NPS Form 10-900

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. Name of Property

Historic Name: Crystal City Internment Camp
Other name/site number: 41ZV527 and 41ZV528
Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

2. Location

Street & number: Three separate parcels within the area roughly bounded by N. 7th Ave., Airport Dr., N. 12th Ave., and Popeye Ln.
City or town: Crystal City State: Texas County: Zavala
Not for publication: ☐ Vicinity: ☐

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

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

I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following levels of significance:
☑ national ☐ statewide ☐ local

Applicable National Register Criteria: ☑ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D

Mark Wolfe State Historic Preservation Officer — 6/10/14
Signature of certifying official / Title **Date**

Texas Historical Commission
State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting or other official **Date**

State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

___ entered in the National Register
___ determined eligible for the National Register
___ determined not eligible for the National Register.
___ removed from the National Register
___ other, explain: _____

Signature of the Keeper **Date of Action**

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

	Private
X	Public - Local
	Public - State
	Public - Federal

Category of Property

	building(s)
X	district
	site
	structure
	object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
0	0	buildings
3	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
3	0	total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: Zero (0)

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions: Defense: Other (internment camp)

Current Functions: Education/school; Vacant/Not in Use

7. Description

Architectural Classification: No Style

Principal Exterior Materials: Concrete, Wood, Brick

Narrative Description (see continuation sheets 7-7 through 7-18)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

X	A	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
	B	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
	C	Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
	D	Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations: N/A

Areas of Significance: Military; Politics/Government; Ethnic Heritage (Asian and European)

Period of Significance: 1942 - 1948

Significant Dates: 1942 and 1948

Significant Person (only if criterion b is marked): N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only if criterion d is marked): N/A

Architect/Builder: Elmo Gaetano Zannoni; U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Narrative Statement of Significance (see continuation sheets 8-19 through 8-31)

9. Major Bibliographic References

Bibliography (see continuation sheets 9-32 through 9-34)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):
- _ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- _ previously listed in the National Register
- _ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- _ designated a National Historic Landmark
- _ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- _ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:
- x State historic preservation office (Texas Historical Commission, Austin)
- _ Other state agency
- _ Federal agency
- _ Local government
- _ University
- _ Other -- Specify Repository:

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: Approximately 3.071 total acres for all three nominated resources

Coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (use decimal degree format)

Datum if other than WGS84: N/A

Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack of foundations (contributing site)
Latitude: 28.691274° Longitude: -99.824589°

Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary School half-foundation (contributing site)
Latitude: 28.693836° Longitude: -99.819986°

Resource 3: Internee Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir (contributing site)
Latitude: 28.696505° Longitude: -99.820296°

Verbal Boundary Description: See continuation page 10-35

Boundary Justification: See continuation page 10-35

11. Form Prepared By

Name/title: William A. McWhorter/Military Sites Program Coordinator and Amy McWhorter/Private Historian
Organization: Texas Historical Commission (William McWhorter only)
Address: P.O. Box 12276
City: Austin State: Texas Zip Code: 78711-2276
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Telephone: 512.463.5833
Date: 12.05.2013

Additional Documentation

Maps (see continuation sheet Map-36 through Map-39)

Additional items (see continuation sheets Figure-40 through Figure-48)

Photographs

For purposes of review, selected current photos of the nominated resources are included on the accompanying disc.

Name of Property: Crystal City Internment Camp
City or Vicinity: Crystal City
County, State: Zavala County, Texas
Photographer: William McWhorter
Date Photographed: February 7, 2014

Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack of foundations; contributing site

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0001.jpeg
Southwest corner. Camera facing east.

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0002.jpeg
Northwest corner. Camera facing east.

Name of Property: Crystal City Internment Camp
City or Vicinity: Crystal City
County, State: Zavala County, Texas
Photographer: William McWhorter
Date Photographed: February 7, 2014

Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary School half-foundation; contributing site

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0003.jpeg
Southern corner. Camera facing north.

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0004.jpeg
North corner. Camera facing south.

Name of Property: Crystal City Internment Camp
City or Vicinity: Crystal City
County, State: Zavala County, Texas
Photographer: William McWhorter
Date Photographed: October 23, 2013 and February 7, 2014

Resource 3: Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir; contributing site

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0005.jpeg
Northern oblique. Camera facing south.

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0006.jpeg
Southern oblique, left side (primary entry). Camera facing north.

TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0007.jpeg
Western oblique. Camera facing east.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Narrative Description

The nominated discontiguous district consists of three distinct sites related by a their geographic proximity and direct historical associations to the World War II-era Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service's Crystal City Internment Camp. Due to the piecemeal demolition of the World War II-era confinement site and the site's redevelopment into two public schools and a sports complex of athletic fields, the three nominated sites within the discontiguous district represent, nearly all that remains of the historic camp. Above ground, the three contributing sites are represented by remnant concrete foundations, which once corresponded to camp staff housing, the Japanese Elementary School, and the Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir complex. Even with modern infill and ground disturbance activity, recent archeology investigations have proven the potential for the sites to yield additional information.

Shocked by the December 7, 1941, Empire of Japan attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, that propelled the United States into World War II, one federal government response to the war was the incarceration of thousands of Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast and the territory of Hawaii. More than 120,000 Issei (first generation Japanese immigrants) and Nisei (second generation, U.S. citizens) were forcibly moved, primarily to War Relocation Authority camps across the country. These internees shared a common loss of freedom with the thousands of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans and Enemy Aliens detained in Department of Justice (DOJ) camps through its Alien Enemy Control Unit program. The differences between these two federal government programs were far more complex than simply administrative, but one key result was the same. Thousands of people were removed from their homes and lost their personal freedom, often for the duration of the war, far more often than not without substantial proof of disloyalty to the U.S.[1]

Ultimately the U.S. government established nine permanent and 20 temporary internment camps to hold Enemy Aliens (i.e., citizens of nations the U.S. was actively at war with - Germany, Japan, and Italy).[2] Texas hosted three DOJ enemy alien confinement sites administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Kenedy, Seagoville, and Crystal City, the largest such facility of its kind. Texas also hosted two U.S. Army "temporary detention stations" at Dodd Field on Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio and Fort Bliss in El Paso. Due to its specific mission during World War II, the site's scale, and the fact that the internment camp was built

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[1] *We Were Not The Enemy: Remembering the United States' Latin-American Civilian Internment Program of World War II*, by Heidi Gurcke Donald, iUniverse: 2006, p. 62; Heidi Gurcke Donald. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on February 19, 2009, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; National Park Service, Department of the Interior. "Japanese Americans in World War II." National Historic Landmark Theme Study, 2005; Sheridan, Peter B. "The Internment of German and Italian Aliens Compared with the Internment of Japanese Aliens in the United States during World War II: A Brief History and Analysis." Library of Congress, Government Division, November 24, 1980; "My Internment by the U.S. Government," by Eberhard E. Fuhr, copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[2] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 28; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Overview of INS History to 1998." Originally published as "A Historical Guide to the U.S. Government," edited by George T. Kurian. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.5af9bb95919f35e66f614176543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=b7294b0738f70110VgnVCM1000000ecd190aRCRD&vgnextchannel=bc9cc9b1b49ea110VgnVCM1000004718190aRCRD, first accessed on 5.2.2012.

to reunite and hold Japanese, German, and Italian internees detained in both the U.S. and Latin America alongside their U.S. citizen relatives, Crystal City Internment Camp is nationally significant.[3]

The nominated discontiguous district consists of three distinct sites related by their geographic proximity and direct historical associations to the World War II-era Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service's Crystal City Internment Camp. Due to the piecemeal demolition of the World War II-era confinement site, including portions of these three resources, and the overall site's re-development into two public schools and a sports complex of athletic fields the boundaries form an irregular rectilinear grid.

The three nominated resources of the Crystal City Internment Camp are: Resource 1 (six Camp Staff Housing foundations; contributing site), roughly bounded by Popeye Ln. to the south, N. 7th Avenue to the west, open field to the north, and tennis courts to the east; Resource 2 (the Japanese Internee Elementary School half-foundation; contributing site), roughly bounded by N. 12th Avenue to the south and west, and open field to the north and east; and Resource 3 (the camp's Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir; contributing site), roughly bounded by Airport Dr. to the south, a different portion of the aforementioned federal low-income housing complex's chain-link fence to the west, and the city's airfield to the north and east. All three resources were built between 1942 and 1943, all were in use until the camp closure in 1948, and each retains its historic integrity of location. [see maps 1, 2 and 3]

All that remains above ground of the original historic fabric for the three nominated resources are reinforced concrete foundations.

- **Resource 1 (six Camp Staff Housing foundations; contributing site)**, these six remnant foundations of former wooden, one-story camp staff housing were razed in the 1970s leaving only the concrete foundations.
- **Resource 2 (Japanese Internee Elementary School half-foundation; contributing site)**, is located 535 yards east of Resource 1. The wooden Japanese Internee Elementary School was razed during the 1950s, but nearly one-half of its original central and eastern wings' reinforced concrete foundations remain. The other half of the building's central wing and western wing were demolished to make way for a road, Javalina Drive. The foundational remains are not completely intact as grass is growing in cracks throughout the remains.
- **Resource 3 (the camp's Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir; contributing site)** is located 279 yards north of Resource 2. The structure was designed and constructed by Italian and German internees in the summer of 1943 with local cured, reinforced concrete. [see figures 4 and 15] After the war, the swimming pool remained opened until the mid-1950s operated by the City of Crystal City. The site's two associated one-story wooden internee bathhouses were razed in the early 1950s, but their concrete foundations still remain today. Following the pool's abandonment the deep end was in-filled with dirt and the site became a city motor vehicle complex.[4]

[3] *The Japanese Texans*, by Thomas K. Walls, The University of Texas, Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio Press, San Antonio: 1987, p. 178-183; U.S. Department of State, "Memorandum Regarding Various American Agencies Holding Civilian Enemy Aliens and Participating in Their Control, June 19, 1942." National Archive and Records Administration II, College Park, MD, RG 59, Entry A1 1357, Box 129, Folder Enemy Aliens in U.S.; Audrey Moonyeen Thornton. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City Family Internment Camp internee) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on February 16, 2011, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[4] Annette Harkey. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on November 13, 2012, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701;

Setting

The former Crystal City Internment Camp and the City of Crystal City are located in Zavala County within the Interior Coastal Plains subdivision of the Gulf Coastal Plains physiographic region of Texas. This region is bounded to the north by the Balcones Escarpment and to the east by the Coastal Prairies. This region has a complex geology that has resulted in a variety of soil types, terrain, and vegetative communities. Within the vicinity of the project area, the Interior Coastal Prairies are drained by the Nueces and Comanche Rivers and their various tributaries. The climate of the area is considered humid subtropical, characterized by hot summers and cool winters, with an average high temperature in July of 96 degrees Fahrenheit and an average low temperature in January of 38 degrees Fahrenheit. Annual average precipitation is 32 inches, with peak precipitation in May and September. Summers are generally dry with occasional thunderstorms.[5]

Crystal City was established shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. Taking advantage of the many artesian wells in the area for irrigation, investors purchased a large ranch, subdivided it into ten-acre farms, and platted the small town site that they named Crystal City, after a nearby well. The community incorporated in 1907 and received rail service in 1908, and became a shipping point for vegetables grown on area farms. A cannery opened in the 1930s and the city declared itself the "Spinach Capital of the World." By the early 1940s the majority of Crystal City's over 6,000 residents were Mexican migrant and Mexican American laborers who followed seasonal harvests for work, but made a permanent home in Crystal City. At the time of this nomination's preparation it is undetermined if a portion of Crystal City's Mexican American population were employed at the internment camp during WWII, but they most likely were employed through contracts the camp's administration had with local food, ice, and milk suppliers. In the 1930s the farming economy was hit hard by the combination of a crop fungus and the Great Depression. The Farm Security Administration, a New Deal entity, constructed a migrant labor camp outside Crystal City in the late 1930s. The camp consisted of approximately 150 buildings, which were primarily residences for the transient population that lived there, and were designed to provide sanitary living conditions for approximately 2,000 migrants.[6]

As of the 2000 U.S. Census there were 11,677 people living in Crystal City, TX. The oil and gas discoveries in the South Texas Eagle Ford Shale of the early 21st century have not been as extensively realized in Zavala County as they have in neighboring counties; and thus the major industry in Crystal City and Zavala County remains today as agriculture. Additional large employers in the city are the federal, state, county, and city governments.[7]

Bessie Masuda. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City Family Internment Camp internee) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on July 27, 2011, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; Mike Addison. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on October 18, 2012, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; Audrey Moonyeen Thornton. (Oral History Interview with former Crystal City Family Internment Camp internee). Note: Texas Historical Commission staff learned on February 7, 2014, from the Crystal City I.S.D. that the former German Elementary School was not original.

