes) Teacher poses questions: Is there any possible circumstance where the American Government would be justified in making an entire ethnic group move and/or drop out of school? Are you aware of any such incidents? Students respond.

Teacher reads aloud the story of Joseph Nieri and his experience at Arcata High.

Lecture/Discussion: (20-25 minutes) Using lecture notes, teacher discusses the exclusion of all enemy aliens from security zones along the West Coast and Humboldt County in particular.

Main points to be covered by the teacher:

1. The events of December 7, 1941 were a shock to the nation in general and the West Coast in particular. The fear engendered by the attack on Pearl Harbor was soon directed towards Italians, Japanese, and Germans.
2. The growing concern with enemy aliens along the West Coast, the steps taken to prevent them from committing sabotage; and the role of General Dewitt, the commander of the western region all lead to increasing fears of enemy alien activities.
3. The initial feeling in the first months of the war by people like Dewitt was that all three groups of enemy aliens be relocated away from the West Coast. Furthermore there was a real lack of immediate opposition to this plan.
4. The Tolan Committee (named after its chairman, Congressman John H. Tolan) played a key role in raising governmental awareness of the consequences (political, economic, logistical) to a relocation and internment of all three nationalities.
5. In the spring of 1942 the government backed away from the full-scale internment idea (like was done to the Japanese and Japanese-Americans) for the Italians and Germans.

6. On October 12, 1942 the official rehabilitation of Italians in the eyes of the U.S. Government was completed when Italians were taken off the enemy aliens list.

Map Activity: (5 minutes) Students draw the line of exclusion and color in the exclusion zone in Humboldt County.

Reading Activity: (10 minutes) In groups of four, students read four different interviews collected by Stephen Fox and then report to their group.

Evaluation: For homework, students write a 200-word news announcement in newspaper style announcing the exclusion of all enemy aliens from the areas west of Highway 101.

Materials (in Appendix D):

1. Background information for teacher
2. Joseph Nieri Interview
3. Humboldt County Map handout and overhead available online from the Humboldt County government's website.
<http://www.co.humboldt.ca.us/planning/maps/countydisplay4bw.pdf>
4. Four interviews from Steve Fox handout
5. Map of the Pacific —either a wall map or an overhead—an overhead map is available at the National Park Service website, *The War Relocation Camps of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger Than Justice*
<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89locate1.htm>

Day 4: Comparing the Japanese and Italian Experiences at the Beginning of World War II

Hook: (5-10 minutes) Teacher puts the “Not Enough Food Japs Complain in Jail Here” overhead and has students read the newspaper excerpt and answer the questions.

Lecture/Discussion: (15-20 minutes)

Part A: Using information taken from the lecture notes and handing students a blank chart comparing the plight of Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans, Italian aliens and German aliens, students will come to realize how all three groups were mistreated.

Part B: (20-25 minutes) Using the July 1944 court case of 27 Japanese American draft resisters as a case-study, students will learn how a federal judge in Eureka's federal courthouse took a stand for equal treatment of all Americans.

The teacher will begin this portion of the lecture by showing a map of the Japanese Relocation centers on an overhead. In the lecture the students will learn how by 1944 the Tule Lake Relocation Camp was the place where "troublemakers" and their families were sent and the teacher will list the three reasons people were sent to Tule Lake. The teacher will briefly explain how the 27 defendants refused to take their pre-draft physicals and were therefore charged with resisting the draft. On the overhead the teacher will show the proximity of Eureka to Tule Lake and explain why the trial was held there.

Teacher will introduce the students the characters in this courtroom drama by displaying an overhead with their names and a few quotes by the main players. The teacher will then talk about the actual events of the trial using the teacher notes for background information.

Main points to be covered by the teacher:

1. By filling in the chart students will become aware of the different treatment each of the three enemy alien groups received.

2. Students will see how the time and extent of governmental mistreatment was much shorter for the Italian and German aliens than that of Japanese aliens and citizens.
3. Only Japanese American citizens were relocated to camps.
4. Students will learn the main reasons for the different reasons Japanese and Japanese Americans were mistreated (see overhead).
5. Students will learn about the UNITED STATES VS MASAOKI KAWABARA ET. AL court case.

Evaluation: For homework, students will be asked to pretend they are newspaper reporters for the *Humboldt Standard* (the more incendiary of the two papers)¹⁶⁶. Their homework is to write a 200 word story with a headline describing what happened at the trial in the style of a newspaper reporter of the day.

The teacher has the option of spending time the next day comparing what the students wrote with what the actual newspapers wrote and also showing the students the editorial in the *Humboldt Times*. This will take 10-20 minutes.

Materials (in Appendix E):

1. Major Reasons for the Different Treatment of Japanese Lecture Notes
2. “Not Enough Food Japs Complain in Jail Here” overhead
3. Chart Comparing the Italian, Japanese and German Experiences during World War II
4. Blank student chart
5. Map of Relocation Centers for Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans—an overhead map is available at the National Park Service website, *The War Relocation Camps of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger Than Justice* <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89locate2.htm>
6. Anti Japanese Laws in American History Overhead
7. Three types of relocatees at Tule Lake Overhead

¹⁶⁶ Judging from the coverage of the trial the *Humboldt Times* used racist language and displayed a much more virulent anti-Japanese bias than it’s rival newspaper, the *Humboldt Standard*.

8. Main characters in the Trial Overhead
9. “Trial Proceedings Must Follow Law of the Land” Overhead

Optional: (10 minutes to a full class session) While there were no cases of sabotage by Japanese and Japanese Americans against American military bases or industrial targets in Hawaii or on the mainland, there was one little known case of Japanese aliens aiding a downed Japanese pilot in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor. On the morning of December 7, 1941, on the small agricultural island of Niihau (the westernmost Hawaiian island—off the southwest coast of Kauai) a Japanese pilot crash landed his plane and was able to get three local Japanese to aid him in his escape attempt. Online accounts are available from both Michelle Malkin (<http://www.townhall.com/columnists/michellemalkin/mm20040810.shtml>) and Herbert A. Holbrook (<http://www.pacshiprev.com/PacificArchivesSubDirectory/page21.html>).

The teacher might want to consider having the class read the story (or read both versions and compare the two accounts). Malkin, a conservative columnist and Fox News commentator, included the story of the Niihau incident in a 2004 book called: *In Defense of Internment: The Case for “Racial Profiling” in World War II and the War on Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Regenery Publishing, 2004) a book that sparked quite a lot of controversy when it was published. Holbrook’s version was published in a historical ship and history journal and he seemingly was not trying to support a political agenda in publishing his account.

The story of the Niihau incident is not only fascinating for what happened, but also provides an opportunity for the teacher to discuss bias, or at least the potential for bias in the reporting of history.

Day 5: The United States Coast Guard and Coast Defense

Hook: (5 minutes) Students are asked if any know of the secret military radar station up near the mouth of the Klamath River near the Humboldt-Del Norte County border. After gathering answers, the teacher will either hand out or project on the screen the information available at “Radar Station B-71—Aviation: From San Dunes to Sonic Booms: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary,” www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/aviation/rad.htm. The teacher can also show students the five pictures of the radar station on this site.

Lecture/Discussion: (40 minutes) Using the lecture notes and the overhead the teacher will discuss the four aspects of coastal defense in Humboldt County.

Main points to be covered by the teacher:

1. The development of the Coast Guard Beach Patrols.
2. The Blimp patrols.
3. The McKinleyville Airport.
4. The secret radar station.

Map Activity: (5 minutes) The students get out their map, which shows the exclusion zones for enemy aliens. On the map they then mark in the areas the Coast Guard

patrolled, the location of the Blimp Base and the McKinleyville Airport as well as Radar Station B-71.

Evaluation: For homework students write twenty questions about Coastal Defense in Humboldt County. The next day in class they will either answer their own questions or will swap questions with another student. All questions must be short answer or multiple choice. True or false and essay questions are not allowed.

Materials (in Appendix F):

1. Background information for teacher
2. Radar Station B-71 images from the National Park Service Website to distribute to the class, project on the screen or make into an overhead.
These images are available at “Radar Station B-71—Aviation: From San Dunes to Sonic Booms: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary,”
<www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/aviation/rad.htm>
3. Map of Humboldt County (students should still have this after filling in the enemy alien exclusion zones) but it is available online from the Humboldt County government’s website.
<http://www.co.humboldt.ca.us/planning/maps/countydisplay4bw.pdf>

Day 6: The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works

Optional: (15-20 minutes) Students take and later correct their own or a classmate’s 20 question test about coastal defense in Humboldt County during World War II.

Hook: (5 minutes) Teacher shows on the overhead pictures of the CB & IW complex taken from the *Humboldt Times* and the Humboldt Historian.

Lecture/Discussion: (10 minutes) During the lecture the teacher will explain the reasons the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works were built in Eureka as well as explaining the purpose of a floating dry dock.

Main points to be covered by the teacher:

1. The main reasons Eureka and Humboldt Bay were chosen.
2. What a floating dry dock is and what it does.

Map Activity: (5 minutes) Teacher will show a map of the Pacific Ocean and help the students determine the amount of time saved by placing floating dry docks across the Pacific at areas recaptured by the Americans.

In Class Reading: (15 minutes) The teacher hands out the story of the YFD-20, the “Reclaimer.” Students and teacher will read the story in class.

Homework: Students are to ask a family member or neighbor what they remember about World War II. The person questioned need only to be old enough to remember the Second World War—whether they were kids, a high school or college student, or an adult. The person interviewed need not have served in the military at the time.

As students interview the person they are to ask the interviewee what their recollections are about the panic that followed Pearl Harbor and the later steps taken to provide for an effective civil defense.

Students will then write up the interview notes in a 700-1000 word paper and report orally (time permitting). The paper will mostly consist of quotes and paraphrases of what the interviewee said.

Materials (in Appendix G):

1. Background information for teacher
2. Map of the Pacific—either a wall map or an overhead—an overhead map is available at the National Park Service website, *The War Relocation Camps of*

World War II: When Fear Was Stronger Than Justice

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89locate1.htm>

3. Overhead images of floating dry docks
4. The story of the YFD-20

Day 7: Civil Defense in Humboldt County

Hook: (5 minutes) Teacher projects on the overhead the notice from the U.S. Office of Civil Defense published in the December 1941 *Humboldt Times* called "WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID." Students and teachers read the notice and discuss how real the prospect of an air attack by the Japanese was along the West Coast.¹⁶⁷

Students are then asked if they have been trained how to react in any potential hazardous situations (i.e. earthquake, fire, lockdown drill). Ideally the teacher will help the students see that the training they underwent was not a waste of time, even if they have not experienced a major earthquake or intruder on campus with a weapon.

Lecture/Discussion: (20 minutes) Using the lecture notes and the overhead the teacher will discuss with the class how local people prepared for the impending (in many people's eyes) Japanese attack. This lecture should link back to the original panic that swept across the West Coast and Humboldt County in the days and weeks after Pearl Harbor and then address how from this panic an effective civil defense grew.

Main points to be covered by the teacher:

- People really felt the Japanese could attack them; therefore, their actions must be evaluated with that knowledge in mind. Just because these feared attacks didn't occur doesn't mean that the preparations were a waste of time.

¹⁶⁷ This document can be found online at: <http://www.afwing.com/art/poster/1.jpg> If necessary a Google image search for "What To Do In An Air Raid" will also find the document. The website which holds it is apparently a Japanese website.

- K-12 students were involved in the war effort.
- Civil Defense was taken very seriously at the time.

Assessment: (20-25 minutes) Students will make a poster supporting some aspect of Civil Defense or support for the war. The teacher will show the class examples of World War II posters either as overheads, as part of a powerpoint or by any other appropriate means. Possible topics include but are not limited to:

- A call for air raid wardens, block captains or plane spotters.
- A list of blackout regulations.
- A War Stamps or Bonds poster.
- A recycling drive poster.
- Any other appropriate topics.

Materials (in Appendix H):

1. Background information for teacher
2. “WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID” Overhead
3. Images of World War II posters taken from an online source(s). The easiest way to find such posters is to do Google image search and type in “world war II posters” and then print or digitally project the images.

Evaluation:

Interim Evaluation Instruments: Over the course of the individual lessons students will take notes on the topic discussed. The teacher has the option of doing a notebook check during or after the unit to evaluate and grade student notes. Additionally, students will complete the following writing assignments:

- Write a 200-word essay comparing the response by Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor to the response by Americans after the September 11 attacks.

- Write a 200-word news announcement in newspaper style announcing the exclusion of all enemy aliens from the areas west of Highway 101.
- Pretend they are newspaper reporters for the *Humboldt Standard* (the more incendiary of the two papers). Their homework is to write a 200 word story with a headline describing what happened at the trial in the style of a newspaper reporter of the day.
- Write twenty questions about Coastal Defense in Humboldt County. The next day in class they will either answer their own questions or will swap questions with another student.
- Interview a family member or neighbor old enough to remember the Second World War about their experiences. Students will then write up the interview notes in a 700-1000 word paper and report orally (time permitting).
- Make a poster supporting some aspect of Civil Defense or support for the war.

Final Evaluation Instruments:

Traditional exam. See Appendix I.

Non-traditional evaluation: See Below.

For their non-traditional evaluation students will have the option of doing one of the following activities. In all cases, the activities will require the students to make a class presentation and all seven topics covered in the lessons must be included in the activity. The options are:

1. Either alone or in a small group, create a five-minute news broadcast highlighting how Humboldt County responded to the war. This broadcast could be either an audio or video presentation. A script of all that is said in the broadcast is required along with the presentation.
2. Either alone or in a small group create a commemorative edition of the *Humboldt Times* looking back on the war's effect locally. This edition would carry a publication date after the war ended and at least four photos must be included.

Each person in the group must write four articles or 1000 words of copy. The four articles must include at least one article on the panic that gripped region and one article about the attempts to establish a civil defense. The other two articles may include topics discussed in this unit or other appropriate topics (with teacher approval).

3. Either alone or in a small group write a picture book about Humboldt County's response to the war. This book will be geared for fourth graders who study California history and would be donated to a local fourth grade class.

This book must address all seven topics in the unit and must be illustrated. Actual pictures from the time are preferred over student created illustrations. The teacher will determine the length of each book as well as decide how much text is required.

4. Either alone or in a small group, create a web page or powerpoint that the teacher can use in future classes. The web page or powerpoint must address all seven topics in the unit.

Actual pictures from the time are preferred over student created illustrations. The teacher will determine the length of each webpage or powerpoint as well as decide how much text is required.

5. Other: students will be offered the chance to show their content knowledge in a way they propose. The teacher will have to approve the proposed evaluation.

Alignment to State and National Standards:

WORLD WAR COMES TO HUMBOLDT COUNTY CALIFORNIA STATE AND NATIONAL HISTORY STANDARDS ALIGNMENT

11.7 Students analyze America's participation in World War II.

- 11.7.3 Students identify the roles and sacrifices of individual American soldiers, as well as the unique contributions of the special fighting forces (e.g., the Tuskegee Airmen, the 442nd Regimental Combat team, the Navajo Code Talkers).

11.7.5 Students and teacher discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front, including the internment of Japanese Americans (e.g., *Fred Korematsu v. United States of America*) and the restrictions on German and Italian resident aliens; the response of the administration to Hitler's atrocities against Jews and other groups; the roles of women in military production; and the roles and growing political demands of African Americans.

Rationale: World War II profoundly affected America and its populace. In this series of lesson plans students and teachers will learn more about the war's impact at home, particularly in Humboldt County. Standard 11.7.5 focuses on "the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front" as does this series of lessons. Furthermore, the lessons on the Japanese Relocation and Italian and German experience during World War II meet or exceed standard 11.7.5. Additionally, by the end of the series of lessons students should also be aware to some extent of the role women played locally in Civil Defense and war production.

While the lessons do not directly address "the roles and sacrifices of individual American soldiers, as well as the unique contributions of the special fighting forces (e.g., the Tuskegee Airmen, the 442nd Regimental Combat team, the Navajo Code Talkers)" students will become aware of the unfair restrictions put upon Japanese and Japanese Americans and through their study of *United States vs. Masaaki Kuwabara Et. Al.* students will see another avenue of resistance some Americans took.

World War Comes to Humboldt County National History Standards Alignment

Era 8: The Great Depression and World War II (1929-1945)

Sub Standard 3: The causes and course of World War II, the character of the war at home and abroad, and its reshaping of the U.S. role in world affairs.

Sub Standard 3C: The student understands the effects of World War II at home.

Therefore, the student is able to:

Explain how the United States mobilized its economic and military resources during World War II.

Evaluate how minorities organized to gain access to wartime jobs and how they confronted discrimination.

Evaluate the internment of Japanese Americans during the war and assess the implication for civil liberties.

Analyze the effects of World War II on gender roles and the American family.

Rationale: World War II profoundly affected America and its populace. In this series of lesson plans students and teachers will learn more about the war’s impact at home, particularly in Humboldt County as students learn “the character of the war at home. . . .” (Era 8: Sub Standard 3)

The lessons, particularly the “The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works” and “The United States Coast Guard and Coast Defense” demonstrate on a local level how the United States “mobilized its economic and military resources during World War II” in and around Humboldt County.

“The Japanese Internment Case: United States vs. Masaaki Kuwabara Et. Al” certainly demonstrates how Japanese Americans “organized . . . to confront discrimination” as well as fulfilling the requirement to “[e]valuate the internment of Japanese Americans during the war and assess the implication for civil liberties.”

Finally, a class that uses both the “The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works” and “Civil Defense on the Home Front in Humboldt County” lesson plans will be able in some limited degree to “analyze the effects of World War II on gender roles and the American family” as the students come to realize just how many men and women went to work or to war during the conflict.

APPENDICES A-I: LESSON PLAN MATERIALS

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Appendix A: Introductory Hook

HAWAII AND PHILIPPINES/ BOMBED BY JAPANESE

First Extra edition *Humboldt Times* Sunday, December 7, 1941 p. 1.

To the people of San Francisco. I have declared an emergency in San Francisco. Under the powers conferred on me in this circumstance, I have coordinated all the proper departments of the City and County of San Francisco with the program of the Civilian Defense Council.

Proclamation by San Francisco Mayor, Angelo Rossi December 8, 1941

[There were n]umerous reports of planes being sighted last night [though] Sheriff A.A. Ross stated only one had been received by his office. This gave the location of a single plane off Cape Mendocino. Others reported seeing three planes over the Ferndale Valley, but these were unconfirmed.

Humboldt Times, Tuesday, December 9, 1941, p. 1.

General Reports Large Number of Aircraft Sighted

An apparent attempt by Japanese warplanes to bomb the San Francisco bay area [sic] was reported tonight by General William Ord Ryan of the Fourth Interceptor Command, who said a large number of unidentified aircraft were turned back at the Golden Gate.

Humboldt Times, Tuesday, December 9, 1941, p. 1.

I was a freshman or sophomore in high school. I remember that Sunday afternoon when we got notified the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. And just prior to that they [the government] had built a tower out on the sand dunes It was about a two-story tower. I guess they were waiting for the Japanese to land on the beach over there. It was mainly World War I vets that manned that tower, but I pulled duty up there, too. As I think back on it now, it was a joke. These guys were ready to hold off an invasion of the Japanese right there on Samoa!

Alex Fredani, *UnCivil Liberties*

What to Do in Case of Poison Gas Attacks

December 19, 1941, article in the *Los Angeles Times*

It will be a simple matter for a well-trained and courageous army to sweep everything before it. The contention that the United States cannot be invaded is as much a myth as that the Maginot Line could not be taken or that Singapore or Pearl Harbor are impregnable. . . it will be for us to say when and how we will strike.

The Japan Times as quoted in the *Humboldt Times*, January 9, 1942, p.1.

LA. AREA RAIDED!

Jap Planes Peril Santa Monica, Seal Beach, El Segundo, Redondo, Long Beach, Hermosa, Signal Hill.

First Extra, LA Times, February 25, 1942

Appendix B: Day 1: The Panic—December 1941—February 1942

THE PANIC: DECEMBER 1941

“HAWAII AND PHILIPPINES/ BOMBED BY JAPANESE” the headline of the first of three Extra editions of *Humboldt Times* proclaimed on Sunday, December 7, 1941. That day, which in the words of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, would “go down in infamy”¹⁶⁸ shook the citizens of Humboldt County and the United States to the core because Americans feared their unpreparedness for war.

On December 8, 1941, San Francisco Mayor, Angelo Rossi issued the following proclamation:

To the people of San Francisco. I have declared an emergency in San Francisco. Under the powers conferred on me in this circumstance, I have coordinated all the proper departments of the City and County of San Francisco with the program of the Civilian Defense Council.

In the days that followed the attack blackouts were ordered up and down the West Coast to forestall any Japanese attacks or a full-scale invasion. As it turned out, these blackouts’ main effect served to inconvenience the residents of these cities. Jeannette Thompson, a San Francisco native, tells how on Saturday, December 13, 1941, the night of her wedding rehearsal and practice dinner, she, her mother and the Catholic priest selected to perform the ceremony, took “over two hours to find their way across the blacked-out Golden Gate Park to the church.” Thompson and her companions finally arrived and by about 10 PM that night the entire wedding party managed to make their way to the church.

Eureka experienced its own blackout the night of Monday, December 8 on orders from the Humboldt Bay Navy Section Base. “[T]he apparent reason for the blackout was the reported approach of a large number of planes over San Francisco. The flight at one time was reported to have turned north. . . .” thus sparking the blackout order.” Nerves were jumpy all over the Northcoast as evidenced by the article, which reported,

¹⁶⁸ The newspaper accounts of Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” speech do not emphasize the phrase, “Day of Infamy.” They talk about the speech and its main points, but no special mention is made of the phrase, which has now become so famous. An interesting comparison of the emphasis of the coverage is to the predominately negative response to Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address in 1863.

[n]umerous reports of planes being sighted last night [though] Sheriff A.A. Ross stated only one had been received by his office. This gave the location of a single plane off Cape Mendocino. Others reported seeing three planes over the Ferndale Valley, but these were unconfirmed.

By the night of December 8 the nearest Japanese carrier was 36 hours northwest of Hawaii, headed for Japan, and not on its way to launch a midnight attack on Ferndale.

While Japanese attacks on shipping up and down the West Coast did occur, the feared invasion remained imaginary. Over the next few months, even while Japan seemed unstoppable in the Pacific region, the closest any Japanese invasion forces got to the West Coast of the continental United States were Midway Island and the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska. After the war, discussions with the defeated Japanese and a later review of Japanese naval and military records, made it clear that Japan never intended to invade the West Coast. That revelation remained unknown to Americans during the war years. Still expecting Japanese attacks, the Western Defense Command received a report of Japanese ships 30 miles off the coast and the Tuesday, December 9th *Humboldt Times* headlined, "General Reports Large Number of Aircraft Sighted." The Associated Press article went on to say, "[a]n apparent attempt by Japanese warplanes to bomb the San Francisco bay area [sic] was reported tonight by General William Ord Ryan of the Fourth Interceptor Command, who said a large number of unidentified aircraft were turned back at the Golden Gate." General Ord's comments illustrate how even top military brass on the West Coast feared attack after Pearl Harbor.

