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Awakening the conscience of America : the Christian Century and the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II

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by

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the early months of 1942, in the wake of the costly and humiliating debacle at Pearl Harbor, much of the West Coast of the United States was panic-stricken. Wild rumors circulated that a Japanese invasion was imminent, and that an intricate spy network, composed of Japanese nationals and Japanese-Americans existed along the coast. These rumors were given credence by their publication as fact by the regional press (Grodzins, 1949: 381). In the electric atmosphere of wartime, a scapegoat was found in the more than 110,000 persons of Japanese descent living in the three Pacific Coast states. Despite the fact that no member of this group had committed a single act of espionage or sabotage, or had even been charged with so doing, all persons of Japanese descent were forced from their homes into concentration camps. Of these, nearly two-thirds were American citizens.

Anti-Japanese hysteria played but a small role in the federal government's decision to intern the entire West Coast Japanese population, however. Domestic forces were also at work, most prominently the agricultural interests in California, which sought to eliminate Japanese competition. Civic and fraternal organizations with long histories of anti-Japanese bias (going as far back as the turn of the century) also pressured for the removal of the Japanese. Among this group were the American Legion, the Native Sons of the Golden West, and the California Grange.

The regional news media, in many cases conservative and with a long

history of anti-Japanese agitation, also encouraged internment of the West Coast Japanese (Daniels, 1972: 10).

In the end, though, the greatest pressure for internment of the Japanese came from West Coast politicians, including every Congressman and Senator from the region. Forming a powerful bloc, and with the cooperation of key United States Army leaders, they succeeded in obtaining government sanction for wholesale evacuation and internment in ten inland camps.

Though most of the Japanese internees were permitted, by 1944, to leave the camps to settle in the Midwest, many of them remained in the camps for the duration of the war.

Much has been written about this unique episode in American history. Published reminiscences and histories abound, and it has been the subject of numerous television programs. The role of the mass media, especially newspapers, has been examined to determine their role in creating an atmosphere of hostility toward the Japanese-Americans (Inada, 1974). Less attention has been paid to the voices of moderation or the champions of the civil rights of the internees. Of these critics of government policy, one of the most interesting and possibly the most important was a religious publication called The Christian Century. Though The Christian Century has been called "American Protestantism's most influential journal" (Miller, 1958: 91) and "the greatest of all social-gospel organs" (Meyer, 1960: 45), it has been virtually ignored by standard histories of magazines. When some historical background is mentioned, it covers the barest of facts. No one has yet written a history of this undenominational weekly magazine of opinion and its role in championing

such causes as the rights of Japanese-Americans.

When the paths of The Christian Century and the West Coast Japanese intersected in 1942, the victims of "our worst wartime mistake" were well-served by the magazine. From the beginning of the evacuation, the magazine decried the government's action, and supported the evacuees. A few other magazines of opinion, notably The Nation, took a similar stand. However, the position of The Christian Century was unique in at least three ways.

First, the magazine's support was all-out. Recognizing that a wrong had been done to virtually an entire people, the editors brought to bear the entire weight of the magazine. In attacking a government action which was generally popular, the editors of The Christian Century were taking a risk. According to Harold Fey, who was field editor of the magazine at the time, "When an issue of sufficient magnitude emerged, we wrote with the knowledge that we must go all-out to confront it, even if it risked the continuance of The Christian Century, which was the case with the wrong imposed on the Japanese-Americans. If the rule of the Constitution was to be suspended by the tyranny of military necessity, we had to raise against this threat the most formidable resource we could command, the institutional existence of an established and respected journal" (Fey, personal communication, July 26, 1985).

Second, The Christian Century's support for the evacuees was, with a single minor exception, consistent. Having once given its support to the evacuees, the position of the magazine remained unchanged throughout the war and in the postwar years.

Third, The Christian Century offered readers a steady diet of items

about the evacuation and the evacuees, in the form of editorials, articles, news stories and letters to the editor. A cursory perusal of the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature will confirm that The Christian Century addressed the issue far more times than any other magazine indexed in the Guide. From the beginning of evacuation, in the spring of 1942, until the end of the war, scarcely a week passed without the appearance in the magazine of an item about the plight of the evacuees. For these reasons and because the magazine stood in opposition to government policy in wartime, The Christian Century deserves the attention of historians and supporters of American constitutional rights.

The first chapter of this thesis offers an overview of the Japanese experience in the United States, from the late nineteenth century through World War II. Special emphasis is given the periods of evacuation and internment, as well as the events leading to them.

The second chapter is a brief history of The Christian Century, from its founding in 1884 until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. The rise of the magazine, from an obscure organ of the Disciples of Christ to a leading voice of liberal views--religious and secular--will be traced, focusing on the men and issues which shaped the magazine.

The remaining chapters deal with The Christian Century's response to the evacuation and subsequent internment of the West Coast Japanese. Chapter three examines the magazine's response to the treatment of the Japanese, from late 1941 until the middle of 1942. Particular emphasis is placed on the magazine's strong (albeit belated) warning of the potential for government-sanctioned violation of the civil rights of Japanese-Americans. Also examined will be the magazine's immediate denunciation of

evacuation plans, as well as its coverage of the hardships endured by the Japanese during the evacuation and the first phase of their internment in army-operated concentration camps.

The Christian Century's response to the internment and eventual government sanctioned relocation (dispersal) of Japanese-Americans from the camps, from mid-1942 until the end of the war is the topic of chapter four. Receiving special emphasis are the magazine's coverage of relocation center conditions, government attempts to relocate the evacuees in the intermountain region, and the progress of court cases which eventually forced the government to abandon its policies of evacuation and internment.

The final chapter examines The Christian Century's coverage of the closing of the government relocation centers and the return of the evacuees to the West Coast in the months following the end of the war. Of particular concern will be the magazine's monitoring of the government's attempts to repay the former evacuees (monetarily and otherwise) in the postwar years.

CHAPTER II: THE "ENEMY" AT HOME

In the spring of 1942, over 100,000 West Coast residents of Japanese descent--aliens and citizens alike--were forced from their homes into concentration camps. None had been convicted of any crime or even charged with breaking any law. Indeed, their only offense was being the wrong race in the wrong place at the wrong time. In the hysteria following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' entry into World War II in December 1941, an angry populace and government imprisoned the entire Japanese population of California, Oregon, Washington, and western Arizona.

The attack on Pearl Harbor helped trigger the evacuation, but it was only the immediate cause. Pressure to rid the West Coast of its "Japanese problem" had been building for years.

The Japanese were relative latecomers to the United States. Because of their nation's self-imposed isolation, emigration from Japan was not permitted until 1885. By 1890, there were only about 2,000 Japanese in the United States. But in the following decade, some 25,000 Japanese immigrated, seeking jobs and escape from "severe economic and social dislocations at home" (Daniels, 1981: 5). Japanese immigration reached its peak in the years 1901-08, when 125,000 arrived, most of them settling in California, Oregon and Washington. It then dropped to an average of 10,000 per year until 1924, when the Japanese Exclusion Act barred Japanese immigration (Daniels, 1981: 5).

Early Japanese immigrants faced some opposition on the West Coast,

particularly from labor organizations, whose membership was already closed to Orientals. But it was not until after 1900 that discrimination against the Japanese widened in scope--and came to national attention.

In 1906, the San Francisco school board announced a policy of segregation. All Japanese students in San Francisco would be forced to attend a single school, whose enrollment was limited to Asians. The Japanese government, protective of its nationals abroad, protested the policy to President Theodore Roosevelt. Although Roosevelt disagreed with the school board's action, he was unable to find a court to overthrow the segregation policy. The result was a compromise. The school board reversed its policy, but its price was the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-08, in which Tokyo agreed to stop issuing to laborers passports valid in the continental U.S.

The San Francisco school incident was notable for at least two reasons. First, it was a case of diversionary scapegoating in which Japanese-Americans were used by California politicians to distract the public from a pending graft investigation, and make political hay for the upcoming November elections. It was also the first instance of a region forcing the federal government to accept its racial views toward persons of Japanese descent.

The school incident was followed in 1913 by another discriminatory measure. Landed interests secured passage of California's Alien Land Law, which prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (Orientals) from purchasing land. The aim of the law was not so much to prevent Japanese from owning land as to force them from the state, and to divert public attention from the real problem--huge estates and ranches owned by

whites. The states of Washington and Oregon followed California's lead and passed similar legislation.

Despite the "Gentlemen's Agreement," Japanese immigration did not end in 1908. A loophole allowed Japanese already in the U.S. to send for families still in Japan. The loophole was closed with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which entirely excluded the Japanese from immigration (Chinese immigration had been barred since 1882) (Daniels, 1981: 5).

The forces successful in obtaining passage of such anti-Japanese measures were many and varied, but the most effective fell into five categories.

First were the racist, nativist organizations, such as the Native Sons of the Golden West. Through the efforts of individual members and its magazine, The Grizzly Bear, it kept the cause of Oriental exclusion before the public from its inception until well into World War II. A powerful nativist ally in the fight for Japanese exclusion was the Oriental Exclusion League, which in 1908 claimed 110,000 members. It was supplanted by the Joint Immigration Committee, which joined representatives of the American Legion, the State Grange, the California Federation of Labor, the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, and many smaller groups (Daniels, 1981: 17).

A second major voice of discrimination was the California press, both small-town and metropolitan, which had long been an anti-Japanese force. As early as 1905, Willian Randolph Hearst's San Francisco Examiner had begun warning of the possiblitiy of war with Japan and a Japanese invasion of the West Coast. Such stories were almost certainly

ploys to boost readership, since Japan lacked the ability or inclination to wage war against the U.S. at the time. Other papers, including V. S. McClatchy's Sacramento Bee, the Los Angeles Times, and Hearst's Los Angeles Examiner, championed denial of land ownership and citizenship to Japanese immigrants (Bosworth, 1967: 36). The third opponent of the Japanese was the San Franciso labor movement. It protested against competition from Japanese Americans, whose willingness to work for lower wages undercut the bargaining ability of the unions.

Further, and at the other end of the economic spectrum, were the growers associations. They helped lead the fight for alien land laws, chiefly because of the phenomenal productivity (hence, competition) of truck farms operated by Japanese immigrants. Many Japanese farmers on the West Coast became modestly successful, overcoming discriminatory land laws which frequently forced them to buy only small, less desirable parcels of land. Some even did very well, to the chagrin of the growers. Finally, certain politicians used racism and scapegoating to strengthen their position among voters. Some notable examples were Governor (later Senator) Hiram Johnson, Governor Culbert Olson, Attorney General (later Governor) Earl Warren, all of California, as well as Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron.

With passage of the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, anti-Japanese agitation declined, but after Japanese forces clashed with China in Manchuria in 1931, dissension grew in the West Coast Japanese community. Some older immigrant or first generation Japanese aliens (called Issei) supported Japan, at least passively, in its war with China. The younger Issei and Nisei (children of the Issei, who were American citizens by

birth) were largely uninterested in taking sides. Open support for Japan declined as it became clear that the United States would side with China.

Anti-Japanese propaganda, in the form of movies which depicted a Japanese invasion of the United States began to condition the West Coast public into believing such an attack a probability (Daniels, 1981: 31). Articles on the same theme also appeared in West Coast newspapers and magazines. Some groups used outright lies to create fear of an insidious Japanese takeover of the West Coast. The California Joint Immigration Committee, in 1935, repeated a 26-year-old charge that there were "500,000 armed Japanese in the United States." The 1940 census, however, revealed that the total number of persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States was only about 127,000 (Bosworth, 1967: 35). Anti-Japanese spirit in the United States became so great that even Peter Lorre's series of Mr. Moto films was discontinued (Bosworth, 1967: 34).

One needn't have been clairvoyant to realize that Japan and the United States were on a collision course. Many West Coast Japanese--aliens and citizens alike--feared war between the two nations. Nevertheless, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was as great a shock to them as it was to the rest of Americans.

In the month following the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, race relations on the West Coast were, on the surface, surprisingly mild, considering the years of anti-Japanese bigotry that had characterized the region. Influential newspapers publicized attempts by the Japanese-American community to help the U.S. war effort, and politicians reminded their constituents that many residents of Japanese descent were citizens and all were guaranteed certain rights. Furthermore, the Department of

Justice, utilizing thorough intelligence, had picked up "several thousand known and suspected dangerous enemy aliens" around the nation. Many West Coast residents assumed that any potential problem had been headed off and that was the end of it (Gerhard, 1963: 4).

But, underneath the calm surface, events were taking place which would, with the passage of time, spring forth into a well-orchestrated (and effective) call for the evacuation and internment of all West Coast residents of Japanese descent. On December 11, 1941, the Western Defense Command was established, under the command of Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt. At 63, DeWitt was cautious and vacillating. He had no experience in civil affairs, though he now found himself in a high-visibility job with tremendous power over the region's civilian population. The general demonstrated a remarkable inability to distinguish between the Japanese enemy and American residents of Japanese descent, proclaiming, "A Jap's a Jap" (Bosworth, 1967: 171).

On January 25, the official committee of inquiry, led by Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, released its report on the Pearl Harbor attack. Erroneously citing Japanese fifth column activity as a contributing factor for the disaster at Pearl Harbor, the report helped to turn public opinion against Japanese-Americans.

On January 29, the Department of Justice ordered the removal of all enemy aliens from the areas of designated strategic installations, such as harbors, airports, and power-generating facilities. The action did not single out Japanese-Americans, but applied to all enemy aliens nationwide.

Subsequently, a meeting of the entire West Coast Congressional

delegation, led by Senator Hiram Johnson of California, was held in Washington, D. C. On February 13, the group presented a letter to President Franklin Roosevelt, urging the immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent from the Pacific Coast states. A day later, General DeWitt submitted a memorandum to the War Department, urging this evacuation. DeWitt had favored evacuation and internment of the West Coast Japanese aliens since December 19, 1941. Soon after, the general urged internment of all Japanese-Americans on the grounds that they representd a great potential for subversion and sabotage (Bosworth, 1967: 63). DeWitt had no evidence of any fifth-column activities by Japanese in the United States, but in the frenzy that had been created by the regional press and radio, his charges sounded sensible.

On February 19, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, giving the War Department authority to designate military areas from which it could exclude any individuals deemed necessary. The following day, this authority was delegated to DeWitt, who set up Military Areas 1 and 2 (California, Oregon, Washington, and the western half of Arizona). He then ordered all persons of Japanese descent evacuated from these areas.

The military began transporting the entire Japanese-American population of the region into 16 army-run "assembly centers." From there, they were shipped to the ten "relocation centers" run by the War Relocation Authority, which Roosevelt had created by executive order on March 18. By late May, the process of evacuation and internment was complete, and 112,000 innocent people were in concentration camps in places so desolate that nobody had lived there before or has since.

As the evacuation got underway, the first assembly center,

California's Manzanar, received a great deal of attention from the press. Referring to the camp, and the government's promises of good treatment, a Life magazine article gushed: "All this looked good--to the Japs" ("West Coast Japs," 1942: 15). Indeed, it must have, if an accompanying photograph is to be believed. It showed three attractive young Nisei women in their new quarters, looking at each other and exchanging broad smiles. Although well-crafted, the photo nonetheless has the look of being posed. It was a strange article, so worded that anti-Japanese forces could be convinced that the United States was dealing with the internees with a firm hand. At the same time, pro-Japanese readers could be reassured that the government was not treating the internees barbarically. The writer did not ask the evacuees what they thought of the camp.

It was clear that the camps were not supposed to be pleasant places to live. Everywhere were reminders that these were concentration camps. Barbed wire surrounded them, with soldiers armed with carbines at the gates. Machine guns were mounted in guardtowers from which searchlights played across the camps at night.

Each camp ranged in population from 10,000 to 18,000. The Japanese-Americans were housed in barracks, each divided into four 20 by 25 foot one-room "apartments," into which entire families were placed. The rooms were bare of furniture, except for steel cots, straw mattresses, and an oil stove. The buildings, hurriedly constructed of green lumber covered with tarpaper, had knotholes through which wind and dirt streamed. The wooden floors were bare, and the wooden walls did not reach the ceilings (Houston and Houston, 1973: 20). The rooms did not have dividers, so privacy was a virtual impossibility (Houston and Houston, 1973: 19).

The barracks were grouped into two rows of six or seven each. Between rows were a mess hall, laundry room, latrine and lavatory buildings. Another barrack was used as a recreation hall. The block was a sort of artificial, relatively self-sufficient neighborhood of 250 to 300 persons (Spicer et al., 1969: 65).

The latrines were a nightmare, especially for older, modest Issei women. They featured two rows of toilets, back-to-back, stretching the entire length of the building, with no dividers to afford privacy. Use of these latrines must have been very difficult for the internees, because accounts of them figure in many published reminiscences and other literature about the internment. The government, in its haste, ignorance, or insensitivity, seems to have failed to consider that latrines designed for young, unmarried male soldiers would be innappropriate for the internees, particularly the older women. Dividers were eventually installed, but until then, midnight became a popular time for privacy-seeking internees to use the facilities (Houston and Houston, 1973: 28).

The mess halls were also the focus of much discontent, and a contributing factor to the disintegration of the Japanese-American family in the camps. Seating in the halls was limited, so internees were forced to stand in line for up to an hour, an unpleasant experience during the winter, the rain, or a duststorm. Once inside, internees were served a meal all too frequently unappetizing. Cooks were drawn from the interned population, but really capable cooks were always in short supply in all the camps. The meals they served were often made with too many canned and starchy foods, a combination doubtless necessitated by the fact that the government had budgeted only 38 cents per day to feed each internee

(Girdner and Loftus, 1969: 232). Mealtime, traditionally a time of family togetherness, ceased to be so in the camps. At first, families ate together in the mess halls, but gradually the children began to eat with their friends. Camp administrators realized this was undesirable and passed a regulation requiring families to eat together. But the rule was generally ignored. One former evacuee writes: "My own family, after three years of mess hall living, collapsed as an integrated unit" (Houston and Houston, 1973: 32).