[5] Hicks and Company, *Archeological Metal Detector Survey of Two Portions of the Former Crystal City Family Internment Camp*, submitted under contract to the Texas Historical Commission, 2013, p. 5.

[6] Ibid., p. 7.

[7] United States 2010 Census data, http://www.census.gov/2010census/data/.

During World War II, the Department of Justice through the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) took over the former Farm Security Administration and increased the site for the nation's largest Enemy Alien [Japanese, German, & Italian] Internment Camp for the specific reason of reuniting and holding families. Located on the northeast side of Crystal City, the camp was operated from December 1942 to February 1948. When Crystal City Internment Camp opened, it was approximately 240 acres in size, with 41 small three-room cottages and 118 one-room shelters. Twelve of the original cottages were left outside the fenced area (100 acres in size) for use by official personnel and their families. Originally, the confinement site was expected to hold no more than 2,000 internees; however, this quickly changed as additional internees were destined for the southwest Texas confinement site.[8] With an expected increase in population, between 1942-1943 the DOJ confiscated an additional 50 acres to the south of the fenced area, dug a water well, and constructed a self-contained sewer system. While the confinement site had a 10-foot high barbed wire fence, it did not have interior sections separated by fencing. As a result, internees from all three nationalities had full access to the camp's housing, education, recreations, laundry, and dining, etc. resources. Within the fenced area, and with the assistance of German and Japanese American internees, additional housing units consisting of 61 duplexes, 62 triplexes, and 96 quadruple barracks were built during the war. Fifteen three-room cottages were built for internees, increasing the total of this type of structure to 44 buildings for internee housing. As more internees arrived later in the war, the INS would eventually add 103 'Victory Huts' for temporary emergency housing. Abutting the fenced area's western and northwestern perimeter was 190 acres of dedicated farm land. In sum, the confinement site was literally, a city within a city. [see Figure 5]

After World War II, many of the former internment camp's structures were sold off through the War Assets Administration. The City of Crystal City purchased the site and established an airfield on the northeast corner of the former confinement site in 1952. In more recent years, the city built a public works/motor pool facility on the far southeastern corner. In the mid-1950s, the Crystal City Country Club opened at the site and occupied several former buildings (none of which remain today). Open space around these buildings was used by the country club to build a golf-course that lasted until the 1970s.

Over the past four decades, the Crystal City Independent School District has continued to re-develop the former confinement site's southern and western halves, establishing an elementary and a middle school, administrative buildings, and a Sports Complex (football, softball and baseball fields, and tennis courts). With this new construction came new roads linking the schools and athletic facilities. Finally, a large portion of the former internment camp's northwestern corner is owned by the Crystal City Housing Authority which provides housing assistance to low-income residents.[9]

In 2008, William McWhorter and Lara Newcomer (a Texas Historical Commission contract historian at the time) researched World War II era sites at the National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest Archive in Fort Worth, Texas. During this research trip, Mr. McWhorter located and photographed a December 3, 1942, U.S. Army Corp of Engineers map of the 'Alien Internment Camp, Crystal City, Texas.' This original map allowed Mr. McWhorter to locate Resource 1 and its spatial-relationship to Resources 2, and 3. In 2010, Mr. McWhorter began speaking with former Crystal City Internment Camp internee Werner R. Ulrich. After sharing a copy of the photograph of the 1942 U.S. Army Corps of Engineers map with Mr. Ulrich, Werner used

[8] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 7.
[9] Mike Addison. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war); U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Overview of INS History to 1998."

his AutoCAD skills and generated not only a detailed map of the entire internment camp, but renderings of camp's structures as well. [see Map 2, Figures 13 & 14] Between 2007 and 2014, Mr. McWhorter has made multiple trips to Crystal City to conduct research and survey work, dedicate interpretive signage, and meet with former internees and residents of Crystal City with knowledge about the confinement site. The majority of this work has been associated with two grants (awarded in 2009 and 2012) the Texas Historical Commission received from the National Park Service's Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program.

Physical Descriptions

Resource 1: Contributing Site (Camp Staff Housing [six-pack of foundations])
The razed camp staff housing was originally constructed as one-story, wood framed buildings with reinforced concrete foundations. The structures measured 26' 6" by 24' at their widest point [see figure 13]. Today the remaining six-pack of camp staff housing foundations are aligned, west to east, in two rows, three by three. [see photos TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0001 and TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0002]

Resource 2: Contributing Site (Japanese Internee Elementary School half-foundation)
Between 1943 and 1946, Japanese (U.S., Latin American, and Enemy Alien) internees were permitted to organize, administer, and serve as teachers for their own children. The razed Japanese Internee Elementary School was a one-story tri-wing, wood framed building with a reinforced concrete foundation. Today, all that remains is the eastern one-half of the building's concrete foundation. [see figure 6, and photos TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0003 and TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0004]

Resource 3: Contributing Site (Internee Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir)
The 250-foot wide swimming pool/irrigation reservoir was bisected into a shallow end on the southern side, and a 10-foot deep end, with slanting slides on the northern side. In its middle, the pool had a small, wooden, raised platform, which was either a splash pad or life-guard platform and a guide cable warning of the drop-off; but these features were razed decades ago. [see figure 7] The swimming pool/irrigation reservoir was designed and constructed of reinforced concrete by Italian and German internees. [see figures 4 & 15] Now razed, the pool's pump house (estimated to be 10' x 15') was located off the southeastern edge of the pool, and the pool's two one-story bathhouses (40' x 15') were located about 15 feet south of the pool and constructed as wood framed buildings with reinforced concrete foundations [see figure 14]. Today, all that remains of these associated structures are the two bathhouses' foundations. Resource 3 has cracked concrete throughout where grass has grown through, the pool's deep-end is filled in with dirt and overgrown with grass, and a 40-foot tall tree on the eastern interior edge has grown in the pool. [see photos TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0005, TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0006, and TX_Zavala County_Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp_0007]

Texas Historical Commission's April 15-19, 2013, Archeological Investigation

As part of the preparation for this nomination, fieldwork for a low-invasive archeological survey occurred from April 15-19, 2013. Investigations were coordinated with the THC under Texas Antiquities Permit #6521. The proposed project was undertaken on behalf of the THC and the City of Crystal City through a National Park Service's Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program 2012 grant. Portions of this investigation's final report are incorporated in this nomination, and cited accordingly throughout.

Abstract
In an effort to provide additional information on two of the three nominated resources, the Texas Historical Commission contracted with Hicks and Company for a low-invasive archeological investigation. The metal detector survey at the former confinement site's Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir and the Japanese Internee (U.S., Latin American, and Enemy Alien) Elementary School's half-foundation consisted of a pedestrian surface inspection, supplemented with metal detector sweeps and the excavation of positive hits (n=248), augur probes (n=4), expanded shovel tests (n=4), and a single 1 x 1-meter test unit. Predominately, the positive hits were modern cultural materials such as aluminum can fragments, automotive parts, and miscellaneous metals. Additionally, ferrous building materials were recovered (nails and roofing tacks) which may be associated with the construction of now-razed internment camp facilities. Items recovered that can be chronologically affiliated with the internment camp include a marble, a glass shard bearing the "Pepsi-Cola" logo, and green plastic fragments of currency created for internment camp use [see Figure 1]. This survey followed a modified-collection policy with artifacts dating to the 1940s and certain items of ambiguous temporality collected for further analysis and description at Hicks & Company. All other cultural materials were returned to their find location in the field. All project-generated notes, forms, and photographs were curated with the THC in Austin, Texas, and the University of Texas at San Antonio's Center for Archeological Research.[10]

Survey Research Design
In addition to items of personage and everyday use such as buttons, buckles, coins, hooks, tobacco tins, metal lids, and cutlery, these areas were thought to potentially contain artifacts associated with education, possibly enculturation, and recreation. Hence, recovered artifacts and associated data could have addressed important historical questions regarding Internee [Japanese, German, & Italian - U.S., Latin American, and Enemy Alien] response to internment at Crystal City and potentially give "voice" and insight into other groups of detainees as well.[11]

Geology and Pedology
The low-invasive archeological survey focused on two specifics sections: Resource 4, the Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir area and Resource 3, the Japanese Internee School's foundational remains. Both lie within the El Pico Clay geologic formation, which is comprised of clay, sandstone, and coal. The dominant clay component is, in part, gypsiferous and typically medium-gray to brown in color. Sandstone within this formation is mostly of a fine-grained silt texture, argillaceous, and present in thin to massive beds. Within the immediate area of Crystal City, this formation can range in thickness from 700–900 feet. Dating to the mid-Eocene, the El Pico Clay formation long predates the arrival of humans in the Americas. Both locations are

[10] Hicks and Company, *Archeological Metal Detector Survey of Two Portions of the Former Crystal City Family Internment Camp*, p. III.
[11] Ibid.

within the Tonio Series (specifically Tonio fine sandy loam, 1 to 3 percent slopes). This series is described as consisting of deep, nearly level to gently undulating, well-drained, loamy soils formed in interbedded sandstone and loamy sediment. The German Internee Elementary School's foundation and the Camp Staff Housing [six pack of foundations], which lay within Pryor sandy clay loam with 1 to 3 percent slopes, were not surveyed as part of the April 2013 investigation.[12]

Field Work

Survey of the project area was conducted by four archeologists operating different types of metal detectors in tandem over the pre-determined gridded survey area. Multi-frequency and pulse induction metal detectors were used. Adequate spacing and perpendicular transects were utilized to eliminate "cross talk" and spurious interference and to create overlapping sweeps, resulting in 100-percent coverage of the Japanese Internee School's foundation and approximately 50-percent coverage of the Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir area. Location of "hits" were marked by non-conductive pin flags with locations utilizing a Trimble Geo XT. After metal detector hits were GPS-recorded, Hicks & Company archeologists excavated locations utilizing shovels. Widths of shovel tests were often modified to approximately 30–40 centimeters in order to facilitate excavations that chased positive hits. Shovel tests were typically excavated to a depth of between 1-30 centimeters below surface (cmbs) before metal objects were encountered. Sediment from all shovel tests was screened through ¼-inch hardware cloth.[13] [see Figure 2]

Findings

Due to the large number of hits attributed to post-1950s metal debris, this original methodology was augmented during survey by supplementing with augur probes to determine depth of fill in the vicinity of the pool and with a 1 x 1-meter excavation unit placed adjacent to the exposed foundation of the Japanese Elementary School. Additionally, expanded shovel tests were conducted at both bathhouse locations. The vast majority of recovered cultural materials post-date the targeted period of 1940–1950. Predominately these materials were fragments of aluminum cans, mostly beer (Budweiser, Bud Light, and Coors) with some soda (Mountain Dew), and associated pull-tab openers that date this trash scatter to post-1957. In addition to aluminum material, numerous ferrous artifacts were encountered during shovel testing of metal detector hits as well as glass shards. Ferrous items included nails, roofing tacks, threaded bolts, and miscellaneous automotive parts.[14]

Archeological Investigation's Conclusion

The metal detector survey conducted by Hicks & Company at the former site of the Crystal City Interment Camp marks the first time that controlled archeological investigations have been conducted at this locale. Overall, the results were far from those anticipated during the planning stages of this project, with the large percentage of the excavated metal detector hits attributed to metal materials that date to more recent times than the targeted decade of 1940–1950. These materials are the result of the site's in-town location and continued use, in differing forms and fashion, over the many years since the internment camp has closed.

However, it should be taken into consideration that the absence of large numbers of cultural materials that can be temporally associated with the nearly six years of interment may be attributed to a methodology that relied primarily on the use of metal detectors and not to a clear absence of such artifacts. It is posited that much of the

[12] Ibid., p. 5.
[13] Ibid., p. 11.
[14] Ibid., p. 11, 12, and 15.

nails, roofing tacks, and miscellaneous metal encountered were likely elements of the structures that once stood here. Recovered during the excavation of metal detector hits and, following an in-field augmentation to the original survey methodology, the excavation of a test unit at the Japanese Internee School's Foundation and expanded shovel tests in the Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir were artifacts that are likely associated with the camp's internees: a marble, a soda bottle shard, and possibly, fragments of the original camp script.

Therefore, these valuable discoveries indicate there is further potential data to be gained from controlled excavations within and around the structural remains of the camp. Current data indicate that within the immediate vicinity of the Japanese Internee Elementary School, recent disturbance is near the surface, and architecture and items dating from the 1940s are likely located no deeper than 30 cmbs. Regarding the swimming pool's bathhouses, the noted absence of modern cultural materials within the fill material of the Japanese Internee bathhouse indicates that this area may be well-suited to additional investigation when compared to the modern material-heavy fill of the German Internee bathhouse.