A not insignificant number of citizens of California, Oregon and Washington State responded to their fear of invasion by organizing a civil defense program starting with the commissioning of air raid wardens, airplane spotters and coast watchers up and down the coast. Articles in the local paper chronicled the formation of California Guard units in Eureka and Fortuna, the delivery of sand to vacant lots across Eureka to be used to extinguish incendiary bombs, and blackout directions. In Humboldt County citizens across the region were, in the words of Glen Nash, "... well aware that the Pacific Coast was in danger."

Though individuals could not do much to prevent a Japanese invasion of the region, some steps were taken and "airplane watches . . . and a Civil Defense system were set up." This included across Humboldt Bay from Eureka in Samoa. Alex Frediani, when interviewed years later by Stephen Fox, historian and author of *UnCivil Liberties*, recounted:

I was a freshman or sophomore in high school. I remember that Sunday afternoon when we got notified the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. And just prior to that they [the government] had built a tower out on the sand dunes It was about a two-story tower. I guess they were waiting for the Japanese to land on the beach over there. It was mainly World War

I vets that manned that tower, but I pulled duty up there, too. As I think back on it now, it was a joke. These guys were ready to hold off an invasion of the Japanese right there on Samoa!¹⁶⁹

In the immediate aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor, headlines in the local paper did little to assuage the fears of locals. As Japanese forces raced across the Pacific, local readers read about, among other things, attacks on the Philippines, the fall of Wake Island and Japan's conquest of Singapore. "JAPANESE LAND IN PHILIPPINES" served as the headline above the masthead of the *Humboldt Times* that greeted its readers the morning of Tuesday, December 10. Under the masthead the news wasn't much better. Headlines that morning read: "Planes Hunt Jap Ship in Pacific: Danger of Air Attacks Still Reported by Army Heads" and "Defense Work Moves Into High Gear Locally." On page three readers found a listing of Blackout Procedures. These procedures placed a damper on Ferndale's plans to light its Municipal Christmas tree as reported on page eight.

The headlines didn't get any better over the next few days and weeks. Sunday's paper brought a front-page picture of Private John Haynes, 22, of Eureka who was killed in the Philippines. Haynes, whose cause of death was not given, was Humboldt's first announced casualty. Unfortunately more were to come. "Casualty List Hits Three Homes" a front-page article on Wednesday, December 17 announced. The names of three local men killed in Pearl Harbor were announced that day.

Despite attempts to make the news look better than we now know it really was by Christmas the news was not good. In the daily War Bulletins on page one, on Christmas Eve, the notice read, "Wake Fate Uncertain."¹⁷⁰ The next day the bulletin was grimmer, "Hope for Wake Island Fades." To further dampen local's Christmas cheer the first photos of the remains of the U.S.S. Arizona were published. Boxing Day brought the capture of Hong Kong and a headline "Japs Advance Near Manila." To cap off a grim three weeks the last paper of the year told of the increasingly hopeless situation in Manila, "Japs Near Manila; Situation Grave, Enemy Dive Bombers Control Roads, Defenders Pushed Back Macarthur Announces."

The story on page one of the *Humboldt Times* on January 9, 1942 had to heighten people's fear of an invasion. In it the Japan Times, described as the official mouthpiece of the Japanese Government stated,

¹⁶⁹ Fox, Stephen. *UnCivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege during World War II* (USA: Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com, 2000) p. 107.

UnCivil Liberties is the new name for Fox's *Unknown Internment*.

¹⁷⁰ "Wake Fate Uncertain," *Humboldt Times*, 24 December, 1941, p. 1.

It will be a simple matter for a well-trained and courageous army to sweep everything before it. The contention that the United States cannot be invaded is as much a myth as that the Maginot Line could not be taken or that Singapore or Pearl Harbor are impregnable.

The Japan Times correctly predicted that all the Philippines and Singapore would fall to the Japanese in the not far future, and asserted after that, "it will be for us to say when and how we will strike."

People expected almost anything. Going back to Japan's surprise attack on the Russians at Port Arthur during the Russo-Japan War and continuing through the bombing of civilian targets in China in the 1930s as well as the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor the Japanese had demonstrated a willingness to do anything to win. Nothing the Japanese had done in the previous 36 years indicated they would avoid bombing cities and towns along the West Coast for moral reasons. The Sunday, December 28 paper contained a full-page notice from the U.S. Office of Civil Defense instructing the already jumpy citizens of Humboldt County, "WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID." Fear of Japanese attack of all kinds, including the most horrible, reached levels that in hindsight we would consider extreme. For example, on December 19, 1941, the *Los Angeles Times* published an article informing its readers, "What to Do in Case of Poison Gas Attacks." While this seems a prime example of post-Pearl Harbor hysteria, the reader should also be aware that the Japanese Army used poison gas against the Chinese during the 1930s and 1940s and had stockpiles on hand. In fact, a September 2003 article of the *Mainichi Shimbun* (one of Japan's leading newspapers) reported that at the end of World War II the Japanese Army had over 3,000 tons of mustard and other gas on hand.¹⁷¹

These fears of chemical or other attack weren't confined to the urban areas, Glen Nash, a reporter for the Humboldt Times, mentions in "When blimps once dotted the North Coast" that "[r]adiological monitors were trained to detect any radioactive material in case of a nuclear bomb attack."¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ "1000 Tons of Imperial Army's Poison Gas Missing." *Mainichi Shimbun*, April 21, 2003.

<<http://mdn.mainichi.co.jp/news/archive/200304/21/20030421p2a00m0fp025002c.html>>
2/11/05

¹⁷² This claim does appear unlikely, particularly because in 1941 and 1942, even the possibility of the atomic bomb was not widely known. Nash seemed to be aware of this, because immediately after the above quote, he inserted the following statement in parentheses, "this writer went through this training."

This fear did not diminish immediately. “On the night the night and early morning of February 24 and 25, 1942, a singular event unfolded in the skies over Southern California – the continental United States was attacked by an enemy.”¹⁷³

In the words of Major Jack Ilfrey, a pilot stationed in the Los Angeles area as part of U.S. Army Air Corps’ First Fighter Group, “For hours the sky glowed with shell bursts as ack-ack gunners lofted thousands of rounds of high explosive ammunition.”¹⁷⁴ It appeared as if Los Angeles was undergoing an air raid by Japanese aircraft. At least that is what many people thought.

The next morning, an extra edition of the Los Angeles Times, an enormous headline declared, “LA. AREA RAIDED!” It went on to say in smaller, though still substantial print, “Jap Planes Peril Santa Monica, Seal Beach, El Segundo, Redondo, Long Beach, Hermosa, Signal Hill.” Of course, by then others were starting to reevaluate what they had thought the night before, in the words of Major Ilfrey, “. . . by the time the sun rose and the smoke cleared, it was noted that nary an enemy bomb had actually fallen upon the balmy shores of Southern California. Thus the whole shooting match was soon dismissed as a grandiose false alarm.”

Sadly, “Eight people died during the raid, three of heart attacks, the others in accidents related to the blackout. Sixty-year-old California State Guard Sergeant Henry B. Ayers died of a heart attack at the wheel of the Army truck he was driving while hauling ammunition at the height of the barrage.”¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, over 30 Japanese Americans, already reeling from the announcement of Executive Order 9066, the Japanese Relocation Order on February 19, (see Sections Three and Four) were taken into custody, mostly after being accused of trying to signal Japanese airplanes the night of February 24 and 25. [cf. Appendix for the Battle of Los Angeles]

¹⁷³ Beneath LA: The Great Los Angeles Air Raid

<http://www.beneathla.com/go.cgi?=-raid>

¹⁷⁴ Ilfrey, Jack. The Official Website of the First Fighter Group: The Great Los Angeles Air Raid <http://www.geocities.com/Pentagon/Quarters/6940/1stfg.html>

¹⁷⁵ The History Net: Phantom Raid on L.A.

<http://www.thehistorynet.com/wwii/blphantomraid/index1.html>

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II; DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

“Official History of the Battle of Los Angeles”

During the night of 24/25 February 1942, unidentified objects caused a succession of alerts in southern California. On the 24th, a warning issued by naval intelligence indicated that an attack could be expected within the next ten hours. That evening a large number of flares and blinking lights were reported from the vicinity of defense plants. An alert called at 1918 [7:18 p.m., Pacific time] was lifted at 2223, and the tension temporarily relaxed. But early in the morning of the 25th renewed activity began. Radars picked up an unidentified target 120 miles west of Los Angeles. Antiaircraft batteries were alerted at 0215 and were put on Green Alert—ready to fire—a few minutes later. The AAF kept its pursuit planes on the ground, preferring to await indications of the scale and direction of any attack before committing its limited fighter force. Radars tracked the approaching target to within a few miles of the coast, and at 0221 the regional controller ordered a blackout. Thereafter the information center was flooded with reports of “enemy planes,” even though the mysterious object tracked in from sea seems to have vanished. At 0243, planes were reported near Long Beach, and a few minutes later a coast artillery colonel spotted “about 25 planes at 12,000 feet” over Los Angeles. At 0306 a balloon carrying a red flare was seen over Santa Monica and four batteries of anti-aircraft artillery opened fire, whereupon “the air over Los Angeles erupted like a volcano.” From this point on reports were hopelessly at variance.

Probably much of the confusion came from the fact that anti-aircraft shell bursts, caught by the searchlights, were themselves mistaken for enemy planes. In any case, the next three hours produced some of the most imaginative reporting of the war: “swarms” of planes (or, sometimes, balloons) of all possible sizes, numbering from one to several hundred, traveling at altitudes which ranged from a few thousand feet to more than 20,000 and flying at speeds which were said to have varied from “very slow” to over 200 miles per hour, were observed to parade across the skies. These mysterious forces dropped no bombs and, despite the fact that 1,440 rounds of anti-aircraft ammunition were directed against them, suffered no losses. There were reports, to be sure, that four enemy planes had been shot down, and one was supposed to have landed in flames at a Hollywood intersection. Residents in a forty-mile arc along the coast watched from hills or rooftops as the play of guns and searchlights provided the first real drama of the war for citizens of the mainland. The dawn, which ended the shooting and the fantasy, also proved that the only damage which resulted to the city was such as had been caused by the excitement (there was at least one death from heart failure), by traffic accidents in the blacked-out streets, or by shell fragments from the artillery barrage.

Attempts to arrive at an explanation of the incident quickly became as involved and mysterious as the “battle” itself. The Navy immediately insisted that there was no evidence of the presence of enemy planes, and Secretary [of the Navy, Frank] Knox announced at a press conference on 25 February that the raid was just a false alarm. At the same conference he admitted that attacks were always possible and indicated that vital industries located along the coast ought to be moved inland. The Army had a hard time making up its mind on the cause of the alert. A report to Washington, made by the Western Defense Command shortly after the raid had ended, indicated that the credibility of reports of an attack had begun to be shaken before the blackout was lifted. This message predicted that developments would prove “that most previous reports had been greatly exaggerated.” The Fourth Air Force had indicated its belief that there were no planes over Los Angeles. But the Army did not publish these initial conclusions. Instead, it waited a day, until after a thorough examination of witnesses had been finished. On the basis of these hearings, local commanders altered their verdict and indicated a belief that from one to five unidentified airplanes had been over Los Angeles. Secretary Stimson announced this conclusion as the War Department version of the incident, and he advanced two theories to account for the mysterious craft: either they were commercial planes operated by an enemy from secret fields in California or Mexico, or they were light planes launched from Japanese submarines. In either case, the enemy’s purpose must have been to locate anti-aircraft defenses in the area or to deliver a blow at civilian morale.

The divergence of views between the War and Navy departments, and the unsatisfying conjectures advanced by the Army to explain the affair, touched off a vigorous public discussion. The *Los Angeles Times*, in a first-page editorial on 26 February, announced that “the considerable public excitement and confusion” caused by the alert, as well as its “spectacular official accompaniments,” demanded a careful explanation. Fears were expressed lest a few phony raids undermine the confidence of civilian volunteers in the aircraft warning service. In Congress, Representative Leland Ford wanted to know whether the incident was “a practice raid, or a raid to throw a scare into 2,000,000 people, or a mistaken identity raid, or a raid to take away Southern California’s war industries.” Wendell Willkie, speaking in Los Angeles on 26 February, assured Californians on the basis of his experiences in England that when a real air raid began “you won’t have to argue about it—you’ll just know.” He conceded that military authorities had been correct in calling a precautionary alert but deplored the lack of agreement between the Army and Navy. A strong editorial in the *Washington Post* on 27 February called the handling of the Los Angeles episode a “recipe for jitters,” and censured the military authorities for what it called “stubborn silence” in the face of widespread uncertainty. The editorial suggested that the Army’s theory that commercial planes might have caused the alert “explains everything except where the planes came from, whither they were going, and why no American planes were sent in pursuit of them.” *The New York Times* on 28 February expressed a belief that the more the incident was studied, the more incredible it became: “If the batteries were firing on nothing at all, as Secretary Knox implies, it is a

sign of expensive incompetence and jitters. If the batteries were firing on real planes, some of them as low as 9,000 feet, as Secretary Stimson declares, why were they completely ineffective? Why did no American planes go up to engage them, or even to identify them?... What would have happened if this had been a real air raid?" These questions were appropriate, but for the War Department to have answered them in full frankness would have involved an even more complete revelation of the weakness of our air defenses.

At the end of the war, the Japanese stated that they did not send planes over the area at the time of this alert, although submarine-launched aircraft were subsequently used over Seattle. A careful study of the evidence suggests that meteorological balloons—known to have been released over Los Angeles —may well have caused the initial alarm. This theory is supported by the fact that anti-aircraft artillery units were officially criticized for having wasted ammunition on targets which moved too slowly to have been airplanes. After the firing started, careful observation was difficult because of drifting smoke from shell bursts. The acting commander of the anti-aircraft artillery brigade in the area testified that he had first been convinced that he had seen fifteen planes in the air, but had quickly decided that he was seeing smoke. Competent correspondents like Ernie Pyle and Bill Henry witnessed the shooting and wrote that they were never able to make out an airplane. It is hard to see, in any event, what enemy purpose would have been served by an attack in which no bombs were dropped, unless perhaps, as Mr. Stimson suggested, the purpose had been reconnaissance.

In: *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, prepared under the editorship of Wesley Frank Craven, James Lea Cate. v.1, pp. 277-286, Washington, D.C. : Office of Air Force History : For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1983.

Available online at: <http://www.sfmuseum.net/hist9/aaf2.html>

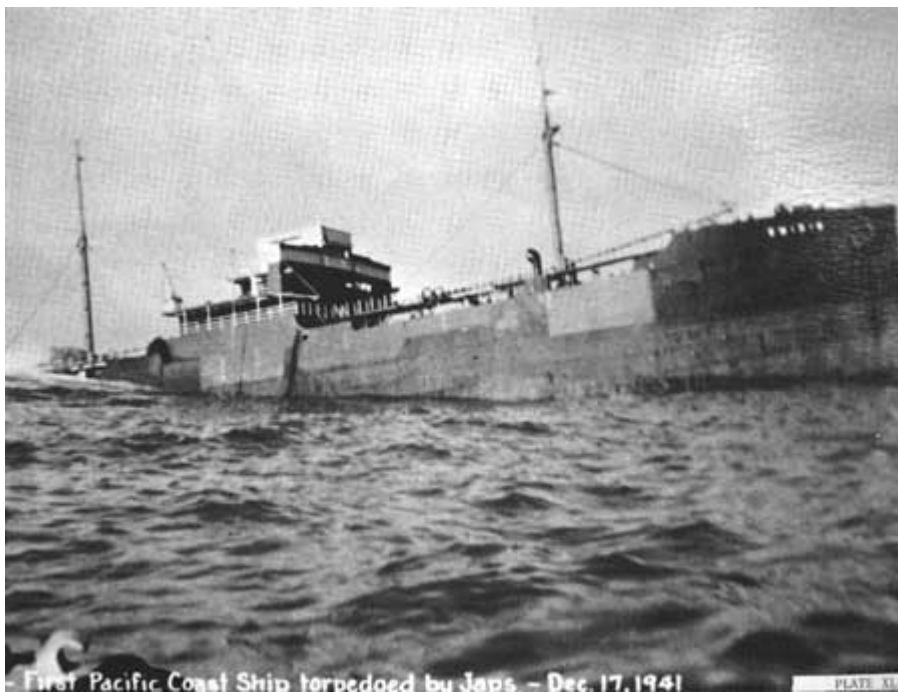
Appendix C: Day 2: Submarine Attacks Off the Humboldt Coast —December 1941

The S.S. Emidio



<http://www.armed-guard.com/emidio.jpg>

Emidio on the Rocks Outside Crescent City



http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/redw/images/fig40.jpg

Emidio and I-17 Notes

Between December 18 and Christmas Eve, 1941, nine Japanese I class submarines took up positions off the West Coast. As per Japanese war plans, five submarines were placed outside of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, the mouth of the Columbia River and Seattle while the other four stationed themselves off rural areas like Humboldt County.

One of these submarines, the I-17, was positioned off Cape Mendocino.

The I-17 was:

- **355 foot long**
- **less than one year old**
- **had a range of up to 15,000 miles**
- **carried a crew of between 90 and 100 men**
- **could travel on the surface at a speed of 23 1/2 knots (about 27 miles per hour)**
- **I-17 could carry up to 18 torpedoes**
- **mounted a 5.5" deck gun. The 5.5 inch gun on the deck of the I-17 was capable of firing at six aimed shot per minute. Each explosive shell weighed 83 pounds**

The typical merchant ship, like the S.S. Samoa or Emidio traveled at about 10 knots with a top speed of 14-15 knots.

Neither Samoa nor Emidio had any armament.

SUBMARINE ATTACK OFF THE HUMBOLDT COAST: THE ATTACKS ON THE
S.S. SAMOA AND S.S. EMIDIO—DECEMBER 18-DECEMBER 20, 1941

Between December 18 and Christmas Eve, 1941, nine Japanese I class submarines took up positions off the West Coast. As per Japanese war plans, five submarines were placed outside of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, the mouth of the Columbia River and Seattle while the other four stationed themselves off rural areas like Humboldt County. Surprisingly, the four submarines sent to find and destroy ships off the coast from major ports like San Francisco, Seattle and Los Angeles searched in vain for targets. Instead the first attacks took place in less traveled areas where seemingly fewer targets would be found. Over the course of the week they were in position, the nine submarines sunk two American merchant ships and attacked six others killing six seamen. The first ship attacked, the S.S. Samoa and the first ship sunk, the S.S. Emidio, were both attacked off Cape Mendocino by the I-17.¹⁷⁶

In the immediate aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack nine of the twelve long-range Japanese submarines dispatched to the Hawaiian Islands to support the attack force, sailed to positions along the West Coast. The nine submarines, despite their hope to find and sink at least one of the three American aircraft carriers in the Pacific, had not experienced any combat around Pearl Harbor and were directed to disrupt West Coast shipping as much as possible before returning to the Japanese controlled Marshall Islands.

One of those submarines, the I-17, was ordered to patrol in the shipping lanes off Cape Mendocino. The I-17, like all the submarines dispatched to America's West Coast by the Japanese Navy was a formidable weapon. The 355 foot long submarine was less than one year old, had a range of up to 15,000 miles, carried a crew of between 90 and 100 men and its diesel engines could propel it on the surface at a speed of 23 1/2 knots (about 27 miles per hour). Submarines like the I-17 could carry up to 18 torpedoes and also mounted a 5.5" deck gun. The 5.5 inch gun on the deck of the I-17 was capable of firing at six aimed shot per minute. Each explosive shell weighed 83 pounds.¹⁷⁷ Because a submarine's supply of torpedoes was limited, submarines at this time used their deck guns as preferred means of attack against unarmed merchant ships. In fact, Young in his article says the Japanese commanders of the nine submarines sent to the West Coast were ordered to fire no more than one torpedo at any merchant ship.

¹⁷⁶ Donald J. Young. "West Coast War Zone." World War II Magazine, July 1998. <<http://www.thehistorynet.com/wwii/blwestcoastwarzone/index1.html>>, (1/24/05).

¹⁷⁷ Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp. Stories and Battle Histories of the Imperial Japanese Navy's Submarines <http://www.combinedfleet.com/140_50.htm>, (1/24/05).

This combination of weaponry, range and speed made the I-17 more than a match for any of the merchant ships that carried cargo from the ports of the West Coast. The typical cargo ship of the time had a top speed of 12-15 knots (13-17 miles per hour) and tended to cruise a speed of closer to 10 knots. Furthermore, these ships were not designed for maneuverability, particularly when fully loaded. They tended to ride low in the water and plod along. And, in December 1941, they were unarmed and defenseless.

Early in the pre-dawn morning of December 18, 1941, the I-17 patrolled on the surface 15 miles off Cape Mendocino and the small town of Petrolia. Lookouts on the submarine spotted the S.S. *Samoa*, a cargo ship loaded with lumber and bound for San Diego. The commander of I-17, Kozo Nishino, ordered an attack. Like any submarine commander, Captain Nishino would have been eager to sink an American vessel, particularly in light of what he and his crew had gone through the previous eleven days. On December 7, Nishino and his crew had participated in the attack on Pearl Harbor, and then waited in vain for American warships to steam in or out of Pearl Harbor so I-17 and her sister ships could attack. None came. All Captain Nishino and the crew of I-17 got for their effort was the terror of an emergency crash-dive on December 10, when I-17 was spotted on the surface by an American patrol plane. When they later resurfaced, they were again spotted, but this time after crash-diving they were attacked by armed American warplanes. Nishino and his crew escaped unharmed. After surviving the attack, I-17, along with eight other submarines, spent the next four days in a frustrating pursuit of an American aircraft carrier. This pursuit ended on the 14th without I-17 or any of the other submarines coming close to the faster American carrier and its escorts.

Even if Nishino had not been an officer in the Japanese Navy at a time when Japanese militarism was at his peak. Even if he and his crew hadn't been raised in the decades prior to the Second World War when Japanese children were taught that the highest virtue was to fight and die pursuing the military goals of Emperor Hirohito, Nishino and his men would have to have been eager to engage the enemy, even if the enemy was the S.S. *Samoa*, a cargo ship loaded with lumber and headed for San Diego and not an American aircraft carrier or battleship.¹⁷⁸

Moments before *Samoa* crossed the bow of *I-17*, First Mate John Lehtonen, on watch at the time, spotted a dim light from the approaching enemy sub and yelled down to the captain, "A submarine is attacking us!" Captain Nels Sinnes, who had been asleep, sat bolt upright in his bunk, quickly pulled on his pants and shirt, grabbed a life jacket and yelled into the crew's quarters for everyone to report to their lifeboat stations. As crewmen began tearing the canvas covers from the lifeboats, the Japanese opened up. "Five shots were fired at us," Captain Sinnes later recalled.

¹⁷⁸ James Bradley. *Fly Boys: A True Story of Courage* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2004).

"One, apparently aimed at our radio antenna, burst in the air above the stern. Fragments fell to the deck."¹⁷⁹

Fortunately for the Samoa, the damage done by I-17's first attack was minimal. Unfortunately for the crew of the lumber carrier, Nishino, growing frustrated with the lack of results from the shelling, ordered a torpedo fired at the ship from a distance of only 70 yards. As the crew saw the wake of the torpedo approaching and passing from view under the ship, in the words of Samoa Captain Sinnes, "the miracle happened. The torpedo went directly beneath us, didn't even touch the hull and continued beyond. A short distance away it exploded. There was a huge shower accompanied by smoke and flames. Fragments from the torpedo also fell on our deck."¹⁸⁰

Miraculously, at least in the eyes of the men of the S.S. Samoa, they had survived certain destruction. Of course, there was a Japanese submarine, less than a football field length away, with a captain and crew eager to destroy them, but their luck held. In the pre-dawn darkness, Sinnes said the submarine closed to within 40 feet to try to evaluate how much damage the Samoa had suffered and to ascertain if further shelling would be necessary. According to Captain Sinnes,

There was a shout: "Hi ya!" from the submarine.