Strange as camp life was, in many respects it came to resemble life outside the barbed wire. After a period of months, as conditions became more livable (and the internees adapted to them) the camps, to a large extent, became cities like any other. Education was not forgotten, and for children, school played a large role. All the camps had schools, kindergarten to high school; some had junior colleges.

Work was not compulsory, but most adults had jobs--at the camp's farm, the kitchens, the school, in camp industries, or in the office of the camp administration. Jobs were plentiful, but the pathetically low wages paid the internees caused continual grumbling. Unskilled workers received eight dollars a month, skilled workers 12 dollars, and professionals, including teachers and doctors, 16 to 19 dollars (Bosworth, 1967: 146). This wage scale was supposed to be based on the pay of an army private, but the evacuees got no raises--they remained permanent "privates." Particularly galling to the internees was the fact that Caucasian workers, doing the same jobs, were paid the much higher standard government wages. Many older internees chose not to work. They could play cards, tend their flower or rock gardens, or do nothing at all,

if they chose. Internment was an opportunity for leisure they might not have had in the outside world. For many, after a lifetime of hard work, it was like retirement.

Japanese-American women experienced a new independence in the camps, breaking out of their restrictive, traditional role. Many of them took jobs, and were responsible for much, sometimes all, of their family's income. At the same time, their workload at "home" was lightened. They no longer had to prepare meals for their families. And, though their "apartments" were cramped and not very pleasant, at least they didn't require much cleaning (after they patched the knotholes which allowed sand to enter).

For some men, particularly middle-aged Issei, internment was especially difficult because it weakened their position within the family. They could not take the lead in making major family decisions, such as where they would live, where they would work, and so on. Because many women took jobs, either to fill their time or, more often, to afford to purchase even everyday necessities, the man was no longer always the sole or even the primary breadwinner. And, because the Issei were not citizens, they held weaker positions in camp than their citizen children, even those children still of school age. One writer said her own father's case was an extreme one, but "this kind of emasculation was suffered in one form or another, by all the men interned at Manzanar" (Houston and Houston, 1973: 62).

From the beginning of internment, the evacuees had attempted to retain some semblance of normal community life. Newspapers, in both English and Japanese, were published at all the relocation centers, even

at some of the temporary assembly centers. According to WRA director Dillon Myer, these internee-staffed publications, though supervised by each camp's information officer, were subjected to "a minimum of supervision and almost no censorship" (Myer, 1971: 57).

This claim, however, does not seem to be true of the Manzanar Free Press, an English-language tri-weekly. Though the camp administrator promised that there would be no censorship, one newspaper staffer grumbled that "the only thing free about the paper was its subscription price." Nor does Myer's claim seem to be true of the Poston Chronicle, first published weekly, then semi-weekly, then daily. The Chronicle "...possessed none of the freedom and swing of the long-suppressed language sheets, and everyone knew it was management dominated" (Bailey, 1971: 105).

Churches were makeshift, with services held in converted barracks. Even so, the practice of religion was unhindered in the camps, with the exception of Shinto, which had political overtones. According to WRA statistics, over 50 percent of Japanese Americans were Buddhist, about 29 percent were Protestant, and about two percent were Catholic. The rest claimed no religious affiliation (Girdner and Loftus, 1969: 134).

The crime rate among Japanese-Americans had been very low in their home communities, and that continued in the camps, with the exception of Tule Lake, which had been designated a "segregation center" for those judged to be troublemakers and disloyalists. There were scattered incidents, such as when violence briefly flared at Manzanar late in 1942 when troops fired into a menacing crowd, killing two internees.

Though many Americans--especially West Coast residents--opposed

release of Japanese-Americans from internment camps while the war was still being fought, the WRA's primary purpose was relocation of the internees. That is, they were to be dispersed and resettled in the 45 non-Pacific Coast states from which they had not been excluded. Relocation began for a small portion of them just as the evacuation itself was beginning. On March 21, 1942, the Student Relocation Committee was established, joined two months later by the Japanese-American Student Relocation Council. These groups helped evacuee students find non-West Coast colleges willing to take them. The effort began slowly, but by the end of the war, 4,300 evacuees were attending colleges.

The work furlough program of short-term leaves, begun in the summer of 1942, allowed Nisei to leave the camps for work on farms in the western states. They were credited with saving the sugar beet crops of Utah, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming in 1942. Living conditions on the farms were usually poor, and the work was hard, but the pay was higher than in the relocation centers. The big attraction of the work furlough, though, was the relative independence offered.

Beginning July 20, 1942, indefinite leaves were offered internees who could satisfy three requirements: they needed FBI clearance; they must never have visited Japan; and they had to have a guarantee of employment outside the Western Defense Command. These requirements were not easy for the Nisei to satisfy, impossible for the Issei, and the necessary paperwork slowed the process. Consequently, only a trickle of evacuees obtained indefinite leaves under these requirements.

To speed up the process of leave clearance, the WRA hit upon the idea, in early 1943, of a using a questionnaire to determine individual

loyalty. Those judged disloyal would be segregated--sent to a separate camp. At the same time, the Army decided to put together an all-Nisei military outfit, so a question was inserted in the questionnaire, asking if the respondent was willing to enlist in the army (drafting internees was prohibited by law). In conception, the plan was simple. In practice, it was a headache and, (in the army's view) a failure. Among young male internees and their families, there was considerable, often heated, discussion about how to respond to the questionnaire. They asked, "Why fight for the country that put us in concentration camps?" But, despite the treatment their country had given them, many of the internees felt that the best way to prove their own loyalty, and the loyalty of their people to the U.S., was to answer "yes" to the loyalty question and, in the case of young men, to the enlistment question. After this registration, relocation was open to virtually all internees who had pledged loyalty.

At about the same time, the Army began recruiting for the all-Nisei unit, called the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. About 1,200 internees enlisted, joining other, non-interned American Nisei, most from Hawaii (Myer, 1971: 146). They saw action in Italy and France, winning more decorations per man than any other unit in the army.

It may seem odd, today, that the government had to encourage some internees to leave the internment camps, but there were a variety of reasons internees were hesitant to leave. The camps offered security from an environment in many places more hostile to Japanese-Americans than even at the time of evacuation. Also, as relocation progressed, those left in the camps were the old and the very young--those least

employable, most fearful, and least adaptable. Between the questionnaire episode, in early 1943, and the opening of the gates to everyone, in early 1945, 70 percent who relocated were between the ages of 15 and 35 (Girdner and Loftus, 1969: 345). Relocation accelerated in 1944, and the WRA discontinued seasonal leaves late in the year to encourage internees to leave the camps permanently.

The jobs obtained by relocated Japanese-Americans were not always commensurate with their abilities. Work was relatively plentiful for servants, gardeners, chambermaids, and farm laborers. But some employers, offering relatively high-paying jobs to skilled workers, recruited from the camps. Railroads needed workers. Teachers and chemists were also in demand. One unusual vocation--chick-sexing--was virtually monopolized by Japanese-Americans, and their skills were in great demand.

Leaving camp and adjusting to a new job in a new town would have been difficult under the best of conditions, but many relocated Japanese-Americans faced hostility and prejudice in their new homes. Others, however, were treated well. As a former internee wrote: "The outside world is so completely different from the camp community, so real and so cheerful, that we never tire of saying to each other, 'Gee, isn't it grand to be out of camp' (Girdner and Loftus, 1969: 346).

The WRA attempted to ease the transition by establishing hostels after dropping the requirement of a specific "outside" job offer early in 1943. Hostels were established in larger midwestern and eastern cities

Some residents hesitated to leave camp because they didn't want to leave the West Coast. They were waiting for the government to give them

the go-ahead to move back to their former home towns. The government, under pressure from the military and western members of Congress, dragged its heels on lifting the ban on resettlement in the region. By 1944, though, it was clear there was to be no Japanese invasion of the coast. A likely explanation of the delay is that 1944 was an election year, and readmitting Japanese Americans to the region would have been politically unpopular. Perhaps not unexpectedly, the government announced the end of exclusion shortly after the election, effective January 2, 1945.

During the period of internment, test cases brought on behalf of interned individuals made their way through the courts. Three reached the United States Supreme Court, and the decision passed down in each had an impact on both internees and the nation.

In 1942, a University of Washington student, Gordon Hirabayashi, was convicted of violating the Army's curfew and evacuation order, and was sentenced to two three-month terms, to run concurrently. Hirabayashi appealed, and the case reached the Supreme Court in 1943. The court, considering only the curfew violation, upheld the conviction, judging the curfew to be justified in view of the war emergency. The Hirabayashi case left open the question of the constitutionality of the evacuation and internment, addressed in two subsequent cases. In the first, the Court chose to consider only the constitutionality of the evacuation.

Fred Korematsu, of Oakland, California, had been convicted of failure to report for evacuation. A divided court on December 18, 1944 upheld Korematsu's conviction, 6-3, determining that the evacuation of Japanese-Americans was legal in light of the prevailing wartime emergency. However, Justice Frank Murphy, in a strongly worded dissent, accused the

court of legalizing racism by its decision.

The same day as the Korematsu decision, the court announced its decision in the case of Mitsuye Endo. Endo, a native Californian and permanent state employee, had gone along with the evacuation, but upon reaching camp sought release on a writ of habeas corpus. The American Civil Liberties Union represented her, seeking her release on three grounds. First, it argued the government was without power to detain a citizen against whom no individual charges had been instituted. The ACLU also said segregation and detention of citizens on the basis of ancestry is patently unconstitutional. Finally, since she was put in a concentration camp involuntarily and without due process, the ACLU said Endo was entitled to release without complying with WRA leave clearance regulations.

Writing for a unanimous court, Justice William O. Douglas maintained that the military had not violated Endo's rights because the government's act of March 21, 1942 was constitutional. However, the WRA had violated her rights because the act didn't mention anything about internment. Douglas wrote: "Whatever power the War Relocation Authority has to detain other classes of citizens, it has no authority to subject citizens who are concededly loyal to its leave procedures" (Daniels, 1981: 141). In Endo, the court declared unconstitutional the internment of 70,000 U.S. citizens, but had engaged in hair splitting rather than attacking internment head-on. Historian Roger Daniels remarked of the Endo decision: "After almost three years of detention, deprivation, and demoralization, all the court could find fault with was an administrative regulation of the WRA" (1981: 141).

After Endo, concededly loyal Japanese-Americans could no longer be excluded from the West Coast. The government had anticipated the outcome of the case, however, and announced, on December 17, 1944, that, effective January 2, 1945, the exclusion orders would be revoked, allowing Japanese-Americans to resettle on the West Coast. The last relocation center closed February 20, 1946, and the WRA went out of business on schedule, June 30, 1946, though it had been phasing out for months.

Its relocation plan had had three goals: get the evacuees out of the centers, disperse them, and integrate them into the communities where they settled. The WRA succeeded in getting the evacuees out of the camps, though some finally had to be thrown out. However, it failed to disperse them. Some evacuees settled in new areas, like Chicago, but the pre-war tendency to cluster remained (Daniels, 1972: 166).

After the war, the government showed some willingness to repay the evacuees for property losses suffered during internment. But the government was neither prompt nor generous. Settlements were about ten percent of the amounts asked, and the final claim was not settled until 1965 (Bosworth, 1967: 236). Further, the government was unwilling to compensate in any way for the less tangible losses of the evacuees: the misery, the lost wages and opportunities, and the loss of faith in American government and society.

As Japanese-Americans returned to their former homes, protest erupted, led by trade unions, business, farmers, and the American Legion. But the anti-Japanese campaign was largely ineffective. Four reasons have been advanced for its failure in California. First, state political

leaders called for cooperation with the returning Japanese-Americans. In addition, Federal government policy and propaganda stressed racial tolerance. Third, the population of California was changing due to an influx of migrants. Finally, some well-organized minorities of whites, such as church groups, urged calm (Daniels, 1981: 162).

Many returning Japanese-Americans had trouble finding jobs, and some went on relief. Some were homeless--during the war, members of other minorities had moved into formerly Japanese neighborhoods. Many who found or returned to homes had little to put in them. During their internment, many lost possessions, from theft or vandalism, they had left in the care of acquaintances, neighbors, even government warehouses.

CHAPTER III: A RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE WITH A SECULAR CONSCIENCE

The first nationwide magazine to speak out against the internment of West Coast Japanese-Americans was a small-circulation religious weekly, The Christian Century. This is surprising only if that magazine's background is unknown. For many of its 52 years, The Century (as it is frequently referred to by its staffers) had spoken forthrightly in defense of liberal causes--both religious and secular--such as labor unionism, government regulation of business, church unification, and higher criticism of the Bible. And, unlike many religious publications, it had devoted considerable space to the cause of racial equality.

The Century was the leading exponent of the social gospel--also known as social Christianity--an American movement which sprang up in the latter half of the nineteenth century and reached its peak in the years preceding World War I. It declined in the 1920s, but was resurgent, in a somewhat modified form, in the 1930s. The social gospel was "the socializing and ethicizing of Protestantism" (Hopkins, 1940: vii). It was the application of the teachings of Christ to society, and was, to a degree, a response to modern industrial society.

Paul A. Carter, a historian of the movement, has written that "the first premise of the social gospel was that man in society stands under religious judgment...." The judgment is to be passed "not upon individual men only, but also upon the collective institutions which men have made" (Carter, 1954: 4). To Carter, the crux of the social gospel is the doctrine that "men are obliged to act directly upon the social order and

work for its reconstruction, as a part of their religious responsibility to their fellow men" (Carter, 1954: 5). Charles H. Hopkins, a prominent historian of the social gospel, has written that the movement "involved a criticism of conventional Protestantism, a progressive theology and social philosophy, and an active program of propagandism and reform" (Hopkins, 1940: 3).

By 1941, The Christian Century already had a long history. Originally named the Christian Oracle, it was founded in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1884 as an organ of the Disciples of Christ. In 1889, the magazine was moved to Chicago, where, in a fit of inspiration, its publishers renamed it The Christian Century in 1900.

The magazine at that time, though respected, had failed to develop a general circulation. By 1908, it had had a succession of editors, none of whom could make the magazine solvent. In the summer of that year, its editor convinced a young Disciples minister from Chicago, Charles Clayton Morrison, to edit the magazine for a few weeks, and when The Century was shortly thereafter sold at a sheriff's sale for $1,500, Morrison was the buyer. He didn't get much for his money; The Christian Century was a money-loser with only 600 subscribers, each paying only two dollars a year.

Morrison reshaped The Century so completely that he claimed to have "refounded" it. Indeed, so complete was his imprimatur on the magazine that, during his long editorship (1908-47), Morrison was, in a sense, The Christian Century. Under his guidance, the magazine would become, in a very few years, liberal Protestantism's leading voice.

Morrison was born in 1874 in Harrison, Ohio. His family later moved

to Jefferson, Iowa, where he graduated from high school. In 1892, he enrolled at Disciples-related Drake University in Des Moines and was ordained a Disciples of Christ minister. While at Drake, he preached at Disciples churches at nearby Clarinda and Perry. After graduation, Morrison served at a Springfield, Illinois church. Three years later, he was called to the Monroe Street Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Chicago, and enrolled in the doctoral program of the philosophy department of the University of Chicago, then headed by John Dewey. Though he never finished the program, Morrison's decision to enroll in the philosophy department rather than the divinity school was to have a profound effect on his life, for there he was encouraged to relate the church to the surrounding culture.

In the words of Harold Fey, who would later edit The Christian Century, Morrison "was austere, impatient with small talk and conventional ideas. He had many friends, but few close friends. Sometimes he would go to lunch with members of the editorial staff but generally he preferred to go to his Union League Club by himself. He loved music and the chief recreation of himself and his wife was to invite friends to join them for an evening at the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, where he had a box" (Fey, personal correspondence, July 26, 1985).

Though he was a member of the Republican party, Morrison's editorial views were independent and uncontrained by party platforms. In the early years of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, he supported the Democratic president and his domestic policies. In the late 1930s, however, Morrison parted with Roosevelt over the issue of Washington's support of Britain at the expense of Germany. Morrison's opposition did not stem from a

preference for Germany over Britain, but from his perception of Roosevelt's preferential treatment of Britain as a step toward war.

After buying The Christian Century in 1908, Morrison concentrated on editing a magazine for members of his own church. However, in 1916, he discovered that many of the magazine's subscribers were not members of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and realized there might be a larger market for The Century. Under its title he added the phrase, "An Undenominational Journal of Religion." The news department was expanded to cover other denominations. The editorial style and point of view gradually became oriented to a larger and more diverse readership, and non-Disciple editors and writers were utilized. One result of these changes was increased circulation. By the early 1940s, circulation of The Christian Century rose to between 25,000 and 30,000. Except for occasional fluctuations, circulation of The Century has remained steady in the 40 years since.

Until 1924, Morrison was assisted by only one full-time editor, Thomas Curtis Clark, who wrote poetry and helped lay out the magazine. With expanded coverage, Morrison needed a full-time managing editor, and hired Paul Hutchinson, a young Methodist minister. Hutchinson was born in 1890 in Hackettstown, New Jersey. He was a graduate of Lafayette College (Ph.B.), Garrett Biblical Institute (B.D.), and DePauw University (D.D.). He was assistant editor of the Epworth Herald, in Chicago, from 1914 to 1916. A Wilsonian Democrat, Hutchinson worked in the youth section of Woodrow Wilson's 1916 presidential campaign. He then served five years as a missionary in Shanghai, where he edited the China Christian Advocate, was chairman of the China Literature Council, and secretary of the China

Centenary Movement of the Methodist church. Returning to the United States, he worked in the publicity department of the Methodist church from 1922 to 1924.