These sites have the potential to yield additional data associated with the historical event of interment within America during World War II, data that could very well provide insight into the daily life of the internees. Consequently these two sites are recommended for avoidance by Hicks & Company and for, these reasons consideration as State Antiquities Landmarks under Criterion 1 and, because of their very accessible location and therefore vandalism, under Criterion 5 (13 TAC 26.10).[15]

Evaluation Overview and the Resulting Assessment of Eligibility and Integrity:

In 1992, the 102nd U.S. Congress enacted Public Law 102-248, which not only established the Manzanar National Historic Site in the State of California, but also directed the Secretary of the Interior to prepare a National Historic Landmark (NHL) Theme Study on Japanese American history. The purpose of the study was "to identify the key sites in Japanese American history that illustrate the period in American history when personal justice was denied Japanese Americans." Public Law 102-248 identified 37 specific properties for inclusion in the study, including the Crystal City Internment Camp, and instructed the Secretary to identify additional potential sites.

The resulting study, *Japanese Americans in World War II: NHL Theme Study*, was finalized in 2012. It divided the 37 sites related to the World War II experience of Japanese Americans into five distinct property types--Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA) assembly centers, Wartime Relocation Authority (WRA) relocation centers, Department of Justice internment/detention facilities, U.S. Army facilities, and Japanese American wartime communities. The Crystal City Internment Camp was one of 5 sites identified in the category of Department of Justice internment/detention center category of property types.[16] Japanese, German, and Italian citizens in the U.S. classified as Enemy Aliens (and in many cases, their U.S. citizen relatives), were detained by the Department of Justice through its Alien Enemy Control Unit and, in Latin America, by the Department of State's Special War Problems Division. (It is important to note that the theme study focused almost exclusively on the experience of Japanese Americans during the war; because the Crystal City

[15] Ibid., p. 35.
[16] The theme study ultimately identified another 34 related sites in addition to the original 37 identified in Public Law 102-248. This second set of sites added ten facilities to category of Department of Justice internment/detention facilities—including several U.S. federal penitentiaries and immigration stations—bringing the total in that category to fifteen.

Internment Camp interned not only Japanese Americans, but nonresident enemy aliens of Japanese, German and Italian descent as well, its historical context goes beyond that provided in the theme study.)

The theme study did not recommend Crystal City Internment Camp eligible for NHL status under Criteria 1–5. NHLs must retain a superior degree of integrity, and the Crystal City site's above-ground integrity has been negatively affected by modern encroachment, especially when compared to other similar properties under the same context where there is little to no modern intrusion upon the landscape, even if the buildings themselves are long gone. However, recognizing the significance of the site, the theme study did recommend further study for the site's potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places, including for its potential archeological value.

In 2012, the Texas Historical Commission (THC) received a grant from the National Park Service's Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program for an archeological investigation of the extant remnant sites of the Crystal City Internment Camp. Previous to the investigation, the THC's Military Sites Program Coordinator extensively researched primary and secondary source documents, conducted numerous oral history interviews, and performed multiple site visits to ascertain what original features of the camp remained. The three nominated sites represent the only features that are clearly identifiable as being associated with the camp during its period of significance. Budget constraints and staff limitations did not allow for full investigations of all three sites; the two that were ultimately investigated by archeologists were chosen because it was determined they had the highest potential for revealing data about Japanese American internees.

As the Section 7 narrative demonstrates, the archeological investigation of the two sites did not yield the expected results, due in part to the type of methodology employed, and largely to the extent of fill dirt that had been introduced over the years. Importantly, however, the archeologists ultimately discovered enough data to convince them that with an alternative methodology, the sites had the potential to yield additional data that could be used to answer important questions about the camp and the people interned there. Though only two sites were tested, it is reasonable to assume that all three nominated sites have the same potential, given that they have experienced a similar level of disturbance over the years. In addition, the archeologists conducting the investigations recommended that the sites be considered for Texas State Antiquities Landmark (SAL) designation under two criteria.

The culmination of the historical research and archeological investigation led to the following evaluation of the property's eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places

Eligibility Criteria

The Crystal City Internment Camp resources are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A because they are directly associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history. Indeed, the context for this property represents a chapter in the history of the United States as a whole and helps us understand the history of the nation by illustrating the nationwide impact of events associated with the property.

Archeological investigations have proven that remnant features of the camp have the potential to yield information important in the history of America. The discovery of temporally associated artifacts, limited as they may be, led archeologists to determine the site as a likely source of data through future testing and

research. This theory can be reasonably applied to all three sites nominated as part of this discontiguous district. If the appropriate study techniques are employed, the property could yield important information, even though the property no longer visually recalls the historic events.

Because the site is associated with events which illustrate the way in which the United States defended its territory and sovereignty during a time of war, and because it is associated with wartime laws and policies by which the nation was governed, it is eligible in the significance categories of military and politics/government. It is additionally eligible under the Ethnic Heritage category of significance for its direct association with American citizens and residents of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry.

Integrity

When evaluating the integrity of such sites as relocation and internment centers, it is important to be considerate of their very temporary nature. Historically, the Crystal City Internment Camp (like most all other similar facilities) was intended to accommodate thousands of people and was quite large in size. However, the camp was constructed exclusively for temporary confinement and the government never intended to maintain them after the war, preferring instead to quickly return the land to its original (or even new) owners. Buildings were less than substantial in construction and in many cases they were expected to be disassembled or demolished once they'd served their intended purpose; this proved to be the case at almost all of the relocation and detention centers, including Crystal City. Because of the ephemeral nature of these property types, an evaluation of integrity must be considerate of the more subtle aspects of integrity, and archeology must be considered a particularly valuable tool for understanding these types of properties.

Very little remains to convey clearly the historic appearance of the Crystal City Internment Camp. Above ground resources are limited to foundations. These remnants, however, still in their original locations, are able to convey some sense of building and structure organization or layout, which is important to understanding discrete activity areas relative to one another and speaks to the aspect of design. The compactness and regimented rows of the six-pack of employee housing foundation, for example, convey the feeling of military precision. Their small scale footprints suggest space only large enough for basic activity; these were not meant for long-term, residential occupancy for families. At the swimming pool site, the spatial relationship of surface features such as the concrete pool walls and swimming/diving platforms and foundations of the bath houses also represent different use areas. The presence of separate foundations for the bath houses—one for Germans and one for Japanese—strongly conveys the feeling of segregation and isolation. The sense of segregation is also conveyed by the distance separating the sites of the German Elementary School (no longer extant and not nominated) and the Japanese Elementary School. Thus, integrity of design is evident to some degree in the site plan through the existence of these above ground remnants, which identify the location of components of the original plan and collectively convey a sense of design, feeling and association.

The three sites that comprise the nominated discontiguous district are all in their original location. Furthermore, the location of the camp reflects the U. S. government's desire to locate facilities such as this in remote locales. Even today, Crystal City is a community located in a sparsely populated area of the country, nearly 100 miles from any major population center, and the nominated property sits along the outer edges of the community, just as it did during the historic period. The setting of the nominated property, however, has been compromised by the presence of modern school buildings and athletic fields and residential housing. Integrity of materials is limited to concrete foundations, which the internees themselves helped construct, and the potential data

awaiting archeological investigation. Because most of the buildings were considered temporary and no longer exist, workmanship is difficult to assess, but it remains somewhat evident in the foundations themselves, particularly in the large swimming pool designed by Italian Honduran internee, Elmo Gaetano Zannoni. These materials preserve the footprints of important buildings and structures.

In general, sites that are primarily archeological in nature are not expected to retain physical features that readily identify the historic appearance of the property. Instead, integrity is based upon the property's potential to yield data that addresses important research questions. Though most above ground evidence of a once busy community has vanished, and even with the introduction of infill dirt, there is reason to believe that the subsurface record could provide additional insight into the confinement experience of Japanese-, German-, and Italian-American internees, as well as those who were citizens of their native and adoptive countries. Because the Crystal City camp interned people with various citizenship and ethnicities, and because it held primarily families, it has the unique potential to reveal information not available at other confinement sites about ethnic identity, cultural traditions, and social mechanisms for coping with adversity.

Comparing the Crystal City Internment Camp to Other Similar Camps

A total of fifteen Department of Justice (DOJ) internment facilities were identified in the National Park Services' Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study. Many of them share the integrity challenges seen in Crystal City, for most of the same reasons—intentionally temporary construction, along with intentional and immediate repurposing of the facilities and land.

Of the DOJ internment properties, five carry National Register designation. However, none of them are listed primarily for their association with the World War II internment-era activity (though it is certainly a part of the larger story at these places), but rather for other areas or periods of significance. Examples include the U.S Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, the U.S. Immigration Station at Ellis Island, and the Fort Missoula Internment Camp (MT), which was listed in 1987 primarily for association with World War I and CCC-era significances.

Like Crystal City, many of the properties have virtually no above ground resources dating from the internment period of significance. The Catalina Prison Camp (AZ) boasts a few concrete foundations, as does the Kooskia Internment Camp (ID). Others, such as the Santa Fe Internment Camp (NM) and the Kenedy Internment Camp (TX) have been almost completely obliterated by residential subdivisions. At those where above ground resources like buildings do exist, such as at Fort Lincoln Internment Camp (ND) and Seagoville Internment Camp (TX), the buildings that remain were present during the internment era, but had been built prior to that period for other uses (U.S. Army use, prison use); buildings erected specifically for internment camp use are gone and the extant buildings are still being utilized as part of larger institutional campuses (a college and prison). The Fort Stanton Internment Camp (NM) does retain a couple of extant internment-era buildings, the remnants of some others, the camp pool, and other camp features. Thus, the incomplete state of the Crystal City site, with its remnant camp features and compromised setting, is very much in keeping with the state of other former DOJ internment sites.

None of the former DOJ properties exist in manner that reflects the identity of the historic internment camp as a whole. This stands in contrast to the relocation centers which have been designated as National Historic Landmarks, such as Manzanar Relocation Center (CA), Topaz Relocation Center (UT), and Heart Mountain

Relocation Center (WY). These NHLs have very few above ground resources such as buildings or structures either, but the footprints of these communities are preserved almost in their entirety by intact foundations and vestiges of pathways, residential landscapes, road networks, and the like—all of which exist in extremely remote, isolated locations with virtually no modern development or intrusion. Though similar in some ways, the contexts and circumstances under which the relocation centers and the internment camps were created, operated, and then used (or not) after the war were different enough that none of the DOJ internment camps retain the extraordinarily high degree of integrity as do the relocation centers.

In sum, the level of integrity at the Crystal City Internment Camp is compromised due to the construction of new buildings, ground disturbance, and an encroachment on the view of the natural landscape. However, historical and archeological investigation demonstrates there is sufficient integrity to convey its historic associations and to potentially yield important information. While not enough remains to represent the camp in its entirety, what does remain represents unique aspects of the detention experience. Keeping in mind the circumstances of this type of facility's evolution, and with a careful assessment of the more subtle aspects of integrity, it is possible to recognize the Crystal City Internment Camp as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places for its ability to convey its associations with such a significant story in our nation's past.

Statement of Significance

Shocked by the December 7, 1941, Empire of Japan attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, that propelled the United States into World War II, one federal government response to the war was the incarceration of thousands of Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast and the territory of Hawaii. More than 120,000 Issei (first generation, Japanese immigrants) and Nisei (second generation, U.S. citizens) were forcibly moved, primarily to War Relocation Authority camps across the country. These internees shared a common loss of freedom with the thousands of Japanese, German, and Italian Americans and Enemy Aliens detained in Department of Justice (DOJ) camps through its Alien Enemy Control Unit program. The differences between these two federal government programs were far more complex than simply administrative, but one key result was the same. Thousands of people were removed from their homes and lost their personal freedom, often for the duration of the war, far more often than not without substantial proof of disloyalty to the U.S.[17]

Ultimately the U.S. government established nine permanent and 20 temporary internment camps.[18] Texas hosted three DOJ enemy alien confinement sites administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at Kenedy, Seagoville, and Crystal City, the largest such facility of its kind. Texas also hosted two U.S. Army "temporary detention stations" at Dodd Field on Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, and Fort Bliss in El Paso. Due to its specific mission during World War II, the site's scale, and the fact that the site held Japanese, German, and Italian internees detained in both the U.S. and Latin America, along with U.S. citizens, the Crystal City Internment Camp is nationally significant.[19] It is nominated to the National Register of Historic Places at the national level of significance under Criteria A, with significance in the areas of military, politics/government and ethnic heritage (both Asian and European). The period of significance begins in 1942, when the first internees arrived at the camp, and ends in 1948, when the last remaining internees left and the camp finally closed.