"What do you want of us?" I replied. There was no answer. Then it disappeared, evidently thinking that we were sinking on account of the heavy port list. The list was due to the ship's engineer shifting water between the ships ballast tanks. Furthermore, a few days earlier, due to stormy weather, the ship had lost most of its #1 lifeboat, "parts of which were still hanging from its davit."¹⁸¹

This Samoa's list and the shattered remains of the #1 lifeboat were what Captain Nishino saw before he and his crew withdrew. Captain Sinnes and his crew likewise withdrew and steamed as fast as they could to San Diego, safely arriving two days later.

Nishino and his crew were not finished. They remained on patrol, off Cape Mendocino and waited for another opportunity to attack. At about 1:30 in the afternoon on December 20 the S.S. Emidio, an oil tanker that left Seattle on the morning of Wednesday, December 17th sailed into the now dangerous waters off Cape Mendocino.

It is interesting, that none of the sources chronicling the Emidio's last voyage make mention of Emidio's captain, Clark Farrow, receiving a warning about the attack on the S.S. Samoa in the same area his ship would soon be transiting. It remains to be seen whether the military did or did not warn shipping of the presence of the I-17 off

¹⁷⁹ Donald J. Young.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

the Humboldt coast, or whether the captain of the Emidio received and ignored such a warning. To further muddy the waters, the sources contradict each other as to the other warnings Captain Farrow did or didn't receive.

Andrew McGuffin, in his award winning Barnum paper, *Humboldt County's Participation in World War II*, writes, "According to the second mate [John A. Stepkins], however, at some point during the third night (Dec. 19-20) Captain Farrow received a report from the authorities that another tanker had been attacked by a Japanese submarine off the Columbia River in northern Oregon."¹⁸² No mention is made of the earlier attack on the Samoa, but according to Second Mate Stepkins, "[Farrow] neglected to inform his officers or record the incident in the ship's log. Hence the crew believed all was well."¹⁸³ If Stepkins is correct and Captain Farrow ignored the warning of a submarine attack off the mouth of the Columbia River, it is possible that Captain Farrow could also have ignored an earlier warning about I-17's attack on S.S. Samoa, but this is speculation. Furthermore, there is a vast difference between receiving a warning of a submarine attack in an area you left two days before (near the mouth of the Columbia River) as opposed to a warning of enemy submarine activity in an area you haven't yet reached (the waters off Cape Mendocino). Perhaps Captain Farrow didn't want to further worry his crew with news of submarine activity in an area two days steaming behind.

In Farrow's defense, Bert Webber, author of *Retaliation: Japanese Attacks and Allied Countermeasures on the Pacific Coast in World War II* writes that "Captain Clark A. Farrow, the tanker's skipper, said later that he was on a course set by the U.S. Navy, who had told him there were no submarines in the vicinity."¹⁸⁴

Regardless of whether or not Captain Farrow received any submarine warnings for the waters off Cape Mendocino, as the sun rose the morning of December 20, 1941, the Emidio sailed southward along the Humboldt County coast towards the lurking I-17.

Later that day, at around noon, as the Emidio approached Cape Mendocino and the Blunt's Reef Lightship, floating six miles off the Cape,

Stepkins (by then the officer on watch) spotted a speck on the horizon to the north of where the lightship would be. Stepkins believed the speck to be either a fishing vessel or a friendly submarine. The crew sounded no

¹⁸² Andrew McGuffin. *Humboldt County's Participation in World War II*. p. 5-6. McGuffin is the only source to mention Second Mate Stepkins' unpublished journal. The journal is kept at the Del Norte Historical Society.

¹⁸³ McGuffin, p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ Bert Webber. *Retaliation: Japanese Attacks and Allied Countermeasures on the Pacific Coast in World War II*: (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1975).

alarms as they were accustomed to seeing enemy submarines off the coast in the months preceding the outbreak of the war.

An hour and fifteen minutes later, at 1:10 p.m., Stepkins confirmed that the object was a submarine and reported it in the log. Captain Farrow, once notified, ordered the life-boats to be readied. He also ordered the ship change course to head in the opposite direction. Farrow believed the submarine to be unfriendly, but made no attempt to send a radio message for assistance.¹⁸⁵

Captain Farrow attempted to outrun the submarine, but his ship "had no chance to escape. We were rapidly overtaken. The sub was making 20 knots. I tried to get behind her but the [sub] reversed course and kept after us."¹⁸⁶

Captain Farrow ordered his radio operator to send word that an enemy submarine was attacking them. Just after the message was sent the I-17 opened fire. It fired three shots, one which destroyed the Emidio's radio antenna, thus making further communication with the Blunts Reef Lightship impossible. Fortunately for the Emidio and her crew, the radio operators on the lightship relayed the S.O.S. message on to the Army Air Corps and two bombers were sent to help the Emidio.¹⁸⁷

Not knowing if their S.O.S. was received Captain Farrow and his men "tried to surrender to the Japanese by hoisting a white bedspread while simultaneously preparing to abandon ship. The Japanese responded by firing another shell at Emidio."¹⁸⁸ The Captain ordered the men to abandon ship and as they were attempting to do so a shell struck "spilling" three men, R.W. Pennington, Fred Potts and Stuart McGillvray into the water in the words of a crewmember. "Other lifeboats were put over the side to search for the three missing men, but we couldn't find them."¹⁸⁹

Twenty-nine members of the 36-man crew boarded lifeboats and simultaneously searched for the missing three sailors and rowed madly away from the doomed ship and the I-17. Three men in the engine room did not respond to the call to abandon ship. The I-17 took another shot at the fleeing lifeboats then dived.

A couple of minutes later the reason for the sudden disappearance became apparent. "It may have been 10 or 15 minutes after the SOS when two US bombers came roaring overhead from the coast," said [Captain] Farrow later. "To us in the lifeboats it was a welcome sight. One of the

¹⁸⁵ Andrew McGuffin, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸⁶ Donald J. Young.

¹⁸⁷ McGuffin, p. 7.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Donald J. Young.

two planes, circling where the sub had gone down, dropped a depth charge. We couldn't tell if it hit or not."¹⁹⁰

Seeing that help, in the form of Army Air Corps bombers had arrived, the men of the Emidio headed back to the ship. Some like "[t]he Third Assistant Engineer B. Winters, Fireman Kenneth K. Kimes and an oiler [B.F. Moler] were in the engine-room talking about their adventure."¹⁹¹ Unfortunately for these men Captain Nishino had not given up.

We were still looking at where the sub went down when we saw its periscope slowly push above the surface. While still partly submerged it fired a torpedo from 200 yards. We could see its trail as it sped straight for the ship. It struck with a loud explosion.¹⁹²

While those on the deck could see the torpedo approach, the three in the engine room were completely unaware they were about to be torpedoed and that the torpedo would enter the very engine room in which they were standing.

Astoundingly, Moler saw it penetrate the engine room bulkhead and pass so close to him that, as he told an examining medical officer the next day at the Eureka naval section base, "I could have reached out and touched it. It exploded on the other side of the engine room and killed Kimes and Winters outright." Despite three broken ribs and a punctured lung, Moler "somehow swam and climbed up to the upper deck and jumped overboard."¹⁹³

Moler was picked-up by a lifeboat along with the radioman who had also jumped overboard after radioing "Torpedoed in stern." The thirty one survivors rowed their boats almost twenty miles to near the mouth of Humboldt Bay where they were picked-up by a lightship.¹⁹⁴ As would be expected, the attack and the arrival of the survivors in town was the lead story in the local papers. An Extra Edition of the Humboldt Times on Sunday, December 21 Headlined: SURVIVORS OF TANKER TO BE LANDED HERE.¹⁹⁵ Upon arrival in Eureka, the crew of the Emidio spoke of the attack.

When interviewed by the press Captain Farrow and his crew called the attack, "shameful and ruthless," as they charged the Japanese with deliberately shelling their lifeboats before they could be lowered. "If they

¹⁹⁰ Donald J. Young.

¹⁹¹ McGuffin, p. 8.

¹⁹² Donald J. Young.

¹⁹³ Donald J. Young.

¹⁹⁴ Donald J. Young.

¹⁹⁵ "Survivors of Tanker to Be Landed Here," *Humboldt Times*, 21 December, 1941, p. 1.

had been armed," they boasted, "we would have had a good chance against the submarine," as she was within easy range.¹⁹⁶

As for the Emidio, despite the damage from the shells and the torpedo the ship did not sink. Drifting northward the ship covered about 85 miles from the site of her shelling and torpedoing until she ran aground on the rocks outside Crescent City. As described on Redwood National Park's website:

[S]he came ashore on Steamboat Rock, near the entrance to Crescent City harbor, on the night of December 25. Hundreds of people crowded Battery Point the next day to view the wreck. The tanker's bow was out of the water, and her after portion was submerged. One of the curious reported, "The bridge and forward deck are out of the water, the ship's stack with the letter, *G*, rising out of the water at the stern, which appears to be riding on the rocky bottom. The bow moves with the rise and fall of the waves."¹⁹⁷

Nine years were to pass before the rusty bow was finally broken up for scrap, and the forward bollards placed at the foot of H Street as a memorial.¹⁹⁸

As for the I-17, after sailing south towards Los Angeles upon the false report that three U.S. Battleships were headed that way, the submarine unsuccessfully attacked the tanker Larry Doheny on December 23rd and finally low fuel supplies forced Captain Nishino and his crew to head back to base at Kwajelin in the Marshall Islands.¹⁹⁹ A few months after their December attacks Captain Nishino and his crew made news again on the night of February 23, 1942 when they returned to the West Coast and shelled an oil refinery at Ellwood City, near Santa Barbara, California.²⁰⁰ I-17 survived this tour along the West Coast as well as others in the Pacific. Finally, Australian forces sank the I-17, under a new captain, on August 19, 1943 off the coast of New Caledonia, a Pacific island east of Australia.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Del Norte Triplicate, Dec. 26, 1941. <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/redw/history13a.htm>, (1/23/05).

¹⁹⁷ Redwood National Park History Basic Data. <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/redw/history13a.htm>, (1/23/05).

¹⁹⁸ Redwood National Park History Basic Data.

¹⁹⁹ Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp.

²⁰⁰ Webber, pp. 29-31; Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp.

²⁰¹ Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp.

THE ATTACK ON THE S.S. SAMOA

Early in the pre-dawn morning of December 18, 1941, the I-17 patrolled on the surface 15 miles off Cape Mendocino and the small town of Petrolia. Lookouts on the submarine spotted the S.S. Samoa, a cargo ship loaded with lumber and bound for San Diego. The commander of I-17, Kozo Nishino, ordered an attack.

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Even if Nishino had not been an officer in the Japanese Navy at a time when Japanese militarism was at its peak. Even if he and his crew hadn't been raised in the decades prior to the Second World War when Japanese children were taught that the highest virtue was to fight and die pursuing the military goals of Emperor Hirohito, Nishino and his men would have to have been eager to engage the enemy, even if the enemy was the S.S. Samoa, a cargo ship loaded with lumber and headed for San Diego and not an American aircraft carrier or battleship.

Moments before *Samoa* crossed the bow of *I-17*, First Mate John Lehtonen, on watch at the time, spotted a dim light from the approaching enemy sub and yelled down to the captain, "A submarine is attacking us!" Captain Nels Sinnes, who had been asleep, sat bolt upright in his bunk, quickly pulled on his pants and shirt, grabbed a life jacket and yelled into the crew's quarters for everyone to report to their lifeboat stations. As crewmen began tearing the canvas covers from the lifeboats, the Japanese opened up. "Five shots were fired at us," Captain Sinnes later recalled. "One, apparently aimed at our radio antenna, burst in the air above the stern. Fragments fell to the deck."

Fortunately for the *Samoa*, the damage done by I-17's first attack was minimal. Unfortunately for the crew of the lumber carrier, Nishino, growing frustrated with the lack of results from the shelling, ordered a torpedo fired at the ship from a distance of

only 70 yards. As the crew saw the wake of the torpedo approaching and passing from view under the ship, in the words of Samoa Captain Sinnes, "the miracle happened. The torpedo went directly beneath us, didn't even touch the hull and continued beyond. A short distance away it exploded. There was a huge shower accompanied by smoke and flames. Fragments from the torpedo also fell on our deck."

Miraculously, at least in the eyes of the men of the S.S. Samoa, they had survived certain destruction. Of course, there was a Japanese submarine, less than a football field length away, with a captain and crew eager to destroy them, but their luck held. In the pre-dawn darkness, Sinnes said the submarine closed to within 40 feet to try to evaluate how much damage the Samoa had suffered and to ascertain if further shelling would be necessary. According to Captain Sinnes,

There was a shout: "Hi ya!" from the submarine.

"What do you want of us?" I replied. There was no answer. Then it disappeared, evidently thinking that we were sinking on account of the heavy port list. The list was due to the ship's engineer shifting water between the ships ballast tanks. Furthermore, a few days earlier, due to stormy weather, the ship had lost most of its #1 lifeboat, "parts of which were still hanging from its davit."

This Samoa's list and the shattered remains of the #1 lifeboat were what Captain Nishino saw before he and his crew withdrew. Captain Sinnes and his crew likewise withdrew and steamed as fast as they could to San Diego, safely arriving two days later.

Information from:

Young, Donald J. "West Coast War Zone." World War II Magazine, July 1998.
<http://www.thehistorynet.com/wwii/blwestcoastwarzone/index1.html>

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Appendix D: Day 3: Humboldt County's Italian and Italian-American Relocation and Internees

HUMBOLDT COUNTY AND THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN RELOCATION

Historical Background: Documentary film-maker, Michael Dilauro, whose 2004 documentary, *Prisoners Among Us: Italian-American Identity and World War II*, chronicles the Italian-American experience from the late 1800s through relocation and internment emphasizes the historical background that put the Italians in a somewhat compromised position at the beginning of World War II. In a phone conversation, Dilauro mentioned the effects of laws going back as far as the Alien Act of 1798, which placed the first restrictions on aliens living in the United States and greatly increased the time required to live in the U.S. before one became eligible for naturalization—though it did not include immigration restrictions like later laws.²⁰²

The Nativist movements of the mid 19th Century, which culminated with the American or “Know Nothing” Party, never reached a level where immigration was restricted. Additionally, the mid-century Nativist movements had as their targets Irish and Germans for the most part. The arrival of waves of Italian and Southern European

²⁰² Michael Dilauro, Phone interview with the author, McKinleyville, 12 January, 2005.

The Alien Act of 1798 increased the time required to live in the United States before one could be naturalized from five years to 14 years. This was done more for political reasons than any strong anti-immigrant feelings.

In 1798, the party in power, the Federalist Party, drew its strength from the more wealthy citizens of the nation, New Englanders and those living along the Atlantic Coast. The joke of the time was if a warship fired a cannon ball more than fifty miles inland the chances of that cannon ball hitting a Federalist were exceedingly slim. The opposition party, which came to be known as the Jeffersonian Republicans or Democratic Republicans, drew its strength from the Southern states and farmers.

Most new immigrants at this time moved to the countryside and became farmers (not surprising in a country where 95% of the population at that time lived outside of cities or towns). The Federalist feared that these immigrants would soon become Jeffersonian Republicans and for this reason extended the residency requirement to 14 years. This fourteen-year residency requirement was changed back to five years by a Jeffersonian Republican majority in Congress in 1802. None of these 18th Century political machinations had any direct effect on the much later Italian Immigration.

immigrants who would populate the New York of Jacob Riis²⁰³ were still three decades in the future. Furthermore, with the gathering storm of secession and civil war looming on the horizon, the country's attention was quickly diverted from the mid-century Nativist movement to the more pressing matter of national survival.

By the second half of the 1800s as immigrant patterns changed and the Irish and Germans were replaced by seemingly endless waves of Greeks, Poles, Russians, Slovaks and Italians their poverty, lack of education and religious affiliation (Catholic, Orthodox or Jewish) gravely concerned people like the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, who in 1867 wrote in their annual report that immigrants were the class of citizens who:

. . . most strenuously resist the moral restrains of the community....who among our population give unrestricted and unregulated license to the ten thousand drinking places in the city, which are the chief receptacles of drunkenness, debauchery, villainy, and disease[.]

What makes this quote from the New York Association for the Improvement of the Poor even more interesting is the people they were speaking of were still predominantly Irish and Germans, not the much stranger Southern or Eastern Europeans who were only just beginning to arrive.

However, as the Gilded Age reached its climax, these “new immigrants” offered something the plutocracy then dominating American politics wanted: a seemingly endless supply of cheap labor for the factories and the sweatshops of the nation. As these immigrants crowded into ethnic ghettos along the Eastern Seaboard and into the “brawny shouldered” cities of the Midwest the trust-dominated Federal Government took no steps to restrict their flow aside from screening for physical and mental defects at locations like Ellis Island. The peak of this immigration came in the first decade of the 20th Century when 8.8 million immigrants entered the United States.

Post World War I: In the aftermath of World War I, as forces of reform and restriction imposed a prohibition of alcohol on America, a prohibition on those who had poured into the American melting pot in the decades before the Great War was proposed, enacted and later strengthened. Thus were the Quota Act of 1921 and the later Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 approved by Congress and signed into law. These two acts effectively ended immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe by implementing quotas, which almost entirely shut off immigration of “new immigrants.”²⁰⁴ A chart on historian Steven

²⁰³ For an eyewitness account of life in the immigrant slums of New York City in the late 19th Century, the book to read is *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob Riis.

²⁰⁴ The Quota Act of 1921 implemented yearly quotas of 3% of the total number of people from a country as determined by the 1910 Census. Unfortunately, in the eyes of

Mintz's Digital History website, lists the average inflow of aliens from Eastern and Southern Europe as 685,531 per year from 1907-1914. This number dropped precipitously to 158,367 arrivals per year after passage of the Quota Act of 1921 and dropped even further to only 20,847 immigrant arrivals per year after passage of the 1924 act. Italian immigration essentially ended in 1924, but by that time millions of Italians had arrived in the United States and some of them had made their way to all the way across the continent to California²⁰⁵ where they began to have children of their own and establish themselves along the coast of the Ocean that most famous Italian navigator and explorer never imagined existed.

"I was born in this house and grew up in this neighborhood. There were Italians living across the street; there were Italians living in the back of us; there were about ten blocks of Italians here that were really all Italian." So said, life-long Eureka resident Anita Pera, when interviewed by Steve Fox for *UnCivil Liberties*. By 1941 Italians, both citizens and aliens were an entrenched part of Humboldt County. Their children attended the local schools, some, like my Bay Area born grandfather, played baseball for the town and company teams in the Redwood League, and many, or so it seemed, fished the teeming though treacherous waters off Humboldt County. Many of the foreign born became citizens, while some were like the mother of Gino Casagrande did not, because in his words, "[t]he thing she was worried about was taking care of her family. She wasn't worried about being a citizen. Not that she had anything against the country, but she never thought about it." Most of the Italians who didn't become citizens were too busy to study for the citizenship exam or lacked the literacy necessary to take and pass the test. And, in a time where the government provided scant services to its citizens, being a resident alien made little or no difference in a person's life. That is, until the days and months after December 7, 1941.

Pearl Harbor: Pearl Harbor changed everything for Italian aliens living or working in the soon to be declared security zones. But it did take a little time.

those who did not approve of the Italians and their Eastern and Southern European brethren, this still allowed far too many undesirable aliens to come to the United States. To correct this oversight the much more restrictive Johnson-Reed Act was passed in 1924. This act, while only cutting the yearly quota to 2% changed the determining Census to the 1890 Census when the numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans living in the United States was much lower. This proved to be effective as evidenced by the before and after data from Steve Mintz in the text.

²⁰⁵ According to Steve Fox, page 4 and 5, "[b]y 1940, 100,911 Italians (about half of them naturalized) lived in California. This compare[d] to 71,727 foreign-born Germans [the majority who were naturalized] and 33,569 alien Japanese." Due to the Naturalization Act of 1870, the Japanese were not allowed to become citizens. Therefore, at most, a handful would have been citizens.

Ironically, immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. . . there was no hurry to rid California of its enemy aliens. Not until after the hastily convened Roberts Commission (named after Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, who headed it) released its report [on January 25, 1942], alleging that Japanese Americans on Oahu had aided Japan's air assault, did the hue and cry to do something about Axis aliens on the mainland commence in earnest.

In an interview, Steve Fox listed the major steps leading to the Italian relocation and internment yet also emphasized the how quickly the relocation and attendant restrictions ended. According to Fox, the chronological progression of the major events of the Italian Relocation and Internment and the ending of restrictions was:

- The shock of December 7, 1941 to the nation in general and the West Coast in particular. The fear engendered by the attack on Pearl Harbor was soon directed towards Italians, Japanese and Germans.
- The growing concern with enemy aliens along the West Coast, the steps taken to prevent them from committing sabotage and the role of General Dewitt, the commander of the western region in increasing this concern.
- The initial feeling in the first months of the war by people like Dewitt that all three groups of enemy aliens be relocated away from the West Coast and the real lack of immediate opposition to this plan.
- The role of the Tolan Committee (named after its chairman, Congressman John H. Tolan) in raising governmental awareness of the consequences (political, economic, logistical) to a relocation and internment of all three nationalities.
- The backing away from the full-scale internment idea (like was done to the Japanese and Japanese-Americans) for the Italians and Germans.
- October 12, 1942: The official rehabilitation of Italians in the eyes of the U.S. Government when Italians were taken off the enemy aliens list.²⁰⁶

While the relocation only lasted a few months, to Italians living on the wrong side of the highway in Eureka and Arcata or too near the sea coast up and down the West Coast, the order to remove themselves from their own homes was shocking.

²⁰⁶ Fox, Stephen, Interview with author, McKinleyville, 31 January, 2005.

On the afternoon of December 7, 1941, the citizens of Humboldt County, both citizen and resident alien, were stunned by radio broadcasts announcing that Japanese forces had launched an attack on Pearl Harbor. Some resident aliens realized that this attack by an Axis ally of Italy would bode ill for Italian aliens living in the United States. As Marino Sichi of Arcata remembered, "I remember my dad had one or two records of Mussolini making speeches. He kept them; he was for Italy. . . . [b]ut dad took those records out in the back yard and smashed 'em into a million pieces and buried them." As early as the afternoon of December 7, 1941 FBI agents across the country began arresting enemy aliens from all three Axis powers. Despite this, according to Steve Fox, "In the first days and weeks after Pearl Harbor enemy aliens were treated more as a nuisance than a serious threat."²⁰⁷ This was less true for Japanese aliens in general and both Italian and Japanese who owned fishing boats.²⁰⁸ This roundup of resulted in the arrest "of 3,000 people whom [the Government] considered 'dangerous' enemy aliens, half of whom were Japanese." Benito Vanni of Daly City, whose father was temporarily interned, at the beginning of the war said, "My dad, was picked up at the produce market on a rainy Saturday morning. When the two people from the FBI and my dad came in the front door, my sister and I were there to greet them. We were scared stiff."