Hutchinson was a prolific writer; when he joined The Century's staff he was already author of three books. In time, he wrote many more on the history of Methodism, world revolution and religion, the ordeal of Western religion, and the modernization of China, among others. The Far East remained one of his major interests.

Hutchinson's baptism at The Christian Century was dramatic, for Morrison went to Europe three weeks after the new managing editor arrived. But Hutchinson--quiet, thoughtful and considerate of those with whom he worked--was an experienced and capable editor, and the magazine was in good hands. He brought a broader view to the magazine by developing a corps of over 20 correspondents throughout the nation and abroad. According to Harold Fey, Hutchinson's "broad knowledge of foreign affairs, and particularly of American relations with Asia, earned respect for the journal from the secular as well as the religious press" (Fey, 1978: 951).

Fey joined the staff of The Christian Century as field (or news) editor in 1940. He was charged with reporting on gatherings of ecumenical groups, the annual meetings of the principal denominations, and writing short editorials--what The Century termed "editorial paragraphs" (Fey, 1982: 109).

Fey was born in Elwood, Indiana, in 1898. He is a graduate of Cotner College (B.A.) and Yale Divinity School (B.D.), where he was ordained a minister of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in 1923. After a brief stint as pastor of a Hastings, Nebraska congregation, Fey was sent,

in 1929, by his denomination, to the Philippines, where he taught sociology at Union Theological Seminary in Manila. Teaching did not occupy all his time; he began to write extensively on current affairs and religion. Fey wrote a column for the Manila Times, a pro-independence newspaper. He also wrote articles for the Philippines Free Press and was the Philippines correspondent for The Christian Century.

Because of financial pressures in the United States, Fey's church was forced to recall him in 1932. On his way back to the States, Fey passed through China just as the Japanese launched their takeover of Manchuria; he literally heard the first rumblings of the Pacific War, nine years before the United States entered the conflict.

Upon his return, Fey edited World Call, a monthly organ of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and in 1935 became executive secretary of the American branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), an association of Christian pacifists. He remained there for five years, until Charles Clayton Morrison invited him to join The Christian Century's staff.

During Morrison's tenure as editor, The Christian Century's appearance changed little; 30 pages of coarse paper, unadorned with color or photographs (though photos sometimes appeared in advertisements). On the cover, underneath the title and the legend "A Journal of Religion" (later changed to "Published Weekly") were one-line descriptions of the issue's major editorials and articles.

Inside, the magazine opened with several editorial paragraphs, followed by two or three longer editorials, all unsigned, but usually written by Morrison or Hutchinson. The editorials were followed, for many

years, by "British Table Talk," a column written in England. Next came book reviews, letters to the editor, "The Sunday School" (religious lessons), and, finally, "News of the Christian World"--brief news items from the magazine's corps of correspondents from throughout the nation and the world.

Early in its life, The Christian Century carried advertisements for, among other things, crackers and patent medicines. By the 1920s, however, the advertisements were, almost entirely, for religious books and schools. In earlier issues, ads were quite small, but by the early '40s they were somewhat larger.

In general, the magazine's appearance was remarkably similar to that of the Catholic The Commonweal and the secular The Nation. But The Christian Century had a broader scope than either of these magazines. Like The Nation, it dealt with secular issues, but unlike that magazine, it cast many of the issues in a religious light. And, unlike The Commonweal, The Century was (at least after 1916) an undenominational publication. It did not speak for or defend any one church. It could maintain complete editorial independence.

Morrison's independence of thought was such that, even when the magazine was still a Disciples organ, he took issue with church doctrine. Early in his editorship, Morrison tangled with his church over the issue of open membership of people from other denominations. He maintained they should not be required to be rebaptized by immersion. This made Morrison and his magazine the focus of controversy among Disciples, but church policy eventually changed.

Morrison's The Christian Century fearlessly tackled a wide variety of

issues, but six issues, or causes, became dominant during his first years. They were: the ecumenical movement, prohibition, criticism of capitalism, support for labor, concern about war, and the fight for civil rights. Chief among them was church unity--the ecumenical movement. "The Century under Morrison had as its deepest and most lasting concern the health and unity of the church" (Fey, 1978: 953). This was consistent with Disciples thought, whose highest ideal is Christian unity (Delloff, January 18, 1984: 46). Morrison wrote:

> The fellowship of the body of Christ is incomparably the most precious thing in Christianity, as it is also its absolute and substantive reality. It is Christianity. To divide the body of Christ is sin because it divides Him and makes his leadership of the body a scandal in the eyes of the world (Fey, 1978: 953).

This passion for church unity led Morrison to travel to Scotland soon after taking over The Christian Century in 1908 to attend the International Missionary Conference--the origin of the modern ecumenical movement.

The changes made in the magazine, beginning in 1916--transforming it into an "undenominational" journal, enlarging the news staff to cover other denominations, printing articles by non-Disciples, and hiring a Methodist minister as managing editor--were all, to a degree, attempts to further interchurch cooperation and eventual unity.

This was Protestant interchurch cooperation only; cooperation with the Roman Catholic church was not forthcoming. The Christian Century editors revealed a lack of understanding of the Catholic church, and had earned an anti-Catholic reputation. They conceived of Catholicism as a juggernaut--a monolith that threatened the American way of life. The editors were frustrated and felt threatened by the separateness of

Catholics. They believed Catholics should have been like liberal Protestants--"nondescript, blended and tolerant" (Marty, September 26, 1984: 869).

In 1925, the Christian Century had engaged in a war of words with The Commonweal. Seeking to counter the "menace" of the Catholic church in the United States, The Century proposed the taxation of all church holdings, a harsher blow to the Catholic Church than to Protestant churches. Because The Century seemed to speak only for and to Protestants, The Commonweal was led to ask if The Century considered Catholics Christian (Van Allen, 1974: 16).

The nomination for President of Al Smith, governor of New York and a Catholic, in 1928 brought to a head the editors' deep-seated feelings about Catholicism. The Christian Century editorials questioned if Smith would be torn between his duty to the nation as President and his duty to the Pope as a Catholic. Certainly Smith's Catholicism was a factor in the magazine's endorsement of his opponent, Herbert Hoover. But the determining factor, in the end, seems not to have been religion at all, but prohibition. Smith had announced that, if he were elected, he would act to repeal prohibition. This The Christian Century could not abide. Thus, and not untypically for the time, The Century based its decision not on a religious issue, but on a social issue.

Under Charles Clayton Morrison's leadership, the scope of the magazine was not limited to religious issues. The magazine became preoccupied with prohibition and the evils of alcohol. Alcohol, it argued, destroyed the family and prevented people from realizing their potential. Support of prohibition would be a continual theme for the

magazine until, during, and long after prohibition was the law of the land.

In the period before World War II, The Christian Century was also criticized by Jewish groups. Its editors, by and large, were anti-Zionist and faulted Jews, in general, for their aloofness. The editors were captive of turn-of-the-century White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) models that called for assimilation, accommodation and homogeneity in American life. Nonetheless, the editors of The Christian Century opposed anti-Semitism.

Religious fundamentalism, resurgent in the 1920s, received a withering assault from The Christian Century, entirely true to its tradition of higher criticism of the Bible. While the editors gave some credit to the fundamentalist churches for reaching some individuals liberal Protestantism could not, they "saw fundamentalism as a backwoods, over-the-hill jerkwater phenomenon that had already outlived its time" (Marty, September 26, 1984: 870) The editors questioned the fundamentalists' unsophisticated reading of the Bible. "The only trouble with the fundamentalists is that they have missed finding the fundamentals," they wrote (Delloff, March 7, 1984: 244). Jesus' fundamentals, they said, were much different; "that in preaching about Jesus they were forsaking the gospel of Jesus" (Pearman, June 6-13, 1984: 597). The Christian Century criticized the fundamentalists for their intolerance and termed them "a weak imitation of the Ku Klux Klan" and "a big joke" (The Christian Century, October 11, 1923: 1286).

The cause-celebre of fundamentalism versus modernism in the 1920s was the trial of high school biology teacher John Scopes in Dayton, Tennessee,

in 1925. At issue was a state law which prohibited the teaching of evolution in the public schools. The Christian Century dismissed the trial as (in modern parlance) a media event, and termed it "Booming Mediaevalism" and "Amateur Dramatics." Evolution, the editors maintained, was "merely God's way of working" (The Christian Century, July 30, 1925: 970).

For the United States, the decade after the end of World War I was a period of tremendous national economic growth and apparent prosperity, but the magazine took a dim view of America's economic system. Criticism of capitalism would be common enough during the Depression, when the United States' economy was a shambles and capitalists were in disgrace. But The Century had already been critical of capitalism during the 1920s. The editors demonstrated their perceptiveness by pointing out that the prosperity of the times had failed to reach many workers, including farmers.

The magazine called itself anticapitalist, and referred to the existing economic order as "un-Christian" (Meyer, 1960: 53). Capitalism, it argued, was "only a phase in social progess; it is no more permanent than feudalism" (Meyer, 1960: 103). Instead, The Century called for socialism, though it was opposed to Marxist dogma. When the Depression struck, it was clear to the magazine's editors that it had been caused by capitalism's "fundamental flaws" (Pearman, August 29-September 5, 1984: 795). The system, they said, had resulted in an unfair distribution of wealth, and they strongly favored a managed national economy.

Strongly opposed as the editors were to the economic system and the government's inadequate response to the Depression, The Christian Century

supported Herbert Hoover for reelection in 1932. To the editors, Franklin Roosevelt seemed no more liberal than Hoover. And Hoover, the editors reasoned, having waited for the economy to right itself, would soon be forced to abandon his laissez-faire attitudes of government's relation with business. Further, the editors believed that, if Roosevelt gained the White House, he would be "under enormous obligations to the most sinister figure in American life"--conservative, jingoistic newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst (Pearman, August 29-September 5, 1984: 796).

The Socialist Norman Thomas was regarded highly by Morrison and other liberal churchmen (including The Century's Fey, who voted for him), but Morrison could not bring himself to support Thomas' third-party bid for the Presidency. To Morrison, the two-party system was essential to American government.

Roosevelt swept into office with such a majority that he was beholden to no one--not even Hearst. His victory was a mandate for change, and the changes he made were pleasant surprises for The Christian Century. After the election, the magazine supported Roosevelt, but not uncritically; its editors were concerned that he might not move close enough to socialism. They were dubious about the National Recovery Administration (which was, indeed, later declared unconstitutional), but supported the Tennessee Valley Authority. In general, The Century was supportive of New Deal reforms. A historian of the Protestant church of the period, Donald Meyer, has written, "The New Deal represented movement in a direction, and it was the direction that pleased The Century. There was no fear of words. The editors said they believed Roosevelt must move toward

'socialism' and they welcomed the process" (Meyer, 1960: 318).

With New Deal reforms, The Christian Century's cries for the replacement of capitalism with socialism waned. This was not necessarily because the editors' economic beliefs had changed, but because those reforms had brought about changes in American capitalism. "Capitalism was becoming something radically different from what it had been for the generation past" (Meyer, 1960: 321).

For Morrison, forsaking the economic theories of Marx and accepting the reformed capitalism was not a moral dilemma; The Christian Century's position reflected his realism. In Meyer's view, Morrison's realism led him to ponder the ways capitalism was changing and how they affected his economic and social beliefs. "Something was happening in society: was not the study and understanding of this actuality the important job? Capitalism not going in America as Marx had predicted. Was it not better to abandon Marx rather than complain about the perversity of reality" (Meyer, 1960: 322)?

The Christian Century was enthusiastically pro-labor. In summing up the attitude of the magazine toward the worker, Robert M. Miller wrote: "The only conclusion that can be drawn from the hundreds of editorials and articles on labor appearing in The Christian Century is that this important independent journal was a great and true champion of the workingman" (Miller, 1958: 247).

In contrast to labor, the industrial giants of the era took a beating in the pages of The Christian Century. Elbert D. Gary, chairman of the board of United States Steel, may have been an orthodox Christian, "But Christ could never have discovered much of the kingdom of God in one of

his mills" (Miller, 1958: 246). The editors debunked the notion that auto manufacturer Henry Ford was a national hero. The pace set in his factories, they argued, wore men out. The public, the editors said, deserved some of the blame for the Ford myth: "The fact that Henry Ford has been accepted by the American people at his own evaluation is the best proof of the general incompetence of the American mind and conscience for the intricate problems of modern industrial society" (Miller, 1958: 246).

Though The Christian Century was a great supporter of organized labor and recognized the strike as a basic right, the magazine's support was not uncritical--as when unions demonstrated a certain irresponsibility in 1919 and 1920. The nation's largest labor union, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was attacked as "a snare and a delusion" (Meyer, 1960: 102). The union, according to The Century, had become as orthodox as the church. The advent of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), on the other hand, was greeted by the editors as auguring "a new industrial era" (Meyer, 1960: 321).

In the years before World War I, Morrison gradually turned The Century's focus from regional to national and international coverage. Until the outbreak of war in 1914, international items in the magazine were confined largely to foreign missions and related subjects. In that year, items about the war in Europe began to appear with some frequency in The Christian Century. The magazine's position was generally anti-war. Though Morrison conceded that "some wars could be worth fighting," he regarded World War I as a senseless conflict, with no "supreme moral good" at stake--a conflict that was destructive of social progress. From 1916 through the 1920s, the magazine's chief preoccupation was World War I and

its aftermath.

Reluctantly, Morrison supported the United States' involvement in the war effort in the spirit of President Woodrow Wilson's declaration in 1917 that it was to be a "war to end all wars." Originally favoring tough surrender terms for defeated Germany, by 1919 Morrison recognized the folly of a harsh peace treaty, and argued for a conmpassionate peace. When President Wilson acquiesced in the Versailles settlement, The Christian Century called the terms of the peace treaty "punitive, vindictive, terrorizing. They look to the end of permanently maiming Germany. They are not redemptive, and they are therefore not Christian" (Miller, 1958: 318). As far as Morrison was concerned, Wilson had betrayed him at Versailles.

Though Morrison opposed war, he was no pacifist. But he did call pacifists "true patriots," and fought for fair treatment of conscientious objectors during both World Wars. He also urged denominations to stop providing chaplains for the military. He had no faith in the League of Nations' ability to prevent war, saying it was "a league to enforce peace by the use of war itself" (The Christian Century, January 26, 1928; 100). Therefore, he applauded in 1928 when the United States suggested that a French-proposed non-aggression treaty be reconstituted as a multilateral pact renouncing war. He termed this proposal to outlaw war "the most important event in modern history" (Pearman, June 6-13, 1984: 600).

Morrison's dream, and fruit of many years of effort, was realized in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which was signed in Paris on August 27, 1928. The pact was named for its sponsors, United States Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and French foreign minister Aristide Briand. Each of the 15

nations which signed the document agreed to renounce war as an "instrument of national policy" and promised to attempt to solve international disputes through peaceful means. After the signing, Morrrison fairly gushed, "Today international war was banished from civilization" (The Christian Century, September 6, 1928: 1070). The treaty, he said, was "absolute, water-tight, bullet-proof." It had, he added, "not a single loophole in it" (Pearman, June 6-13, 1984: 600). But the pact had all too many loopholes; lacking any mechanism for enforcement, it was all but useless. It was, in the words of Missouri's Senator James Reed, an "international kiss" (Bates, 1976: 299).

A sixth cause championed by The Christian Century in the years after World War I was the fight to protect the civil rights of minorities. This was somewhat unusual for a religious publication. Not all adherents to the social gospel extended their concern to such causes as equal rights for minorities and women. The magazine fought to end discrimination toward blacks, especially in northern states, where racial problems had flared up in the wake of a heavy migration of blacks to the large industrial cities after World War I. But The Century was also aware of racial discrimination in the South. It denounced the Ku Klux Klan and fought for a federal anti-lynching law. After the nine so-called "Scottsboro boys" were jailed on flimsy evidence, in 1931, for raping a white woman in Alabama, the magazine published more than a dozen editorials on the subject, and Charles Clayton Morrison was on the Scottsboro Defense Committee (Miller, 1958: 179).

The tone of The Century's editorials on discrimination against blacks tended to be paternalistic, but the editors were sincere. (Delloff, March

7, 1984: 246). According to historian Robert M. Miller, The Century "displayed a sensitivity to the Negro probably unmatched in any papers in the country, religious or secular. ...it devoted scores of items to the race question. Without exception, these editorials and articles were characterized by courage, candor and compassion" (Miller, 1958; 312).

The Christian Century was also outspoken on women's rights. Suffrage, like racial equality, was not always on the agenda of other social gospel adherents. True to its free-speaking nature, The Century even castigated the church and its treatment of women: "The American church is still one of the most backward of all American institutions in the place it accords to women and the attitude which it exhibits toward them" (Marty, September 26, 1984: 870).

The Century also manifested its concern for human rights by attacking loyalty oaths, which came into vogue in the 1920s. The Massachusetts teachers' oath was termed "a little monster of fascism promoted by pseudo-patriots bent on regimenting the American mind" (Miller, 1958: 167). During a period characterized by government abuse of communists (real or imaginary), magazine asked why Americans were so terrified of a few radicals. "The Christian Century...deplored the widespread habit of seeing 'Red' which, the editors believed threatened to drive the last vestige of common sense from the minds of Americans" (Miller, 1958: 194).

The Century's editors, sensitive to United States-Japanese relations, fought, entirely without success, to overturn the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, which barred immigration from Japan. The editors felt the Act, which rankled the Japanese government, was a gratuitous slap in the face of a proud people. After all, if the United States had applied to Japan

the same immigration quota that applied to European nations, fewer than 200 Japanese would have been allowed to immigrate to the United States. A negligible number, it would have preserved at least the appearance of fairness of United States immigration policy and sufficient to placate the government of Japan.