General Context

"Inevitably, war creates situations which Americans would not countenance in times of peace, such as the internment of men and women who were considered potentially dangerous to America's national security."[20]

The federal government's authority over Enemy Aliens, and by circumstance, their U.S.-born children, came from United States Code, Title 50, Section 21, Restraint, Regulation, and Removal, which allowed for the arrest and detention of Enemy Aliens during war. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Proclamation No. 2525 on December 7, 1941, and Proclamations No. 2526 and No. 2527 on December 8, 1941—modeled on the Enemy

[17] *We Were Not The Enemy:*, p. 62; Heidi Gurcke-Donald. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee); "Japanese Americans in World War II." National Historic Landmark Theme Study, 2005; "The Internment of German and Italian Aliens Compared with the Internment of Japanese Aliens in the United States During World War II: A Brief History and Analysis."; "My Internment by the U.S. Government."

[18] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 28; "Overview of INS History to 1998."

[19] *The Japanese Texans*, p. 178-183; "Memorandum Regarding Various American Agencies Holding Civilian Enemy Aliens and Participating in Their Control, June 19, 1942."; Audrey Moonyeen Thornton. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee).

[20] "Administrative History of the Immigration and Naturalization Service during World War II," produced by the Department of Justice (1946). Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission.

Alien Act of 1798—collectively stated, "All natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of [Japan, Germany and Italy], being of the age of fourteen years and upward, who shall be in the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies." These proclamations were intended for the citizens of nations at war with the U.S., but would ultimately impact thousands of U.S. and Latin American republics' citizens alike.[21]

Prior to these presidential proclamations, the U.S. government realized the high probability that it would eventually be involved in World War II. In preparation, both the DOJ, through the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Department of State, utilizing its Special War Problems Program, produced Custodial Detention Lists. This system indexed thousands of people as potentially dangerous individuals in time of war currently residing in the U.S. and Central and South America. With this questionable legal foundation in place, the FBI (with assistance from local law enforcement) began arresting enemy aliens from Axis nations currently residing in America as early as the night of December 7, 1941, and placing them in detention stations. Within 24 hours of the Empire of Japan's attack on the U.S. at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the U.S. government had in custody approximately 1,771 enemy aliens. By March 9, 1942, more than 4,000 enemy aliens were in custody.[22] Assigned as the lead agency in charge of all illegal aliens (enemy or otherwise), the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) quickly assessed the demands of holding increasingly larger numbers of Enemy Aliens and found its capabilities drastically overextended. The INS quickly prioritized immediate needs such as internee clothing, communication, and nutrition in accordance with the Department of State's advisement to operate under the 1929 Geneva Convention.[23]

By January 1942, all enemy aliens were required to register at their local post office, where they were fingerprinted and photographed, and required to carry photo-bearing Enemy Alien Registration Cards at all times. By early 1942, the DOJ established a bi-level system which handled the individual cases of enemy aliens. The Enemy Alien Control Unit in Washington, D.C., and its Enemy Alien Hearing Board, with branches located in each of the nation's federal judicial districts, were the sites for the hearing boards (in Texas, this included Houston, Dallas, El Paso, and San Antonio). Enemy Aliens taken into custody were brought before an Enemy Alien Hearing Board, where they were not permitted to have an attorney present, and here they learned the DOJ's case against them. Enemy Aliens were allowed to testify on their behalf and have a character witness speak to their character. After a hearing was concluded, the civilian-staffed Enemy Alien Hearing Boards forwarded their findings to Washington, D.C., where a centralized judgment was handed down by the U.S.

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[21] *"Enemies:" World War II Alien Internment*, by John Christgau, Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1985, p. 54; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, by Thomas Connell, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002. Copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 4; *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees*, by Arnold Krammer, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, Maryland: 1997, p. 32; *The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation and Internment during World War II*, by Lawrence DiStasi, editor. Heyday Books, Berkeley: 2001, p. 167.

[22] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 28;, Jo Anna Wartemann. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on May 11, 2011, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; Wartemann, Jo Anna, "The Internment of Wilhelm and Anna Wartemann and Family." Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; "My Internment by the U.S. Government,"; Seiji Aizawa. (Oral history interview with former internee in the War Relocation Authority Program), conducted by the Texas Historical Commission on December 15, 2010, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[23] *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 76; "Overview of INS History to 1998."

Attorney General. From this point enemy aliens would either be released, paroled, or interned for the duration of the war or until their repatriation/deportment.[24]

Japanese, German, and Italian Latin American Internment at Crystal City

During the war, the U.S. Department of State—in cooperation with 15 Caribbean and Central and South American countries [see Figure 11]—worked to increase the security of the Western Hemisphere, especially the vulnerable and vital Panama Canal Zone. With the U.S. focused on a two-front global war against the Axis, especially in 1942, this security was accomplished primarily through financial and material support—via programs such as the Lend-Lease Act—to participating American nations. At a conference of Western Hemisphere countries in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in January 1942, the U.S. called for the establishment of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense.[25] This new security program was tasked with monitoring Enemy Aliens throughout Central and South America. Combined with elements within Latin communities that saw enemy aliens, especially Japanese and Germans, as economic threats and unwilling to blend well into Spanish-speaking cultures, the result was thousands of Axis nationals, as well as citizens of these Latin American countries of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry, being taken into custody by local officials. While a number of those arrested were legitimate Axis sympathizers, most were not. Forcibly deported by these nations, detainees were shipped to the U.S. Considered security risks, they were detained in internment camps across the U.S., including the three permanent camps in Texas. Stripped of their passports en route to the U.S., these enemy aliens and their Latin American citizen relatives were declared "illegal aliens" upon arrival, a fact many former internees and historians have referred to as "hostage shopping" and "kidnapping" by the U.S. and Latin American governments. Depending on varying estimates, it appears that the Peruvian government—which deported the most internees to the U.S. during the war—deported (depending on sources) between 1,800 to 2,118 Japanese, German, and Italian peoples between 1942 and 1944. Regardless of the Latin American nation deporting the internees, they nearly all arrived in the U.S. by way of U.S. Army Troop Transports sailing north to the Panama Canal or through the Caribbean, then north into the Gulf of Mexico to the port of New Orleans, Louisiana. Internees were taken by train westward to Crystal City.[26] These Latin American internees provided

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[24] "My Internment by the U.S. Government;" U.S. Department of Justice, "Francis Biddle - Instructions To Alien Enemy Hearing Boards, Circular 3616, Supplement No.1, January 7, 1942." National Archive and Records Administration II, College Park, MD, RG 60, Box 1, Folder 146-13-01; "When the War Came To South Texas," by Paul Heavin, May 9, 1989. Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701, p. 2; *"Enemies:" World War II Alien Internment,* p. 39; *The Prison Called Hohenasperg: An American Boy Betrayed by his Government during World War II*, by Arthur D. Jacobs, Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com: 1999, p. 139; Art Jacobs. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on April 12, 2010, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; Note: In *The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation and Internment during World War II,* p. 21, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had U.S. Attorney General Biddle announce on Columbus Day 1942 that Italians in the U.S., and their Italian American relatives would no longer be looked at as enemy aliens.

[25] *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 67. Note: According to Connell, Responses to the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense overtures differed widely, but many countries, such as Peru, Panama, and Nicaragua, enthusiastically participated.

[26] *We Were Not The Enemy:*, p. 45-49; *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, by Seiichi Higashid, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000. Accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California. Note: According to Higashide, when he arrived at Camp Kenedy, "Unlike the camp in Panama, everyday life in camp was completely unregimented. Here, we were not under the jurisdiction of the U.S. military, and there were no strict rules or procedures to follow, and we were not made to carry out exhausting work assignments. I had grown accustomed to Camp Kenedy when, at the end of June 1944, I was informed that my family was about to reach Crystal City," p. vii, 158, 161, 177; Audrey Moonyeen Thornton. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee); *Hidden*

the U.S. with an increased pool of people for exchange with Japan and Germany, each of which held comparable numbers of U.S. and Allied personnel taken captive earlier in the war.[27]

When World War II ended, depending on varying reports, more than 1,000 Japanese Latin enemy aliens, primarily from Peru were still held at Crystal City. Peru would not agree to receive their Japanese internees (resident aliens or citizens alike) back from the U.S. The reasons for this official stance can be seen before World War II.

By 1941, Peru was home to 75% of the people of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific side of Latin America.[28] Seiichi Higashide, who arrived at Crystal City Internment Camp on July 2, 1944, recounts in his memories, *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*,

"The major reason [Japanese could not return to Peru after the war] was that before the war the Peruvian government had decided it did not want any further increase to the almost 10,000 Japanese already in Peru. Because the Japanese had made rapid economic advances in that society, the government had enacted laws prohibiting almost all entry of Japanese immigrants. Using the exclusionary law, the Peruvian government refused to allow the return of those deported during the Pacific War."[29]

Higashide describes the treatment of his arrest in Peru and the six-month separation from his family before being reunited at Crystal City, as the most difficult parts of the entire internment process. His memories provide multiple examples of his experiences at both the Kenedy and Crystal City camps in a mostly positive manner.[30]

How the Camps Fit Into the Repatriation Process

The U.S. implemented three programs to identify and, if necessary, detain civilians considered a threat to the country during World War II: the War Relocation Authority, the Department of Justice's Enemy Alien Control Unit Program and the Department of State's Special War Problems Program. In all three programs, citizens of their respective countries, legal resident aliens, naturalized citizens, and their relatives were targeted alongside individuals who qualified as Enemy Aliens under U.S. Federal Law.

Within days of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Department of Justice took into custody several thousand Axis nationals. Although not legally administered in each case, and often spurred by prejudices, the action was intended to assure the American public that its government was taking firm steps to look after the internal safety of the nation. After arrest and detention, the U.S. looked toward the possibility of exchanging

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Internment: The Art Shibayama Story. Casey Peek and Irum Skiekh. Distributed by Progressive Films, http://www.progressivefilms.org, 2004.

[27] *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 177. Note: According to Higashide, "Mexico moved it's Japanese to inland areas, but did not take the hard policy of deportation."

[28] *The Japanese Texans*, p. 183-186; "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 34; *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. ix, 161, 166. Note: In the preparation of this nomination, sources or documents that can substantiate that the charges leveled against them were true have yet to be located; *Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story*.

[29] *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 162-163. Note: This Peruvian policy was recognized by a conference of Central and South American states held in Mexico City in 1945, were the Latin American nations that had deported Japanese nationals to the U.S. confirmed that they would not allow the re-entry of such deportees; *Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story*.

[30] *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 162-163.