However, aside from the limited number of aliens taken into custody, most aliens from all three Axis powers did not lose their freedom. The main impositions on them were an order to turn over all guns, radios and other contraband materials, restriction from military zones declared in the immediate vicinity of vital military and economic assets along the West Coast.

This less onerous treatment was not to last. Over the next few weeks and months concern grew that enemy aliens from all three Axis nations posed a threat to the security of the West Coast and in late January this concern would turn to action.

The most stunning blow came. . . with the government's successive announcements in late January that it was establishing eighty-six prohibited and restricted zones on the West Coast to be cleared of all aliens for their own protection was being undertaken on the recommendation of the army to aid the "national defense" and to "protect" the aliens.

²⁰⁷ Fox, p. 84. Regarding the start date of the roundup of enemy aliens Fox says, "The government began an immediate roundup of dangerous Italian and German aliens on December 8. . . ."

²⁰⁸ Fox, p. 97. In 1930 the California Chamber of Commerce had concluded that Italians managed 80 percent of the state's fishing business—some ten thousand employees. Among those affected by the relocation order were fourteen hundred of the two thousand employees of San Francisco's half-a-million-dollar-a-year fishing industry.

The Roberts Commission and the Panic: Steve Fox lays a great deal of the responsibility for the increased call for relocation and other steps to protect America from the threat of fifth column activities by enemy aliens at the feet of the Roberts Commission which was released on January 25. What is interesting is the actual language of the commission's report. While the report claims (correctly as it turned-out) that in the months before the December 7 attack there was spying by agents of the Japanese government,²⁰⁹ it does not mention a word about American born Japanese and not once is the word "conspiracy" used in the report.

There were, prior to December 7, 1941, Japanese spies on the island of Oahu. Some were Japanese consular agents and others were persons having no open relations with the Japanese foreign service. These spies collected and, through various channels transmitted, information to the Japanese Empire respecting the military and naval establishments and dispositions on the island.²¹⁰

Nothing in the report's language strikes a 21st century reader as concrete proof of a vast conspiracy (or any conspiracy) among the Japanese alien and Japanese American populations on Hawaii or the mainland. What is also striking is the lack of any statement about Japanese or Japanese-American sabotage. This shouldn't be a surprise considering that after the Niihau incident on December 7 and 8, there were no incidents anywhere in Hawaii or on the continental United States that a dispassionate observer could judge to be sabotage.²¹¹ Certainly there was nothing on the scale of the Black Tom munitions explosion of 1916.²¹² Ironically, this lack of any fifth column activity was taken as proof

²⁰⁹ After the first days of the war, spying by agents of the Axis powers was essentially ended. In fact, the only large-scale spying during the war was by agents and sympathizers of our Soviet ally.

²¹⁰ US Congress. Senate. Attack on Pearl Harbor by Japanese Armed Forces. 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., 23 January 1942. <<http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/pha/roberts/roberts.html>> 20 February 2005

²¹¹ Not only were there no successful acts of sabotage during the Second World War the only known attempt by German Navy U-boats to land a group of saboteurs along the Mid-Atlantic Coast was quickly detected. The assailants were quickly rounded up and almost as quickly convicted by a military tribunal. Most were executed. Interestingly, in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks this example of wartime justice was cited as a precedent for the proposed tribunals of alleged terrorists captured in Afghanistan and sent to the detention center at Guantanamo Bay.

²¹² In July 1916, as America was debating whether or not to get involved in the First World War a tremendous explosion rocked the New York/New Jersey Area as an explosion destroyed a dock complex and the munitions and military supplies there. At the time the explosion was widely believed to be the work of German saboteurs. Years later the German government agreed to pay damages for the explosion.

by people like General Dewitt that it was all the more imperative to remove the Japanese and Japanese-American population from the West Coast before they could perpetrate acts of sabotage. The general mindset among those in favor of removing or excluding enemy aliens was akin to someone with a rattlesnake under their porch. Even if it had not have yet struck at anyone, the prudent thing to do is to remove its threat from the area completely. An analogy with a rattlesnake might actually not be appropriate to the mindset of many in power at that time for at least a rattlesnake gives a warning shake of its tail before striking—unlike the treacherous Japanese. Overall, along with the Niihau Incident the Roberts Commission Report raised concerns of sabotage and other fifth column activities to a level which demanded action be taken.

This growing fear the Roberts Commission Report sparked would result in the order by the War Department on January 29th for the first voluntary relocation order and culminate in February with the issuing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19th. These orders would affect the Italian aliens living in Humboldt County in ways that far surpassed being required to surrender their shortwave radios, cameras and weapons.

Restrictions Announced: “Waterfront Soon Barred To Aliens” the front page article in the Humboldt Times announced February 3, 1942. Effective February 24, all enemy aliens living in Humboldt County would have to remove themselves east of Highway 101 between the Eel and the Mad Rivers. The article concluded on a note that indicated this removal might have economic consequences. “Even enemy alien mill workers will not be allowed to go within these forbidden confines.”

While Humboldt Times subscribers may have had to wait until Tuesday, February 3 to learn about the impending removal, local Italians found out earlier. Years later Alex Fredani of Eureka recounted the day in Samoa when his family heard the news:

February 1 was when we found out about it. I can remember this guy coming up, [and saying], ‘You gotta get out of town right now!’ Dad was working and mother said, ‘Why?’ “Because otherwise they’re going to arrest you and throw you in a concentration camp!

After Fredani’s father came home and spoke with the Samoa mill’s general manager he learned that the man who had come to the door had been mistaken and in fact Italians had two or three weeks to move.

Comparing Humboldt County to the Bay Area: While having two or three weeks to move inland from Samoa and the immediate vicinity around Humboldt Bay was certainly a cause for stress and concern, people like the Fredanis were fortunate when compared to enemy aliens and citizens elsewhere. Due to the geography of the San Francisco Bay, Italians were forced to move far greater distances from the coast than

their compatriots in Humboldt County. In the Bay Area, people as far inland as Pittsburg, California (a hour's drive East from San Francisco) were forced to move from homes that in many cases they had built themselves as they helped establish the town. Fox tells a poignant story of the funeral of an elderly Pittsburg woman who, because of the restrictions, had to have her funeral held in Oakley, a town further inland, so that her children could attend.

Because they were not required to move such a great distance, Italians in Humboldt County, for the most part, did not have to sell their homes or businesses. Additionally, their American born or naturalized children or spouses could act as surrogates and run their businesses or check on their property in their stead.

My favorite story is one about Dan Banducci who owned Classic Billiards. . . . [It was on the west side of Fourth Street and the exclusion line.] Dan was not allowed to tend his business. . . . He used to stand across the street by [Humboldt Capital Bank] and shout instructions to his son Gino . . . on how to run the business. Dan used to get pretty excited sometimes, but Gino was just a high school kid.

The Dividing Line: In Humboldt County the line over which enemy aliens could not cross tended to follow Highway 101. If approaching Eureka from the south, this meant the line was figuratively drawn down Broadway²¹³ and then took a right-hand turn onto fourth street, which it followed the rest of the way across town. The line exited Eureka and crossed Ryan's Slough next to the Target store built in 2004 and continued from Eureka to Arcata where it intersected the city along "G" Street (where the modern-day freeway runs) and continued northward to the Del Norte County line. Those most affected by this exclusion were fishermen and ranchers in the Arcata Bottoms as well as Italian and German aliens living on the west side of the line in Old Town Eureka, Arcata, Samoa and Manila²¹⁴ as well as anyone who worked on the wrong side of the highway. And the consequences for being on the wrong side of the highway were real.

²¹³ In 1941 the west side of Broadway was mostly marshes and tidal lands. The only developments of any magnitude on the west side of the highway were Pacific Lumber's large retail lumber yard (where Bay Shore Mall now stands) and a souvenir shop called the Stumphouse (across from what now is the Main Eureka Post Office). It was only when one turned onto Fourth Street (now Southbound Highway 101 through Eureka) that any significant amount of buildings were found in what is now called Old Town.

²¹⁴ One other group of people affected were Italian students at Arcata High, the one Humboldt County High School on the ocean side of the line. Joe Nieri, on page 128-131 of *UnCivil Liberties*, recounts how when the order came he was not allowed to complete his senior year. He had to leave school and was not allowed to continue playing for the varsity basketball team. In his words, "I happened during the basketball season, I remember that. I was sitting on the gymnasium steps, when the principal came to me and

Marino Sichi, who was born in Italy in 1920 but moved to Arcata in 1922 when he was two years old, was forced to move, along with his parents from their chicken farm west of Highway 101. Sichi said, “[w]e could look over here, but we couldn’t come near [the old house].” Soon thereafter, the twenty one year old Sichi was turned-in for being out past the eight o’clock curfew while he had been visiting with his future wife. Sichi, who recounted in his interview with Fox, said the local police chief didn’t even realize he wasn’t born in Arcata. Unfortunately that didn’t help him and he was taken into custody by the FBI and taken to San Francisco where he spent the next few months in a detention center with people of numerous nationalities, including Japanese and Germans. Sichi returned shortly before the restrictions were lifted on Italians in the summer of 1942. He eventually was drafted into the army but was discharged for a medical condition. He did however get his U.S. citizenship while in the Army.

Comparing Treatment of Italians to Japanese: Even taking into account the worst experiences of Italian aliens, the fishermen forced to relinquish their boats to the Navy or Army, the people forced to move far greater distances than happened locally, the experience of the displaced Italian pales in comparison to what happened to the Japanese and Japanese-Americans. It is difficult to equate the experiences of Italian aliens in Humboldt County or even in the Bay Area with forcibly being relocated to camps east of the crest of the Sierra Nevada Mountains as the Japanese aliens and their native born children and grandchildren were forced to do.

While the treatment of non-Japanese enemy aliens was bad, it could have been much worse and equaled that of the Japanese aliens—though even then it would not have affected the American born children and grandchildren of the German and Italian immigrants. No serious discussions of relocating Italian and German-Americans took place. However, high-level discussions about what to do with the Italian and German enemy aliens did occur among the Army in the person of General Dewitt and the civilian side of the government and until mid 1942, General DeWitt, at least, was still operating under the premise that after the Japanese and Japanese-Americans were removed to the interior, the Germans and Italians would be next.

During the last week of March [1942], DeWitt issued his long-anticipated orders excluding everyone of Japanese ancestry. . . . In the meantime, no Italian or German alien would be able to leave Military Area

told me I had to leave school. That was my last day. I still remember sitting on those brick steps and thinking, ‘This is it. Three-thirty’s [and the end of the school day] is coming.’ I had a big lump in my throat, and I said goodbye to all those guys.” Fortunately, Nieri was allowed back to school that autumn to complete his senior year, but he was not allowed to play his senior year of basketball over again.

No. 1 [the western halves of Washington, Oregon and California as well as southern Arizona] without permission. DeWitt again called on the Federal Security Agency in San Francisco to help with the evacuation, which he repeated would include Italians, Germans and Japanese.

Fears of an Italian Forced Relocation: Fears of an Italian and German relocation intensified on April 27 when Lt. General Hugh H. Drum, General DeWitt's East Coast counterpart, "announced his intention to establish prohibited and restricted area covering the entire Atlantic seaboard and inland—some sixteen states and fifty two million people. . . ." This statement, and the ensuing storm of controversy was enough to get President Roosevelt to order Secretary of War Henry Stimson "to take no action against Italians and Germans on the East Coast without first consulting him—period. Alien control, he said, except for the Japanese was a civilian matter." It really was not until this time, thanks to increasingly effective lobbying on the part of Italian and German Aliens, the growing sense of political danger in alienating millions of voters in a mid-term election year, and the efforts of the Tolan Committee (see below) that the trend towards relocating Italian and German aliens after the Japanese started to swing the other way—at least in the eyes of the civilian authorities, the military took a little while longer.

The Tolan Committee: Congressman John Tolan, the chairman of the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, was sympathetic to the plight of Italian and German aliens. Tolan, a congressman from Oakland, California, wanted his hearings to "exert a calming influence, by publicizing the impact of the relocation program on the economic and social fabric of the West Coast." Through a series of hearings held up and down the West Coast in February and March 1942, Tolan attempted to show both the impracticality of a forced relocation of European aliens while raising the level of awareness among proponents of relocating all enemy aliens from the West Coast of the overall negative effect on morale and the war effort such a relocation would have. According to Fox, the Tolan Committee and its carefully selected witnesses had

four general issues on which [they] built their case for alien relief: first, hardship; second, whether Italians and Germans should be treated differently than Japanese; third, exemptions; and fourth, whether the army knew better than local authorities how to handle the situation.

Numerous witnesses appeared over the course of the hearings pointing out not only the impracticality of the discussed relocation of Italians and Germans, but how such a move ran counter to the ideals and traditions upon which the country had been founded. Frequently mentioned among those who testified were Italian aliens who had children fighting and dying in the United States military. Also working in both the Italians and Germans favor was how numerous members of both groups had been able to work their way up the system and become visible and productive members of society. A.P.

Giannini, the founder of Bank of America was such an example. Such upward mobility, coupled with the variety of businesses and institutions that Italian and German immigrants participated in made the proposed task of removing them much more difficult than the Japanese who were more narrowly focused, due mostly to racism, in the agricultural and fishing industries.

The Italians and Germans had one other advantage that their fellow Axis aliens, the Japanese, did not. Because they had been able to make a living in diverse fields since soon after their arrival, there was not, nor had there been wide-spread, long lasting economic competition and the attendant anger and bad feelings between so-called native Americans and Italian and German immigrants. In the case of the Japanese, it was partially because they were forced into truck farming and came to dominate certain focused aspects of California's agricultural industry, such as the growing of strawberries and artichokes that lead California to pass laws limiting Japanese land ownership such as the California Alien Land Law of 1913. Except in industries such as fishing and garbage collection, the Italians never controlled as large of percentage of the industry as did the Japanese in those focused areas of agriculture. And while California's farmers had a long developed ability to raise hell with their state representatives, as well as crops, no powerful garbage or fishing lobby ever bent the ear of Sacramento politicians and demanded laws be passed which protected their right to pick up the trash or bring in the anchovy harvest.

Over the course of the hearings, Tolan brought in numerous local officials to plead the case for the Italians. Mayor C.A. "Cappy" Ricks, the mayor of Martinez, California and a friend of Tolan spoke out for the Italians in his town. He gave numerous examples of the hardships his constituents were facing and would continue to face if nothing was done.

In contrast to their support of Italian and German aliens, Tolan and his committee were fully supportive of the relocation of Japanese aliens and their citizen children and grandchildren. Fox and other sources make clear that the Tolan Committee's concern was limited to Italian and German Americans. Considering the era and the West Coast's longstanding enmity towards Asians this isn't surprising. Furthermore, even if Tolan and his fellow congressmen wanted to stop Japanese relocation, too much momentum had already built up. Any attempts to get the government to reevaluate its position towards the Japanese at that juncture would have been in vain and may have damaged the committee's efforts to make accommodations for Italian and German aliens.

To give an example of the mindset of many in politics and the media at the time, on February 4, 1942 California Governor Olson announced that Japanese residents of California planned sabotage and went on to say that "all loyal Japanese citizens must when called upon, show their loyalty in cooperating in the execution of [plans] . . . for locating and regulating the adult Japanese population in California for the duration of the

war.” (“Olson Says Japs Plan Sabotage—Fifth Column Work Planned In California,” *Humboldt Times*, 5 February, 1942, p. 1.)

The Times’ editorial writer, who a few days earlier had called for fair treatment of Italian and German Americans took a radically different tack in regards to the Japanese in an editorial entitled, “It’s Up To Us To Prevent Sabotage By Jap Groups.” The editorial concedes that “If there were 100,000 Californians in Japan, a great many of them would help the United States. . . .” However, it goes on to say “Anyone who knows the history of Japanese *penetration* [italics mine] in California knows that they include a great many who did not come here just to make a living; but came for the specific purpose of serving their own country in the event of war. They differ materially from most of the Italian and German aliens in this respect.” If editorials like this reflected the public mindset at the time, it would have been foolhardy for the members of the Tolan Committee to attempt to do more than they did. (“Up To Us To Prevent Any Sabotage By Jap Groups,” *Humboldt Times*, 6 February, 1942, p. 4.)

Joe Nieri, Arcata, California

By Steve Fox

My grandparents emigrated to São Paulo, Brazil, where my dad was born. They stayed there for about six months, then went back to Italy. Consequently, when my parents were married my brother and I were born in Italy. My dad came over here in 1924 and worked for two years, and then sent money for us to come to the United States.

We came when I was three years old. The family settled here and dad worked in the lumber mills and camps. Along comes the war, World War II. My dad was not considered an enemy alien, because he was born in Brazil. He got his citizenship, I'd say, after the war; I can't remember what year it was. It was after we came back from the army, though. But my mother and my brother and I had to relocate across this imaginary line—G Street, the old highway 101.

We heard about the order, and we read it in the newspapers; but the official word came from the local police department. They came around and explained to us what we had to do. We were living at Eleventh and K Streets, about five blocks too far west. So we had to relocate to the east side of G Street. I was seventeen and a senior in high school. It really hurt me 'cause we had all gone to school with these kids from grammar school on up, and of course, we knew everybody and they knew us. I was supposed to graduate with them, and was looking forward to it. Well, my brother and I lost that year of high school. I had to go back to the class of '43. But when the class of '42 had their reunions, they always asked me: "Well, you were in our class, right?"

"Yes, but if you remember correctly they had this enemy aliens thing, and we weren't supposed to cross the line." 'Course those people now, they say, "Oh well, it was a stupid thing to do to a person." There were three of them that I talked to; they kind of forgot what happened. But I said, "Do you remember when we had to go across that imaginary line?"

"Oh God, yes, we forgot about it."

"Well, I didn't!" So I have to go to reunions with the kids that were behind me. It comes up every time and it brings back old memories. It bothers me, it really does. You kind of forgive, but you can't forget. It's embedded too deep.

I was on the first string basketball team, and that's another thing that hurt me. I was going to get my second stripe and then a sweater. I could have walked around school with two stripes on my sleeve! I couldn't participate in sports in '43 either, because technically that would have been my fifth year in high school, and they only accepted four years of athletic eligibility. That's something that really hurt. I couldn't even get into the yearbook, my pictures or anything like that. I didn't try to argue with them, but I explained, "It was five blocks from this imaginary line. What harm is it going to do? Just let me go to school for another year, until the end of June."

"No. We've got orders to relocate you, and that's it. You have to go."

It happened during basketball season, I remember that. I was sitting on the high school gymnasium steps, when the principal came and told me I had to leave school. That was my last day. I still remember sitting on those brick steps and thinking, "This is it. Three-thirty's coming." I had a big lump in my throat, and I said good-bye to all those guys. But I got to go back to school the following September.

The whole family moved. We rented a house on Ninth Street, near where the Arcata ballpark is now, right across from the fire station. It wasn't really difficult, other than moving. But we had to pay a higher rent, which hurt. We couldn't travel across the imaginary line. If we had to go to the dentist or a doctor—they were on the west side of the line—we could cross, but we had to get a police escort. To go from our house to the doctor or dentist they had to call a police officer to come and pick us up after we were through. Just like we were in jail. I thought it was really foolish, or stupid, or whatever you want to call it. The dentist and doctor were on the plaza. They thought it was kind of dumb, too, but they had to go by the regulations. They were all sympathetic. Besides not being able to cross this line, we had to be on our property by seven o'clock at night. No later. And if we were out, well, there were two or three spies around—neighborhood people—who would report us to the police. There was one guy that we know who turned us in; the police chief told us.

We snuck up to the show after dark, through a lot of alleys and backyards. We'd jump across peoples' yards, hide in the bushes, then go in through the back door of the theater. That was an awful thing, you know, sneaking around like that. If we didn't go to the show for entertainment, though, we were stuck at our house.

I couldn't get a job; all the jobs were on the west side of the highway. All we could do was sit around the house. We used to love to go clam digging, but that was too far for us to travel. And on Sundays, all the grocery stores and other stores were closed. Before the war the family used to go on picnics out at Camp Bauer or Blue Lake. And we couldn't even do that; we had to sit at home. The Japanese were in concentration camps; I really felt sorry for them. But we were just like in a concentration camp, too, but for a short time.

Mom felt sorry for us. She wasn't too concerned about herself. Most of the time she'd keep to the house, clean and cook and all that stuff. 'Course we liked to wander; you know kids. But we couldn't go out on dates or anything.

They made us go in the army. We had to register for the draft, even being enemy aliens, which I could not comprehend. Course at that time I didn't understand too much of what was going on. Whatever they told us, we did. So we registered, and I said, "Well, I'm not going into the draft because we're enemy aliens. We're not supposed to be in the army or the armed forces." We registered anyway, and got a notice to report to San Francisco. But we didn't go. We were that bitter. So they sent a sergeant, or somebody, and the local police. They came over to our house and gave us an ultimatum: "You will go down for a physical

and if you pass, you're going to go in the army or you're going to prison." So we didn't have too much of a choice. We talked it over and thought about it, and decided we didn't want to dirty the family's reputation. So we said, "Don't ruin the Nieri name. We'll go." So we did. We went in the army on May the third of '44.

At first we were in the artillery down at Camp Roberts. About two months later they took all the aliens—mostly Mexicans—over to the county seat at San Luis Obispo. They swore us in and gave us our citizenship papers. They couldn't have an enemy alien in the army, so we had to be citizens. Later we found out that because they needed more infantry for the Normandy invasion, we would have to convert to the infantry. But of all the places, we were sent to Italy! And we got into the fighting there, just above Rome. Yeah, it wasn't very pleasant, but it was the last two weeks of the war. Still, when those bullets buzz over your head, and you don't know if your name is on it, it's terrible.

I saw all the aunts, uncles, cousins. In fact, I even saw the house and the room I was born in. The people were really glad to see us. When the Germans made a final push up there by Milan I got hit in the back with mortar shrapnel. And of all the places to be sent, I was sent back to Lucca, my home village, to the field hospital. My brother was hit, too. We were in the same foxhole. They sent us to this field hospital in Lucca, and we were talking to this civilian who knew my uncle and he told him and the family came over and visited us. That's how we got to know where they were.

Marino Sichi, Arcata

From Stephen Fox

I remember my dad had one or two records of Mussolini making speeches. He kept them; he was for Italy, and, let's face it, the Italians were for Mussolini until he got mixed up with Hitler. We wanted no part of that. That's why the Italian army just deserted and laid down their arms by the thousands. That was my impression at the time, at least. The Italian people were proud of what Mussolini was doing for their nation. He was bringing them out of poverty; he had the trains running on time; he was modernizing the farms. For the first time in their lives the peasants had some tractors to work with, machinery. And they had something to eat besides a piece of bread and a slice of goat cheese. But dad took those records out in the back yard and smashed 'em into a million pieces and buried them. Now they'd be collectors' items.

My dad came over in 1920, and my mother and I came in 1922, when I was two. Right after Pearl Harbor, General DeWitt issued an order. That son-of-a-bitch, I hope he rots in his grave. Anybody of Japanese, German, or Italian descent could not live west of highway 101. That was the demarcation line. We had applied for our citizenship papers, and were in the process of getting them. My parents hadn't gotten theirs because they couldn't read or write English. If my father had gotten his, then I would have automatically been a citizen before I was eighteen. [Sichi's reference is to "derivative citizenship," which was provided for in Sec. 339 of the Nationality Act of 1940.] But he didn't get his in time, so we had to apply individually. Then, with the war on, they froze it [naturalization] and we had to move out.