The Christian Century was also critical of civil rights violations in other nations. As early as 1938, the magazine attacked Germany for its anti-Jewish pogrom. It reported the harsh treatment of German Jews, but its editors were somewhat skeptical of atrocity reports, recalling the too-frequently false World War I atrocity stories. When fears later became certainty, The Century's editors "strained their vocabularies" denouncing the Nazis and their death camps (Marty, September 26, 1984: 868).

It was to Nazi Germany's treatment of Jews that The Century, in the spring of 1942, found the most ready parallel to the United States' internment of its West Coast Japanese.

CHAPTER IV: THE CENTURY TAKES UP THE CAUSE

As early as April, 1941, careful readers of The Christian Century were warned of the potential of a disastrous new wave of discrimination against West Coast Japanese should war break out between the United States and Japan. The warning was in the form of a letter, given the headline "The Plight of the Japanese," from a New York minister of Japanese descent. He warned that the Japanese could be targets for abuse simply because of their race. The older generation, he pointed out, were aliens only because the law prevented their naturalization; and as citizens, the younger generation was "loyally devoted to the cause of American democracy" (The Christian Century, April 23, 1941: 566).

Nothing more on the subject appeared in the magazine until after Pearl Harbor. A December 31, 1941 story by Southern California correspondent (and Congregationalist minister) Allan Hunter contained assurances of Japanese-American loyalty and Caucasian tolerance and support. Though reports of discrimination were few, he said, a number of Japanese had lost their jobs. The local Japanese, he wrote, "...are under great pressure. The pressure is being answered in part at least by an unprecedented effort to practice a good neighbor policy." But, he added, "The test will come during the next few months" (The Christian Century, December 31, 1941: 1645).

The Christian Century had no editorial comment on the situation until March 11, 1942, in a superbly written, forceful editorial paragraph, "Hitlerism Threatens the California Japanese." The magazine's references

to Hitlerism, and the comparisons of this nation's treatment of the Japanese-Americans with the Nazi treatment of Jews, would continue throughout the period of internment. The editorial pointed out that few Japanese-Americans were even suspected of fifth-column activities, and it blamed unscrupulous (and unnamed) politicians seeking political gain for the heightened passions of the region. The editors also blamed American Legionnaires, chambers of commerce, and business interests. The great damage, the editors felt, was letting control of the fate of the Japanese-Americans pass into the hands of local forces "with axes to grind." More dispassionate forces--the FBI and United States attorney general Francis Biddle--were dealing with the situation with "firmness and competence," the editors felt (The Christian Century, March 11, 1942: 309).

The editorial concluded by suggesting that four things should be guarded against for the situation to remain calm and the rights of the Japanese-Americans to be protected. First, action based on unproved rumors; second, action which would flout the constitutional rights of the Nisei; third, action whose real end would be the destruction of Japanese-American competition with Caucasian businesses; and, finally, actions which were only compensation for popular frustration over the disappointing developments in the war.

Had The Christian Century's suggestions been taken, the evacuation and subsequent internment of Japanese-Americans might never have occurred. But the forces which were pressing for evacuation had already gotten too great a head start on the pro-Japanese-American forces, and The Christian Century seems to have been unaware of the behind-the-scenes pressure for evacuation. The editors--along with many others--seemed to have missed

the significance of Executive Order 9066, signed February 19, 1942, which gave army commanders authority to remove from designated areas any persons they deemed necessary. Not a word about Executive Order 9066 appeared in the magazine.

The editors of The Christian Century seemed to have had no idea how soon evacuation would begin. To a certain extent, this can be explained by their disbelief that the government would actually intern over 110,000 people, aliens and (especially) citizens alike. As Harold Fey has written, "...nobody dreamed the government would attempt such an outrage," because "...it was so alien to American constitutional principles" (Fey, personal correspondence, March 18, 1985).

Even so, the silence of The Christian Century on the subject during the first ten weeks of the year is puzzling. During that period, the West Coast's initial calm toward the Japanese gave way to distrust and antagonism, partly in response to rumors of Japanese-American sabotage at Pearl Harbor. In fairness to The Century, it should be pointed out that other nationally-circulated magazines of opinion, such as The Commonweal and The New Republic did not address the situation until after the evacuation orders had been issued. A major exception was The Nation, a liberal journal of opinion, which published three articles, in February and early March 1942, warning of the potential for harsh treatment of the West Coast Japanese (and other enemy aliens) and urging calm.

Other voices of the news media, however, were not so quiet. Some influential newspaper personalities began calling for evacuation, including Hearst's Henry McLemore, Scripps-Howard's Westbrook Pegler, and Walter Lippmann, "dean of American political commentators." Some radio

commentators took the same position. Mutual Broadcasting Company's John B. Hughes was an early voice urging evacuation (Grodzins, 1949: 386). Only two California commentators were supportive of California's resident Japanese--Ernie Pyle of Scripps-Howard and Chester Rowell, a political writer for the San Francisco Chronicle (Grodzins, 1949: 388).

The near silence of The Christian Century ended with the beginning of evacuation. The magazine let loose a barrage of editorials, articles, and news items that did not let up until after V-J Day. Only a week after warning of the possibility of a Japanese-American evacuation of the West Coast, The Century, on March 18, was criticizing the evacuation. Already the editors were debunking the government's claims of "military necessity." The military had perceived, the editorial noted, a dangerous pattern of Japanese settlement around vital defense plants and installations, but the explanation for the seemingly suspicious pattern, the editors pointed out, was simple: "...that the Japanese had vegetable gardens on level lands near cities and along streams before airports were thought of occurs to nobody" (The Christian Century, March 18, 1942: 340).

Looking to the long-run effects of the evacuation, the editors suggested that the most tragic aspect would be its impact on the Nisei, whose nation had betrayed their confidence in democracy; "...never again can they feel secure in their rights as citizens and...there is nothing they can do about it. This is the kind of wound which goes deep and festers long" (The Christian Century, March 18, 1942: 340).

To The Christian Century, the actual causes of the evacuation and internment were quite different from the justifications offered by the military. The official line was that the West Coast Japanese had to be

removed for two reasons. The first was for protection of the Japanese from a hostile citizenry. The second was described as "military necessity," meaning the Japanese were a threat to the United States' war effort because of their settlement pattern, their doubtful loyalty, and the dual nationality of many Nisei. These arguments apparently led some politicians and military leaders to conclude that among the Japanese-Americans were a number of enemy sympathizers, capable of spying or sabotage.

To The Christian Century, these were only the justifiable reasons for the the action. The real reasons for the evacuation and internment were fivefold. First was racism. The Century saw this among military leaders, government officials, racist organizations and the general public. Second was politicians seeking political gain from capitalizing on the situation. A third factor involved a land and property grab by white businessmen and landowners. The magazine cited a sensationalistic, irresponsible regional press as a further reason. Finally, it blamed a hysterical populace, uncritical of the rampant rumors of Japanese-American treachery, for the precipitous action toward West Coast Japanese-Americans.

Throughout the war, The Century debunked the government's stated reasons for evacuation and internment, and offered the true (in its view) causes, expanding upon them as additional facts came to light. The debunking continued until the relocation centers were finally closed--months after the end of the war. The magazine expanded upon its arguments whenever additional facts came to light.

The mood of the West Coast toward the Japanese there began to change early in 1942, when rumors started circulating that Japanese-Americans in Hawaii had sabotaged efforts at Pearl Harbor by blocking roads with

stalled trucks and furniture and by smashing trucks into military planes on the ground (The Christian Century, April 1, 1942: 424). The popular line of thought went, apparently, that if such treacherous sabotage was possible in Hawaii, it was also possible on the mainland. However, without exception, all such rumors were false. Additionally, there had not been a single confirmed case of sabotage by a Japanese-American on the West Coast since the outbreak of war, a fact repeatedly pointed out in The Century.

On April 1, 1942, when the evacuation was well under way, contributing author Galen Fisher, in his article "Our Japanese Refugees," attempted to silence, once and for all, the rumors of sabotage at Pearl Harbor. He quoted Honolulu's chief of police, who had said there had been "no acts of sabotage in city and county of Honolulu December 7, nor have there been any reported...since that date" (The Christian Century, April 1, 1942: 424). Fisher, a Californian specializing in social research, was a former secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A in Japan, and came to be regarded as an authority on the evacuation of the West Coast Japanese.

From Los Angeles on May 6, correspondent Allan Hunter reported; "So far as this writer can discover there has not yet been in Los Angeles county...a single case of sabotage on the part of the group we are being taught to fear. Not one" (The Christian Century, May 6, 1942: 608).

Yet the rumors didn't die easily, as illustrated by northern California correspondent Stanley Hunter's (brother of Allan, and also a Congregationalist minister) report from Berkeley two weeks later: "The general public scarcely realizes yet that no case of sabotage has yet been

disovered--not one..." (The Christian Century, May 20, 1942: 673). And, three weeks after that story, The Century was still reminding its readers that the rumors were false: "It is also beginning to be known that all the wild tales of Japanese sabotage at Honolulu or elsewhere have proved, on investigation, to be baseless" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 750). To support this assertion, the editors cited statements by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and Secretary of War Henry Stimson before the Tolan Committee, which had investigated circumstances relating to the evacuation.

To Galen Fisher, the proven falsity of the rumors raised "uncomfortable questions." Why had the government been so slow to squash the rumors, and why had so many citizens apparently accepted the rumors as truth, he asked (The Christian Century, April 1, 1942: 424).

But the rumors were not immediately officially denied, and were generally accepted. This helped create a popular hysteria on the West Coast which can only partly be blamed on the Pearl Harbor attack (after all, the region had been relatively calm for weeks after December 7). Besides fear of sabotage, this hysteria took the form of physical assaults upon Japanese-Americans, almost exclusively by Filipinos. The antipathy of Filipinos in the United States toward the Japanese-Americans stemmed from the attack on and subsequent invasion of the Philippines by Japan soon after Pearl Harbor. The Japanese were brutal conquerors who killed American and Filipino prisoners of war indiscriminately and in great numbers (Congdon, 1983: 146). According to Allan Hunter, writing in May 1942, "Possibly 70 to 100 Japanese in California have been murdered by Filipinos or seriously hurt since December 7. No one has yet been killed

by a Caucasian..." (The Christian Century, May 6, 1942: 608). Christian Century readers learned that Filipino violence against Japanese-Americans was not confined to the West Coast. A December, 1942 article by Henry H. Crane, a Methodist minister from Detroit, told of an attack by a Filipino busboy on a Japanese-American businessman in that city shortly after Pearl Harbor. The businessman, after being struck on the head, had his assailant arrested, but later dropped the charges (The Christian Century, December 23, 1942: 1593).

The violence sparked calls (not only from Caucasians, but also from some Japanese) for evacuation and internment of the region's Japanese--for their own good. To Galen Fisher, "This un-American principle of 'protective custody'...may not have been the dominant factor leading to total evacuation, but careful observers agree that it was one of the weightiest" (The Christian Century, August 10, 1943: 938).

Though West Coast Japanese-Americans were being physically assaulted in some numbers, the editors of The Century believed the threat had been overstated and was merely a pretense for evacuation. "The treatment accorded the evacuees arouses so much misgiving that an effort is now being made to justify it on the ground that it was made necessary as a protection to them.... Competent witnesses assured the Tolan Committee that there was no danger of mob action against West Coast Japanese unless mobs were deliberately incited..." (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751). The editors concluded that, even if the danger to the Japanese were real, the method chosen by the government to deal with it was inappropriate and set a bad precedent. It was, they wrote, "a sad confession as to the competence of American government," and it

established the principle of 'protective custody'...one of the worst outrages of fascist tyranny" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751).

To The Christian Century, the primary reason for evacuation and internment of the West Coast Japanese (the government's claims notwithstanding), was racism. Antipathy toward the Japanese had flourished in the region, especially in California, for six decades. Pearl Harbor and the resulting war promised an opportunity to settle the "Japanese Question" once and for all. It was Galen Fisher's judgment that events leading to evacuation began long before Pearl Harbor: "The chain of evil causation goes much farther back. It includes the long record of anti-Oriental discrimination, especially in California. We and our fathers have sown dragons' teeth for sixty years" (The Christian Century, April 1, 1942: 424). To the editors of The Century, the Japanese-Americans were evacuated "on the sole ground of their racial origins" (The Christian Century, April 29, 1942: 552).

That racism was a motivating factor for a leading proponent of evacuation--General DeWitt--was confirmed a year later. In an editorial paragraph headlined "General DeWitt Reveals His Prejudice," the editors related how DeWitt, testifying before a House naval affairs subcommittee, had claimed, "A Jap's a Jap...it makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not.... I don't want any of them." He added, "the Japs we will be worried about all the time until they are wiped off the face of the map" (The Christian Century, May 5, 1943: 532). The editors of The Century suggested, obliquely, that the time had come for DeWitt to be replaced. His comments, they thought, would benefit the internees in pending Supreme Court cases.

Behind the rumors of sabotage were questions, raised by political and military leaders, as well as the public, about the loyalty of the West Coast Japanese. To The Christian Century, however, there was little doubt of the essential loyalty of the bulk of the Japanese-American population. The editors acknowledged that some potential fifth-columnists existed, as demonstrated by arrests of some 2,000 Japanese by the FBI shortly after Pearl Harbor. But the editors were also convinced that "...many who have been confined are as loyal Americans as any whose ancestors came here on the Mayflower" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751). This contention, the editors pointed out, was supported by testimony before the Tolan Committee, which they quoted: "...the number of such loyal citizens undoubtedly far exceeds the number of those whose loyalty may be held suspect" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751).

The Century also took issue with those proponents of evacuation who argued that the loyal Japanese could not be differentiated from the disloyal. (This, of course, was a variation on "they all look the same.") To this claim, the magazine countered, "The best informed witnesses to appear before the Tolan committee entered a vehement denial" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751). Besides, had not the FBI and the Justice department been able to make such a distinction when they made their mass arrests the previous December?

The Christian Century felt a particular obligation to defend the Issei. Pro-internment forces claimed they were especially suspicious precisely because they were aliens, and many of them retained ties to the old country. Because they were aliens, they lacked commitment to the United States--they were more Japanese than American, and therefore

suspect. But most Issei, The Century's editors claimed, would have become American citizens if naturalization had not been prohibited by law (The Christian Century, March 18, 1942: 340). The magazine was quick to point out that the Issei had put down roots in the United States. They farmed land or operated businesses, sent their children to American schools, and, in many cases, their sons to the armed forces.

As for the Nisei, The Century had few reservations. Referring to Nisei college students, Robbins Barstow, head of the National Student Relocation Council, wrote in a July 1 article: "All their lives these young people had thought of themselves as American citizens, proud of the land of their birth..." (The Christian Century, July 1, 1942: 836). To suggest that Japanese-Americans retained no loyalty to Japan, Fisher cited the testimony of a member of the American Friends Service Committee: "All available evidence indicates that the loyalty of the average Japanese citizen is as great as that of German and Italian citizens, and that all three groups share in the common loyalty of all of us" (The Christian Century, April 22, 1942: 534). Later, Robbins Barstow wrote essentially the same thing: "It would be as logical to bracket all German-Americans with the nazis as to brand all Japanese-Americans with the same mark of Cain as Japan's military gangsters" (The Christian Century, August 18, 1943: 938).

The Christian Century believed an irresponsible regional press had fanned the flames of hysteria and race hatred on the West Coast. The editors reported that testimony before the Tolan committee indicated there was no danger of mob action against West Coast Japanese unless mobs were "deliberately incited by press, radio or politicians" (The Christian

Century, June 10, 1942: 751). Stanley Hunter, reporting from Berkeley, made the same point, only more forcefully: "The general public scarcely realizes yet...that fears and prejudices have been skillfully aroused in press and by radio..." (The Christian Century, May 20, 1942: 673). Galen Fisher was even more explicit. He named names, writing that the evacuation had been demanded by "extremists, led by Japanese-baiters" like William Randolph Hearst, as well as by "irresponsible radio commentators," among others (The Christian Century, May 1, 1942: 425).

At about the same time the conservative press was taking a beating in The Century, the liberal press was scolded for its silence by contributing author Norman Thomas, the former (and future) Socialist presidential candidate. Liberty, he suggested, was threatened, in part, because "...for the first time in American history, men, committees, and publications boasting of their 'liberalism' as against 'fascism' are in the vanguard in justifying the presidential assumption of dictatorial powers." His list of offending publications included PM, the New York Post, The Nation, and The New Republic (The Christian Century, July 29, 1942: 929).

The Christian Century held out little hope that the American press would provide rational leadership on the Japanese-American question, but the magazine expected better from the Supreme Court. Contributing writer Galen Fisher predicted the Court would uphold Executive Order 9066 (which had given the army authority to evacuate persons from militarily sensitive areas) as an exercise of the president's wartime powers as commander-in-chief. However, he believed the Court would deny the constitutionality of the the method of evacuation on the grounds that "...the fifth and

fourteenth amendments to the Constitution specifically provide that neither the nation nor the states shal 'deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law...' There have been no hearings nor other 'due process of law' for the Japanese evacuees" (The Christian Century, April 1, 1942: 424).

The Century clearly stated its position on the constitutionality of the evacuation and internment in an April 29, 1942 editorial, titled "Citizens or Subjects?":

> When the war is over, Americans may discover that in the early months of the conflict democracy received its most staggering blows in their own country and not at Pearl Harbor or at Bataan. Action taken under the guise of military necessity have already deprived numbers of citizens of this democracy of their constitutionally guaranteed rights before the law. Essential democratic rights have been infringed... (The Christian Century, April 29, 1942: 551-53).

The editorial also pointed out that the Constitution's fifth and fourteenth amendments had been violated, without a proclamation of martial law which would have suspended them. "Citizens or Subjects?" was written by Harold Fey, though he had not been following the fate to the Japanese. Charles Clayton Morrison accepted the editorial in principle, but revised it, and gave it its title (Fey, personal communication, March 18, 1985).