Enemy Aliens with Japan, Germany, and Italy. Between 1939 and 1945, the U.S. and its Allies suffered hundreds of thousands of casualties to the advancing Japanese and German armies across the globe. In addition to the combat soldiers taken prisoner were U.S. and Allied civilians disconnected overseas as countries fell to the Axis. In March 1942, the U.S. began to negotiate with Japan and Germany for the safe return of American and Allied citizens. During the war 138 internees from Crystal City were released or paroled, 84 were interned at-large, 73 were transferred to other INS camps, and 17 died while incarcerated.[31] The first Japanese American internee repatriations (i.e., exchanges) from Crystal City took place in June 1942 and September 1943.[32] Later in the war Japanese Latin American exchanges took place, along with the deportations/reparations (i.e., exchanges) of German, German American, and German Latin Americans voluntarily and involuntarily in two massive movements, one in February 1944 and one from December 1944–January 1945. (see figure 12)[33]

Deportation/repatriation was not administered simply to enemy aliens. Joining the enemy aliens taken into custody in the U.S. and Latin America (and in cases their U.S. citizen spouses and children) were Japanese and Japanese Americans transferred from War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps toward the end of the war. According to former internees interviewed by Texas Historical Commission historians, a portion of residents at Crystal City, transferred from the WRA, had renounced their citizenship due to their own personal disgust with how they and their families had been treated by the U.S. government, as well as those who had been pressured by pro-Japan elements within WRA camps to repatriate and forgo an opportunity to return to their homes in the U.S. after the war. Anti-citizenship and pro-Empire of Japan, detainees advocated renouncing one's U.S. citizenship, forcing many in WRA camps to feel compelled under duress to renounce their U.S. citizenship.[34]

With the war over, the question of what to do with the remaining enemy aliens in the U.S. was highlighted by President Harry S. Truman's Executive Order #2662 on September 12, 1945, which called for the deportation of all enemy aliens from the U.S.[35] In carrying out this order, the Department of State prepared additional deportation/repatriation voyages. On December 1, 1945, 600 Japanese internees were sent to Hawaii, and 660 Japanese Peruvian internees were sent to Japan. Nevertheless, internees still arrived at Crystal City from other Immigration and Naturalization Service camps closing down across the U.S. By January 1, 1946, only 650 of the 2,100 [high-end] estimated Latin American internees brought to the U.S. during the war were left in the country, nearly all originated from Peru. Reports indicated that Japanese internees continued to arrive at Crystal City as late as March 24, 1946.[36] This left the confinement site with a sizable population of internees, well after the war had concluded. Many found release through an east coast farming company. During the war, the farming and canning operation at Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, employed more than 1,000 Japanese Americans which had been evacuated from the West Coast by the WRA. When the war ended, most went looking for better employment across the U.S. The Seabrook Farms Company valued the hard work of the Japanese Americans

[31] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 8.
[32] Ibid., Note: this source claims that 169 Japanese were repatriated in August 1943.
[33] *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees,* p. 148-149; *We Were Not The Enemy:*, p. 59-60; Heidi Gurcke-Donald. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee); "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 8; *The Prison Called Hohenasperg: An American Boy Betrayed by his Government during World War II*, p. 135, 158-159; Art Jacobs. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee).
[34] "My Internment by the U.S. Government;" *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 167; "Japanese Americans in World War II." National Historic Landmark Theme Study, 2005.
[35] *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees,* p. 149; *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 178
[36] Takaichi Sakai's F.B.I. alien enemy case file, March 13, 1957. Note: this source indicates that there may have been a repatriation group in April 1946, as a number of Japanese held at Crystal City have April 19, 1946 repatriation dates.

and sent agents to Crystal City in 1946 and 1947 to recruit. Sources disagree, but ultimately 178 to nearly 300 Japanese Peruvians were hired.[37] While this employment opportunity provided the internees with a way to stay in the U.S., final word on the subject would not come until August 1954 when the U.S. Congress acknowledged the plight of these internees with legislation declaring that, "any alien who … was brought to the U.S. from other American republics for internment," had the right to remain in the U.S. and to become naturalized citizens.[38]

Internment Camps/Detention Stations in Texas

Texas hosted three confinement sites for Enemy Aliens in World War II, administered by the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service in association with the Department of State, at Crystal City, Kenedy, and Seagoville. In addition, two U.S. Army 'temporary detention stations' were located at Dodd Field on Fort Sam Houston (San Antonio) and Fort Bliss (El Paso).

The U.S. Army detained enemy aliens for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at posts across the U.S. where the number of apprehensions was so small that it was not feasible for the INS to operate detention facilities in that vicinity. The Fort Bliss Enemy Alien Detention Station opened in either February or March 1942 and remained opened until November 1942. The internment camp at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio opened in late February 1942. The Special Alien Enemy Hearing Board, announced by the DOJ on August 22, 1943, began the transfer of internees from U.S. Army posts to INS camps. The special board conducted visits to U.S. Army detention centers to conduct hearings, eventually moving 4,120 internees to INS-controlled camps across the U.S., including all three Texas sites. This was conducted primarily because the U.S. War Department believed the unfolding two-front war in Europe and the Pacific would generate a need to house hundreds of thousands of enemy prisoners of war taken on the field of battle. As a result, Dodd Field Detention Station (Internment Camp) stopped holding enemy aliens before the end of 1942, and became a base prisoner of war camp.

Under different names, organizations, and even two World Wars, Camp Kenedy has had a long and storied service life. During World War I, the site served as a U.S. Army training post. During the Great Depression, the site served as Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp #3806. In March 1942, the site was transferred from the CCC to the INS. The site was designated to hold detainees that the Department of State brought in from Latin America. The Kenedy Enemy Alien Detention Station received its first internees on April 21, 1942. Through the remainder of 1942, and the beginning of 1943, a portion of the detainees were repatriated, while others were reunited with their families at Crystal City Internment Camp and Seagoville Enemy Alien Detention Station. By August 1944, the U.S. Military needed additional prisoner of war camp space, and the remaining internees were transferred to other INS camps, paroled, or repatriated. The INS ceased operation of the facility in September 1944. After the internment camp closed, the site became a German and later Japanese branch prisoner of war camp, administered out of Fort Sam Houston's base prisoner of war camp.

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[37] *The Japanese Texans*, p. 202; "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 225; *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 181; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 230; *"Enemies:" World War II Alien Internment*, p. 177; *Hidden Internment: The Art Shibayama Story*.

[38] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 19, 7, 21, 225; *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 176; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 137; *We Were Not The Enemy:*, p. 83-84; Heidi Gurcke-Donald. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee).

Next to historic Ellis Island in New York City, the most architecturally significant INS confinement site was at Seagoville. The Geneva Convention of 1929 prohibited the detention of prisoners of war, as well as enemy alien civilians, in prisons. This eliminated the U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons from being assigned the responsibility for the internment of civilians during World War II. Originally built by the Bureau of Prisons as a minimum-security women's reformatory in 1941, Seagoville Enemy Alien Detention Station was transferred to the INS on April 1, 1942. The INS utilized the Seagoville facility for the detention of Japanese, German, and Italian families (briefly), childless couples, and single women detained as enemy aliens arrested within the U.S. and those brought from Latin American to be interned, while awaiting parole or repatriation to their ancestral country of origin. While a small number of families lived at this detention station in 1942 and 1943, this was considered a temporary fix, which the INS resolved with its largest site in Crystal City. By September 1943, with few exceptions, all of the Japanese Latin American internees at Seagoville were repatriated, with some families transferred to the INS's largest facility dedicated to interning family units at Crystal City Internment Camp. From late September through the closure of the camp in May 1945, when the site was returned to the Bureau of Prisons, the remaining detainees were single women and childless couples.

History of Crystal City Internment Camp

As the war went badly for the U.S. in the spring of 1942, the strain on the families of enemy aliens in custody increased. A significant number of enemy aliens taken into custody were husbands and fathers, their relatives were in turn either enemy aliens or U.S. citizens, and the INS faced an increasing number of requests from wives and children volunteering internment to be reunited with the head of their households. Crystal City Internment Camp is unique because it was the only INS camp established specifically to reunite and hold families. In seeking for a location to place this expected large family internment camp, the INS looked for a site that was removed from important war production facilities and had quality water and electrical services. Noting the pressing need for the camp to open soon, the INS identified Crystal City as a location where the U.S. Government already owned a large portion of land. During the Great Depression, the Farm Security Administration had acquired land on the outskirts of the city and had established housing and utilities.[39]

Arrival

Originally, the internment camp was intended to be populated by people of Japanese ancestry/nationality and their immediate families. However, on December 12, 1942, the camp's first internees to arrive were German, previously held at Ellis Island and Camp Forrest, TN.[40] On February 12, 1943, the first group of Latin Americans arrived—also German—deported from Costa Rica. On March 17, 1943, the first group of Japanese American and enemy alien internees arrived from Camp Livingston, LA, and Camp Lordsburg, NM. Most enemy aliens arrived at the confinement site by Pullman railcars; those which were not delivered directly to Crystal City disembarked at the train depot in nearby Uvalde and were bused south to the camp.[41] Thus began

[39] "My Internment by the U.S. Government."

[40] *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees,* p. 110; "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 7; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 122; *Schools Behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens* by Karen L. Riley, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (New York: 2002), p. 32.

[41] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 7. This source claims the date of March 10, 1943 as the date when the first Japanese Americans arrived. This group included 26 women and children.; *We Were Not The Enemy: Remembering the United States'*

the multi-national Crystal City Internment Camp, consisting of Issei Japanese immigrants, Nisei Japanese Americans, German American citizens, German nationals, Italian nationals, and Latin Japanese, German and Italian nationals, and a small group of approximately 300 Indonesian sailors aboard a Danish ship and held temporarily at the site in "protective custody."[42]

Housing

When Crystal City Internment Camp opened, it was approximately 240 acres in size, with 41 small three-room cottages and 118 one-room shelters (measuring 12x16 feet). Twelve of the original cottages were left outside the fenced area (100 acres in size) for use by official personnel and their families. Originally, the confinement site was expected to hold no more than 2,000 internees; however, this quickly changed as additional internees were destined for the southwest Texas confinement site.[43] With an expected increase in population, between 1942-1943 the DOJ confiscated an additional 50 acres to the south of the fenced area, dug a water well, and constructed a self-contained sewer system. Within the fenced area, and with the assistance of German and Japanese American internees, additional housing units consisting of 61 duplexes, 62 triplexes, and 96 quadruple barracks were built. Fifteen three-room cottages were built for internees, increasing the total of this type of structure to 44 buildings for internee housing. Childless couples and couples with an infant or small child resided in the one-room 12-by-16-foot shelters. Families averaging two to four persons lived in buildings consisting of four apartments of 210 to 288 square feet. Living structures that consisted of 720 square feet were divided into two apartments with a shared inside toilet and assigned to families of six persons. Families with members suffering from illness or other special circumstances moved into 500 square foot three-room cottages that had their own toilet and bath. As more internees arrived, the INS would eventually add 103 'Victory Huts' for temporary emergency housing. [see Figure 7] 'Victory Huts' did not have toilets, and their residents used shared toilets and baths in separate latrines. Considered "moral builders" by the camp administrators, to make their homes more beautiful and comfortable to live in, internees paid with personal funds for and built screen porches on their family units and landscaped their yards with personal gardens.[44] While life had certainly not

Latin-American Civilian Internment Program of World War II, by Heidi Gurcke Donald, iUniverse: 2006; Gurcke-Donald, Heidi. (former Crystal City resident during the war) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on February 19, 2009, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[42] "My Internment by the U.S. Government," by Eberhard E. Fuhr, copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; "When the War Came To South Texas," by Paul Heavin, May 9, 1989. Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701, p. 7, 12; "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 24; *The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation and Internment during World War II*, by Lawrence DiStasi, editor. Heyday Books, Berkeley: 2001, p. 14; Sheridan, Peter B. "The Internment of German and Italian Aliens Compared with the Internment of Japanese Aliens in the United States During World War II: A Brief History and Analysis." Library of Congress, Government Division, November 24, 1980; Thornton, Audrey Moonyeen (former Crystal City Family Internment Camp internee) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on February 16, 2011, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[43] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 7.

[44] *The Japanese Texans*, by Thomas K. Walls, The University of Texas, Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio Press, San Antonio: 1987, p. 195-197; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, by Thomas Connell, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002. Copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 122, 132; *We Were Not The Enemy: Remembering the United States' Latin-American Civilian Internment Program of World War II*, by Heidi Gurcke Donald, iUniverse: 2006, p. 52; Gurcke-Donald, Heidi. (former Crystal City

returned to normal for most, some internees went on with their lives as best they could. This is evidenced by the first birth in the camp on March 10, 1943, (a German male) and the July 23, 1943, wedding—the first of several Japanese couples' wedding services conducted by the local Zavala County Justice of the Peace.[45]

Staff, Security, and Services

J. L. O'Rourke was the officer in charge at Crystal City Internment Camp. Under O'Rourke the internment camp functions were allocated to several key divisions: the Administrative Service, Surveillance, Internal Security and Internal Relations [originally called the Liaison Division], Maintenance, Construction and Repair, Education, and Medical. The internment camp was staffed by local civilian employees in secretarial and clerical positions, a professional cadre of INS administrators, and Border Patrolmen. Later in the war, the INS employed local men from Crystal City as guards. The Crystal City Internment Camp had a 10-foot-tall, barbed wire fence around the internee section; six guard towers, one located on each corner and half-way down the west-to-east axis; armed guards that patrolled the fence line; and an internal security force which patrolled both the Japanese and German sections of the camp. The site was truly "a town enclosed in barbed wire."[46] [see Figure 5]. While guards at the camp, locally employed, likely lived in proximity to the confinement site, a large number of the camps staff came to Crystal City from across the nation. Camp staff that lived at the confinement site did so outside the fenced area, along the western boundary and the southwestern corner of the internment camp. Six camp staff housing foundations remain of these units and are one of the three nominated resources in this nomination.[47]

O'Rourke's administrative style was not without conflict with the internee groups and their selected spokesmen. Examination of primary documents, including O'Rourke's own June 1945 camp historical report, as well as reports by representatives of the protectorate nations (i.e., Spain and Switzerland) that visited the confinement site throughout the war, document both the German and Japanese groups' spokesmen, often at odds with O'Rourke and his ability to provide internees with information, relaxation on the censorship of outgoing mail, and work details. However, from the known testimonies of former internees, Mr. O'Rourke is often remembered fondly by the youngest of the internment camp's detainees. In his book, *An Ethnic at Large: A Memoir of America in the Thirties and Forties,* Jerry Mangione provides a historical, narrative photograph of INS camps, including Crystal City. According to his memoirs, whenever he [Mangione] and O'Rourke walked about the camp, "…groups of young children would follow, vying with each other to have a word with him

resident during the war) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on February 19, 2009, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[45] "When the War Came To South Texas," by Paul Heavin, May 9, 1989. Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701, p. 5; Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 19; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, by Thomas Connell, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002. Copy accessed at the Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, p. 135.