We owned a chicken ranch, here, on this property. We had to sell out close to five thousand chickens. My dad took a beating. Five thousand hens he sold to Seely & Titlow for twenty-five cents apiece. They were all laying hens, not for breeding. After all this happened he got back into it after a fashion, but his heart wasn't in it. Anyway, we had to move out [when the war started] and some people across the street took us in. We lived there for a few months. Then we got a little cabin, a little three-room shack about halfway up the road to their house. We could look over here [at the old house], but we couldn't come near it. We weren't too happy about it.

I was courting my wife at the time, and we weren't allowed out after eight o'clock at night. We had to be inside, but I figured, "Oh, to hell with it." I'd go where I'd want. Went all my life, so why not now? I was twenty-one at the time. Well, somebody turned me in. Called the FBI. A so-called "friend." Wore one of those dollar-a-year badges. Special police at dances, things like that. And next thing I know I had a real sharp looking young man knocking on my door. He was looking for my dad, then found out he had the wrong guy and wanted me. He says, "I understand you were out after eight o'clock?" What could I say? I said, "yes." So he arrested me for violation of the curfew; I forget what else he called it. This time they caught me. I was on the right side of the line, but I was out after eight. I'd go to the movies—sit right next to the police chief. He never paid any attention to me 'cause he'd known me practically all my life, and he figured I was just as safe as anybody else, so what the heck? I know who turned me in. He didn't wake up very good the next morning. Some friends went in and busted his head open, blacked his eyes, and busted his nose. He didn't recuperate very fast.

They confiscated all of our guns. I had a .22 and a .410, and my dad had a .22. That's about all the things that we had at the time. I had just bought my folks a brand new Zenith console radio, which I still have. We took it down to the shop and had the short-wave component disconnected. They were afraid I'd use it for receiving or transmitting some way. I kept one .22 long shell, which I made into a dum-dum. I intended to use it on a certain person. But I never had a gun to use it with.

The guy who arrested me was nobody local. Even the police chief said afterwards, "Heck, I've known you all my life. I never knew you weren't born here."

"No, I've been living here since I was two years old." I didn't know any other country, really.

So they locked me up in the county jail for five days, waiting for transportation, I guess. And from there, they took me—two marshals and another prisoner—in a car, a Chevy, I remember. They said, "We can be tough on you, or be easy. Whatever you want. If you want to cooperate we won't put handcuffs on you, but if you want to get smart, we'll cuff you." I said I wouldn't do anything. What could I do? So they let us sit in the back seat of the car. At Willits, they let us out at a Standard station to go to the bathroom, one at a time. They put us on our honor while they gassed up the car.

They brought us to what I think was FBI headquarters [INS detention facility] on Silver Avenue in San Francisco, a big mansion up on the hill with a big wall around it. When they turned us over to the manager, he said, "Well, what am I going to do with them? We have no facilities to keep these people." So he locked us in a big closet. We sat there for quite a while, just sat on the floor. Pretty soon they opened the door and let us out and loaded us into a paddy wagon. We didn't know where we were going. It turned out they took us to Sharp Park, near Pacifica. They had quite a concentration camp there, a holding camp I guess you'd call it.

I remember the camp was divided in half. The Japanese were on the left side as you went in, and we were on the right. I don't know; it seemed like there were thousands of people; it was quite a large gathering. There were Germans, English, French, Italians, every nationality you could think of.

We didn't get to talk to the Japanese. They had us separated by a double fence, big enough to drive a truck between, and they patrolled it steadily, on foot and by truck. And barbed wire. It must have been at least ten feet high with barbed wire coming up on the ends on both sides. Couldn't get in or out.

We had barracks, mess halls, a camp bakery. Naturally, there was a commandant's office, and everything was enclosed by a chainlink fence. There were guard towers at every corner and all around the perimeter. Those guards were armed; I found out the hard way. We were playing baseball one day, and I was out in the field. Somebody hit a ball and it got past me. I ran after it and everybody was shouting to hurry up and throw the ball in. All at once, I heard a sound that made the blood kind of stop. Heard a "click-click," and when I looked up, I'm looking down the barrel of a .30-caliber machine gun aimed right at my head. I wasn't more than five or six feet from the fence and he was right above me, just motioning me off. He says, "You aren't supposed to be near this fence. Back off." I tried to explain that I was just after the baseball, but he said, "I don't care what you were after. The next time we're going to shoot." There was no next time. I didn't go near it again. I wanted nothing to do with it. They claimed the fence was electrified at night, but we weren't sure.

It was a summer camp as far as we were concerned. Conditions were good. Still, we were locked in at night, about nine or nine-thirty. We had a chance to go to the latrine, and then we were locked in. Doors and windows were barred. And that was it. We didn't get up until seven o'clock the next morning. If you had bad kidneys, you were in trouble. We had some relatives in San Francisco, and they'd come out on Sundays to visit me, through the fence.

Everybody had to work. We were asked what we could do, and I had been a baker, so I was assigned to the camp bakery. There was a big, fat German, a prisoner. He spoke with a real heavy accent. "Ya, what's your name?" he said.

"Marino Sichi."

"You're a goddamned wop"—just like that.

"No, I'm Italian."

"I don't want no wop working for me. Get the hell out of here."

So I said, "Screw you," and left. I went back to the barracks and stayed. The next day the guards came after me and wanted to know why I wasn't working. I told 'em.

"You got to work."

"I ain't gonna work with him. He don't want me, and I'll be damned if I'm going to work for a damn Kraut if that's the way he feels about it. I ain't gonna work for him."

The next thing I know I got hauled before the camp commandant, who had me stand at attention in front of his desk—all that baloney. He said I'd have to work for the baker, or else.

"What the hell you gonna do? Throw me in a damn concentration camp?" His face got the color of your jacket [red]. When he calmed down a bit he says, "Go on back to your barracks." So I did. But the next morning they marched me over to the laundry. My job was to fold the sheets as they came out of a huge machine. We worked until about ten o'clock, and then they'd come in with coffee and hot pastry from the bakery and we'd have a break. We'd sit around, fifteen, twenty minutes a day. Same thing happened around two o'clock. After that, we had the rest of the day for recreation. They had a gym, but you could do anything you wanted. Baseball, horseshoes—anything you wanted. They had a library; they had everything.

We got paid, too. When I was in the laundry a guard came in and asked if anybody knew how to press a shirt. I pressed shirts at home, so I figured I could press his. He said, "Can you run that mangle?" I said, "No, but if you'll show me how it won't be any different than a steam iron, I imagine." He showed me how to press it right down the middle of the pockets, right across the button. He gave me two bits. After that, I spent most of my time pressing shirts for the guards. I made a pile of money. Heck, I didn't care whether I went home or not. Probably making more money than I did in civilian life. But no, I didn't want to stay there. All kidding aside, it wasn't any fun. We hired a shyster lawyer who took us for \$200 dollars, but I got out. When I came back, I was really careful. I didn't want a repetition of it. Shortly after that they removed the restrictions and we were able to move home again.

I had mixed feelings about this country. I wanted to stay here. I wasn't too happy about the situation because I figured I wasn't doing anything wrong. So I was born on the wrong side of the ocean. It wasn't my fault. I had applied for my citizenship papers and, if things had been different, I would have had them. But it just didn't work out that way. So, just because of a technicality I was thrown in the hoosegow.

I didn't like that, and I wasn't too happy about being drafted, later on. By then, I was back at work at the bakery on the "right" side of Fourth Street. I was even classified as essential labor. They didn't seem interested in me, then all at once they started after me. When I went down to San Francisco I said, "What are my options. I'm an enemy alien." The marines refused me. They had a desk with three people: army, marines, and navy. The second man, the marine, took one look at my papers and said, "I don't want no damn enemy alien." I thought, "Thank God." He threw my papers over to the navy guy and he said the same thing. "Thank you," I said, "You can't dig a foxhole on the deck of a battleship." And he threw me to the army guy who said, "We ain't particular. We'll take you." So I went in the Army. I went down a number of times before they finally took me in February of '44 because I was classified 4-F. I had problems with my stomach, and the doctor was treating me for ulcers. And then when I got in the service I found out it wasn't ulcers, it was colitis. I got discharged on that.

One thing though, the army handed me my citizenship papers with an M-1 rifle. When I passed the physical, I asked what my options were. They said you can refuse induction and you'll never be a citizen. We may ship you back to Italy. Or you can sign up and you can get your papers. They didn't tell me I'd go to jail, just that they might ship me back to Italy. I was already a draft dodger from Italy. They had called me up to serve in the Ethiopian campaign when I was seventeen, and I said, "Go to hell. I don't owe you anything." The Italian Consul in San Francisco called me up. They were calling all the Italian citizens who were born in 1920. They called it the Class of 1920.

If I tell you how I got my citizenship papers, though, you'll laugh. If you could see it. Camp Fannan, Texas, middle of summer. They told us to put on our Class A uniform. We were going to town and become American citizens. They loaded us onto these six-by-six trucks and headed for the county courthouse, Deaf Smith County, Tyler, Texas. We went up to the judge's chambers, and there was a character strictly out of Judge Roy Bean: boiled white shirt, string tie, white suit, planter's hat lying on the bench next to him, and a big mouth full of chewing tobacco, which he spit into a spittoon. I remember him saying, "You all swear to uphold and defend these here—sptttt—United States of America—sptttt—?" And he'd clang that old spittoon every time. You wouldn't believe it unless you saw it. I got a little slip of paper that said I was now a citizen of the United States. That's all there was to it. There were Germans, Italians, you name 'em—Austrians, French. We went down on the courthouse lawn and we rolled and we laughed; it was the most hilarious thing. This was supposed to be a solemn occasion, and here was this judge with his "sptttt." He could hit that damn spittoon from six paces.

Lily Boemker, *McKinleyville, California*

From Stephen Fox

When I came home from school, where we were taught the events that were going on in Italy, I would try to explain to my father about Mussolini, what he was doing. Our views were so different, though. My dad, he was a true Italian. We would go 'round and 'round about Mussolini: he "did a lot of good," and so forth. That's all he could see, what Mussolini did. We wouldn't argue, but we had misunderstandings. It got so that when I'd walk in from school I'd say to my dad, "Viva Italia!" You know how Mussolini would say, "Viva Italia!"? Oh, dad would hit the ceiling. He spoke from the heart, though. He was quite a fella. And my mother—she studied that Constitution. She could give you every page, just like that. She itemized everything; she was so proud.

How did your father react to that?

He just overlooked it. He said, "If you want to do it, you go ahead."

Did he react when Italy declared war on the United States?

Oh, yes. At first, he felt the Americans deserved it. But then as time went on he could see the wrong that was coming out of it. He was a very kind man, a good man.

The law came that people who did not have their citizenship papers, and who lived on the west side of G Street [highway 101 in Arcata] had to move. This must have been in January or February of 1942. I was a senior in high school. Where were we going to go?

We decided to move to Eureka. I wanted to graduate with my old class, so I commuted back and forth to Arcata High School until June of '42 when I graduated. My mother and father couldn't attend. My mother could have, but she wasn't well. My uncle and aunt brought me over, and I went through the ceremonies and everything. Then I went back home to Eureka.

How did you first learn that you had to move?

Well, the Italians in those days would visit. People would meet in one home and just visit. One evening, our friend down the street came and said, "The news is on the radio that the aliens have to move." I went to the post office and found out for sure. At the time, we thought of just moving to the other side of G Street. But my dad was working in Eureka, and we thought, "Well, it would be better for him not to have to commute back and forth," so we moved to Eureka.

Was it because your father couldn't travel more than five miles that he didn't attend, or because the high school was across the line?

It was across the line. Yes, that's why. There were quite a few of us—Joe Nieri, Marino Sichi—and you were looked down upon, let's face it.

I would stop at the old house—we rented the house out—and collect the rent for my parents. We didn't have a car or anything like that. Let's see, we moved back—I think August of '42, we moved back to Arcata. Yes, it was in August, because my uncle died in

May—he was from Italy. I graduated in June, August we moved back, and September is when I met my husband.

Did anyone ever say what you might do that would be dangerous?

At the beginning, no. We found out in Eureka why they wanted us to move. They were afraid that we were going to give signals to submarines and things out in the ocean or bay. Nobody official ever told us; it was just rumors.

And you know, my sister and I became air wardens. There was one night I remember. The wind was blowing; it was a rainy stormy night. My sister looked at me, and I looked at her, and she said, “Do you think we should go out?” When the air raid sirens started, you were supposed to go out. So we decided, no, we’re not going to go. And then we thought, “What if something happens? We gotta report it; you have to write everything down.” So we walked up K Street, went down J, up Eleventh, down J, up Tenth. Then we saw something on the sidewalk. My sister and I both thought, “Gosh, what’s happening?” And here was this man. We thought he was dead. His pants were torn, his leg bleeding, and oh my gosh, we didn’t know what to do.

We started screaming. Everybody around there came out of their houses. I can still see it, right in front of the Roberti’s house. Finally, Mary said, “We have to call in something happened. A car hit this fellow and he’s dying.” We weren’t too sure what to do, so we found a phone and called an ambulance. I think it was an ambulance—we called somebody. They came and put him on a stretcher and took him away. Come to find out—you know what they pulled on us? What they had done, they got a beef tongue and slit it. You know how a tongue bleeds. And they ripped his pants open, put the tongue inside, and he was “bleeding.” That’s what they did to us. We had to report it. Just think if we hadn’t gone out that night. They’d have known we weren’t on the job.

Let me get this straight. At the time you were forced to leave your home in Arcata, you were actually working for civil defense?

No, but we were asked to be air raid wardens for four blocks in our neighborhood. You were asked to donate a certain amount of time. But we had to stop, of course. We also took turns as lookouts up at Redwood Park, where they had an observation station. We were keeping watch!

Was it difficult to find a place to rent in Eureka, and somebody to rent your Arcata home?

No. Some American people rented our place and we didn’t have any problems. It was not a financial burden on the family. Dad was never out of work.

As a high school student, what did you think was going on?

In those days, when you’re a teenager, you wouldn’t even let people know that you spoke Italian! I was very, very angry, and I’d get angry with my dad. There’s no two ways about it; I would get angry with my dad. He hadn’t become a citizen. He lived and thought as though he was still in Italy, but he was over here. And I can still remember saying, “Do you think you’re going to live forever? You have to change; you have to change.” And he would say, “I’ll never change, never.”

Did you blame him for what happened to the family?

In the way he thought, yes. But in his personal being, no. He was such a loving, kind man. I only saw my dad cry once, and that's when we had to leave our house in Arcata. We had a cellar, and he had made wine. He had a hose, and he brought the hose down into the cellar and put it in the barrel to put his wine in gallon containers. Evidently, he walked away, the hose came out of the container, and his wine went all over the backyard. Tears just poured down. It hurt him so.

How did you know you could move back? Were you notified individually?

No, we weren't notified. They put up notices at the post office. So we moved back and things started to look up. But in the meantime, my mother became sick. With the anxiety, the pressure, and the stress she became a diabetic. We couldn't understand what it was. She was going to the doctor, and he couldn't find out what the matter was. And then when we moved back to Arcata a doctor in Eureka found that she was a diabetic.

Your mother felt that this was somehow connected to your having to move?

We all felt that way, yes.

What did you think about the government's policy?

When you read about the Japanese and how they were put into concentration camps—well, look what they did to us. They should compensate us somewhat.

My mother always told me, you should kiss the ground you walk on over here. My husband and I went over to Italy eight years ago and met all my cousins and my aunt and uncle who are still living. We saw the house and the bedroom that my dad was born in, and my mother's house and the room she was born in. They have these long stone houses, you know. My mother would bring this up. She said, "You know, when we left Italy nineteen people were living in one house." The brothers got married and just lived off the land that they could farm. This was the only thing they could live [on].

It was very, very moving to go back to Italy. The city has walls around it, and I would say it's about ten miles from Lucca. It's called Paganico. I knew all my relatives over there by name. The reason I knew was that, through the years, my mother would make packages of clothing and things like that to send. I can still remember, it was forty-four pounds; that's the limit. I was always the one to put the address on it, Paganico, Provincia de Lucca.

Our daughter went to school there for a year. And she just fell in love with our relatives.

Giuseppe, Vitina, and Joe Spadaro, Monterey, California

By Steve Fox

Vitina: My father came to this country as a young boy in 1919, then went back to Italy and married my mother. I was born in Italy. In 1936, when I was about six years old, my father sent for my mother and me to join him here in this country. We did, and I became an American citizen because of my father being a citizen. But my mother was an alien. She spoke very little English because coming to live here in Monterey, there were a lot of Italians nearby, and they spoke a lot of Italian. Even at home, our language was Italian.

My father, my mother, and I were born in Marettimo, Sicily. As a young boy my father dreamed of coming to America like everyone else. It was the land of prosperity, the land of all our dreams come true. Coming from a small island, there wasn't much hope to get ahead there.

My father became an American citizen because he thought that was the thing to do. My mother had not because of the language barrier. But when we moved to Salinas, she realized that it was important that she learn the language and the Constitution, which at that time was very difficult for her. All of a sudden, she realized that she was considered an alien, so she wanted to be a part of this country; she wanted to be an American citizen like my father and me, and she did.

I remember going to Palermo and going through the examination to see if we were healthy before we entered the country. We came with other immigrants, friends of the family. It was easier that way because of the language; we didn't understand a word of English. After we landed in New York, we boarded a train for California. I don't know what happened with other people, but we were on this train for four days and nights, and I was hungry. But we didn't know how to ask for food. I kept looking and hoping that somebody would do something. Finally I told my mother, and she was telling other people with hand motions that I was hungry. It worked because right away somebody brought us sandwiches, apples, and milk. It was difficult.

Giuseppe: I came to the United States in 1920, from Sicily. I was engaged to be married when I came the first time, then I went back and got married. When the restrictions came in 1942 I was a citizen but my wife was not, so the family moved to Salinas. I came back to Monterey every week to fish, and to check the house.

Then the government took our fishing boats. We had to fish to earn a living, so some of the other fishermen and I went up to Seattle to charter boats. With those, we were able to call out our crews again and resume fishing.

The government kept my boat for about two years. But when they returned it, it was in very bad shape. I spent a lot of money to repair it so I could fish with it again, but it was no use. I had to moor it to Wharf No. 2 and continue to fish with the rented boat.

One night when we were out fishing a sudden squall came up and we had to go up near Santa Cruz. The weather was so bad we couldn't come back to Monterey. The storm broke the anchor chain on my damaged boat and it was swept up on the beach. The insurance company tried to pull it off the beach and refloat it, but it was a total loss. The bottom was so broken up it kept sinking.

Vitina [daughter]: *The coast guard called my mother during the storm, telling her that the boat had broken its mooring and was headed toward the beach. My mother was panicked because my father was out fishing and there was no way to get in touch with him. The fleet was anchored at different points out in the ocean where the water was a little more calm. I remember telling the coast guard that my father was out, and I asked if there was anything they could do. "No," they said they had no orders to go there and do anything about it.*

Giuseppe: *I called the shipyard to see if they had any idea how to salvage it. A man from there worked on it a little bit, but he said it was too expensive for me to have it fixed and offered four*

thousand dollars for it. What was I going to do? I couldn't fix it myself. So I sold it to the shipyard for four thousand. Soon after that the men from the yard rigged some canvas to cover the bottom of the boat and somehow, with pumps, managed to raise the boat and tug it to San Francisco where they fixed it up real nice.

I asked the man from the yard if he would sell it back to me. I offered thirty thousand, but he said it would cost me sixty. I said, "No, I'll build a new boat for less than that!" To be fair, it cost them some money to have it fixed up; probably thirty thousand just to replace the engine. I got some insurance money for the loss, but that went toward the attempts to refloat the boat before I finally sold it.

Did the government pay you for using the boat?

Six hundred dollars a month. While they had it, the navy paid the insurance and taxes, everything. I didn't have to pay anything, and they sent me a check \$600 every month.

Vitina: *The fishermen were told that the government needed their boats to patrol the Panama Canal and other areas. So all the fishermen were left without their boats. But this was their livelihood, and they had to make a living for their families. So my father, my uncles, and others went up to Seattle and rented boats. That meant another loss for the fishermen. They usually worked with shares the boat gets so many shares. So when they rented from another company all of the profit went to them.*

My father experienced yet another loss by having to do this. When the government took his boat it wasn't properly maintained like a fisherman would do it. So it was returned to my father, but it was in such poor condition he was unable to use it for fishing again. All the boat owners—the fishermen in Monterey—had already chartered other boats; they had contracts for which they were responsible. So they tied up their boats here in the bay and continued fishing that season with the rented boats.

When the boat crashed on the beach, it was like losing a member of the family. Because my father fished on this boat day and night, and put all his love into it, it was such a sadness for him. I think that was the only time I actually saw him cry. We were all bitter. I was a child, and then to see my parents cry, and to see everything dad had worked for was gone. Because they owned their home, everything else went into the boat. It changed everything. But after a while he decided to build another boat. He called his second boat the New Marettimo. The first boat was just Marettimo.

Joe [Vitina's husband]: *It means "small ocean." Mare is ocean, and timo is small.*

Vitina: *When my father had the second boat built, it cost much more than he paid for the first one. He managed to get a bigger loan, but that meant more headaches and responsibilities to pay the loan off. The seasons were good, though, and through the years it was paid.*

To tell these families to leave their homes and go somewhere else and rent, that meant extra expense. To charter different boats when they already had their own fishing boats, and then the loss. We were losing money all the way around.

We also heard what was happening to the Japanese. Then somehow the word got around that they were going to do the same thing to the Italians. My mother always lived in fear that the Italians were going to be put away. That's why she was so nervous about being home in the evening by eight o'clock. There was talk that they had spies out in the street, or things like that. Really. And she never wanted to go out. Of course, she never thought of coming to Monterey to check on her home. So I think they lived in fear all that time.

Vitina: *I was in grammar school in 1942, and for a time, it was very confusing. There was so much news going out that all the aliens were going to concentration camps. Thank God the Italians were not. But we were told to leave Monterey because it was considered a war zone, and so my family decided to move to Salinas.*

It was very difficult for my father and mother because my mother had to leave her home. I remember leaving my schoolmates and saying good-bye to everyone. What I really recall was how difficult it was to find a place to live in Salinas. When we did go out looking for a place to rent, and the owner found out we were aliens, we were turned down. It was difficult as a child to accept something like that.

There were a lot of people from Monterey, including relatives, moving to Salinas. They chose Salinas because it was approved for the aliens, and yet it was close to Monterey. My father owned a fishing boat, a purse seiner, and he fished for sardines here in the bay. So, from Salinas, it was convenient for him to go to Monterey to fish during the week, and then come back to Salinas on the weekends. Other people moved to San Jose.

My parents owned their home in Monterey, and we kept that while we lived in Salinas. My father and I used to come back here on weekends to check on the house and pick up a few things that we needed. He came back here to fish during the week the only day they didn't fish was Saturday.

My father owned a car, so that's how he got back and forth. He would leave my mother and me Sunday afternoon because they started fishing Sunday night and worked until Friday.

How long were you in Salinas?

I think from January to June. I remember June, because that was the month I came back to graduate from grammar school with my classmates.

I also remember that the aliens were told that they had to be in their homes at night no later than eight o'clock. We would be having dinner at a relative's, and my mother was so nervous, looking at the time, making sure that we left that house and were home before eight.