A second long editorial about the evacuation appeared in The Century on June 10, 1942. Written by Paul Hutchinson, "Justice for the Evacuees" was an eloquent plea for fair treatment of Japanese-Americans. The editorial position of the magazine could hardly have been more clearly stated: "The method which the government is pursuing for dealing with its Japanese citizens--many of them Christians--is not democratic, is not in accord with American traditions, is not just, is not humane, is not

right." The government's treatment of Japanese-Americans was a "mockery of justice," a "tragic mistake" and "a policy which, when stripped of all pretense, scraps the Constitution of the United States" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 752). But the editors could see beyond the denial of constitutional rights of the Japanese-Americans to the great potential for denial of rights to other segments of the population. The executive order and the manner in which it was carried out set a dangerous precedent that boded ill for minority groups, especially Jews and, potentially, for any member of society.

Yet this precedent seems not to have been apparent to some of those who stood to be threatened by the arbitrary action of the government. To Norman Thomas, writing in July, 1942, "It is amazing how many Jews, heretofore liberal in their thinking, have in my hearing justified this assumption of presidential power and this treatment of Japanese-Americans as a war necessity without recognizing what precedent it will create for anti-Semitic agitators" (The Christian Century, July 29, 1942: 929). The potential for abuse of the presidential order led the editors to ask, "How far may this sort of thing be expected to go? What assurance is there that other classes of citizens may not on the same or some other basis have their rights suspended or canceled tomorrow" (The Christian Century, April 29, 1942: 552)?

To The Christian Century, the government's high-handed treatment of the West Coast Japanese smacked of fascism--too much like the fate of German Jews. In the clamor for a solution to the "Japanese problem" before the government's evacuation orders in the spring of 1942, the danger was already clear to the editors of The Century: "Hitlerism

Threatens The California Japanese." When the evacuation was well under way, it was apparent to the editors that their forecast had been accurate. Referring to the policy of internment, they wrote: "It is moving in the same direction Germany moved when it followed Hitler into the infamy of his policy of racial persecution" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751).

The editors' opinion was shared by contributors such as Norman Thomas: "The fact that the administration intends eventually to provide better things for the Japanese than Hitler...intends to give the Jews leaves the principle the same" (The Christian Century, July 29, 1942: 929). And when an individual testifying before the Tolan committee made the same analogy, it was duly noted and paraphrased by correspondent Allan Hunter: "To order indiscriminate mass evacuation of the Japanese would be too much like the nazi technique with the Jews" (The Christian Century, March 18, 1942: 365).

Throughout the war, The Christian Century stressed the parallel between Nazi treatment of Jews and United States treatment of Japanese-Americans. It should, however, be pointed out that the editors were unaware of the true extent of German brutality until the spring of 1945.

Closer to home, the editors could cite another parallel--another precedent--in the exile of the American Indians from their own lands, and their confinement on reservations. "To be sure, this was the way we once dealt with the Indians. But the national conscience has long been uneasy about that aspect of American history" (The Christian Century, September 30, 1942: 1172).

Throughout the war, The Century went to great lengths to explain that

the evacuation and subsequent internment affected all West Coast Japanese--aliens and citizens alike--and that Nisei, possessing the same rights as all other citizens, were being unfairly treated. Further, the magazine pointed out the inconsistency of the evacuation orders, which were, in practice, applied to German and Italian aliens, but were applied to American citizens of Japanese descent and Japanese aliens.

The distinction between citizen and alien was important, because to much of the popular press and to much of the public, all persons of Japanese descent in the United States were simply termed "Japs" (the same term applied to the enemy), regardless of their citizenship. Japanese (as well as German and Italian) aliens, being citizens of nations with which the United States was at war, were termed "enemy aliens." In practice, it was easy enough to simply call them "enemies." A Time magazine map, accompanying an article about the army's evacuation announcement, was topped by the legend "Enemies Keep Out!" The article made the distinctions between enemies, enemy aliens, and citizens of Japanese descent, but the map did not. Its message, that all the evacuees were enemies of the state, was all too clear (Time, March 16, 1942: 14).

These were distinctions The Century clearly made when it printed a comment about testimony before the Tolan committee: "Neither was it seriously denied that the contrast between the treatment accorded Japanese citizens and that meted out to German and Italian aliens constituted racial discrimination" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 751). A month later, the magazine informed its readers that the prohibited zone had been widened, sending more persons of Japanese descent to internment camps. However, that move was made "simultaneously with an army order

which permits several thousand German and Italian aliens to return to the coastal areas..." (The Christian Century, July 15, 1942: 877). Some 18 months after the evacuation, The Century's readers were reminded of the disparity in the treatment of the races: "Not one of the Germans or Italians evacuated from the west coast has been further detained, except after due process of law" (The Christian Century, September 1, 1943: 984).

A number of news stories and contributed articles appearing in The Christian Century in 1942 described the human dimensions of the evacuation and internment by providing glimpses of the evacuees themselves. There were accounts of Japanese being forced from their homes, trying to get along in the camps, and being physically assaulted. Some evacuees were interviewed and some of their letters were excerpted in the magazine. One source of the hardship that attended the evacuation was its hurried nature. On Terminal Island near Los Angeles, the Japanese residents were given only two days' notice to leave. In her article of March 25, 1942, Gracia Booth, wife of the executive secretary of the West Coast branch of the American Friends Service Committee, offered a glimpse of the sadness and bewilderment of the evacuees. She also described the toil required to pack all their possessions in such a short time, and the difficulty of packing in the dark because their electricity had been shut off, and flashlights had been confiscated as contraband (The Christian Century, March 25, 1942: 384).

To Allan Hunter, "the speed with which the early stages of the evacuation proceeded" exacted its toll at the assembly centers, where there was "great hardship and distress." He cited some of the hardships at the Santa Anita camp, formerly a race track. There, internees slept on

straw-filled mattresses in horse stalls. The floors of the stalls, he added, "were none too clean." He also told of shortages at Manzanar assembly center of rice, washing machines, tubs, buckets, sewing machines, brooms, mops, soap, and "goggles to keep the dust out of their eyes." Conditions there were "anything but ideal" (The Christian Century, May 6, 1942: 608).

After a visit to the Tulare assembly center, Hunter pointed out that the spiritual suffering of the internees was worse than the physical distress, but "We who live in comfort have no right to ignore the physical inconveniences...the standing in line before meals, the dust in some centers, the heat, the cramped quarters, the unaccustomed food, the frequent lack of privacy everywhere, even in the toilets." The toilets must have been very bad, indeed; in a letter excerpted in Hunter's story, an internee wrote: "I hope...that the women at least may get better toilets and showers" (The Christian Century, July 15, 1942: 894).

A sense of the bitterness felt by the internees comes through in a sarcastic letter from a Nisei high school girl Hunter had baptized two months previously.

> Here we are in heaven. This is truly a wonderful place.... It takes about an hour of waiting in line until we enter the mess hall. It is a good way of building up an appetite. Since the mess hall is lacking workers, the food is served to feed and not to please. While I wait in line I do a little meditating. As I eat my food, I say to myself on the first few bites, "This is God's food." ...all the officials here are very considerate. I can't think of a thing to complain about (The Christian Century, May 27, 1942: 711).

In The Century's accounts of the human dimensions of the evacuation and internment, a broad range of emotions were displayed, but the stoicism and lack of apparent bitterness among many of the evacuees were repeatedly

emphasized. According to Robbins Barstow, the Nisei were "accepting their lot with resignation and fortitude" (The Christian Century, July 1, 1942: 836). Similarly, Galen Fisher wrote: "The older generation, for the most part, have suffered in stoical silence." The Nisei, he added, "...have shown divers reactions. Some have felt humiliated and despondent at having their loyalty impugned. Others have resolved to accept evacuation as their peculiar sacrifice..." (The Christian Century, April 1, 1942: 425).

Gracia Booth wrote of an old man, forced from his home, who "...smilingly says: 'What we do? I do not know but we are not afraid, for we are Christians'" (The Christian Century, March 25, 1942: 383). And Allan Hunter wrote that evacuees at a church service were not bitter--they were Christians (The Christian Century, July 15, 1942: 894). Another Hunter item began, "Many...who are now in mass evacuation centers refuse to yield to bitterness" (The Christian Century, May 6, 1942: 608).

The picture of the evacuee who, though suffering, remains stoic and free of bitterness may be accurate. It may reflect the traditional Japanese discipline and submission to authority. Or, the reports may reflect the attitudes of the writers as Christians, admiring stoicism and forgiveness--the ability to quietly accept a burden, no matter how unjust.

Certainly, The Century made very clear its position that the evacuation was wrong and that the Japanese faced many hardships, but the emphasis on stoicism and lack of bitterness is curious. The same news story which contains the subhead "Christians Are Not Bitter," ends with the following excerpt from an evacuee's letter: "This evacuation did not seem too unfair until we got right to the camp and were met by soldiers

with guns and bayonets. Then I almost started screaming, for it made me feel like a criminal, dragging chains. Will I ever throw them off" (The Christian Century, July 15, 1942: 894).

CHAPTER V: UNSNARLING THE NISEI TANGLE

Overall, The Christian Century disagreed vehemently with the way the Japanese-Americans were uprooted and forced into relocation centers. It also waged a continuous fight against the government's refusal to sift out the disloyal and dangerous from those who had done nothing more than been born to Japanese parents. On these issues, The Century held a steady course. The magazine's content reflected less certainty on the question of relocation centers. On balance, however, The Century and its editors were determined to insure that "the ministry of brotherhood and understanding should extend as much to the innocent Japanese-Americans as it did to white Christians."

A primary concern of The Christian Century's editors in 1943 was the relocation centers. For a time, though, the editors seemed to be of two minds about the centers. On the one hand, it essentially endorsed a lengthy article suggesting that the camps were an interesting experiment in social engineering. On the other hand, it carried articles condemning the centers as destructive of virtually an entire racial minority, and urging their hasty closing.

The former example was a January, 1943 article written by Albert Palmer, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary. In his account of a visit to the Gila Relocation Project in Arizona, Palmer seems to have gone to great lengths to accentuate positive aspects of the camp. Above all, Palmer appears to have been struck by the camp's cleanliness. The barracks, he wrote, were "scrupulously clean." The Japanese had a

"cultural heritage of cleanliness." A church was "scrubbed until it shone." The Nisei were "clean." It is impossible to know why this so impressed Palmer and, indeed, others who reported from the camps. Perhaps Palmer had not expected such a high level of self-respect and morale on the part of the internees. In any case, he almost certainly meant his observations as a compliment, though a reader might detect a trace of condescension or patronism in his comments.

At the same time, Palmer seems to have overlooked, ignored or minimized the injustices which had been apparent to other visitors to the camps. Palmer did mention the low wages paid to evacuee workers. But, rather than denounce the injustice of Japanese doctors earning $19 a month, Palmer pointed out that medical care in the camp was "socialized medicine with a vengeance" (The Christian Century, January 20, 1943: 77)!

The economic system of the camp was not criticized, even though it had been compared by others to a prison's. To Palmer, it was "an interesting experiment in a limited form of communism, an experiment likely to be remembered and worth watching as it unfolds" (The Christian Century, January 20, 1943: 77). Palmer clearly did not advocate rapid relocation and an early closing of the relocation center. Indeed, he expressed some disappointment that, because the center was on an old Indian reservation, the Japanese could remain there only until the war ended: "This seems unfortunate, for this is just the soil and climate where at least the agricultural-minded members of the Japanese group would be most happy and self-sustaining" (The Christian Century, January 20, 1943: 77).

A week after the appearance of Palmer's article, an editorial

paragraph appeared which seemed to indicate that the editors of The Century had "softened" on the issue of the camps and internment. They did not take issue with Palmer's account of life at the Gila Relocation Project. Instead, they described his as "an attractive picture of one of the Japanese relocation centers." At the same time, the editors did not appear prepared to accept unfavorable news about the centers at face value. In particular, The Century was concerned about reports at other centers which "have not been so reassuring." This referred to charges of "bungling administration" and "bad morale among the campers" which soon triggered a Senate investigation. However, the magazine assured its readers that "The charges have been denied by those who should know the truth about the situation..." (The Christian Century, January 27, 1943: 100). Nevertheless, The Century welcomed the investigation: "The nation should receive a report it can accept as reliable; the young Japanese-Americans should receive reassurance that the nation has an intelligent interest in their welfare" (The Christian Century, January 27, 1943: 100).

Such a statement seems considerably less strident than some of the magazine's earlier comments about treatment of the Japanese. The January, 1943 editorial appears to back off from earlier assertions that the United States government and the army had no "intelligent interest in the welfare of Japanese-Americans." And earlier comparisons with "concentration camps" had given way to use of the word "campers." In all likelihood, The Century had come to accept the reality of the government's action, unfair though they believed it to be. Under these wartime circumstances, the next best thing to do was to protect what was left of the freedom and integrity of the Japanese-Americans while advocating a speedier resolution

of the relocation question. One approach to this would be an investigation, not by the executive branch or the military, but by the Senate of the United States.

In its apparent "softening" on the issue of conditions in the centers, The Christian Century was not alone. At about the same time, another magazine of opinion, The New Republic, expressed views which differed only in degree from Albert Palmer's appraisal of the centers. But, unlike The Century, The New Republic seemed to become an apologist for the government's treatment of the evacuees. The magazine had published, in June 1942, an article by an evacuee which described the deplorable conditions at an assembly center, Camp Harmony, at Puyallup, Washington. The army took exception to some of the charges, so The New Republic sent an investigator to the center. In its issue of January 18, 1943, the magazine repudiated, in essence, the charges made by the evacuee, Ted Nakashima. Some of his criticisms were, it said,

> exaggerated, and that those that were true referred to temporary conditions that were ameliorated shortly after Mr. Nakashima wrote his article.... Conditions at this camp, except for the first weeks, have been as good as could reasonably be expected by anyone.... Certainly there can be no doubt that our treatment of persons of the Japanese race has been infinitely better than has been the case with Americans who have been captured or interned by the Japanese ("Conditions at Camp Harmony," January 18, 1943: 72).

Though two letters to the editor which characterized Palmer's description of a relocation center as accurate were printed in The Christian Century, opposing views soon reached the magazine. A young Nisei woman wrote in despair that, to the internees, the "world becomes quite unreal and slowly we lose the desire to have serious relations with it." Which was not to say that life in camp was pleasant: "I do not mean

to say that we are happy and satisfied with camp life. On the contrary, it is a very degrading, degenerating, slip-shoddy life. No human being ought to be leading a life of this sort" (The Christian Century, April 7, 1943: 429).

Others--on the outside--echoed her concerns. A speaker at a Federal Council of Churches executive committee meeting was quoted as saying that Japanese-Americans had "been in the camps long enough to rot" (The Christian Century, March 31, 1943: 400). In June 1943, The Christian Century carried a major article on this topic by Kirby Page, former editor of The World Tomorrow. Page described how forces within the relocation centers were destroying the fabric of the Japanese-American subculture. "Morale in the camps is slumping sharply and character is deteriorating." Several causes for declining morale were offered. First, real family life was impossible in the camps, diminishing parental influence. Second, the work available to the internees was not important enough to bring satisfaction. Third, the unequal pay offered the internees reduced "zest and efficiency." These conditions deepened a "...feeling of reckless irresponsibility.... The sense of rank injustice is generating intense bitterness..." (The Christian Century, June 16, 1943: 716).

Page's solution was echoed by the article's title, "End the Relocation Centers Now!" The Christian Century returned to this issue throughout the summer of 1943. In an editorial paragraph on July 28, The Century referred to the internees as "bewildered and resentful prisoners." A few weeks later, the magazine carried a four-part series by contributing author Galen Fisher, a trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, on the destructiveness of internment upon the Japanese-Americans as

individuals, families, and a racial group. The first article, titled "Untruths About Japanese-Americans," sought to debunk misconceptions about the internees. At the end of the long article, Fisher's final paragraph listed some costs of internment to the Japanese-Americans:

> Family life disrupted; business and professions gone; savings and security lost; a host of youth unable to realize plans for careers; life for the refined reduced to mediocrity; citizens registered for the draft and then denied service in the armed forces except in a segregated racial unit; the future for most of them a dark enigma (The Christian Century, August 18, 1943: 939).

Fisher's mention of refinement among the evacuees revealed sensitivity and lack of the paternalism so evident in other accounts of the internees. Far more frequently, the internees were characterized as "simple."

"The evacuees," wrote Fisher, "have been undergoing changes in attitudes and ideas unequaled in intensity by few, if any, groups in our entire population." These changes were clearly not positive, in his view. Rather, they were a "tragedy...heightened by every added week of life in the centers" (The Christian Century, August 18, 1943: 939). Fisher's conclusion was noteworthy, not just because it was a plea for justice and was laudatory of the internees, but because he included all internees: "To advocate continued confinement of loyal and disloyal, citizen and alien, old and young alike, is to conspire to turn one of our most productive, orderly and ambitious groups into a host of shiftless, cynical problem cases" (The Christian Century, August 18, 1943: 939).

Focusing attention on the degradation and despair within the relocation camps was only one important aspect of The Christian Century's coverage of the so-called West Coast Japanese problem. The editors also

were anxious to dispel rumors and stories from outside sources which distorted conditions in the camps. This activity often found The Century squaring off against the news media--most often the press and more particularly sensationalistic and jingoistic dailies such as The Denver Post and the entire Hearst chain, especially the newspapers in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago. For example, The Century felt obliged in May 1943 to deal with reports that the internees were being "coddled."

As reported by The Century's Denver correspondent, Clarence Kemper, The Denver Post was the instigator of a campaign to cast the Heart Mountain (Wyoming) assembly center in an "unfavorable light" (The Christian Century, May 26, 1943: 643). At the heart of the matter were charges that the internees were receiving privileges denied Caucasians, particularly freedom from rationing. Kemper cited a government survey to refute charges that the center wasted food and fuel and that internees were better-fed than the general population. Kemper added, editorially, that such Post headlines as "Sentimentalists who pity the Japs told where to get off" served to "awaken feelings but not minds" (The Christian Century, May 26, 1943: 643).

Further refutation of charges of pampering was provided in another news item from Kemper in July 1943, in which he cited a Denver and Colorado council of churches investigation of the allegations. Specific charges were demolished: "carloads" of bacon had not been delivered to the camps. Internees had not been given refrigerators. And, the internees were not paid high wages; on the contrary, all internees were paid less than $20 a month, it was reported.

The subject of "pampering" was again touched upon in August 1943.

In the first article of his four-part series on the evacuation and internment, Galen Fisher addressed the issue squarely. Drawing from the WRA itself, Fisher produced evidence showing that the Japanese in the camps were subjected to the same rationing restrictions as the general population. The per-person per-day cost of food in the camps was no more than 42 cents. Further, the food was "definitely below army standards" (The Christian Century, August 18, 1943: 938). Apparently, the issue subsided soon afterward, because no further mention of it was made in The Century.

The Christian Century, in the spring of 1942, had criticized the regional press and radio for their hostile attitude toward the resident Japanese and their incitement of race hatred. As relocation progressed, and the return of Japanese-Americans to the coast loomed, some of the press renewed their attacks upon the evacuees and drew new fire from the Century. Again under sharpest attack were the Hearst newspapers and The Denver Post. In his September, 1943 article, "What Race-Baiting Costs America," Galen Fisher launched a typical broadside:

> Safe behind the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press, newspapers like those of the Hearst chain and the Denver Post prostitute their privilege by undermining the other guarantees of the Bill of Rights and degrading the American way. They have been foremost in arousing hatred of the evacuees and in denying their constitutional rights (The Christian Century, September 8, 1943: 1010).

Two months later, an editorial paragraph took the press to task for its coverage of a disturbance at the Tule Lake segregation center--a camp solely for those judged to be disloyal or disruptive or, who, for some reason, opted for segregation from the others. Articles, beneath "screaming headlines," did not explain that the segregation center housed

only disloyalists, the editors pointed out. By sensationalizing the story, the editors felt, the newspapers "...probably did more than all the wild charges of the Dies committee to retard the government's efforts to relocate the 70,000 loyal Japanese-Americans who remain in the relocation centers" (The Christian Century, November 17, 1944: 1324). (The House Committee on Un-American Activities, nicknamed the Dies Committee for its chairman, Martin Dies of Texas, came under repeated attacks by The Century for its antagonistic position toward the evacuees.) The Century also pointed out the propaganda value to the Axis nations of such stories. In the editors' view, the newspapers had "...scored heavily for Hitler by aggravating an already inflamed racial and minority problem" (The Christian Century, November 17, 1943: 1324).

The Hearst chain was criticized in the magazine at least three more times in 1944. In March, The Century printed a letter from a soldier who was "shocked" by the anti-Japanese-American stance of the Hearst press in California. In August, the chain was taken to task in an editorial paragraph for "trying to stir up a newspaper sensation" by encouraging a railroad-workers' union to force out of their jobs 59 Japanese-American track laborers (The Christian Century, August 9, 1944: 919). Three weeks later, The Century reported that the Chicago church federation had attacked Hearst's Chicago Herald-American for its anti-Japanese-American articles (The Christian Century, August 30, 1944: 1004).

The Century's critical forays against the press really only underlined its primary goal--that of insuring fair, expeditious and humane treatment for the West Coast Japanese. Those who hindered such treatment or distorted the truth could expect to incur the wrath of the editors--a

wrath usually tempered by at least some Christian charity.

Thus it was with The Century's attitude toward the government agency responsible for operating the internment centers and coordinating relocation of the evacuees to areas outside the prohibited areas. To be sure, contributing author Galen Fisher found fault with some WRA administrators for being paternalistic, giving too little authority to "able" internees, failing to heed good suggestions, and for getting tied up in red tape. But these criticisms were mild compared to the outrage vented by the editors over the evacuation and internment as policies. And, whereas almost nothing positive appeared about the WRA itself in the magazine, readers in 1943 learned from Fisher that most of the WRA administrators "have striven to live up to democratic American standards," refusing to heed critics who called for stern treatment of the internees (The Christian Century, September 1, 1943: 984).

The chief task of the War Relocation Authority--implicit in its title--was relocation of the evacuees. As far as The Christian Century was concerned, there was only one way to do this: as quickly as possible. And, while it expressed its share of frustration over lack of progress, The Century generally tried to accentuate the positive and urge outside support to expedite the process.

The first segment of the evacuee population to be relocated consisted of Nisei college students. Though numerically few--perhaps 3,000--these students were important to the success of the relocation concept. Because they were the first, their success would give added support to those urging rapid relocation of the evacuees, as well as to provide a measure of hope for the evacuees who remained in the centers. But there were

major financial problems to overcome first. A May 1942 news story by Northern California correspondent Stanley Hunter cited the students' general inability to pay for their education. Terming their academic achievements "remarkable," Hunter added that the students "...deserve the help of every Christian American" (The Christian Century, May 20, 1942: 673).

The subject was treated in much greater length six weeks later in an article by the head of the eastern subcommittee of the Relocation Council, Robbins Barstow. Barstow outlined the function of the Committee, which had been formed in response to a suggestion by the WRA's first director, Milton Eisenhower. The Committee, Barstow wrote, attempted to assemble data (transcripts, etc.) about the students, find college openings, secure financial aid, and work out release procedures from WRA camps. The article concluded with practical suggestions of ways in which The Christian Century's readers could help in the relocation of the students. What was needed, he wrote, was donated money for student expenses, "...a real understanding of the problem faced by these loyal young people, and the cultivation of an atmosphere of friendly and generous hospitality..." (The Christian Century, July 1, 1942: 837).

Barstow's article also reported, uncritically, assistant secretary of war John McCloy's statement that relocation of Nisei college students was "compensation" for their evacuation. Less than a year earlier, such a comment might have triggered a stern lecture from The Century's editors about justice. Not this time. In September 1942, the editors endorsed the planned relocation of the students for two reasons. First, they cited the danger of enforced idleness and second, they concluded: "Giving them

access to further education provides the best remaining way of proving to citizens of Japanese ancestry that American democracy is not labeled 'for whites only'" (The Christian Century, September 2, 1942: 1044).

Certainly, "allowing" Nisei students to attend colleges and universities outside to West Coast was not the "best remaining way" to reaffirm their faith in democracy. The editors' conclusion was hardly as strong as previous editorial statements.

Another "victory" for the West Coast Japanese occurred in early 1943, when the War Department announced that it was lifting its year-old ban on Nisei enlistments in the army. But they would not be placed in regular units. The War Department decided to form a segregated military unit--a "combat team" of Nisei. The Christian Century praised the basic decision as another avenue of relocation, but thought segregation unwise and even unfair. To them, "the trend toward separated elements in our armed forces hardly seems healthy." Long supportive of racial and cultural amalgamation, the magazine saw in racial segregation (of blacks as well as Japanese-Americans) in the military the demise of "...the idea of the United States as a great melting pot." The magazine acknowledged that the government's decision may have been based on judgments of military necessity, "Yet somehow, some way, they do not carry the flavor of democracy." To the editors, there was "something touching and tragic about a whole racial group of American citizens...having to fight for the right to offer their lives for their country" (The Christian Century, February 7, 1943: 188).

These sentiments were echoed in a letter from an interned Nisei. He wrote, in March 1943, that the Nisei greatly resented the decision to form

a segregated unit. But he speculated that many Nisei would enlist "largely because they are depressed and want to get out of these concentration camps on any terms...." He expressed the fear that, should few Nisei enlist, the rights of Japanese-Americans could be restricted even further. He expressed little confidence that good will would be fostered by enlisting: "Somehow I fear the outcome will not be good as far as our standing with the public is concerned" (The Christian Century, March 17, 1943: 332).

Although The Christian Century opposed segregated Nisei combat units, it also realized that this development was not all bad. Those Nisei who had enlisted before Pearl Harbor and the forced evacuation had been placed in integrated units, but the treatment they received was not equal. After the government made it known that American pilots had been executed in Japan, the treatment of those Nisei worsened. Referring to him as an "outcast," The Century excerpted, in an editorial paragraph, portions of a letter from one such soldier. Written after he was confined to quarters and deprived of privileges because of the actions of the Japanese enemy, he wrote:

> I cried last night and wasn't the only one either. I know so many good Americans and I tried and tried, but these things happen so often overpowering it....Honestly, I tried my best to be a good soldier, but now no use because my heart isn't there any more. I want to be somebody you'll be proud of....

To the editors, such treatment threatened to destroy faith in American ideals. "This boy went into the war a fervid American patriot. What will he be when he comes out?" they asked (The Christian Century, June 16, 1943: 709).

The army's plan to recruit Nisei for a segregated unit was both

successful and unsuccessful. The Christian Century reported in June 1943 that in Hawaii, where Japanese-Americans were not interned, nearly 10,000 Nisei enlisted in a single month. But whereas large numbers had been expected from the mainland internment camps, far fewer than expected had volunteered. In the editors' view, the reason for the dramatic difference in responses resulted from but one factor: the contrasts in treatment.

Whereas The Christian Century applauded the opening of colleges and the military to young Nisei, it voiced strong opposition to the government's policy of treating all West Coast Japanese alike. The bureaucracy made no distinction between good and bad, loyal and disloyal. The magazine, which despised forced evacuation, realized by the spring of 1942 that it was a fait accompli. The editors then suggested what they regarded as the best alternative--filtering out the disloyal Japanese-Americans through hearing boards at the assembly centers. All evacuees given a clean bill of patriotic health would be allowed to return to their homes, since further detention would obviously be unnecessary. In this way, internment in WRA-operated relocation centers could be avoided, except for the very small number of disloyal Japanese (The Christian Century, June 10, 1942: 750).

But this was not to be. Hearing boards were not set up at the army-run assembly centers. The only attempt to relocate any of the evacuees involved the Nisei college students. As the weeks of confinement in the 16 assembly centers passed, it became apparent to the editors of The Christian Century, as well as the internees themselves, that it might be a long time indeed until they would be able to leave the camps, let alone resettle in their former homes.

This realization was expressed, in June 1942, in a letter to the editor from Tsutomu Fukuyama, an internee at Puyallup Assembly Center (Camp Harmony), Washington. The evacuees, he wrote, had been told when evacuation orders were issued, that "private relocation" would be permitted from the assembly centers. But, once at the camp, they were told that such was not the case--the WRA had changed its policy, and would now require all evacuees to go to the relocation centers first. "This is one of the most disheartening pieces of news received at the assembly center," he wrote (The Christian Century, June 24, 1942: 810). Exceptions to this rule were made for the representatives of farm corporations, who recruited field workers from the assembly centers. This exception apparently was little appreciated by the internees. "Many of our young people are wondering if they are nothing but commodities on the labor market," Fukuyama wrote (The Christian Century, June 24, 1942: 810).

Now, rather than a brief stay in an assembly center, Fukuyama was contemplating a lengthy stay in an assembly center--a stay of "three or four years." Among the costs of such an internment, he wrote, would be the raising of "barriers which might cut off our group entirely from the stream of American life" (The Christian Century, June 24, 1942: 810).

Even gloomier forecasts were to be heard. In September 1942, The Christian Century carried an editorial paragraph citing a recent Harper's Magazine article, in which the author had made a "startling" prophecy that the evacuees "will never get back to their homes in California; that they will either settle where the permanent internment camps are located or be forced to leave the country after the war." This prediction was based on a number of factors, including the creation of a "new set of vested

interests" opposed to the return of the evacuees to California, as well as the closing of loopholes in the Alien Land Act and the passage of ordinances preventing the Japanese from practicing "certain trades and professions" (The Christian Century, September 30, 1942: 1172).

By September 1942, The Christian Century had added an adjective to the term relocation centers: "permanent." There was no doubt to the editors that relocation would be a long process and would come only when the government said so. With this in mind, the magazine focused on two main goals: getting the loyal internees separated from the disloyal minority, and encouraging any efforts that would secure the release of loyal Japanese-Americans.

The first goal was getting the government to isolate the risky or dangerous internees. The Christian Century and other groups intensified their efforts late in 1942 after violence flared at two relocation camps. Although no one can say whether the magazine's editorials were a factor, their goal was achieved in July 1943 when the WRA announced a policy of segregation of trouble-makers and proven disloyalists among the interned evacuee population. At the same time, it was hoped that this segregation would speed relocation by eliminating the disruptive influence of troublemakers and by clearly (and finally) identifying the loyal and trustworthy internees. The Christian Century cheered the announcement, though they wondered, too, whether the decision was spurred by altruism or by the cost of running the program--estimated in 1943 at $3.65 million a year, or $10,000 a day. The editors could also not resist pointing out that they had proposed segregation--selective internment--at the very start of the evacuation. "If that had been done," they observed in an

understatement, "some headaches would have been avoided." Still, the decision was, in their eyes, "better late than never" (The Christian Century, July 28, 1943: 860)!

The second goal of The Christian Century--speedy relocation--was much more difficult. On this issue, the editors sought first to pressure the government; then, when some relocation did occur, the magazine publicized it enthusiastically--probably in the hopes of creating a kind of bandwagon effect. At the same time, the editors continued to argue that the West Coast Japanese should be permitted to return to their homes--rather than be forced to move to another part of the United States. Finally, however, The Christian Century did not shy away from reporting cases where the relocated Japanese had encountered prejudice or worse.

By early 1943, items began to appear in the magazine's "News of the Christian World" section detailing relocation successes and failures in areas outside the West Coast. The first such story, in the January 6 issue, reported that a Madison, Wisconsin committee, working with the WRA, had relocated 16 Japanese-Americans and had announced they could find places for another 16 (The Christian Century, January 6, 1943: 24). A month later, The Christian Century's Memphis correspondent reported that "many" former residents of the Rohwer center at McGehee, Arkansas had found jobs in industry and agriculture (The Christian Century, February 3, 1943: 144).

According to a speech in June 1943 by WRA director Dillon Myer, more than 8,000 evacuees had been released from relocation centers, most leaving between March 1 and May 6. The relocatees were not entirely free, however. All were on "leaves"--either seasonal leaves allowing them to

work as agricultural fieldworkers, or the more "permanent" indefinite leaves. And, of course, none of them could return to the coast. Attempting to speed up the process were recently opened WRA regional and branch offices. Meyer said the WRA was "operating on the following three assumptions: first, most of the evacuees would remain in the United States after the war. Second, "their rights are among the objects for which the United Nations are fighting." And, third, "if Caucasian Americans can but learn that they have nothing to fear from this 1 per cent of the total population, as well as the facts concerning their present state, they will desire to help..." (The Christian Century, June 9, 1943: 702).

But another speaker, George Rundquist, of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans, claimed the evacuees were wary of government promises, feeling a number of those promises had already been broken. Rundquist reported that it was difficult to get internees to leave the camps, so convinced were they that they would face a hostile public. Having already been forced to move twice, many did not want to face being forced from the place where they resettled (The Christian Century, June 9, 1943: 702). In August 1943, The Century's Denver correspondent reported WRA director Dillon Myer's statement that 95,000 internees remained in camps (of an original population of over 110,000), and that all Nisei and many Issei could leave the camps after signing a loyalty oath. (At that rate, it would require almost four more years to empty the camps.)

On the positive side, Myer noted that "Not one report has come to me of released evacuees being accused of or connected with any act of subversion or sabotage" (The Christian Century, August 18, 1943: 950).

This same positive note was struck by The Christian Century in reporting successful relocation efforts, especially in the midwest. In Iowa, for example, correspondent Warren Taylor reported how the American Friends Service Committee had decided to open a hostel in Des Moines where up to 25 relocatees at a time could stay until they found jobs and homes. Life in the hostel would be communal, with a sharing of household duties, though a cook would be hired, Taylor wrote. A few weeks later, Taylor informed the magazine's readers that relocation was proceeding well in Des Moines, where about 125 persons had been placed in jobs. "Christian people should rejoice over the fine spirit manifested in this city," he added (The Christian Century, September 15, 1943: 1045). Late in 1943, Taylor reported that the Des Moines hostel was doing "a fine piece of work" (The Christian Century, December 22, 1943: 1518).

The Christian Century also carried news of a Nisei who had been made the high school principal in the small town of Galt, Iowa. The arrangement, Taylor reported, was working out "splendidly." Other, positive experiences were given coverage. In Madison, Wisconsin, the magazine reported that 75 relocatees had been placed in jobs and that the community attitude was "receptive and cooperative." Early in 1944, Century readers learned that 750 evacuees had been resettled and had "made excellent work records almost without exception" (The Christian Century, January 5, 1944: 25).

Throughout 1943 and early 1944, numerous items about relocation of Japanese-American evacuees (mostly in the "News of the Christian World" section) had appeared in The Christian Century. They were mostly positive stories--about the pleasant reception given hard-working relocatees by

friendly locals. But it was not all good news. The magazine reported, for example, that the American Friends Service Committee had abandoned plans to use an existing hostel in West Branch, Iowa, for evacuees in the face of "considerable" local opposition--led by the American Legion. In southwest Iowa, 2,500 farmers had gathered to protest the renting of land for a resettlement project (The Christian Century, December 22, 1943: 1518).

During 1944, news stories about successful relocations in the midwest greatly diminished. They were replaced with renewed rumblings from western states where anti-Japanese forces were gearing up to fight what now appeared to be the inevitable return of the evacuees to their former homes.