Joe: *I was young at the time I went to Salinas: nineteen. I worked there in a [frozen food] plant. We heard of other aliens who couldn't fish who had to work out in the fields picking fruit and vegetables.*

I was single, so I moved in with a group of five single men, and we rented a house. After three months, when there was no more work in Salinas, I moved to San Francisco and was there six or seven months. Even after the aliens could come back to Monterey, they still couldn't fish, so for me it was better to stay and work in San Francisco. I worked in a freezer there; we froze turkey and vegetables for the government. I went by there the other day and it's gone.

While I worked in San Francisco, my mother still lived in Italy. I received a letter from her after about two and a half years, through the Italian Consulate in Portugal. They forwarded it to me. One day while I was at work an FBI agent came up to me and started asking a lot of questions about how I got this letter from Portugal. I had to explain where my mother was and what was in the letter. They were checking us very, very close to see if we did something wrong.

When I got back to Monterey, I received a card from the draft board; they wanted me to go in the army. I didn't want to serve in Italy. I had a good skipper who depended on me a lot, so he went with me to the draft board and got me a deferment. Since fishing was so good, I was considered to be in an essential industry. Our cannery sold directly to the government, not to commercial stores. The soldiers needed the food, so I got to go to work again.

I finally became a citizen in 1946 and bought my first car. On April 18, I got my citizenship papers, and on April 27, I married my wife. It's a month I don't think I'll forget.

Did you know the government planned to give money to people who were relocated to help them out?

Vitina: *We didn't know anything about that. When the government decided to take the boats it was considered something that had to be done, like when they drafted your son. It was a way of*

helping the government. Now that you say this about the fund, I feel they should have done something to help out all the families. Financially it was very difficult.

Joe: *Not only that, but my father-in-law had to hire a lawyer and pay him to go to the government to get his boat back. The government should have made that easier. He also had to pay for a trip to San Francisco and back, where the boat was based.*

Vitina: *To tell these families to leave their homes and go somewhere else and rent, that meant extra expense. To charter different boats, when they already had their own fishing boats, and then the loss. We were losing money all the way around.*

We also heard what was happening to the Japanese. Then somehow the word got around that they were going to do the same thing to the Italians. My mother always lived in fear that the Italians were going to be put away. That's why she was so nervous about being home in the evening by eight o'clock. There was talk that they had spies out in the street. She never wanted to go out. I think they lived in fear all that time.

John Molinari, *San Francisco, California*

By Steve Fox

You were a member of the “Citizens Committee to Aid Italians Loyal to the United States”?

Yes. It was organized as a non-profit corporation titled, “Italians Loyal to the United States.” It was not a “citizens committee” in the sense of a general, citywide committee, but it was composed of people of Italian descent. The reason for the creation of the committee was that the [Italian] community was rampant with rumors that after the evacuation of the Japanese by the military authorities in this area, the people of Italian extraction would be next. And so the committee was formed to forestall any such activity. The committee met from time to time to attempt to persuade the Italian population that the rumors were unfounded. But, in any event, as happens during wartime, there was considerable apprehension that this might happen to people of Italian descent. The committee did have meetings with Earl Warren, the attorney general of the state of California, who had taken a position [favoring] the evacuation of the Japanese. He assured us that to his knowledge there was no such action [re the Italians] contemplated. We then asked for a meeting with General DeWitt, commanding general of—I believe—the Fourth Army at that time, and who was the general who would issue the order for evacuation.

We would have supported all aliens as well as citizens because the aliens—so many of them never got around to getting citizenship—had been here for thirty, forty, fifty years. Joe DiMaggio’s father, for example, had never applied for citizenship; he was a fisherman. He eventually passed, but it took him a long time. Mostly the fishermen were people who had not gotten around to getting citizenship, and there were a lot of them. They were busy, or they were afraid of the examination, or whatever. I remember in my law practice I was speaking more Italian during the course of the day than I did English. I had clients who couldn’t read or write, even in Italian, let alone English. They’d never gone to school in Italy. You see Italy was a new nation if you really analyze it. A lot of these people came here at the turn of the century, and Italy was unified in, what was it, 1870? So the public school system had never taken hold.

There were Italians who had been vocal in support of Italy, people on the Italian radio, for example, who extolled Mussolini and the virtues of his accomplishments. Some of the most vocal...aliens were actually deported or at least placed in camps. I think the Italians at that time were sent to a camp in Montana—Ft. Missoula.

We had an Italian school in North Beach, which I attended as a boy. It was community supported, but the books and teachers were subsidized by the Italian government. All of us had to go whether we liked it or not; our parents wanted us to learn Italian. I could only speak the Genoese dialects. I did not know the official Italian language, which of course is the Florentine dialect. So our parents wanted us to go to Italian school, and we went there five days a week, from four to six P.M., after American school. When I attended, which was in the 1920s, there was no [Italian] government propaganda at all. We had innocuous textbooks, but very fine teachers. And whatever Italian I know to this day, I learned there. The school was not for propaganda. As far as I could tell, the monarchy was never interested in propagandizing its people in foreign countries. They

were interested in preserving the language and the heritage. But I have no recollection of any of the teachers giving us any propaganda about what Italy was going to do militarily and so forth. They praised all of [Italy's] cultural attributes, and they had a right to do that.

When Mussolini came to power, I was aware that school was beginning to become an agency for propaganda. The students would march in the Columbus Day parade, and they wore the Balilla uniform. It was a uniform similar to that worn by Mussolini's youth organization known as the Balilla. Balilla was a young Italian boy of Genoese descent who, according to history, threw a rock at a French general when Napoleon occupied Genoa, starting a riot that resulted in the expulsion of the French. Balilla was always considered a patriot, particularly for the youth. And so Mussolini had this youth organization, which had a special kind of uniform with—I think it was a black shirt, much like the others. I can remember these young students marching in the parade. Whether they did it voluntarily or they were told to do it, I don't know.

There was a feeling in the community that the school was being used to acquaint the students with Mussolini and his attributes. While I had no relationship with the school, it was generally known that the teachers who had been sent over were naturally sympathetic to their own government. Of course, the school closed down when the war broke out and Italy became an enemy of ours, and the school as such has never been resumed. There are Italian schools in the community, but they're operated by separate agencies that have no connection with the Italian government.

Did government officials ever tell you that they suspected these schools of teaching Fascism?

No. When I spoke to officials, I was unaware that they were concerned about Italy ever being an enemy of ours until war was declared. That took everybody by surprise, although I'm sure our government was concerned that Mussolini had gone to war on Hitler's side.

There was a segment...in the community that was vocally anti-Mussolini. They just didn't like him. Some believed in democracy; some may have been socialists. Who knows? And I'm sure that these people were naming names of people who had praised Mussolini.

Some of them that I knew, for example, were veterans of World War I in Italy. They were our allies; they came here as young immigrants. They couldn't join the American Legion, so they formed an organization called the Italian Legion. From what I hear, some of them may have gotten up at their meetings and extolled Mussolini. The result was that most of them were taken on that first sweep, even those who had kept their mouths shut. That organization really had no relationship with Mussolini, except that they had served in World War I under the king. They were our allies; they helped us win the war. But here again it shows you how things get distorted. When you think back to those days, everybody was scared. The authorities were scared. Everybody was acting with an abundance of caution.

During the war, I had an office in the North Beach district. At that time the area was practically 100 percent Italian. The FBI agents, whom I got to know fairly well, would use me as a contact. They'd come in: "Do you know So-and-So? Is he all right? Is he a danger?" Things like that, involving individuals. There were two agents from back east, two lawyers, who decided that I was at least somebody in the community who knew a lot of people, and apparently had checked on my background and loyalty.

One day, one of the Italians that was a client of mine came in and said, "The FBI's been down to see me." He was president of a social group called the Balilla Social Club, named after the group I told you about. My father was a charter member. It had been formed in 1918 as just a group of Genoese Italians who had picnics, dances, and dinners. I used to go to the picnics as a boy, and it was just a nice social gathering. Well, being named Balilla, and this organization in Italy being named Balilla, the FBI got all excited. And so this guy, this client of mine, was afraid he was going to be deported or something. So I said, "When the FBI agent comes back, tell him to come up and see me." It turned out the agent was one of two men that I had known, both non-Genoese lawyers from the East Coast. I think they were either Neapolitan or from southern Italy. So they probably wouldn't have heard of Balilla until this thing came along. I explained to them that Balilla was formed before Mussolini ever came on the scene. We were the first. We had the name before he adopted it. I told them the story about Balilla, what a patriot he was and so on, and that was the end of that story. But it just shows you. They were doing their job.

There was an Un-American Activities Committee in Sacramento, and a few people in our community were summoned before it. Here again, people had reported to the committee that So-and-So was not loyal because he had said some nice things about Mussolini. Even before that committee got curious, there were some people in the community that were really maligned because of some Italian connection. You have to remember that at the time I grew up most of the first generation Italians whose parents were born in Italy had a strong affinity for Italy. My father had served three years of compulsory military service in the Italian army under the king. And he was always proud of his service. So the first generation of Italians was kind of a bridge generation, and they'd heard all these wonderful things about Italy. Some of them may have said, "I think Mussolini's doing a good job. He got the trains running on time." I think everybody in the community soured on him when the Ethiopian thing came along. But before that, I think there was the feeling that maybe this fellow was doing something for the country. Of course, the biggest mistake he made was to align himself with Hitler. Until that time I think you could generally say that the Italians thought he was doing a good job for Italy. I think he did a lot of things internally that were good for the country. So people would only hear about those things, and they weren't too concerned about his political alignments with other nations, but they were aware of those alignments.

The Italians were smarting a bit in that they thought they got a bad deal after World War I under the Versailles Treaty. And they thought that Italy didn't get what it deserved as one of the victors. So Mussolini sold that concept. Italians here said, "We think he's right. Look, we lost all of these people and we didn't get anything but Trieste or something." So you could see that that feeling was there, that there was some belief that the Italian cause had some merit. Some of these people may have spoken favorably about Mussolini, and I could hear, I remember some of them saying, "He's telling Great Britain off. Nobody else did before him. But he's telling them off. The king didn't do it, but he's doing it." Anything that would put Italy in a better light among nations they supported.

Apparently Mayor Angelo Rossi was accused of being a Fascist?

I remember that occasion because I was active in politics. That was the most ridiculous thing, because Angelo Rossi was already a first- or second-generation Italian, born in the mother lode area [Sierra gold rush country]. He came down to San Francisco, couldn't speak a word of Italian, had never been to Italy, was from an area where there was an

Italian community, but not as vocal about things Italian as they were here. The only thing Italian about him was his name, really. To my recollection, he never took part in Italian community affairs. He was appointed a supervisor because he was a downtown businessman, and when Mayor [James] Rolph was elected governor, Rossi was appointed by the Board of Supervisors as mayor. He had taken a trip to Italy when he was mayor, and they published a picture of him in Time or one of the literary digests, I forget, with his hand outstretched. And they made a lot out of it, that he was un-American. It turned out that he was on this liner going to Italy and he was pointing at the Statue of Liberty. But the way the picture was taken, he had his hand so that it looked like a Fascist salute. He was maligned for awhile, but some of these things were political. Some people just didn't like anyone else, and began to exploit the situation.

Ettore Patrizi was the editor of L'Italia, one of those earlier newspapers. He was pretty vocal in favor of Mussolini. And, of course, he was asked to leave. Here again, he was an Italophile and probably believed that Mussolini was a great man. My generation all read the American dailies, but my folks, of course, subscribed to L'Italia. They liked it, and a lot of Italians in the outlying areas were subscribers. I'm sure there was some propaganda in those papers, at least until the Ethiopian campaign. Again, I remember Italians who thought, "Well, England didn't give us what we wanted as far as colonies are concerned, so we have the right to go out and get one." Mussolini was trying to convert Libya to an agricultural country, and he was sitting on all that oil and never knew it. His whole orientation was agriculture; it never crossed his mind, apparently, that Italy could be the industrial nation that it is today. I remember that his theory was that it was a burgeoning population that Italy had, and you needed places to send them to. Colonies, that was his theory.

I remember going to Italy during Mussolini's time. I was a college student, and my father took the family back for a trip, his first after thirty years. I remember the trains running on time, the black shirts, and a lot of rigid controls. Black-shirted militiamen would accompany the ticket collector on the train. You had to show your ticket to get out of the station, not just to get in. I personally was not bothered. I was a tourist.

Mussolini was one of the great public speakers of our time. The crowds loved him. As a matter of fact, some of his speeches have been incorporated in books containing the outstanding speeches of all time. He had a facility of immediately getting control of a crowd. And they'd listen to him, and, of course, he told them what they wanted to hear. I remember one of his speeches. He took it right out of Shakespeare's "Mark Antony." He said, "Friends, brothers, listen to me." Those were his first three words. He called me a brother. If you study him from the aspect of a speaker who wants to communicate a message, and at the same time get people to listen, I guess he was good at it. And so people would praise him here for his speeches. "Look at that guy. He's telling England off."

Five of us from the [Citizens' Committee to Aid Italians Loyal to the United States] were invited to the Presidio, but we did not get to meet General DeWitt, who apparently was busy with more important things. We met instead with one of the subordinate generals; unfortunately, his name escapes me. We had a very interesting conversation. He assured us that as far as he knew, there was no such action contemplated with respect to the Italians. We told him that we were pleased at his response. But lest there be any doubt of the feelings of the community—at least the leadership of the Italian community—we impressed him with the idea that moving Italians was a lot more of a logistic problem than moving the Japanese, who were, of course, a considerably smaller number [of people].

We reminded the general that, particularly in this area, up through northern California, the Italians were very active in many industries and commercial endeavors: the garbage collection, the farmers. We talked about A.P. Giannini being the president of the Bank of America. And we impressed upon the general that if you moved all of these people, the same thing would have happened that happened with the Japanese—that it would have included people of Italian descent who were born in this country. And we impressed upon him strongly that it certainly would disrupt the productive industrial and commercial endeavors in the community. We had already had some indication of disruption of commercial activities.

Fishermen were mentioned. Of course, the fishermen had already suffered from a different approach. You see, most of the fishermen were Italian aliens, and they had already been prevented from going out onto the bay because they were considered [enemy] aliens. In addition, by previous orders, Italian aliens could not live or be within a seven or eight block area of the waterfront and then there was the curfew. At that time I represented the Scavengers' Protective Association and, of course, our men used to go out at four o'clock in the morning.

As a matter of fact, to digress, I was [also] attorney for the largest fishing organization in the Bay Area known as the Crab Fishermen's Protective Association, which actually went out of business because most of its members were Italian aliens and couldn't go out fishing. So a good part of my time was spent dealing with the U.S. Attorney, who had the authority to grant exemptions from curfew regulations. He assigned a deputy in his office, Alfonso Zirpoli, who is now a judge of the United States District Court. He was of Italian descent and certainly sympathetic to Italians. The U.S. Attorney's policy with regard to the granting of exemptions was a liberal one. They were granted upon representation that the Italian alien was not a threat to national security.

Your committee was lobbying on behalf of Italian Americans whom you were afraid would also be relocated or interned?

Yes, plus the fact that we wanted to impress the government that there were Italians in all walks of life, some of them in very high positions at that time. We were loyal to the United States, period. We were unhappy with Italy's declaration of war against the United States. Our approach to the general [at the Presidio] was really two pronged. One, we wanted to impress him with the mass of Italians that would have to be moved and the effect that would have on the economy of the area. But we also gently hinted that, as far as the Committee was concerned, we would litigate the matter and urge the Italians not to go. We now know that meetings were held by community leaders of Japanese descent to decide what course of action they would take with respect to the evacuation order. They decided to comply.

Did this general seem to have any prior understanding of the problems you foresaw in an "evacuation" of Italians?

Well, you know how military men are? They're not very communicative. But I think he was aware of it. He probably didn't want to tip his hand or didn't want to put the general on the spot, so he was really non-committal. I think if things had come to a sorry pass, our committee would have taken some affirmative action in the sense of filing lawsuits or whatever would be necessary. We pretty much made up our minds that we [Italians] were not going to go, and we were going to advise the Italian community not to go. It would have been a terrific disruption.

I became keenly aware that our government had a list of potentially dangerous persons. On Pearl Harbor day, military and FBI agents took these persons into custody. I, as an attorney, got calls from mothers and wives—"They've taken my son away!" "They've taken my husband away!" They just moved through the community and rounded up people that they had on this list. And I knew a number of them; several were clients of mine. They were not disloyal to the United States, but they had a certain pride in the accomplishments of anything that Italy would do. Perhaps at some Italian organization meeting they had gotten up and said, "Isn't Mussolini great?" "For the first time Italy is recognized as a power." "He's doing all these wonderful things, restoring agricultural land and the swamps, making the trains run on time," and things like that. A very good friend of mine was one of those who was taken that night. He was an American citizen, born in Italy, and he was proud of things Italian. He bought a film that showed Mussolini and some of the things that he had done, and showed it at a meeting of a community organization. He bought the film on Market Street in San Francisco. "Castle Films," I think they called it. It didn't come from Rome; it was an American documentary. Our government had done a thorough job of pinpointing people who might be a threat to our national security.

I finally found out where those who had been apprehended were being kept. They were out to the Salvation Home on Silver Avenue in San Francisco. It's a school now; I forget the name, but it's on Silver Avenue. I went out there a few times after I found out where these people were. They had military tribunals to screen them. It was sort of an informal hearing. Some of the hearing officers were reserve lawyers that I knew, who were reserves in the judge advocate department of the military. The conversations would sometimes go like this:

"Johnny," meaning me, "is this guy all right?"

"Oh, yeah, he's loyal. He's not a problem."

Most of them were released within a few days. But I guess if the government—out of an abundance of caution—had any apprehension that these people would commit any sabotage or whatever, they just moved right in. I'm telling you, I had a hectic two days, people calling me at home.

Nobody ever attacked [J. Edgar] Hoover on whether the FBI had probable cause [to arrest these people] or not. Looking back, in our climate today, you'd [sue] for most anything. In those days, you were a little hesitant about taking on the government in wartime. You might be accused of being disloyal if you took the cudgels from one of these persons. The upshot of it was that most of them were released within a few days when the government was assured that these guys were all right.

Were you aware of a place called Sharp Park, in Pacifica?

I just knew it was there, that people had been put there. But I think that was sort of a temporary thing. The interesting thing was that, as the war went on, we had Italian prisoners of war in this locality, so it may have been at Sharp Park, also somewhere in the Alameda naval area, if not the base itself. Things got a little incongruous. These Italian prisoners would be released on weekends and would come over, and the Italian families would invite them for dinner, and they were beginning to consort with their daughters, and marriages resulted. I had a couple of cases there involving marriage breakups where the POW replaced the husband. Judge Zirpoli and I collaborated in the defense of an Italian grower down in Half Moon Bay who felt sorry for some of these POWs. I don't know how he did it, how they were getting off, but anyway, he employed

them on weekends to work since labor was short. He was giving these POWs some work and, of course, it was against the law to do it. But he didn't go to jail. I don't remember whether there was a fine imposed or what. A lot of people were employing these POWs. They were young, able-bodied, and they wanted to make some money before they went back to Italy. So they just merged into the community and, here again, the Italians took to them. I remember them walking through the district wearing special uniforms so that you could tell who they were.

Did anything in the Italian community change because of these events?

The community changed. My children, for example, don't know about any of this unless I tell them or they read about it. It's hard for them to believe some of the things. "What was it like?"—that sort of questioning. After World War II, the community began to change with the prosperity that developed; the new generation wanted better accommodations. They went to Marin County; they went to the Peninsula. North Beach began to disintegrate as an Italian community.

After World War I we used to have very active Italian organizations: Sons of Italy, Italian Catholic Federation, social organizations. They were active at a time when all fraternal organizations were active—the Druids, the Eagles, the Native Sons [of the Golden West]—which was the thing to do to get some recreation. But with the change in attitudes, television, the automobile, the airplane, some of these organizations went out of existence, some were left with just a handful of members. So the attitude of joining organizations changed drastically after World War II. And the community became diffused. North Beach, which was a solid community in the thirties when I started to practice law, has only about fifteen percent Italians now, [the rest is] mostly Chinese. So you don't have any real strong Italian memberships anymore. The young people couldn't care less about fraternal organizations. But up to World War II it was a homogeneous community where a lot of things took place and you knew what was going on. You had two daily Italian newspapers, two or three Italian radio programs daily, and morning and afternoon papers, in Italian. After the war, they merged into one and eventually it went out of existence. The only Italian paper you have now comes out of Los Angeles. It has one page dedicated to San Francisco.

Appendix E: Day 4: Comparing the Japanese and Italian Experiences at the Beginning of World War II

Major Reasons for the Different Treatment of Japanese Teacher Notes

Racism: While some authors, such as Fox News commentator and Creators Syndicate Columnist, Michelle Malkin in her August 2004 book, *In Defense of Internment* downplay the role racism played in the very different ways Italians, Germans and Japanese were treated by the U.S. government at the beginning of World War II, one basic difference separated Japanese immigrants from Italian and German immigrants. In the decades before the war Italian immigrants living in the United States enjoyed one major privilege Japanese immigrants did not—the right to become naturalized citizens of the United States. Those Italian immigrants who were not citizens by December 7, 1941 were foreign nationals mostly for reasons of economics (becoming a citizen would have made no real difference in everyday life), lack of time (many women in particular, didn't have the time to prepare for the citizenship test) or illiteracy. By comparison, with a very few exceptions, a Japanese alien, even a literate, wealthy person, who had been here for decades was not allowed to become a naturalized American citizen, or had their opportunity to migrate to the United States limited, and in many states could not own land due to the following laws and Supreme Court case.

- **1870** Naturalization Act limits American citizenship to "white persons and persons of African descent," barring Asians from U.S. citizenship.
- **1882** Chinese Exclusion Act restricts Chinese immigration.
- **1907** Under the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan, the United States agrees not to restrict Japanese immigration in exchange for Japan's promise not to issue passports to Japanese laborers for travel to the continental United States. Japanese laborer are permitted to go to Hawaii, but are barred by executive order from migrating from Hawaii to the mainland.
- **1913** California Alien Land Law prohibited "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (ie. all Asian immigrants) from owning land or property, but permitted three year leases.
- **1920** California Alien Land Law prohibited leasing land to "aliens ineligible to citizenship." By 1925, it was also prohibited in Washington, Arizona, Oregon, Idaho, Nebraska, Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Montana,

New Mexico, Minnesota, and Missouri. During World War II, Utah, Wyoming, and Arkansas also joined.

- **1921** Quota Act limits annual European immigration to 3 percent of the number of a nationality group in the United States in 1910.
- **1922** In *Ozawa v. U.S.*, the Supreme Court reaffirmed that Asian immigrants were not eligible for naturalization.
- **1924** The Johnson-Reed Act limits annual European immigration to two percent of the number of nationality group in the United States in 1890.
- **1924** Oriental Exclusion Act prohibits most immigration from Asia, including foreign-born wives and children of U.S. citizens of Chinese ancestry.

Even if for the sake of argument we assume, racism played no role in the decisions made by the Federal Government regarding the treatment of Japanese-Americans and Japanese aliens in 1941 and 1942, thanks to a series of laws and court decisions over the previous seventy years Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans started on a playing field that was decidedly not level as compared to Italian and German immigrants because all Nissei (Japanese immigrants) were prevented from becoming American citizens and had been for over 70 years.

Economic Considerations: In 1941 there were between 110,000 and 120,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans living in the Western States and a comparative handful elsewhere. This compared with tens of millions of Italian and German immigrants and descendents nationwide. It was impossible to relocate that many people—even if a good reason had existed—and furthermore, such a dislocation would have crippled the American economy at a time when the nation was shifting to war production.

A much smaller, but illustrative example occurred in Hawaii in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor where despite the presence of approximately 157,905 Japanese and Japanese-Americans out of a total population of 423,330 no large-scale internment and relocation occurred partly because forcing over 1/3 of Hawaii's population to leave would have not only been enormously costly and difficult, it would have left Hawaii enormously short of workers. This was in spite of at least one legitimate instance of Japanese aliens giving comfort and support to the enemy. In Hawaii, steps were taken to determine the individual loyalty Japanese and Japanese Americans and "for the most part, in Hawaii this meant only detention and relocation of aliens whose conduct marked them as unacceptable security risks, about 500 in number." If it was impractical to relocate 157,905 or so Japanese and Japanese-Americans in Hawaii then it stands to reason it was impossible to do so to millions of German and Italian aliens and American citizens living

along the Pacific, Atlantic and Southern coasts. However, that realization took a few months to develop as will be discussed later.

Politics: Love him or hate him, (or both as was the case for many), perhaps no president of the last century engendered such passionate feelings as Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Regardless of what people felt about him, most agreed that Roosevelt was a consummate politician. The political math of internment politics is clear. If Roosevelt had attempted to relocate tens of millions of Italian and German American voters he would have had to confront the real possibility of losing in 1944.

[T]here had been at least one sobering trend in the otherwise satisfying victory over Wendell Willkie in 1940: Italian American voters were drifting away from the Democratic Party in the large urban centers of East. . . . Rep. Carl Curtis, a Republican from Nebraska, was overheard to say during the Tolan Committee hearings in March 1942 that the Italians “will all be Republicans. . . when they find out what is going on.”

As it turned out, Roosevelt’s victory over Thomas Dewey in November 1944 was the most narrow of his elections. Enraging even a quarter of the Italian and German American voters could have closed the 3.6 million vote margin by which the president won. Conversely, in light of the anti-Japanese hysteria sweeping the country in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, it can be argued the move to intern the Japanese and Japanese Americans carried little political risk. To what extent Roosevelt considered this is unknown, though it is interesting to note that his order to lift the ban on Japanese and Japanese Americans in the Western States came after the 1944 election. Attorney General Biddle in recalling the May 26, 1944 Cabinet meeting wrote,

The Secretary of War raised the question of whether it was appropriate for the War Department, at this time, to cancel the Japanese Exclusion Orders and let the Japs go home. War, Interior and Justice had all agreed that this could be done without danger to defense considerations but doubted the wisdom of doing it at this time before the election.

Biddle, if accurate, demonstrates that Roosevelt’s decision to delay the release of Japanese relocates until after the November 1944 election was politically motivated. Doing so beforehand would have angered voters whose memories of Japanese atrocities such as the Rape of Nanking and the Bataan Death March were still strong.

Regardless of the reasons, there were major differences between the treatment of aliens and American citizens whose roots traced back to Italy and those from Japan. These differences included:

- American born citizens of Italian extraction were not sent to relocation or internment camps. The government viewed Italian-Americans as Americans and they were protected by the same rights as citizens descended from allied nations.
- There was not a round-up of naturalized Italian born American citizens.
- Furthermore, resident aliens of Italian lineage born in countries other than Italy did not face the same restrictions as those born in Italy. More than once in Fox's *UnCivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege During World War II*, stories are told of an Italian without U.S. citizenship not being forced to move because he or she was born in a country other than Italy (Brazil for instance). This was not the case with American residents of Japanese extraction. In fact, over 2000 people of Japanese extraction living in Central and South America were taken into custody and sent to the United States for the duration of the war. However, it's important to note the same thing also happened to some Italian nationals living in Latin America (see quote below from Steve Fox).
- The scope of Italian Relocation and Internment was radically different as compared to what happened to Japanese and Japanese-Americans. Fox, in the Preface to *UnCivil Liberties* says that the best evidence is between eight to ten thousand enemy aliens were interned. This includes Italians, Japanese and Germans. Exclusion orders were issued to eighty-eight naturalized Italians on the West Coast and there were some Italians among the eighty five total exclusions on the East Coast and in the South. West Coast Japanese aliens wouldn't have needed to be excluded because they were relocated. The Immigration and Naturalization Service detained 3,278 Italians during the war, but only 112 Italians were interned for a substantial amount of time. These numbers pale in comparison to the Japanese experience.
- The length of Italian Relocation was significantly shorter when compared to Japanese resident aliens and Japanese-American citizens. The Federal orders requiring all enemy aliens to leave restricted security zones along the coast were issued in late January and early February 1942 and rescinded for Italians by October 1942.

[On January 29, 1942 Secretary of War] Stimson declared that some enemy aliens would have to move out of so-called "Category A" prohibited areas (primarily waterfront locations and areas surrounding and adjacent to defense industries, power plants, reservoirs and the like) in California no later than February 15, and the rest by February 24.

On June 27, 1942, the government, realizing it had made a mistake, relented and allowed the Italians to return to their homes and jobs.

On Columbus Day, October 12, 1942, a day of special meaning for Italians, Attorney General Francis Biddle announced that Italian aliens in the United States would no longer be classified as enemies. . . . Roosevelt, who wished he had thought of it himself, immediately gave the move his blessing, calling it a 'a masterly stroke of international statesmanship and good politics.'

In contrast to this relatively quick reversal of policy for Italian aliens, President Roosevelt did not issue the order allowing Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans back to the West Coast until December 17, 1944 and the Japanese relocation camps did not begin a large-scale release of relocatees until the last year of the war.

Not Enough Food Japs Complain in Jail Here

That wasn't exactly the complaint of the Japanese prisoners in the county jail today; their complaint was "Not enough mealee."

According to the custom of all county jails, only two meals a day are served to prisoners by Sheriff Arthur Ross and his assistants. But each of these has plenty of body and quantity, the sheriff's deputies said.

Some kind of meat, such as stews and often a quarter of beef is served every day, and each meal has plenty of succulence and nutriment, said Sheriff Arthur A. Ross. But this doesn't seem to be enough for those who have been raised on rice in the old country.

They want "three mealees, so solly, please."

Humboldt Standard, 17 July, 1944, p. 1.

Discussion Questions:

- 1. The prisoners mentioned were 27 Japanese American men in their teens and 20s who were all born on the West Coast and spoke English without an accent. Find at least three examples of statements in the article that don't make sense considering who these guys were.**
- 2. What are three examples of anti Japanese bias in this article?**
- 3. What do you think the author of the article (who isn't named) means by "the old country"?**

Chart Comparing the Japanese, Italian and German Experiences During World War II

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Anti-Japanese Laws in American History

1870 Naturalization Act limits American citizenship to "white persons and persons of African descent," barring Asians from U.S. citizenship.

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1922 In *Ozawa v. U.S.*, the Supreme Court reaffirmed that Asian immigrants were not eligible for naturalization.

1924 The Johnson-Reed Act limits annual European immigration to two percent of the number of nationality group in the United States in 1890.

1924 Oriental Exclusion Act prohibits most immigration from Asia, including foreign-born wives and children of U.S. citizens of Chinese ancestry.

THREE TYPES OF RELOCATEES AT TULE LAKE

Japanese and Japanese-Americans at Tule Lake tended to fall into one of three categories.

- I. The first category was relocatees who had applied for repatriation (return to Japan) in the case of Issei (Japanese aliens born in Japan or relocatees who had applied for expatriation (being sent to Japan to live in the case of Nissei (Japanese Americans born in the United States who were US citizens by birth).
- II. The second group was comprised those men who had answered “no” or refused to answer two key questions of a War Relocation Authority questionnaire.

The questions asked about their loyalty to the United States and their feelings toward Japan.

- III. The third category comprised family members of groups one or two. When a father was sent to Tule Lake the children and wife usually went along automatically. If a son or daughter were 17 or 18 he or she would be asked if they wanted to go. Most said yes because they didn't want to break up their families.

THE MAIN CHARACTERS IN THE UNITED STATES VS MASA AKI KUWABARA ET. AL COURT CASE

Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman:

The son of Jewish immigrants, probably from Germany.

At “I am an American Day” in May 1946 Goodman delivered the following remarks:

We are a nation of immigrants. Very few can trace their ancestry to the first generation. All that matters is that new citizens unreservedly subscribe to the doctrines that have enriched and will continue to enrich our American way of life. Among these, the most important is that of unity. No man or woman can honestly give the pledge of allegiance if there is a reserved intolerance as to a fellow citizen’s origin or color or creed. Any who have or assert such reservations seek only divide us and are unfit to come or remain under the protection of the stars and thirteen stripes.

Defense Attorneys Arthur W. Hill Jr., Chester Monette and Blaine McGowan

Hill, the master of ceremonies at a dinner in Judge Goodman’s honor on Monday night, concluded his remarks about his clients with “So sorry, please.”

Monette’s advise to his clients was to plead guilty. Twelve did at first. Thursday, Monette asked to be removed as defense attorney when his clients ignored his advice.

McGowan was a law school classmate of Judge Goodman. He was asked by Goodman to take over the defense of the Japanese American draft resisters. The first time he met his new clients this is what happened:

Tom Noda, one of the Tule Lake resisters, recalls that, “[t]he first words he said, when he came in, was that he ha[d] no love for Japs. But he said he had never lost a case and he didn’t intend to lose this one.” The Nisei gulped when they heard him call them “Japs”; they “thought we have no chance.”

Prosecuting Attorney Emmett Seawell

At the same dinner Seawell got up to speak. In his remarks the newspaper wrote he said

“that it is wonderful that we have a democracy in which 27 Japs can be brought here in safety, given all the protection guaranteed by our Constitution and laws, assured of a fair trial, with the prominent and leading attorneys appointed to defend them.” Seawell concluded his remarks with the comment, “It could not happen in any other country in the world.”

Trial Proceedings Must Follow the Law of the Land

The *Humboldt Times*, published an editorial on Sunday, July 23 entitled, “*Trial Proceedings Must Follow Law of the Land*” which deserves mention considering Humboldt County’s long history of anti Asian bias.

The editor begins by quoting Judge Goodman:

“The time-honored doctrine of due process . . . must not give way to overzealousness in an attempt to reach via the criminal process those we regard as undesirable citizens.”

The editor then comments how a layperson really isn’t qualified to determine whether or not Judge Goodman’s decision had a strong legal foundation.

He goes on to mention that neither the judge nor the respective counsel had any strong liking for the defendants and writes:

“Few Americans have any liking for American citizens . . . who put loyalty to the land of their ancestors above loyalty to the land of their birth.”

Finally the editor concludes in a tone that is frankly surprising, considering Humboldt County and the nation’s feelings as a whole toward the Japanese.

*The principal that a man may not be deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law must be safeguarded in every case, no matter who is on trial, or else no citizen is safe against illegal proceedings. The ruling was primarily a victory for American justice under law, and only incidentally a victory for certain individuals.*²¹⁵

“Trial Proceedings Must Follow Law of the Land,” *Humboldt Times*, 23 July, 1944, p. 8.

Appendix F: Day 5: The United States Coast Guard and Coast Defense

Notes for Coastal Defense Along the Humboldt Coast

Introduction: During the first months of World War II residents, local, state and the federal governments as well as the military were gravely concerned that the Japanese might attack somewhere along America's largely undefended West Coast. At first, as evidenced by the blackouts and numerous false reports of Japanese warplanes flying towards major cities, the main fear centered on a replication of the Pearl Harbor attack. These fears were heightened by false sightings of Japanese warships off the coast and the actual attacks by Japanese submarines on merchant vessels up and down the coast.

Fear of a Japanese invasion of the West Coast was also present and had the Japanese wanted to land a force somewhere along the Pacific coast, they probably could have, but at the cost of enormous casualties and losses to their ships simply due to the enormous logistical difficulty of fighting on the opposite side of the Pacific. Such an attack would have been suicidal in the long and perhaps short run for the Japanese and most likely would have quickly turned the tide of war in the Pacific towards the Americans. These fears all became moot after the Battle of Midway in June 1942, after which the Japanese were no longer in a position to contemplate such a move. For all of these reasons the Japanese never seriously considered such an invasion, though the Americans did not know it at the time.

Concerns about Japanese spies and saboteurs being landed by submarine along the largely unpatrolled coast were somewhat reasonable, particularly in light of the similar German attempt to land English speaking Germans in two places along the Atlantic coast in June 1942. Before coastal patrols were fully established it was possible to land a small boat of spies. Of course, once ashore, any Japanese agent would have to avoid all contact with Americans, unlike the Germans who at least had a limited chance to blend in to the predominantly white population. The relocation of all Japanese and Japanese Americans from the western states further compounded any potential saboteur's task and made the chance of success practically nil.

Submarines were the only real Japanese method to harass and attack Americans along the West Coast. As demonstrated in December 1941 Japanese I-class submarines had the ability to sail to the West Coast and wreak havoc among West Coast shipping. But for a number of reasons the Japanese Navy did not take full advantage of this capability. The major reason was the Imperial Navy viewed its submarines more as weapons to be used in fleet versus fleet combat, not as commerce destroyers. This ran opposite to German thinking where the U-boats nearly succeeded in outstripping the

Allies' ability to replace the ships and material destroyed by the German wolf packs in the mid Atlantic. In fact, once Germany declared war on the United States and dispatched U-boats along the East Coast and in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico, they managed to sink a far greater number of ships than the Japanese ever accomplished. Had the Japanese pursued a goal of destroying West Coast shipping with the same commitment as the Germans, coastal defense and civil defense on the West Coast would have been much more important. As it turned out, the major benefit of West Coast civil defense and coast defense efforts was to help calm the fears of the American populace.

Humboldt County, with its long coastline was near the geographic center of the West Coast's defense. The attack on the S.S. Samoa and the sinking of the S.S. Emidio demonstrated the need for protection and patrol along the Northcoast and most defense efforts in and around Humboldt County focused on submarine patrol and suppression. Humboldt's Defense can be split into four categories: beach patrol, carried out by the Coast Guard, ocean patrol, done by the navy with planes and eventually blimps, radar surveillance based out of the "secret" radar station near Klamath, and Civil Defense procedures across the county (which will be covered in a later section).

In the days after Pearl Harbor local governments and organizations raced to establish observation and reporting systems. Local men and women began scanning the skies for Japanese bombers and watching the sea for an approaching Japanese armada. As early as Tuesday, December 9 the *Humboldt Times* published articles discussing the call for Coast Watchers, Air Raid Wardens, Block Captains and other volunteers.

The Coast Guard Beach Patrol: Real help arrived in August 1942 when the Coast Guard was finally able to send 80 and then a total of 250 soldiers to patrol the local beaches. These men formed Company C and stayed on patrol until September 1944 when it was transferred elsewhere. At first, according to Willis J. Tyson, who was a member of Company C, teams of two men patrolled a section of beach one or two miles long. If they saw anything they were to run to the nearest jeep mounted radio or a building with a phone. They did not have portable radios. At first Tyson recounts they didn't even have two guns for each team—they had to share a gun.²¹⁶ Eventually a series of phones were set up so reports could be quickly made in the event anything was spotted. In late 1942 a number of Army cavalry horses were sent to augment the foot patrols. These trained horses were not needed on the increasingly mechanized battlefields of World War II and according to Bert Webber in *Retaliation* in Oregon the real impetus to get surplus army horses from the Army Remount Service came when the commanding officer of the 13th Naval District (Oregon) spent a full day slogging through the sand while carrying out inspections. Apparently the officer thought riding a horse would be better and after the appropriate requests were made the horses and officers

²¹⁶ Hoff, Dan, "Seamen on horseback protected Humboldt coast in WWII," *Humboldt Historian*, May-June 1983: 12.

trained in their upkeep be made available to the Coast Guard. Regarding the coastguardsmen's lack of horse riding experience, "green hands were preferred for training in horsemanship and stable management. Any man can be taught to ride, but it takes an act of God to change a horseman's habits." In Humboldt County regions too rough to patrol by horse were often assigned to men and attack dogs. Most of the dogs were German shepherds and according to Tyson were not to be fooled with by anyone but their handler.

It is a good thing the Japanese never decided to invade Humboldt County. Aside from military planes based out of the area and later at the new Arcata/McKinleyville Airport, the main defense along the Samoa Peninsula was a 105 millimeter howitzer emplaced not far from the Samoa Elementary School. Flanking the real cannon on both the north and south sides were a series of redwood howitzers—redwood logs milled to look like the barrels of a real cannon and mounted on wooden wagon wheels.

Anti-Submarine Patrols with Planes and Blimps: Anti-submarine patrols based at first out of the Bay Area and later Samoa and the new airport were the most active military operations locally and the only ones to have seen combat. Two patrol bombers based in the Bay Area responded to the Emidio's S.O.S. and forced the I-17 to dive to safety. This was the first combat action taken off the Humboldt coast by the military. However, given the speed at which patrol bombers flew at that time (about 300 miles an hour) and the distance from places like Santa Rosa and Alameda to the Humboldt coast response times were slow and time on station was limited because of the over 200 mile trip to the airbase. To remedy this the Navy took two approaches. The first was the building of what is now the Arcata/McKinleyville Airport. Planning and construction were actually started before Pearl Harbor, but work really didn't pick up until the war began. Even with this increased rate of construction, the Naval Auxiliary Air Station, Arcata wasn't formally commissioned until July 7, 1943 as an auxiliary to N.A.S. Alameda.²¹⁷

On May 22, 1943, just a few months before the airport was commissioned the Navy started patrols with blimps based in Samoa at the airport. Prior to that blimps out of San Francisco patrolled the coast. These blimps, called K type patrol airships, carried a crew of 10 men, their maximum airspeed was 67.5 knots, though they could travel as fast as 100 miles per hour with a strong tail wind. However, they tended to cruise at closer to 50 knots. The K type patrol airships had a range of about 2,000 miles and could stay on patrol for up to 38 hours. They carried four depth charges and also mounted a 50 caliber machine gun. To detect submarines the blimps were equipped with a radar that could detect a sub's periscope at up to four miles and a Magnetic Anomaly Detector (MAD) which registered a response when it passed over or nearby a large metallic object,

²¹⁷ Shettle, M.L. Jr., "Navy Auxiliary Air Station, Arcata," The California State Military Museum, <www.militarymuseum.org/NAASArcata.html> 15 July 2004.

like a submerged submarine. Like all blimps they were carried aloft by a large non-rigid gas bag filled with helium and lacking any framing structures within. The blimps' main duties included anti submarine patrol and convoy and floating dry dock escort. The dry docks were built at the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works complex in Eureka.

While most Japanese submarines were long gone from the West Coast before the blimp base in Samoa opened, Eureka resident and blimp crewman Simon "Sy" Beattie spoke to Andrew McGuffin in 1996 of an attack by his airship on what may have been a Japanese submarine.

I picked up a strong mag [magnetic] contact up at Trinidad Head and we dropped quite a few depth charges on it. One of the first things I asked for were the known whereabouts of any old shipwrecks in that area. . . *first* I asked for known whereabouts of any subs, if we had any of our subs in that area. They reported back negative so we went ahead and dropped our stuff on it. It never surfaced but there were people at Samoa who said that stuff had washed up there on the north jetty. After I had dropped the depth charges, I was ordered to proceed to Moffet Field and fill in on the details

By the time I got back it had died down. But the people up at Trinidad, Glen Saunders and other people who stood on the beach there and watched us, said they could smell diesel fuel at night but didn't know where it was coming from. Because [the submarine] would resurface at night and charge its batteries, see.

Whether or not Beattie and his crewmates found a successfully attacked a Japanese submarine is unknown. However, the blimp crews did carry out one other mission over Eureka which caught the attention of the local populace. Some of the crewmen of the blimps had girlfriends at Eureka High. One day, at the end of a patrol, the blimp flew very low over Eureka High—so low in fact, that the ropes that dangled from the blimp dragged across the school's roof. To further impress the ladies the crew revved their engines before proceeding across the bay to base. This unauthorized form of recruitment did not sit well with the administration of Eureka High who immediately called the commander of the blimp base who chewed out the flight crew to such an extent the stunt was never repeated.

The McKinleyville Airport: The McKinleyville air base proved to be of limited value during the war. Although the original plans called for the basing of a squadron of 24 Ventura anti submarine patrol bombers at the base, the foggy conditions soon changed that plan. An auxiliary squadron comprised of numerous types of aircraft was based there and the airport's main use was as a rocket training facility for squadrons based out of Santa Rosa. Following the war the airport was used for fog dispersal training, but during the war its greatest contribution of the base and its 153 officers and 532 enlisted men was to the economy of Humboldt County.

Radar Station B-71: The most high tech aspect of local coast defense was the radar hidden in a false farmhouse/barn complex near the mouth of the Klamath River on the Del Norte County side. Radar Station B-71 was the northernmost military radar in California and was one of 65 eventually built along the West Coast. The buildings were constructed of cinderblocks covered with shakes and shingles so the buildings looked like just another farm in the area. Unlike most local farms, Military Policemen and dogs patrolled the premises of Radar Station B-71. If you visit it today you can still see the emplacement mounts for the two 50 caliber machine guns. Over the course of twenty four hours about 35 Army Air Corps soldiers were needed to man the station. The soldiers were housed in barracks near Klamath. The station went into service in late 1942 and remained in service until the end of the war when it was abandoned by the military and went back to private ownership. Years later the station's buildings were acquired by the National Park Service with the creation of Redwood National Park. The radar station still stands and is on the National Register of Historic Places

Appendix G: Day 6: The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works

THE CHICAGO BRIDGE AND IRON WORKS NOTES

At its peak the largest industrial complex ever erected in Humboldt County employed 3,000 men (including 800 women) working around the clock to build floating dry docks and cranes for the U.S. Navy. The Chicago Bridge and Iron Works complex was created almost overnight to meet the Navy's needs for moveable dry dock facilities for use in the Pacific.²¹⁸ Why did such a large operation choose Humboldt Bay? There are three main reasons, the first is that Humboldt Bay and Eureka had the room to build floating dry docks. The second reason was at the beginning of the war Eureka possessed a surplus of housing and labor necessary to support such a large venture. The final reason is that Humboldt Bay was and remains one of the few bays on the West Coast without a bridge spanning the mouth of the harbor. Therefore, enormous floating dry docks of any height could be taken out to sea without concern of fitting under a bridge.