On March 1, The Christian Century reported that Colorado governor John Vivian had called a special session of the legislature to "approve and submit" an amendment to the state constitution barring any Japanese from owning land in the state. Though the effort failed miserably (the Senate killed it by a vote of 60-1), it presaged similar actions in other western states. It also stirred the magazine's editors to call for greater political support of the West Coast Japanese. The editors, while acknowledging that supporting Japanese-Americans could be politically risky on the West Coast, called for more legislators, executives and administrative officials to sacrifice their political lives in the interest of freedom and justice (The Christian Century, March 1, 1944: 260).

Though political champions of Japanese-Americans were rare on the West Coast, many churches in the region began to lend their voices to the

call for fair treatment of the evacuees and their return to the coast. In July 1944, The Christian Century reported that the Southern California-Arizona conference of the Methodist church had called for the evacuees' return and for an end to "quasi-martial law" (The Christian Century, July 19, 1944: 860). The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) passed a similar resolution at their annual convention, in August.

By November 1944, public opinion toward the evacuees had begun to improve, wrote Galen Fisher, in his long article "Unsnarling the Nisei Tangle." The turnabout, he believed, was due to the fine performance of Nisei in the military. Among the promising indicators was the petitioning of the Supreme Court by the attorneys general of Washington, Oregon and California to remove all restrictions against Japanese-Americans as soon as the military situation permitted. Also, the San Francisco Chronicle--one of the West Coast's more important papers--had editorialized in favor of the evacuees' return.

Fisher acknowledged the potential for ill treatment of returning evacuees at the hands of an angry populace. But he argued that no such problem would arise if both army and government leaders, as well as leading citizens, "demand order, fair play and cooperation with the government" (The Christian Century, November 18, 1944: 1287). Looking at the bright side, Fisher identified three compensations that had accrued to the Japanese-Americans from the evacution. First was the "thrilling chance that has come to many resettled to do work for which they were trained, instead of being compelled as so often on the West Coast, to accept menial jobs or starve." The second compensation was the "wide dispersion of the resettlers, which has prevented re-creation of the

little Tokyos that hindered Americanization." The third compensation of the evacuation, Fisher ventured, "...may spring from the successful experiment in unified Protestant religious work initiated in the relocation centers" (The Christian Century, November 18, 1944: 1285). Fisher did not speculate on whether these compensations were worth the price the evacuees were forced to pay.

In spite of these promising signs of a more favorable climate on the coast, the fact was that the internees were still barred from Washington, Oregon and California. Unwilling to move anywhere else, many internees refused to relocate, instead waiting for the army to lift its exclusion orders. At the same time, the army appeared to be waiting for the Supreme Court to hear the two test cases challenging the constitutionality of the evacuation and internment.

These cases were not decided until December 18, 1944, when the Court handed down two decisions. In the first, the court ordered released from a relocation center Mitsue Endo, who had challenged the legality of her internment. In this case, the Court declared that the government had no right to detain concededly loyal citizens who had not been charged with a crime. At the same time, however, the Court upheld the conviction of Fred T. Korematsu, who had refused to comply with the army's evacuation orders. In this case, it was held that evacuation was legal on the grounds that the army's orders had not been motivated by racism, but by military necessity.

The editors of The Christian Century were perplexed--even outraged--by what they saw as contradictory decisions. "Taken together, they leave the constitutional issue involved in the 1942 evacuation exactly where it

stood before they spoke" (The Christian Century, December 27, 1944: 1493). A week later, in a long editorial titled "Racism in the Constitution," the editors again addressed the Supreme Court's decisions in the Endo and Korematsu cases. The editors pointed out that, despite the upholding of Korematsu's conviction, Endo's release ensured the release of all other loyal internees. But a larger issue remained. The Court's majority, by condoning the racially-motivated evacuation had, in effect, written racism into the Constitution, endangering the rights of all Americans.

The editors quoted from Justices Robert Jackson and Frank Murphy's dissenting opinions in the Korematsu case, in which the justices detailed the reasons why the Court's decision was wrong. The editorial ended with a passage from Justice Murphy's dissent, "...a paragraph," they wrote, "which should be engraved in stone."

> I dissent from this legalization of racism. Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatsoever in our democratic way of life. It is unattractive in any setting but it is utterly revolting among a free people who have embraced the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. All residents of this nation are related by kin or culture to a foreign land. Yet they are primarily and necessarily a part of the new distinct civilization of the United States. They must accordingly be treated at all times as the heirs of the American experiment and as entitled to all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution (The Christian Century, December 27, 1944: 1493).

The editors were in complete agreement with Justice Murphy's dissent. But they had been saying the same thing all along, namely, that evacuation and internment were "an unconstitutional resort to racism."

The day before the Supreme Court announced its decisions in the Endo and Korematsu cases, the army revoked its evacuation orders, explaining there was not longer a military reason for the exclusion of Japanese-

Americans. The army's action of December 17, 1944, virtually ensured the rapid return to the coast of thousands of Japanese-Americans from relocation centers and from the places to which they had relocated in the previous two-and-a-half years.

The spectre of this influx stirred anti-Japanese forces on the West Coast to new levels of virulence. The Christian Century's correspondent in Oregon, Raymond Walker, detailed some of the various groups and their activities in the fight to prevent the return of the evacuees. Grange masters had called for legislation "prohibiting American-born children of Japanese parentage to become citizens, own property or enjoy permanent residence within the continental United States." The American Legion continued its resistance to Japanese-Americans. The Hood River post even removed the names of 16 soldiers of Japanese descent from its county war memorial. After the Portland Council of Churches called for "fair play, essential Americanism and the Christian spirit" in dealing with Japanese-Americans, its president was threatened (The Christian Century, January 10, 1945: 61).

Such actions, Walker reported, were being attributed by the Portland press to economic, rather than patriotic, motives. Whatever the reason, Walker was not optimistic, though he did draw comfort from the fact that both of Portland's newspapers--the Oregonian and the Oregon Journal stood "squarely for the rights of the Nisei." Walker concluded his assessment by saying "Christian forces are preparing to welcome the Nisei back to their homes. Others are openly predicting violence" (The Christian Century, January 10, 1945: 61).

In February 1945, Allen Hunter wrote from Los Angeles that local

officials were "...now cooperating with the authorities in the return of the Issei and Nisei." But Hunter astutely suggested that the mayor and other officials were motivated not entirely by goodwill for the returnees. Much of the new spirit of cooperation, he conceded, was inspired by "the actions of the army and the Supreme Court." "The sheriff, the city chief of police and the district attorney are also cooperating," he added. "Politicians are not unaware of the writing on the wall" (The Christian Century, February 7, 1945: 185). Other positive (if brief) notes could be found sprinkled in the "News of the Christian World" section of The Century. On the same page as Hunter's story was the following report, under the headline, "Japanese-American Welcomed Home by His Church":

> A special sermon on tolerance was part of the welcome extended to Shasuki Nitta, Japanese-American rancher who recently returned to his home near Santa Ana, California, by the Methodist church in which he had been an active worker for years before the evacuation. Mr. Nitta organized a church in his relocation center (The Christian Century, February 7, 1945: 182).

This pattern, of good news alternating with bad news for the former evacuees, would continue for the remainder of the war. In February, 1945, The Christian Century published a long list of West Coast groups expressing willingness to assist returnees "in any possible way" (The Christian Century, February 14, 1945: 220). In May, the magazine reported a Pasadena speech by evangelist E. Stanley Jones. Jones asked the audience of about 3,000 to treat the returnees "in the American way," and received a good response (The Christian Century, May 2, 1945: 558).

Despite these outward signs of welcome, the early months of 1945 saw no large-scale return of Japanese-Americans to the West Coast. In fact, in April The Christian Century's Washington state correspondent reported

that only about 100 Japanese-Americans had returned to Seattle out of a pre-evacuation population of about 7,000. Clearly, the mass of former Japanese residents were waiting to see how the few fared who were willing to make exploratory visits to California, Oregon and Washington. It was also obvious, according to the correspondent, that the main deterrent was fear of a hostile populace. The reasons for this fear were detailed in May 1945 in a Century article in which H. Rex Lee, chief of the WRA's relocation division, described the various anti-Japanese activities on the West Coast--including boycotts, shots fired at homes and the burning of property.

Clearly, the war's abrupt end in August 1945 did not also signal the end of the problems associated with internment camps and relocation. Over 60,000 people still remained in the relocation centers. The camps would close in December, meaning the number of people relocating or returning in the coming few months would be about the same as had relocated in the previous two years.

To keep its December deadline, the WRA was forced to bodily remove internees who failed to leave of their own accord. To Allan Hunter in California, this eviction process was too harsh. The situation facing returnees in Los Angeles, he said, was not favorable. The housing situation was "desperate" and jobs were scarce. To make matters worse, the returning fishermen were not allowed to fish, and the returning farmers could not buy land. The returnees needed help finding jobs, Hunter reported.

In short, the Japanese-Americans had been freed, but it would take

more than the ministry of brotherhood and understanding to help them pick up the pieces in a world that, for them, would never be the same.

CHAPTER VI: BATTLING SHORT MEMORIES

By the time World War II ended in August 1945, discrimination against the West Coast Japanese had diminished. Concomitantly, interest in the former evacuees declined; other Americans were eager to put the war and its problems behind them. The Christian Century was concerned that the plight of the former evacuees would be forgotten in an America impatient to return to normalcy. The magazine did not abandon these people and the trials they faced returning to the "real world." In the months after the war's end, The Century kept a close eye on the treatment accorded the Japanese-Americans, and was quick to point out any injustices they faced.

And yet, it was inevitable that the end of internment would be accompanied by a decline in the number of items about them in The Christian Century. The decline was drastic and almost immediate. Between June 1946 and March 1948, virtually nothing about the former evacuees appeared in the magazine. In 1948, stories about the Japanese began to appear again, but a shift had taken place. Three major Japanese-American issues came to the fore: naturalization for the Issei, restoration of citizenship for wartime renunciants, and compensation for former internees. For the next two decades (albeit sporadically), The Christian Century followed these stories, always supportive of moves to rectify what it perceived as injustices.

Perhaps the first indication that the nation itself desired to put wartime problems behind it occurred in the fall of 1945, in the form of a proposal by Congress to cut 20 percent from the budget of the War

Relocation Authority--from $25 million to $20 million. To the editors of The Christian Century, such a cut threatened the entire relocation program. They warned that if the cut were approved, "the whole orderly program for returning Japanese-Americans to normal life in American communities is likely to be torn to pieces." The cut, they wrote, would force a reduction in WRA manpower, leading to confusion in the camps. Second, the WRA would be forced to abandon its efforts to find decent housing for internees as they left the camps. Finally, the budget cut would necessitate the "expulsion" of internees from the relocation camps "at a rate which will make their return to their homes a nightmare experience as bad as was their original expulsion" (The Christian Century, October 10, 1945: 1148).

The editors believed the proposed budget cut was shortsighted: "The nation's total record in dealing with the Japanese-Americans has been almost incredibly bad. But there is no sufficient reason why, for the sake of only $5,000,000, it should end in another burst of mismanagement and mistreatment." To trim the program at that point, they believed, would be "scandalous" (The Christian Century, October 10, 1945: 1148).

The Century acknowledged that the WRA, in its limited lifespan, would not be able to complete the job of aiding Japanese-American relocation and readjustment. Proponents of the budget cut maintained that local agencies would take up any shortfall in aid to the returnees. But the editors insisted that this was unrealistic, pointing out that "local welfare agencies, especially on the Pacific coast, are notoriously unreliable in their concern for Nisei citizens" (The Christian Century, October 10, 1945: 1147).

In October 1945, Galen Fisher examined some of the reasons why, at the beginning of that month, some 27,000 persons of Japanese descent remained in relocation centers, including 3,000 Tule Lake residents who had not yet been cleared for resettlement. The WRA, he believed, would be hard-pressed to meet its December 31 deadline for emptying the camps, especially since many of the people remaining in the camps were either children or "the old and timid." The housing shortage on the West Coast remained the "tightest bottleneck," even though church-run hostels had helped to ease some of the pressure. But there were other factors slowing relocation "sufficiently formidable to make even a stout heart quail." To drive home a sense of the pressures facing the remaining internees, Fisher asked the reader to

> Put yourself in the shoes of an evacuee father or mother, with two or three children, and face the necessity of deciding as to returning to California. You are obsessed by what you have read in the papers or in letters or have heard from the lips of fellow evacuees who have gone to look over the situation--facts like these: Shots fired night after night at resettlers' homes and buildings burned; only a baker's dozen of the culprits arraigned and most of them acquitted; boycotts against resettlers' produce and businesses; implements and furniture that were leased upon evacuation stolen; evacuees vilified as though they were of the same stripe as Nippon's war lords...insurance companies demanding 50 per cent extra for policies" (The Christian Century, October 24, 1945: 1199).

Fisher added that, though such things were still happening, they were generally less virulent than previously, and were receiving "more forthright condemnation from reputable papers and civic leaders." California's governor and attorney general had ordered police officers to uphold the civil rights of returnees. Of particular importance in easing relocation was the war record of the Nisei veterans: "At long last, the superb heroism of the Nisei service men on both European and Pacific

fronts has been driven home to the man in the street...."

West Coast "politicos are less brazen than formerly in exploiting anti-Japanese feeling," Fisher wrote. "One can imagine their dismay as plank after plank of their Jap-baiting platform has been cut from under them--exclusion abolished by the army; detention declared illegal by the Supreme Court; disloyalty of Nisei utterly disproved" (The Christian Century, October 24, 1945: 1199).

Yet the housing shortage was persistent. Nine months after the war's end, Fisher wrote that the situation was still acute. It was caused, in part, by restrictive covenants which prevented Japanese-Americans (and other minorities) from settling in certain neighborhoods (The Christian Century, May 29, 1945: 684).

Another roadblock to integration of the former evacuees into West Coast society was the effort there on the coast to revive the racially segregated churches of the pre-war years. In other parts of the country, the relocatees had demonstrated a preference for integrated churches. But returnees to the West Coast were frustrated, for a number of reasons. First, Japanese-American ministers were not being offered positions in integrated churches there. Second, some segregated churches were being formed by the returnees because of a need for places where their younger members could meet potential marriage partners (The Christian Century, January 21, 1946: 101). Southern California correspondent Allan Hunter added a third reason: "Both Nisei and Issei hesitate to join Caucasian churches when asked because of the financial commitments involved. They fear they may lose their present jobs and be unable to pay their church pledges" (The Christian Century, April 17, 1946: 505).

Beyond these reasons for the return of the "Jap Crow" church was the simple fact that some Caucasian churches refused to welcome Japanese-Americans as members. Such churches, noted Allan Hunter, were willing to aid returnees materially but not spiritually. In the words of one Nisei, "They scratch us all right, but not where we itch most" (The Christian Century, April 16, 1946: 505).

Throughout the war, Galen Fisher had contributed to The Christian Century articles which examined the plight of the Japanese-Americans. In the spring of 1946, with the evacuation and internment behind them, Fisher turned from the present to an examination of long-range policies. Five "deeper problems" stemmed from the evacuation and internment. With the WRA's demise only a month hence, these problems would have to be addressed by other agencies.

The first problem was the constitutionality of the evacuation. "It is of vital consequence that the Supreme Court pronounce a clear-cut verdict as to the constitutionality or otherwise of the mass evacuation of one racial group, without due process. The court did not do this in the Korematsu case." The second "deeper problem" was the supremacy of the civil government over the military. Fisher pointed out that the Supreme Court's decision in the Korematsu case had lessened society's control over the military. He urged that "Steps should be taken to secure a court ruling which would establish the proper subordination of the military to the civil authority" (The Christian Century, October 24, 1945: 1199).

To Fisher, it was important that the former internees be compensated for their wartime losses. Therefore, third among the problems was restitution. "It is a well established principle that losses suffered by

persons in the public interest should be indemnified by the state. Billions are being paid to industrial concerns on that principle. Should not evacuees be compensated, along with other individuals, for losses demonstrably due to their forced evacuation by the government?"

The fourth problem Fisher listed was personality restoration of the Japanese-Americans. "The evacuees were not only physically dislocated, but what is more serious, they were socially disrupted and in many cases psychologically disintegrated....Some will need skilled aid by psychiatrists, pastors and social workers. But the best general therapeutic will be to restore the sense of self-respect and usefulness that comes from being given equal opportunity and receiving equal--not preferential or patronizing--treatment."

Finally, the fifth problem yet to be dealt with was "national consistency." To Fisher, this meant a greater congruence between the high-sounding phrases of the Declaration of Independence and the treatment of darker-skinned peoples in this country (including Asians). In his view, "our national snobbishness" toward Asians "not only breeds disunity and friction at home, but also arouses distrust and resentment among the billion people of Asia, which may cause a world conflagration" (The Christian Century, October 24, 1945: 1199).

For nearly two years, The Christian Century was virtually silent on the subject of the Japanese-Americans. The camps were all been closed by the spring of 1946, the WRA was dissolved on June 30 of that year, and the former evacuees were readjusting well to life outside the camps. Much of the subject matter for The Century editorials and news stories was gone. But the magazine maintained its role as advocate for fair treatment of the

Japanese-Americans. By the spring of 1948, three issues had become dominant in its pages: granting naturalization rights to the Issei, restoration of citizenship to Nisei who had renounced their citizenship while in the camps, and financial compensation to the former internees for losses due to evacuation and internment.

Compensation was the first issue to be addressed--in a May 3, 1948 article by Leonard Bloom, a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. Bloom outlined a number of justifications for restitution and reasons for and the extent of the evacuees' financial losses. In his opinion, "...the timetable and plan of the evacuation was designed as if to insure the maximum economic loss" to the evacuees. Further, "We must dispel any notions that the agencies responsible for the evacuation and for the management of the evacuees were adequately concerned with the management of evacuee property." The Japanese-Americans were given little advance notice of the date of their evacuation, they were not protected from unscrupulous exploiters, and the army had no well-developed plans for safeguarding evacuee property. The WRA might have helped, but it was established too late to be of much assistance (The Christian Century, March 3, 1948: 268).