In January 1942 the Navy selected Humboldt Bay as the site for the complex and hired three engineers to find a site. They quickly selected a sixty acre site at the foot of Washington Street in Eureka. At the time, the site was mostly mud flats and marshes so the first thing that had to be done was to fill in the low lying land. In April 1942 a welding school was opened at Eureka High to train people in the craft of welding steel hulled vessels. Once production began at the yard this school was moved to the job site. Teams of workers working all kinds of jobs swarmed across the plant complex. In a phone interview, Eureka resident and then high school student George Fini recounted that

²¹⁸ Floating dry docks were of critical importance in the Pacific during the Second World War. If a ship was damaged and its hull needed repair often only by taking the ship out of the water could such repairs be made. In times of peace such repairs would have been made at Pearl Harbor or along the West Coast in shipyards like Mare Island and San Diego. However, towing or steaming a crippled ship all the way back to the West Coast took a great deal of time and many repairs could be done much closer to the front if a dry dock facility was available. However, in the small Pacific islands and coral atolls where much of the fighting took place, no such facilities existed. However, if a floating dry dock was available, the Navy only had to tow it to a protected harbor with deep enough water (over 50 feet) and set up shop in tandem with repair ships and other maintenance and repair vessels and crews. The difference between having to tow a torpedo damaged destroyer thousands of miles to Pearl Harbor or the West Coast and having a repair base just one or two days steam away was vast. By placing floating dry docks near the front the Navy was able to save weeks and even months of transit and repair time.

as soon as he turned 16 he worked at the yard during the summer. His neighbor Ed Lax was the Mechanical Superintendent for the yard and hired young Fini to work as an assistant each summer. Fini worked as a gopher/helper on a crew comprised of a welder, a burner, a couple of machinists, and couple of helpers. Fini's crew was not the only type at the complex, there were electrical and mechanical crews among others. According to Fini, "everybody had a certain detail—our department put in depth gauges for the compartments so the operators could judge how deeply the dry dock was sunk."²¹⁹ Other details installed complete kitchens and living quarters for the dry dock's crews while others applied paint and all the other steps necessary to build and equip such enormous structures.

According to Fini, the plant built the dry docks in sections which were slid into the bay on relatively small ways (launching ramps). Once in the bay the sections were connected. "We'd put two or three sections together in Humboldt Bay and they [the Navy] would bring them out in smaller pieces to be fully assembled elsewhere."²²⁰ Even though the plant was guarded and you had to go through a security checkpoint to get to work Fini remembered that despite the military's concern with security, there was never a ban on speaking about his work at the factory. In fact the local papers always made a big deal out of the launching or departure of one of the sections.²²¹

²¹⁹ Fini, George, Interview with the author, Eureka, 20 February, 2005.

²²⁰ Fini, George.

Dry dock sections were classified by their width and the size of ship they could handle. The smaller sections were called cruiser sections and the largest sections were battleship sections. It took ten battleship sections to form a floating dry dock large enough to accommodate a battleship or aircraft carrier.

²²¹ Fini, George.

Images of floating Dry docks

THE STORY OF YARD FLOATING DOCK (YFD) #20 “THE RECLAIMER”

Within one year of the start of construction on the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works yard, the crews at the CB & IW launched their first floating dry dock, the Reclaimer, YFD-20 to great fanfare on January 13, 1943. Unfortunately that was about the last thing that went right for YFD-20.

The 205 foot Navy seagoing tug, the U.S.S. Sioux was sent to tow the Reclaimer to its secret destination somewhere in the Pacific. The Sioux was a brand new seagoing tug, 85% of its crew had only recently been inducted into the Navy and had only been together on board for a month. Its assignment to steam from Alameda to Humboldt Bay and retrieve the YFD-20 was its first official mission.

The morning after sailing into Humboldt Bay and docking at the Hammond Lumber Company dock the men of the Sioux found themselves in an embarrassing situation. Their ship, which drew 16 feet had come in on the high tide the night before and docked where the next morning's low tide left only nine feet of water. After a number of hours stuck in the mud without power and water because the ship was resting at such an angle the onboard generators wouldn't work the crew of the Sioux was able to move out to deeper water and anchor.²²²

On Wednesday, January 13, 1943 the Sioux took the YFD-20 and its crew of 13 men under tow and with help from local tugboats maneuvered the enormous floating dry dock out of Humboldt Bay. Pulling the four story high and one city block long dry dock limited the Sioux's speed to only three knots (about four miles per hour).

While that would be fine in most cases, it wasn't this time because a large Pacific storm was bearing down on the Sioux and YFD-20 and making only three knots they couldn't outrun it. By the time they were off Cape Mendocino, the Sioux and YFD-20 along with another Navy tug, the U.S.S. Bagaduce, were caught in a storm.

²²² Nash, Glenn. "The Chicago Bridge & Iron Company," Humboldt Historian, November-December 1993: 4-9.

The story of the Reclaimer is told in Nash's article and all information about the fate of the dry dock is from Nash's article.

The two tugs and the Reclaimer continued south and on Friday the 15th at 10:10 PM the ten inch towing line between the Sioux and YFD-20 snapped leaving the Reclaimer adrift. To compound problems one of the Sioux's main engine quit working.

Fortunately when this happened they were near the Golden Gate so Sioux left the other tug and the dry dock and raced into San Francisco Bay to get more towing gear at Treasure Island (the naval base in the middle of San Francisco Bay). Shortly after midnight the tug steamed out the Golden Gate into the 30 foot seas and headed back towards YFD-20 at a speed of only 12 knots.

By this time the Reclaimer was in the tow of a third Navy tug, the S.S. Ute. However, due to the enormous seas and fierce winds, the Ute, wasn't able to fully control the enormous dock. It took the Sioux until midday Sunday to catch up with the Ute and the Reclaimer off the coast of Monterey where the Sioux's crew rigged up a second towline on the giant dry dock and both tugs tried to tow the dock simultaneously.

At midnight Sunday, a third ship, the S.S. Skinner, a merchant ship the Navy had temporarily seized control of to aid in the rescue arrived. At 1:30 AM Tuesday morning with a line attached from the Skinner to YFD-20 the Sioux and the Ute handed over responsibility to the large merchant vessel and apparently left the area (Nash's narrative does not say).

However, later that day, the Skinner's "lost the tow in the fog" and the YFD-20 drifted towards Point Bonita where it smashed into the rocks and sunk. According to Glen Nash, nothing was ever learned of the fate of thirteen men onboard the YFD-20 and "to this day, no official record exists."

Appendix H: Day 7: Civil Defense in Humboldt County

Teacher Notes and Information

In the days after Pearl Harbor the citizens and various levels of government in Humboldt County sprung to action to prepare the local populace and towns for the feared Japanese attack. Civil defense preparation started within 24 hours of the Pearl Harbor attack and involved among other things the commissioning of block captains, air raid wardens, plane spotters and over time war bond and scrap iron drives. While predominantly young men were taken into service of their country and working adults were engaged in war industries like the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works, men and women, students and retired people were all active in civil defense.

Awareness of the importance of civil defense was heightened when for instance the local papers printed notices like that found in the Sunday, December 28, 1941 *Humboldt Times* which contained a full-page notice from the U.S. Office of Civil Defense instructing the already jumpy citizens of Humboldt County, "WHAT TO DO IN AN AIR RAID."²²³ Activities such as children collecting cans and scrap metal and school kids and their families raising money for war bonds made the entire populace feel they were contributing to the war effort and the defense of Humboldt County.

Within days of the Pearl Harbor attack the citizenry was organizing to defend their homes and hometowns. Mandatory blackout rules and regulations were published in the *Humboldt Times* on Wednesday, December 10th. In the article local residents were instructed how to properly prepare their homes to ensure no light escaped during a blackout. People were also directed by the County Defense Council how to prepare their car lights for blackout driving and drivers received directions to leave the center two lanes of the road clear for official vehicles. This was in addition to the 35 miles per hour speed limit during blackout conditions.²²⁴

In Thursday's paper the call went out for more airplane spotters countywide. At both the county and city level people were preparing for a Japanese attack. Dayton Murray, the man responsible for organizing the county's plane spotter network, said more spotters were needed and was concerned that people were not taking the threat of Japanese air attack seriously enough—though based upon the earlier reports of Japanese planes cruising up and down the Eel River Valley, perhaps Mr. Murray's concern should have been airplane spotters who were too eager to spot Japanese warplanes.

²²³ "What To Do In An Air Raid," *Humboldt Times*, (28 December, 1941), p. 6.

²²⁴ "Defense Authorities Outline Blackout Course—New City Ordinance Here Makes Rules Mandatory," *Humboldt Times*, (10 December 1941), p. 3.

At the same time that Mr. Murray was calling for more plane spotters the call went out in Fortuna for volunteers to work as air raid wardens to organize Fortuna's response to Japanese bombings. Interestingly, the article went on to mention that two Fortuna High students would assist each warden in the course of his duties.²²⁵ Across the county people were preparing, in Eureka, George Fini's future father in law volunteered to be a block captain. In Ferndale an auxiliary dam was proposed on Francis Creek near town to provide the town with an emergency supply of water for fire suppression as well as provide auxiliary power in the event of an emergency.²²⁶

As December turned to January preparations for an air raid reached high gear as Eureka tested its new air raid siren and the local Defense Council announced that sand for use in the case of an incendiary bomb attack had been dumped and was ready to use at 55 locations across Eureka. While this preoccupation with incendiary bombing may seem strange there were legitimate reasons to fear such an incendiary bomb attack over a traditional high explosive bomb attack because incendiary bombs were lighter than conventional high explosive bombs and the threat of fire was real in an area comprised almost exclusively of wooden buildings. Furthermore, locals would have been aware of the enormous damage done to London by fire during the London Blitz just one year earlier. Additionally, all must have been aware of the damage fire did in San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake.

Other potential Japanese threats were not forgotten as indicated by an article in the January 3 *Humboldt Times* updating readers on the status of a soon expected delivery of gas masks.²²⁷ The same paper also described completion of an evacuation plan for Eureka under which 3,000 local women and children would be sent to safer locations inland in the event of Japanese attack or invasion.²²⁸

Defense preparations reached all the way down to local elementary schools. For instance, in Arcata at College Elementary School (on the Humboldt State Campus) the school and university administration arranged for students in the elementary school to be sent home immediately on buses in the event of an attack. College students apparently weren't quite as high a priority as they were directed to stay on campus (though they were told not to gather in one place).²²⁹ Meanwhile, K-12 students in Eureka had their

²²⁵ "Fortuna Maps Course in Case of Emergency Raid," *Humboldt Times*, (11 December, 1941), p. 5.

²²⁶ "Ferndale Plans Auxiliary Dam," *Humboldt Times*, (26 December, 1941), p. 2.

²²⁷ "Gas Masks Expected Soon," *Humboldt Times*, (3 January, 1942), p. 3.

²²⁸ "Evacuation Plan Ready If Needed," *Humboldt Times*, (3 January, 1942), p. 1.

²²⁹ "School Arranges Raid Precaution," *Humboldt Times*, (14 December, 1941), p. 3.

lunch shortened so they could end the school day earlier and make their way home before dark and before any blackout fully took effect.²³⁰

Throughout the war schools were actively involved in the war effort in other ways than those just described. George Fini recounted how he and his friends took part in the ubiquitous can and scrap metal collection drives as well as war stamp and bond drives (war stamps were less expensive than bonds—once a sufficient number of stamps were purchased they could be traded for a war bond). He also mentioned that he and his metal shop classmates made ashtrays for USO clubs.²³¹

²³⁰ “Eureka Schools to Alter Classroom Schedules,” *Humboldt Times*, (13 December, 1941), p. 3.

²³¹ George Fini.

Appendix I: Final Evaluation Instrument:

UNIT EXAM FOR WORLD WAR COMES TO HUMBOLDT COUNTY

1. What event caused America to enter World War II?
2. What fear gripped people all along the West Coast and here in Humboldt County?
3. Why were there blackouts? What purpose did they serve?
4. Did the Japanese navy ever send planes over the cities of the West Coast? Yes or no? Why were there so many reports of Japanese planes?
5. What was the only part of the Japanese Navy that came to the West Coast and off the coast of Humboldt County?
6. Was the reaction by people on the West Coast appropriate to the threat they were facing? Were they right to be so afraid. Answer in 30-50 words.
7. What was the Battle of Los Angeles? Explain in 30-50 words.
8. Match the following with the correct answer:
 - a. The Emidio Japanese Submarine
 - b. The Samoa Cargo ship attacked but not sunk
 - c. The I-17 Oil tanker torpedoed and sunk

9. Where were the two merchant ships attacked by a Japanese submarine?
10. Considering that nine Japanese submarines were sent to the West Coast, how many ships were eventually sunk and attacked and how effective were the Japanese submarines at stopping coastal shipping along the West Coast? Briefly explain.
11. Before coming to the West Coast where were the Japanese submarines stationed?
12. The arrival of what made the Japanese submarine dive under the ocean when it was shelling the Emidio?
13. How did the men of the Emidio eventually get to Humboldt Bay?
14. In what month and what year did the submarine attacks off the Humboldt Coast take place?
15. Why did the Japanese Navy withdraw its submarines from the West Coast?
16. When the government announced that all enemy aliens would have to move out of protected zones where were local Italians forbidden to live or go? In other words, where was the line drawn? (Hint: think of your map you filled in)
17. What were the three groups of enemy aliens who were forbidden to cross the line?
18. What was different about the treatment of Japanese-Americans as opposed to Italian-Americans and German-Americans?
19. What happened to Arcata High student Joe Nieri in 1942?
20. Why did the government bar enemy aliens from areas near Humboldt Bay and other restricted areas up and down the West Coast?
21. What happened to Joseph Nieri?
22. When were restrictions lifted on Italian aliens? (Hint: it's a holiday)

23. What was one thing immigrants from Italy or Germany were allowed to do a few years after coming to America that a Japanese immigrant could never do?
24. What did the Tolan Committee fight for?
25. Overall, compare the treatment of the Italian aliens as compared to Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans.
26. How many Japanese and Japanese Americans were sent to relocation camps, like Tule Lake, during W.W. II? A) 17,000 B) 47,000 C) 77,000 D) 97,000 E) 117,000
27. Give two reasons why anti-Japanese feelings were stronger here in California (and Humboldt in particular) than anti-Italian and anti-German feelings once World War II began.
28. What do the Alien Land Law and the Gentleman's Agreement have in common?
29. What were the three main reasons the Japanese were treated differently than German and Italian aliens?
30. Were there any cases of sabotage, either on the mainland or in Hawaii, by Japanese and Japanese Americans against **American military bases or industrial targets**?
31. What was the Niihau Incident?
32. List two things that were inaccurate with the *Humboldt Standard* article called "Not Enough Food Japs Complain in Jail Here."
33. Why were the 27 Japanese Americans from Tule Lake brought to Eureka for a trial? What were they charged with?

34. What did the defendants' defense attorneys tell them to do at first?
35. Who did Judge Goodman contact to help in the defense of the 27 defendants?
36. What do Judge Goodman's comments at "I am an American Day" in 1946 tell us about his character and feelings towards citizenship?
37. What did Judge Goodman say was a "shock to the conscience"?
38. What ruling did Judge Goodman make?
 - a) found the defendants guilty
 - b) found the defendants not guilty
 - c) ruled in favor of the defense motion to quash (throw out) the indictment (charges)
39. What happened to the 27 defendants after the ruling?
40. What branch of the military was responsible for patrols along the beaches?
41. How well equipped were the soldiers on beach patrol at first? Give an example.
42. What were the beach patrols looking for or trying to prevent?
43. What kind of Army surplus was brought in to help the beach patrollers cover more ground?
44. There were a number of cannons emplaced along Samoa Beach. What was the problem with all but one of them?
45. Why did the Navy and Army Air Corps want to base war planes and blimps here in Humboldt County?
46. What did one blimp crew do over Eureka that got them in a lot of trouble?
47. What happened when future Eureka resident Glenn Beatie's blimp was flying near Trinidad Head?
48. Why did the McKinleyville Airport never get used as much as the Navy hoped to?
49. What secret installation was built near the mouth of the Klamath River?

50. How did the Army camouflage this secret installation?
51. What was the largest industrial complex in Humboldt County History and where was it located?
52. What was built at this industrial complex?
53. What advantage could the answer to #53 give the Navy in an area as large as the Pacific? (Hint: Think of the map activity you did with your teacher.)
54. In your own words, tell the story of the “Reclaimer,” YFD-20.
55. What military housing, built during the war, still stands in Humboldt County?
56. List three things people were instructed to do in an air raid:
57. Why was sand delivered to over 50 vacant lots across Eureka?
58. What name was given to people who volunteered to watch for Japanese airplanes?
59. What did the people of Ferndale want to build to provide auxiliary power and help in case of a fire?
60. What did George Fini and his classmates in metal shop make to support the war effort?
- EC. Why was lunchtime shortened at the Eureka City Schools?
- EC. What plan involving 3,000 women and children was created for Eureka?
- EC. What was the plan for the children at the old College Elementary School at Humboldt State in the event of a Japanese attack?

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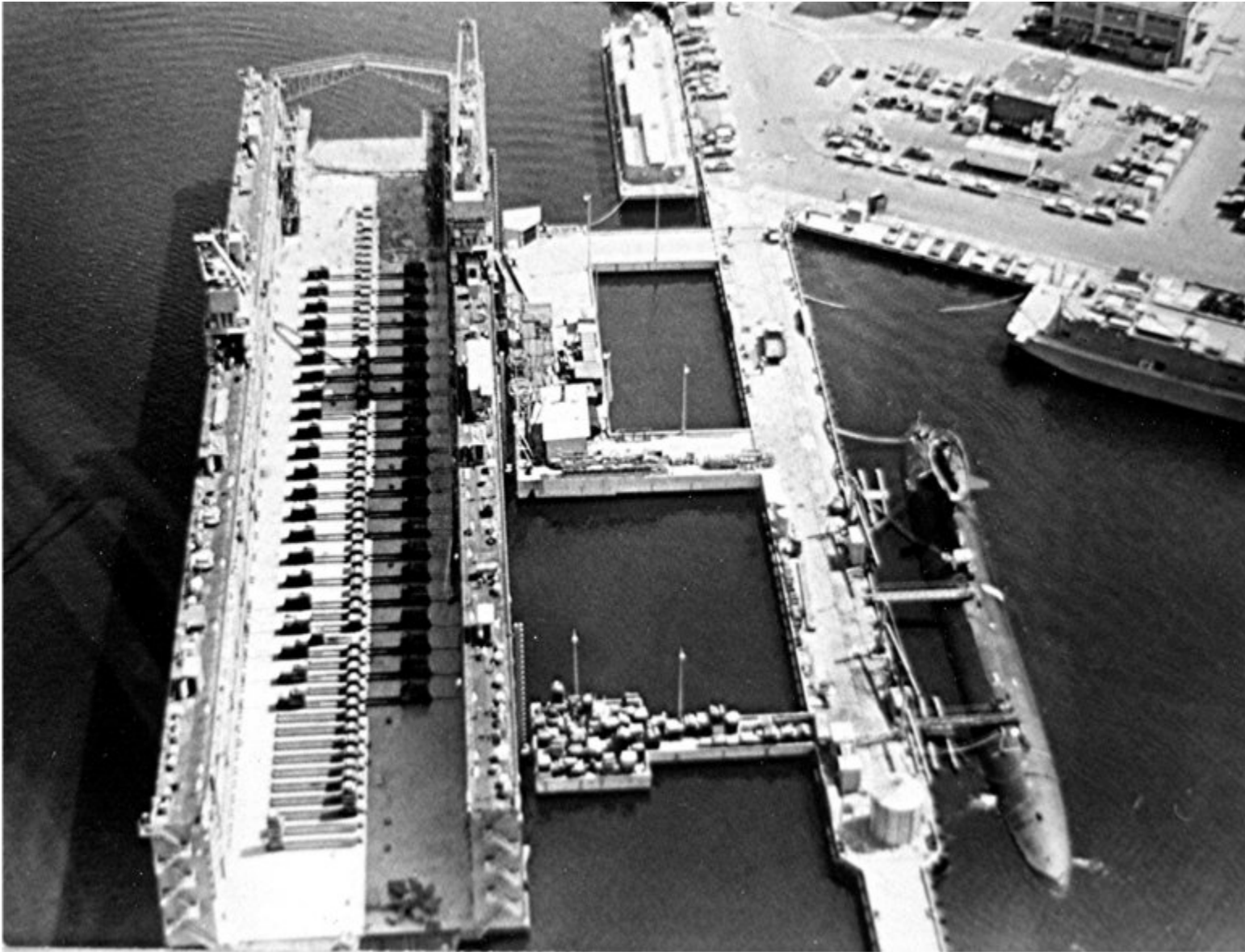
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Source: www.navsource.org/archives/09/2804.htm

The piers at the lower base, New London, in Groton, CT., probably mid 1960s -- at bottom of photo is floating drydock ***Waterford*** (ARD-5), and above that is floating drydock ***Shippingport*** (ARDM-4).



Overhead view of a floating drydock.

Source: www.navsource.org/archives/09/2804.htm



Source: www.navsource.org/archives/09/2804.htm

Shippingport (ARDM-4) at Sub Base New London, Groton, CT. with *Gato* (SSN-615) (stern view) in her dock, October 1994.

Comparing Internment, Relocation and Evacuation of Aliens and Citizens During World War II

	General Facts	Japanese	Italians	Germans
Detention/ Internment				
Relocation				

Exclusion				
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Comparing Internment, Relocation and Evacuation of Aliens and Citizens During World War II

		Japanese	Italians	Germans
Detention/ Internment	<p>Start Date: 12/7/41</p> <p>The FBI handled Internment starting on December 7, 1941 when previously identified aliens who were believed to pose a threat were taken into custody.</p> <p>The most famous internment camps for Japanese, Italians, and Germans were: Ft. Missoula, Ft. Lincoln, Crystal City, Ellis Island</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16,849 processed by the I.N.S. (Had they not been interned, they would have been relocated.) This number includes voluntary internees and Japanese nationals sent from Latin America to the U.S. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3,278 processed by the I.N.S. (not necessarily interned) This number includes voluntary internees and Italian nationals sent from Latin America to the U.S. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10,905 processed by the I.N.S. (not necessarily interned) This number includes voluntary internees and German nationals sent from Latin America to the U.S.
Relocation	<p>Start Date: 2/15/1942</p> <p>Relocation orders for “voluntary relocation” issued 2/15 and 2/ 24/42. <i>This was initially an “exclusion” program for all enemy aliens.</i></p> <p>Executive Order 9066 issued February 19, 1942 gave the power to manage relocation to the army.</p> <p>March 1, 1942 US Army decides to make relocation mandatory for Japanese and Japanese-Americans. What to do with the Italians and Germans still under discussion.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 112,300 Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans. The most famous relocation camps include Manzanar and Tule Lake. There were two ways out of Relocation camps. They were: enlisting in the military or getting sponsored to move and work in the East. Most Japanese and Japanese Americans remained in camps until released late in the war. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unknown number of Italian aliens were relocated. The original intent of the government was to relocate Italian aliens as well as the Japanese. As late as 5/20/42 General DeWitt was still announcing his intention to relocate thousands Italian aliens from the West Coast. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unknown number of German aliens were relocated. The original intent of the government was to relocate German aliens as well as the Japanese. As late as 5/20/42 General DeWitt was still announcing his intention to relocate thousands of German aliens from the West Coast.

Exclusion	<p>Start Date: 2/15/1942</p> <p>West Coast exclusion zones were: From the Canadian border to Mexico, as well as the border counties of Arizona. The Canadian and Mexican governments also established exclusion zones.</p> <p>East Coast exclusion zones included: All Eastern states.</p> <p>Southern exclusion zones included: All states bordering Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico.</p> <p><i>In mid-May 1942, with the Japanese headed for relocation camps, exclusion became an individual program for Italians and Germans</i></p> <p>FDR revokes the exclusion order for Japanese and Japanese Americans on December 17, 1944.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All West Coast persons of Japanese ancestry were relocated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unknown number of individual Italian-American citizens and some aliens were excluded. • Exclusions continued until October 12, 1942. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unknown number of individual German-American citizens and some aliens were excluded. • Exclusions continued through 1944.
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