The problem was compounded because not only did many evacuees lose much of what they already had, but internment prevented them from earning more in a period of high wages and low unemployment. The evacuees were paid for their labor in the centers, but Bloom dismissed the wages, calling them "infinitesimal."

A bill then before the United States House of Representatives was "a step in the right direction." It would allow the attorney general to pay

claims up to $2,500. Larger awards would be handled by the claims court. The bill's major defect, Bloom believed, was that it contained no provision for compensation for the loss of earned income by the internees. Bloom also believed that the government would be forced to accept less documentation of losses than might ordinarily be expected. The former evacuees just didn't have any. He urged the government to recognize the principle of "presumptive loss" (the government could safely presume each evacuee had lost something as a result of the evacuation). Bloom proposed that the government offer a minimum blanket payment, with provision for greater awards through normal claims court practices (The Christian Century, March 3, 1948: 269).

The Century had urged, as early as 1945, repayment of the former internees for their wartime losses. But the federal government was slow to act on the issue, waiting until 1952 to begin making payments. In a May 7, 1952 editorial paragraph, the magazine announced that the United States Senate had appropriated $9 million to pay the claims of former Japanese-American internees. The claims were being "processed with something approaching speed and efficiency," but the editors were far from satisfied--the $9 million appropriation was only a minuscule percentage of the $133 million the victims had claimed. But even if the government had agreed to pay all that was requested, it still would have been an insufficient gesture. The evacuation was a "blot" that could "never be wholly wiped off the national record" (The Christian Century, May 7, 1952: 550).

The government eventually became more generous. A May 1959 editorial paragraph reported that the government had made payments totalling nearly

$35 million to 26,558 claimants for property losses. But still the editors were not satisfied. In their view, justice for the former internees involved more than money: "...restitution can never fully be made, nor does belated reparation fully eradicate the wrong done to them and to our heritage of freedom" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1959: 691).

Because the government's restitution payments were, in the view of The Christian Century, inadequate, it is not surprising that the Internal Revenue Service's 1962 decision to tax the payments was protested by the magazine. To the editors, "The value of the belated apology implied in making partial payments to the victims now needs to be conserved by the passage of pending congressional legislation which would exempt the payments from taxation" (The Christian Century, September 26, 1962: 1153).

Repayment of the evacuees was still an issue 22 years after the end of the war. In 1967, The Century reported that the United State Supreme Court ordered the government to repay 4,100 Japanese-Americans the $10 million it had confiscated from them during the war. True to form, the magazine was dissatisfied with the decision: "Though this may appear to be a generous settlement or, at least, a just one, it is nothing of the kind. These Americans have, for 25 years been deprived by their own government of their own savings....If the government owes them this amount of money, it also owes them a reasonable interest on this money for a period of 25 years" (The Christian Century, April 26, 1967: 526).

The matter of restitution was a long, drawn-out fight that, apparently, fully pleased no one. But The Christian Century's coverage of the story was, if not extensive, at least adequate. The same cannot be

said of the magazine's coverage of the other two major postwar Japanese-American issues.

Galen Fisher addressed the plight of the approximately 5,000 Nisei who had renounced their American citizenship during World War II. In his May 1946 retrospective of the evacuation and internment, he briefly sketched the main events which had occurred to that point. Several thousand of the renunciants had applied to cancel their renunciations, claiming they had renounced their citizenship under duress. By the spring of 1946, many of these Nisei had been released from custody, but their citizenship was in limbo.

Two years later, The Christian Century informed its readers that the renunciations of citizenship of 2,700 Nisei had been set aside by a federal judge. The evacuation and internment of the West Coast Japanese-Americans were unconstitutional, Judge Louis E. Goodman maintained. Therefore, the renunciations were invalid. It was at this juncture, for some unknown reason, that The Century's coverage of the fight for the restoration of citizenship to the renunciants became more sporadic. Some important developments in the case received no mention in the magazine. For example, the magazine did not inform its readers that Judge Goodman left open to the government the option of presenting further cause why the renunciants should not be given back their citizenship. The government took advantage of this opportunity, claiming that not all of the nearly 5,000 renunciants had acted under duress, and therefore their citizenship should not be restored. Judge Goodman, however, did not accept this claim. As The Century reported on April 13, 1949, he ordered that citizenship be restored to nearly 4,4000 renunciants. At the end of the

brief item about the judge's action, the editors of The Century wrote: "Unless the government appeals, this should end one of the most disgraceful episodes of the war" (The Christian Century, April 13, 1949: 454).

The Christian Century also failed to inform its readers when the government subsequently appealed the court's ruling. The magazine did not mention that the ninth circuit court of appeals held that the lawyer representing the renunciants had erred by lumping all their cases together. He was required to present each case individually to the court. The next (and final) mention in The Century of the fight for restoration of citizenship of the wartime renunciants was in an editorial paragraph of June 10, 1959. The editors reported on a ceremony marking completion of the government's citizenship restoration program. The citizenship of nearly 5,000 renunciants had been restored, while "The applications of 431 others were turned down because of 'evidence of disloyalty to the U.S'" (The Christian Century, June 10, 1959: 691).

Many of those whose citizenship was not restored had already gone to Japan, but 84 remained in the United States. They continued their fight in the courts, and by 1968, citizenship had been restored to each (Weglyn, 1969: 265).

The Christian Century demonstrated the same inconsistency in following through on the issue of offering naturalization to the Issei. The magazine had favored such a move even before World War II. In his May 1946 retrospective, Galen Fisher noted that "It has been suggested that the least a grateful nation could do would be to offer naturalization to the parents of Nisei veterans of World War II." However, Fisher had in

mind something broader in scope: "It seems far sounder, however, to press for naturalization for all Orientals rather than for Japanese alone" (The Christian Century, May 6, 1946: 685).

The issue was again raised two years later. In the March 10, 1948 issue, the editors wrote: "The right to become a naturalized citizen ought not to be denied because of race, so 84,000 Japanese should be given that right" (The Christian Century, March 10, 1948: 290). In the May 12 issue, the editors reported some progress in the matter. A bill had been introduced in the House of Representatives offering naturalization to the Issei. Nearly one year later, in the May 1949 issue, the magazine reported that the so-called Judd bill had been passed by the House, and they called upon the Senate to do likewise. This was The Christian Century's final mention of the fight for naturalization rights for the Japanese residents of the United States. Naturalization was finally offered the Issei in 1952, with the passage, over a presidential veto, of the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. The victory, so long sought by Japanese-Americans, was not unalloyed, however. Attached to the Act were a number of provisions from the so-called McCarran Act of 1950 (The Internal Security Act). This reactionary legislation had authorized detention by the government of persons suspected of engaging in or planning to engage in espionage or sabotage.

Naturally, such provisions were anathema to Japanese-Americans, but the Japanese-American Citizens League supported the Walter-McCarran Act anyway. The objectionable portions of the 1952 Act, they reasoned, had already become law in 1950, so opposing the bill for that reason would not invalidate the earlier legislation. It was best, they determined, to

accept the 1952 Act for its desirable aspects (Hosokawa, 1969: 453). At any rate, none of this was reported or commented on by The Century.

Comparatively few items about Japanese-American issues appeared in The Christian Century during the 1950s. Increasingly, the attention of the magazine turned to other issues, both foreign and domestic.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSIONS

No major magazine during World War II condemned the violation of the civil rights of the West Coast Japanese more frequently or more vehemently than The Christian Century. Its denunciation of the evacuation (and support of the Japanese-Americans) was immediate, forceful and consistent. So much seems clear. But what did The Century accomplish by taking this stand?

Perhaps it is easier to start by determining what The Century was unable to accomplish. First, and most obviously, the magazine did not prevent the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast. There seem to be two main reasons for this. The Christian Century was slow in alerting its readers to the mounting pressure to rid the coast of its "Japanese menace." The editors failed to voice a warning in the first months of the war because they could not believe the government would sanction such a clear violation of civil rights. At the same time, the influence of the magazine in March and April of 1942 could not begin to compare with that of the powerful anti-Japanese-American forces on the West Coast and in the nation's capital.

Second, The Christian Century did not serve as a source, in a direct sense, of inspiration for the internees. That at least some internees in some of the camps were, however, readers of The Christian Century is evident from their letters to the editor which were published. Yet, in all likelihood, relatively few of the internees read the magazine. The Reverend Joseph Hunter, former assistant director of Rohwer Relocation

Center and a contributor to the magazine, has said that, to the best of his knowledge, he was the only subscriber to The Christian Century in the entire camp (Hunter, personal correspondence, September 1985).

Even then, The Century, by taking its positions toward the evacuation, the subsequent internment and the Japanese-Americans themselves, may have accomplished at least three things. The first and most important (though virtually impossible to gauge) was that it may have "helped to awaken the conscience of America" (Fey, personal correspondence, July 28, 1985). By presenting the evacuees in a fair and favorable light and presenting the facts of the evacuation and internment without the sugar-coating applied by other publications, The Century exposed the gross injustice of the government's policies and may have stirred Americans' basic desire for fair play.

Second, The Century may have helped ameliorate some of the suffering of the evacuees by encouraging readers, through their churches, to aid the Japanese-Americans during the evacuation, internment and relocation periods. During the evacuation, the magazine applauded the efforts of churches and religious organizations, such as the American Friends Service Committee, to ease the confusion of the forced migration of Japanese-Americans from their homes to the camps, and urged its readers and their churches to do what they could. Later, the magazine encouraged churches and their members to open their doors to relocatees, and to offer them shelter and jobs.

Finally, throughout this period, The Christian Century fought to end the racism which had brought about the evacuation and internment. The editors and contributors sought to do this by offering a balanced picture

of the internees. They were presented as people rather than a faceless horde. By likening America's treatment of Japanese-Americans to Germany's treatment of Jews, there was no mistaking the stance of The Century with regard to the racial basis of the evacuation. The editors knew that racial antagonism toward Japanese-Americans would have to subside if relocation were to succeed and, in the longer run, if the evacuees were to return to their former homes. Of all the contributions The Century may have made to the cause of the evacuees, this may have been the longest-lasting.

If indeed The Christian Century was able to ameliorate their plight, how was it accomplished? After all, its circulation was only about 40,000, dwarfed by the huge circulation of giants such as Life, Time, Newsweek and The Saturday Evening Post. The answer may lie in the quality of The Century's circulation rather than the size of its circulation. As one writer on magazine publishing, Roland Wolsely, has noted, "The publishers of opinion periodicals believe that the educationally and economically higher or upper-income citizens have more influence in the long run" (Wolseley, 1969: 303). He adds that "their influence has been extraordinary if one considers their circulation size and, from the popular viewpoint, essential dullness" (Wolseley, 1969: 305).

Approximately 70 percent of The Christian Century's subscribers were clergymen. In their role as what sociologists have called "opinion leaders," who regularly addressed or in some manner communicated with large numbers of people weekly, their potential for influence was considerable. Thus, those clergy who read and agreed with The Century were in an important position to influence significant numbers of people

with regard to the injustices dealt the Japanese evacuees.

Another important factor in considering The Century's influence was its popularity with libraries, which composed ten percent of its subscribers. Approximately 3,500 libraries received the magazine each week, extending its potential readership far beyond what its circulation figures might indicate. Studies have shown that The Christian Century was one of the most frequently requested magazines at public libraries, and the only Protestant magazine among them (Marty, 1963: 9). According to Harold Fey, some libraries reported that students preparing papers consulted The Christian Century more than any other magazine (Fey, personal correspondence, July 28, 1985). A great aid for such research--and therefore potential influence--was the index the magazine published every six months.

The remaining 20 percent of subscribers were mostly lay churchmen, many of whom held church offices. Also, The Century was read in the newsrooms of many newspapers (Fey, personal correspondence, July 28, 1985) as well as by some soldiers and by some of the Japanese-American internees themselves, as indicated by their letters to the editor.

The Christian Century also attempted to reach beyond its subscribers by calling upon not just individuals, but entire churches to aid the Japanese evacuees and to fight to end the anti-Japanese discrimination which was rampant on the West Coast and which lay just below the surface in many other parts of the nation.

For those Japanese-Americans who read it, The Christian Century, in its letters to the editor section, provided a forum for their views, a forum which may not have been offered by publications less favorably

inclined to publicize the plight of the internees. In this capacity, The Century was not alone, but even those magazines which printed letters from evacuees could be less than supportive, as in the case of The New Republic's treatment of the Nakashima letter.

Harold Fey has written of The Christian Century that its "independence and fairness made friends, particularly in war time when open debate was a scarce article" (Fey, personal communication, February 26, 1985). His statement highlights one of the most important reasons for the editors' influence and for studying the coverage by The Century of the evacuation and internment of West Coast Japanese-Americans during World War II. The editors evidenced their independence by questioning, from the very beginning, the validity of the government's claims of military necessity as the primary motivation for the evacuation. Instead, the editors examined what they perceived as the true motivations: racism, greed and hysteria. They refused to fall victim to what they saw as the fallacy of "protective custody" of the evacuees as a valid justification, calling such a notion "pernicious."

The editors of The Christian Century refused to let their magazine sink to the level of racism and name-calling to which other publications had descended. Even in the nation's angry period after Pearl Harbor, the magazine remained fair, extending to Japanese-Americans all the courtesy they were due. A small, though significant, illustration of the respect shown Japanese-Americans is seen in the terms used to refer to them. To The Christian Century, American residents of Japanese descent were always "Japanese-Americans" or "Japanese." Later, they were sometimes referred to as "evacuees," "internees," "exiles," and so on. They were never

referred to as "Japs," a term so popular in the press of the period, and regarded by Japanese-Americans as derogatory.

As the war progressed, and public hysteria died down, the public could take a clearer look at the evacuation and internment. The public's perception of Japanese-Americans, their loyalty, and the injustice of their virtual imprisonment was further altered by the fine performance in battle of the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team. A number of magazines, notably Life and Time, previously supportive of the evacuation and unsympathetic toward Japanese-Americans, were virtually compelled to change their positions by 1944. The Century had no such need to change its position because it had been opposed to the evacuation from the beginning, and its support for the evacuees had been (with only a minor exception) consistent.

In a sense, it is easy to understand why The Christian Century devoted fewer editorials and articles to Japanese-American issues in the postwar years than it had during the war. Internment, the major injustice inflicted on the West Coast Japanese, had ended, and conditions on the coast had returned, more or less, to their pre-war status. Beyond this, there are at least five other reasons why The Century devoted relatively little attention to postwar Japanese-American issues. First may have been a desire to put a long and costly war behind. Second, the 1947 change in editorship may also have had an effect on coverage of Japanese-American issues, but this seems unlikely. Paul Hutchinson had worked with Charles Clayton Morrison for 24 years, and was in close agreement with his boss. The transition was very smooth, as Morrison remarked at the time. Besides, Hutchinson had written The Century's long editorials, which were

so supportive of the evacuees and so critical of government policies.

A third possible reason was the postwar success of the former internees. In the years after the war, this success led to the evaporation of many of the prewar problems, such as segregation and other forms of discrimination.

Finally, The Christian Century's interest may have been diverted by the rise of other (and perhaps more pressing) issues. Large numbers of editorials and articles were devoted to issues such as relations with Russia, the arms race, Indian independence, the rebuilding of Europe and Japan, and conflict in Eastern Europe. Perhaps most important, the latter part of the 1950s witnessed the rise of the black civil rights movement. Here was a much more pressing issue, involving millions rather than thousands of people. In the postwar world, these people suffered greater discrimination than did Japanese-Americans.

The stand The Christian Century took against the evacuation and internment of more than 110,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II was, during the war, a point of honor. And, in the views of the editors, it was an obligation. After the war, the magazine's wartime support of Japanese-Americans was an obvious source of pride for the editors. After the Supreme Court announced, in 1949, a decision favorable to Japanese-Americans, the editors wrote:

> We hope we will be forgiven for finding in this decision occasion for a bit of journalistic as well as a great deal of civic gratification. The files of the Christian Century show that this act of the government, which the courts have so roundly condemned seven years after the beginning of the event, was denounced in these pages when it occurred. When hysteria was at its height in one of the darkest periods of 1942, this paper declared that "the method which the government is pursuing in dealing with its Japanese citizens

> --many of them Christians--is not democratic, is not in accord with American traditions, is not just, is not humane, is not right." This position we held from the beginning through the successive stages of this tragic development. We do not regret it (The Christian Century, September 28, 1949: 1128).

The stand The Christian Century took against the evacuation and internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II is worth studying not because the magazine was unique in condemning the violation of the civil rights of more than 110,000 persons, 70,000 of whom were citizens of the United States; other magazines of opinion, such as The New Republic, The Nation and The Commonweal took similar positions.

Nor is The Century's stand worth studying because the magazine was unique in approaching the subject from a religious perspective (although this aspect was not always greatly emphasized); The Commonweal, published by Catholic laymen, did likewise.

However, The Christian Century's stand against the wholesale imprisonment in concentration camps of citizens and alien residents solely on the basis of race is worth studying because it was unique in the depth, volume and consistency of its coverage of the subject. The story of The Christian Century's outcry against the wrongful treatment of an unpopular minority is 40 years old. But it is also a lesson--an example--for journalists both now and for the future. It is a lesson which remains relevant after more than 40 years because the motivations which led to the internment of Japanese-Americans almost certainly remain alive in the United States, and could lead to a similar internment of another unpopular minority. But this time, because of provisions of the Internal Security Act (the McCarran Act) of 1950, there would be no question of the legality

of the internment. If such an event comes to pass, what will be the response of the journalistic community? The Christian Century offered one alternative in 1942.

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