[46] "When the War Came To South Texas," by Paul Heavin, May 9, 1989. Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701, p. 6; *Schools Behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens*, p. 35.

[47] Betty Fly. (Oral history interview with non-internee who lived in Crystal City Internment Camp during the war) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on February 9, 2013, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701; Annette Harkey. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war).

[O'Rourke] or shake his hand. He returned their love in full measure … [as] children were his primary concern."[48]

The Third Geneva Convention—Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929)—also applied toward the treatment of Enemy Aliens interned in INS camps and was monitored by the protectorate nations of Spain for Japanese internees, Switzerland for both the German and Italian internees, and the International Red Cross. These provisions applied to the amount of food, living space, and clothing that each internee received, which was often better than the housing and living conditions of the rationing public in Zavala County, Texas. To comply with international law and promote as positive an environment as possible, the INS designed the internment camp much like a small community with numerous buildings for food stores, auditoriums, warehouses, administration offices and a 70-bed hospital, places of worship, a post office, bakery, barber shop, beauty shop, school system, a Japanese Sumo wrestling ring, and a German beer garten. Internees printed four camp newspapers: the Crystal City *Times* (English), the *Jiji Kai* (Japanese), *Los Andes* (Spanish) and *Das Lager* (German).[49]

Population Statistics

By the end of 1943, Crystal City Internment Camp's population exceeded 3,300 total internees from all three groups. The camp's population fluctuated throughout the war as repatriations reduced the number of internees and new arrivals increased the number. There are no known reported escape attempts, successful or otherwise from Crystal City Internment Camp. Less than one and half months after the Allied invasion of Normandy (i.e., D-Day landings on June 6, 1944) the internment camp on July 15, 1944, had a population consisting of 2,096 Japanese, 801 German, and four Italian internees.[50] The confinement site's peak population was reached on December 29, 1944, at 2,371 Japanese, 887 German, and six Italian internees.[51] By June 30, 1945, with the war still raging in the Pacific, the internment camp, to date had inducted a total of 4,751 internees including 153 births. At the time of this nomination's preparation, statistics on the total number of U.S. citizens in the confinement site could not be located. However, based on the total number of births, and the fact that this family camp often held the U.S. children of enemy aliens, and the fact that enemy alien's spouses were sometimes U.S. citizens themselves, it is within reason to suspect that 15-20% of those held at Crystal City held U.S. citizenship.[52]

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[48] *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 133; "My Internment by the U.S. Government."

[49] "When the War Came To South Texas," p. 3, 18; *The Secret History of Italian American Evacuation and Internment during World War II*, p. 171; David Wagner. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war) recorded by the Texas Historical Commission on July 19, 2012, on file at the Texas Historical Commission, housed at 105 W. 16th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

[50] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 6.

[51] Note: In "Historical Narrative Report of the Crystal City Internment Camp" (1945), by Officer in Charge J.L. O'Rourke, states the total number of internees was 3,374 in December 1944., page 7. Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission.

[52] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 8.

Camp Script

The Third Geneva Convention—Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1929)—stipulated that no internee had to perform manual labor against their will. For those who wanted to work, however, they could earn 10 cents per hour up to a maximum of $4 per week. In an effort to prevent internees from stockpiling cash in the event of an escape attempt, camp scrip was issued to internees [see Figure 1].[53]

Education Systems

One of the most beneficial programs established at Crystal City Internment Camp was an education program. The INS hired Robert Clyde "Cy" Tate to supervise the camp's school system. During his tenure, Tate established three types of schools: the American (Federal) School, the Japanese School, and the German School. Each school provided an elementary, junior high, and high school education. Through the federal system, kindergarten and elementary classes met at Federal Elementary, and high school age children attended Federal High School. The parents of internee children decided which school(s) their dependents would attend. Both the German and Japanese Schools were housed in one building each, and taught their students under one roof, with grades in separate rooms. These purpose-built educational resources were head and shoulders above the schools available at other internment camps during the war. While we do not have records on Immigration and Naturalization Service camps outside of Texas, we can speak about the four sites in Texas. The two U.S. Army 'temporary detention stations' at Fort Bliss and Fort Sam Houston held adults and were open for a much shorter period of time compared to the more permanent confinement sites at Kenedy, Seagoville, and Crystal City. There is no reference in primary documentation resources, accessed to date, that indicate these two sites on U.S. Army posts had schools for internee children. Kenedy Enemy Alien Detention Station held only men and a few teenage boys, all of Japanese descendent, primarily from Latin American. While it is likely there was a school for the teenage boys at Kenedy, it would most likely have been a converted barracks serving as a make-shift school. At Seagoville Enemy Alien Detention Station, which held female enemy aliens and mostly childless couples [a few couples had children], the former women's prison auditorium was converted during the day to serve as a school.

The Federal School provided a U.S.-style education, accredited by the State of Texas. While Japanese Americans were not the only students to attend Federal High School, as their campus newspaper the *Campus Quill* clearly indicates German internees attended, the majority of Federal High School's graduates were of Japanese descent.[54] Although Federal High School was not complete by the beginning of the first school year (the camp's newspaper indicates that as late as September 27, 1943, the high school was not yet complete) classes were underway for all of Superintendent Tate's transfer-students. Federal High School's senior classes in 1944 and 1945 published their own yearbooks called T*he Roundup,* featuring the students, academics, their athletic teams named the 'North Stars' and their high school lives. Completed before the end of 1943, the new high school building was a handsome, one-level tri-wing structure with its spacious auditorium called Harrison Hall in the middle wing. Graduation exercises for the 1944, 1945, and possibly for the 1946 senior classes were

[53] "When the War Came To South Texas," p. 12; *We Were Not The Enemy:*, p. 54-55; Heidi Gurcke-Donald. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee); *Undue Process: The Untold Story of America's German Alien Internees,* p. 111; Betty Fly. (Oral history interview with non-internee who lived in Crystal City Internment Camp during the war).
[54] "When the War Came To South Texas," p. 14; "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 26; *The Japanese Texans*, p. 190-191.

all held in Harrison Hall. The first commencement exercises took place on June 29, 1944, with the presentation of diplomas made by the camp's officer in charge, Mr. J.L. O'Rourke, and again in 1945.[55] [see Figures 8]

Both the Japanese and German schools offered students a background in their ancestral cultures and language. The Japanese and German American internees supplied teachers for their schools, and the teachers designed their own curriculum. The Japanese School at Crystal City opened on September 7th, 1943, and was divided into three divisions: a high school, grammar school, and kindergarten. The high school classes met Mondays through Saturdays for five hours, while the grammar and kindergarten met for three hours a day.[56] In meeting the cultural needs of internees, the Japanese and German school systems assisted future voluntary and non-voluntary repatriates and deportees for life—after they were exchanged for U.S. and Allied personnel—in their ancestral home lands.[57] [see figures 9 and 10]

Between 1943 and 1946, German internees (U.S., Latin American, and Enemy Alien) were permitted to organize, administer, and serve as teachers for their own children. The former German Internee Elementary School was constructed of wooden walls and a low-pitched gabled roof, in an L-plan with a reinforced concrete foundation. [see figure 3]. Demolished in 1982, the current structure was built on top of the historic structure's reinforced concrete foundation. The building represents a modern movement as a vernacular adaptation of early mid-century design, although somewhat institutional and utilitarian. The newer building is clad with a brick veneer laid in a common bond with a solider course at the roof wall junction, and with vertical beaded wood paneling in the ell. The structure's windows are a metal fixed unit/two-over-two sliding with hoppers. The building is accessed via metal hinged doors located in the ell. There is a full-width inset porch in the ell supported by square wooden posts. Today, the building is used by the Crystal City Independent School District for storage.

The Swimming Pool

There are no reports of swimming pools at the other four internment camps in Texas. Most internment camps offered internees indoor recreation, such as chess, checkers, card games and the like. Kenedy Enemy Alien Detention Station did provide internees with activities; the camp had large athletic fields 600 feet long by 450 feet wide and gardening areas outside the barbed-wire fence. As a result, the largest remaining feature of the Crystal City Internment Camp is also one of its most unique, and memorable aspects to the former internees interviewed by the Texas Historical Commission.

A source of recreation and community for all internees, the Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir was and remains the camp's largest defining feature. The pool's official use as an irrigation reservoir for the camp's

[55] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 46-47. Note: Superintendent of Education Robert Clyde "Cy" Tate, the principal and Miss Kathryn Goldsmith serving as senior class sponsor greatly aided the students. Mr. Tate and Miss Goldsmith escorted students outside the fenced area on their senior 'skip day' in May 1945 to the nearby Nueces River, a memory shared fondly by former internees interviewed by the Texas Historical Commission. In "Historical Narrative Report of the Crystal City Internment Camp" (1945), by Officer in Charge J.L. O'Rourke, states that five students had been accepted into the University of Texas, p. 29. Copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission.

[56] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 40. Note: An internee, Mrs. Onodera was in charge of the Japanese Language Division of the American High School; "My Internment by the U.S. Government."

[57] *Adios to Tears: the Memories of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps*, p. 165, 169; *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America*, p. 127.

internal citrus orchard was emphasized by camp administration to INS headquarters in Philadelphia, PA, to ensure funds for its construction were appropriated as early as possible.[58] The 250-foot wide circular pool was designed by Italian-Honduran civil engineer Elmo Gaetano Zannoni. With German internees providing the labor, a former swamp was drained, cleared of snakes, expanded, and paved over with reinforced concrete to form the massive structure.[59] [see figures 4, 5, & 15] The swimming pool's German and Japanese bathhouses were built separately to allow Japanese internees and their German and Italian internee counterparts separate and equal access to the community swimming pool in congruence with the U.S.' obligation as a signatory of the Third Geneva Convention, which was applied toward Alien Enemies and reads, "The Detaining Power shall assemble prisoners of war in camps or camp compounds according to their nationality, language and customs ..."

Conclusion

With the last of its internees transferred out in late 1947, the Crystal City Internment Camp closed on February 27, 1948, nearly 30 months after the end of the war—September 2, 1945. In November 1948, the Crystal City I.S.D. purchased 90 acres of the camp from the War Assets Administration, primarily within the fenced area. In 1952, the city purchased additional property to the north and east of the swimming pool/irrigation reservoir to establish an airfield. In subsequent years nearly all structures of the internment camp have been razed. In the 1950s and 1960s the former confinement site's structures were primarily used as the new Crystal City Country Club, complete with a new 9-hole golf course. Later, the site became home to multiple public schools, athletic fields, and city maintenance yards built over the former camp's footprint.[60] (see maps 1 and 4)

In addition to the camp's national significance, having been intentionally conceived and built by the Department of Justice to bring enemy aliens and their families together for reunion and confinement, this internment camp was the largest wartime measure holding enemy aliens, Latin American internees, and U.S. citizens representing multiple nationalities in one camp. Crystal City Internment Camp in 2014 is the best representative example of such a facility remaining more than 70 years after its initial construction.

[58] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" (1993), p. 19.
[59] *America's Japanese Hostages: the World War II Plan for a Japanese Free Latin America,* p. 134; "My Internment by the U.S. Government;" Bessie Masuda. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City internee).
[60] "When the War Came To South Texas," p. 19; "My Internment by the U.S. Government;" Mike Addison. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war); Annette Harkey. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war); David Wagner. (Oral history interview with former Crystal City resident during the war).

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Section 10: Boundary Continuation Sheet

As indicated by the white-lined borders on maps 1 and 4, this discontiguous district is comprised of three nominated resources, with numeric labels. The three nominated elements' Latitude/Longitude coordinates (in decimal degree format) are also provided under section 10 (Geographical Data). As the Crystal City Internment Camp is a discontiguous district, the verbal boundary description is in the following three parts:

Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack foundations:
Beginning at the southwest corner of Resource 1, the Camp Staff Housing six-pack of foundations proceed in a northerly direction along N. 7th Avenue 164 feet to the northwest corner of the resource, thence east 212 feet to the northeast corner of the resource, thence south 164 feet to the southeast corner, thence west 212 feet (paralleling Popeye Ln.) to the point of beginning.

Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary School foundation
Beginning at the southwest corner of the resource, the Japanese Internee Elementary School, proceed in a north by west [diagonal] direction 85 feet to the northwest corner of the resource, thence east 65 feet to the northeast corner of the resource, thence south 127 feet to the southeast corner of the resource, thence west 35 feet (paralleling N. 12th Avenue) to the point of beginning.

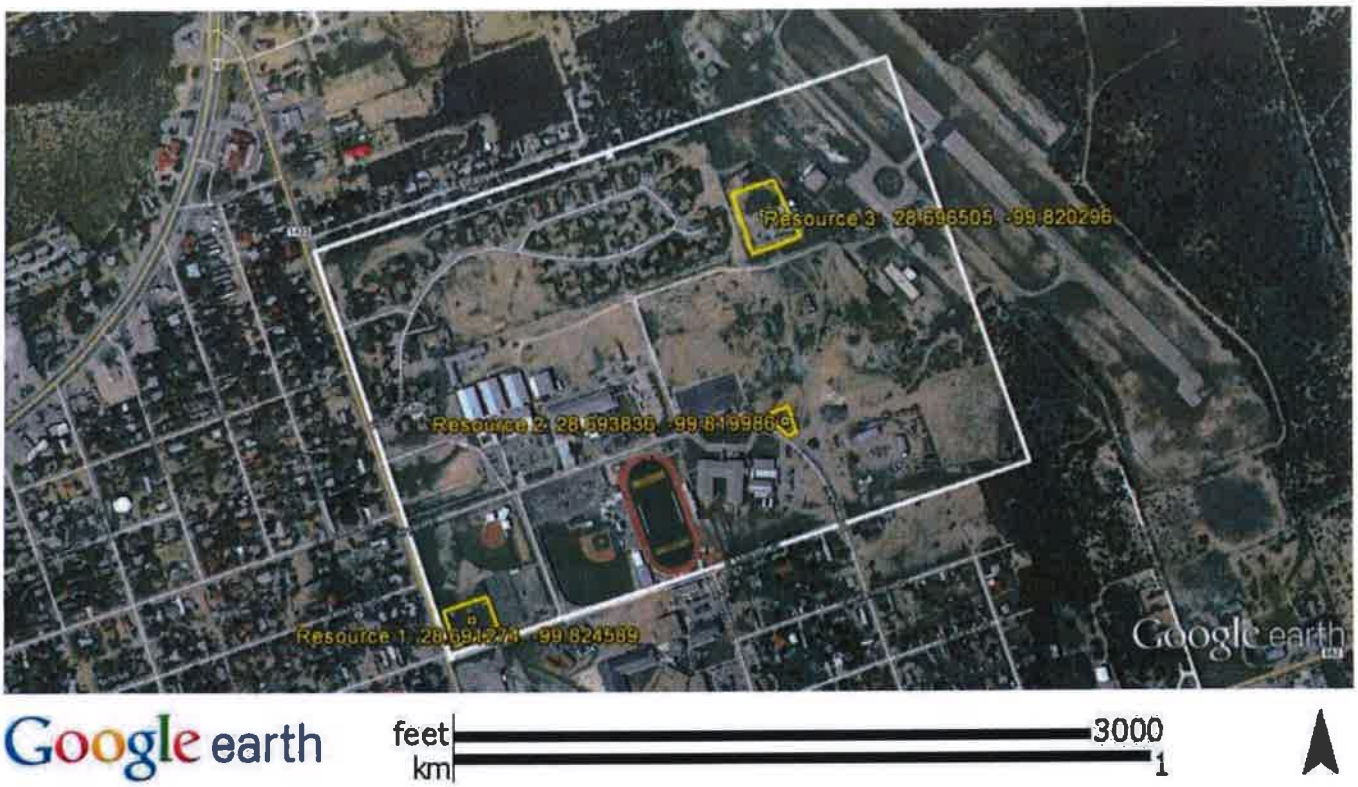
Resource 3: Internee Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir
Beginning at the southwest corner of the resource, the Internee Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir, proceed in a northerly direction 285 feet to the northwest corner of the resource, thence east 216 feet to the northeast corner of the resource, thence south 285 feet to the southeast corner of the resource, thence west 216 feet (paralleling Airport Dr.) to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification:

Consisting of three discontiguous resources currently divided by the Crystal City Independent School District's Dr. Tomas Rivera Elementary School, the Benito Juarez Middle School and the independent school district's Sports Complex, the boundaries encompass those portions of the site that retain the most significant degree of integrity and historic setting [see maps 1 and 4]. All three nominated resources are linked by their direct historical association to the nationally significant Crystal City Internment Camp. These resources are the best representative examples of what remains of the Department of Justice's national attempt to hold enemy aliens and reunite them with their families during World War II.

Of the approximately 136 square acres that Crystal City Internment Camp comprised during World War II, approximately 3.071 (or less) acres are nominated in this narrative. These 3.071 (or less) acres lie discontinuously within an area roughly bounded by the North 7th Avenue to the west; to the north on the western-half by the Crystal City Housing Authority (a federal low-income housing complex) and on the eastern-half by the City of Crystal City's airfield; to the east by the aforementioned airfield; and to the south on the eastern-half by E. Holland Street and on the western-half by Popeye Ln. Approximately 133 acres of the original internment camp's footprint (as well as the 190 acres of dedicated farm land) are excluded from this nomination because it has been intensively redeveloped since the end of the period of significance for use by the Crystal City Housing Authority (a federal low-income housing complex), the city's airfield, and the two schools and associated athletic fields [see map 1 and 4].

MAPS

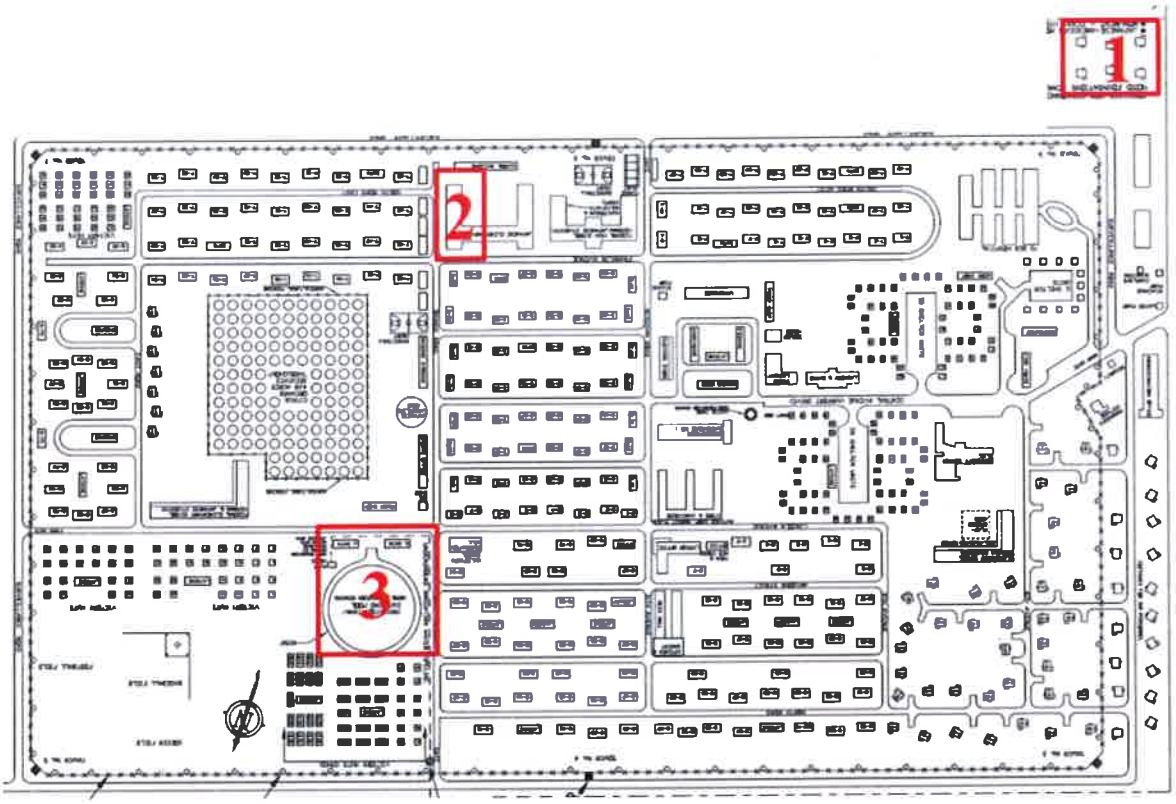


Google earth feet km 3000 1

Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack of Foundations (contributing site)
Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary Foundation (contributing site)
Resource 3: Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir (contributing site)

Approximate Internment Camp boundaries (1942-1948) are depicted by the large outer rectangle and are included here for reference purposes only.

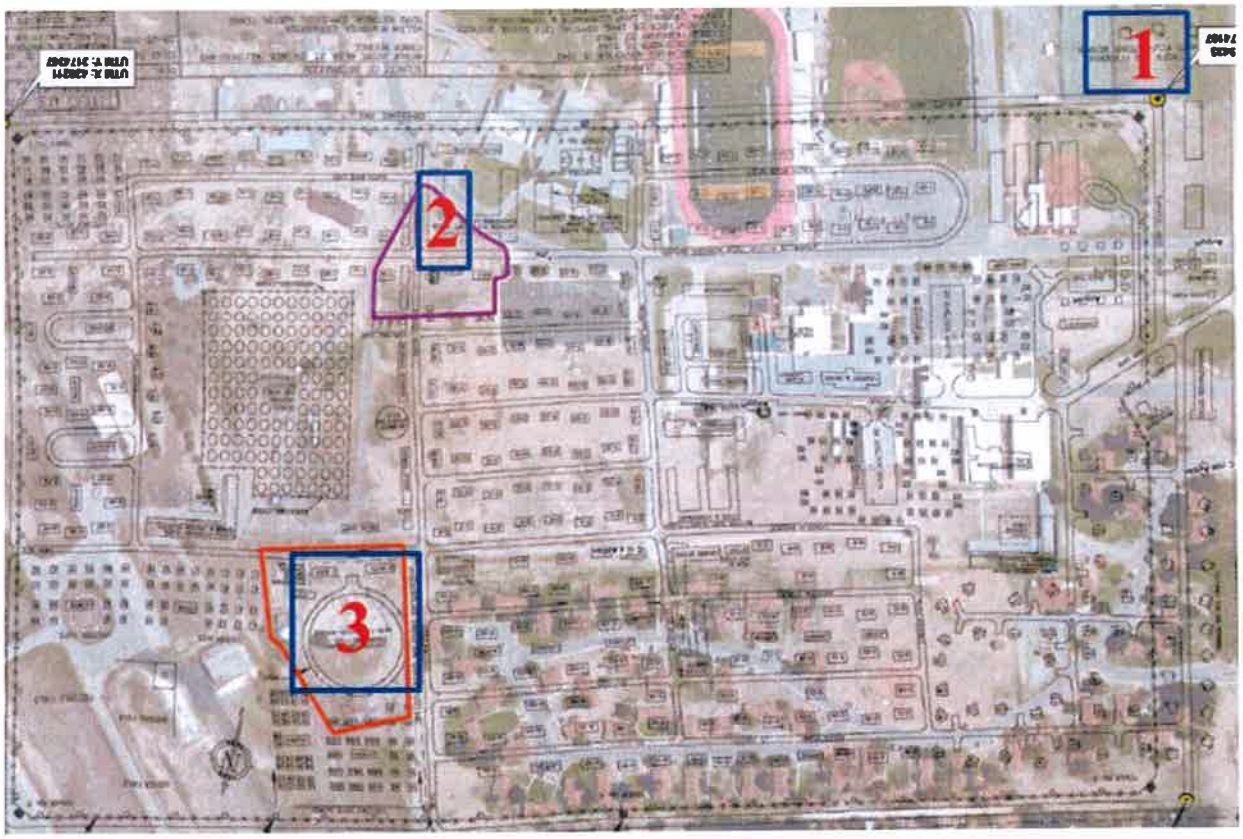
Map 1.
Boundary Map: Each of the three nominated resources are depicted, with Latitude and longitude coordinates for each resource included.



Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack of Foundations (contributing site)
Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary Foundation (contributing site)
Resource 3: Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir (contributing site)

--------- Approximate Internment Camp Boundaries (1942-1948)

Map 2.
Map of Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp (1942-1948), facing south
Source: Drawn by former internee Werner Ulrich, with details provided by other former internees, family members of former camp officials, and the National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest. Annotated by William McWhorter



Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack of Foundations (contributing site)
Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary Foundation (contributing site)
Resource 3: Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir (contributing site)

--------- Approximate Internment Camp Boundaries (1942-1948)

Map 3.
Map of Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp (1942-1948), facing south, overlaid on an aerial of the site in 2014.[61]

[61] Hicks and Company, *Archeological Metal Detector Survey of Two Portions of the Former Crystal City Family Internment Camp*, submitted under contract to the Texas Historical Commission, 2013. Annotated by William McWhorter.

Resource 1: Camp Staff Housing six-pack of Foundations (contributing site)
Resource 2: Japanese Internee Elementary Foundation (contributing site)
Resource 3: Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir (contributing site)

Approximate Internment Camp boundaries (1942-1948) are depicted by the large outer rectangle and are included here for reference purposes only.

Map 4.
Boundary Map: Each of the three nominated resources are depicted within, with Latitude and longitude coordinates for each resource included.

FIGURES.

Figure 1: Marble (three views), a glass shard bearing the "Pepsi-Cola" logo, and green plastic fragments of possible camp scrip

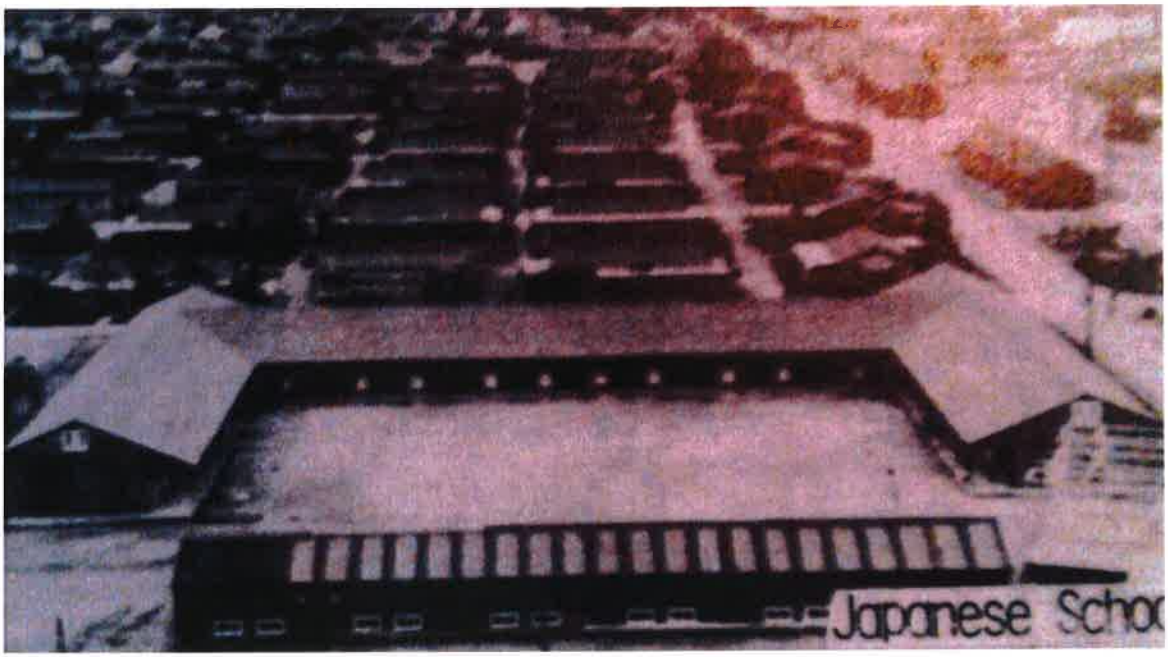
Figure 2: April 15-19, 2013 Archeological Investigation

Figure 3: German Internee Elementary School
(source: University of Texas at San Antonio's Institute of Texan Cultures)

Figure 4: Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir
(source: University of Texas at San Antonio's Institute of Texan Cultures)

Figure 5: Aerial view of Crystal City (Family) Internment Camp.
The Swimming Pool/Irrigation Reservoir is visible at the bottom left. (source: Eb Fuhr)

Figure 6: Japanese Internee Elementary School[62]



[62] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" 1993. Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.

Figure 7: Victory Huts. The swimming pool (Resource 4) and the orchard are in the background.
(source: University of Texas at San Antonio's Institute of Texan Cultures)

Figure 8: Federal High School
(source: Carroll Brincefield)

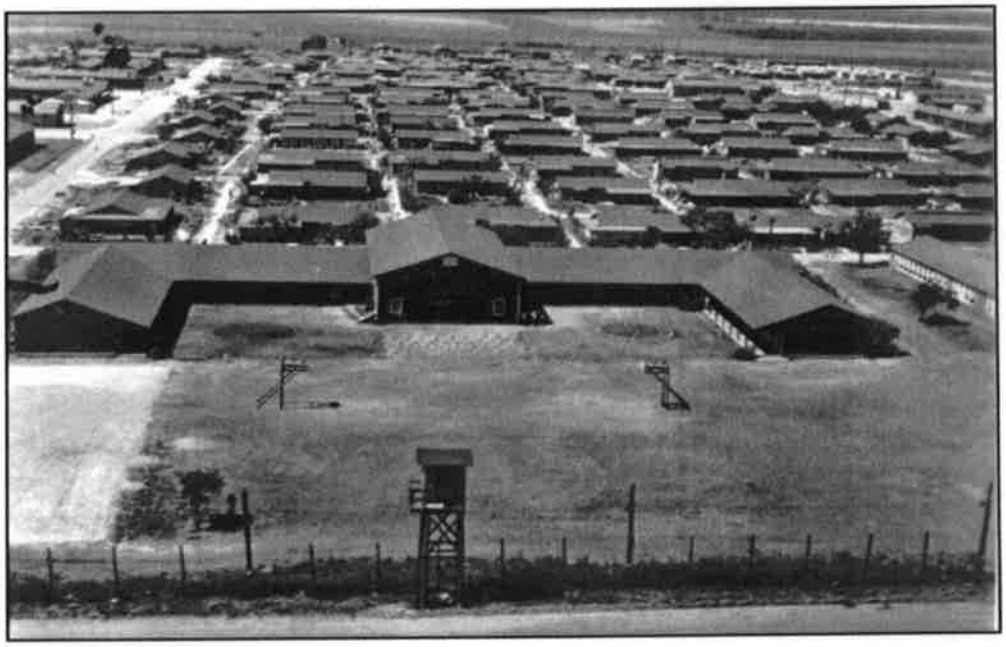


Figure 9: Japanese Internee Students[63]

Figure 10: German Internee Elementary Students
(source: Carroll Brincefield)

[63] "Crystal City 50th Anniversary Reunion book" 1993. Hirasaki National Resource Center of the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.

Figure 11: Latin American Nations that participated in Enemy Alien exchanges

Figure 12: Repatriation voyage aboard the SS *Gripsholm*
(source: NARA, Archives II, College Park, MD. RG 59-RAG Box 1)

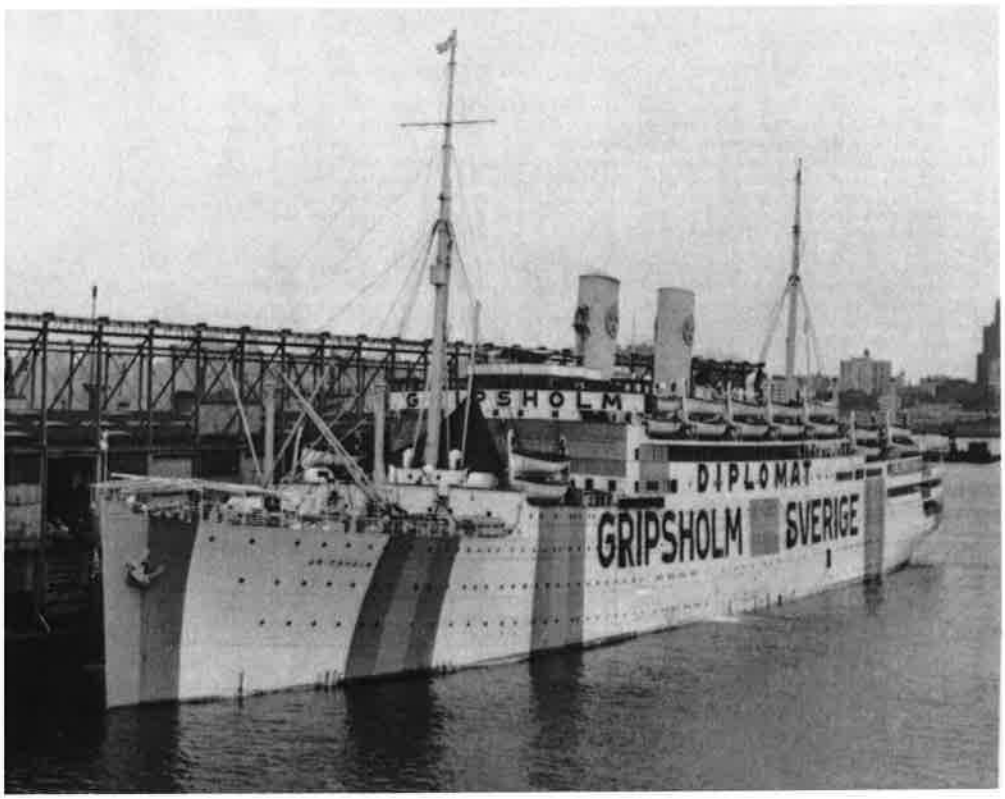


Figure 13: Single family housing unit (i.e., camp staff housing)
Source: Drawn by former internee Werner Ulrich, with details provided by other former internees, family members of former camp officials, and the National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest.

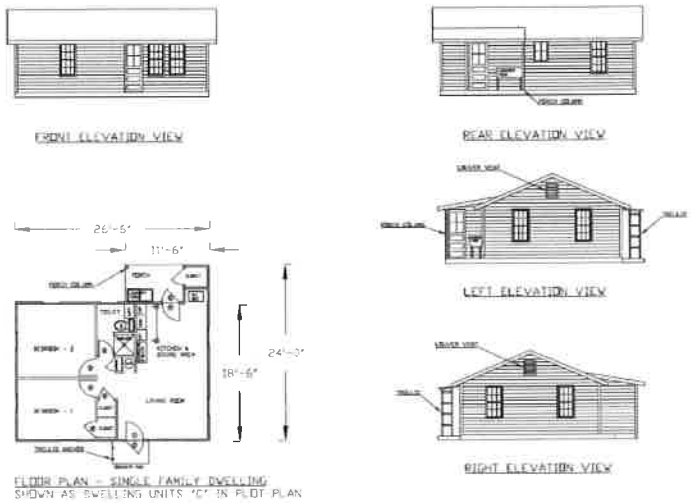


Figure 14: Bath Houses

Source: Drawn by former internee Werner Ulrich, with details provided by other former internees, family members of former camp officials, and the National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest.

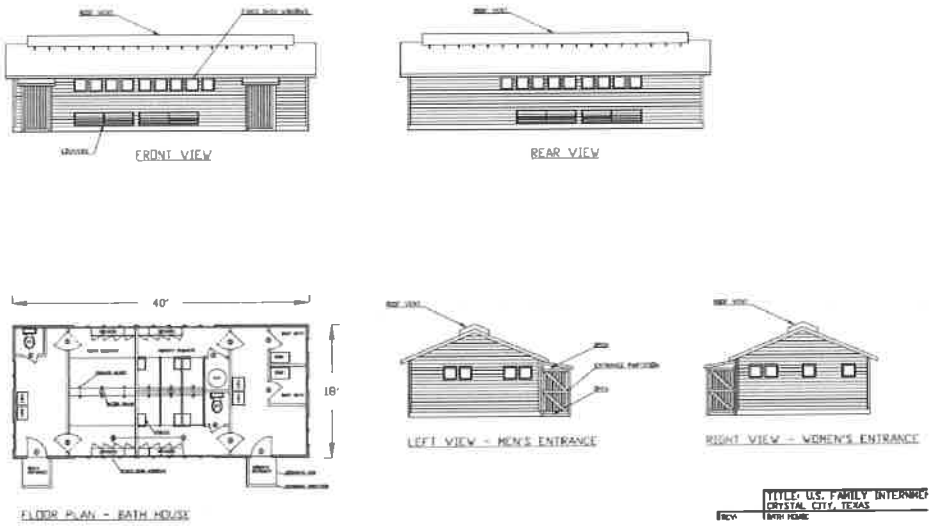
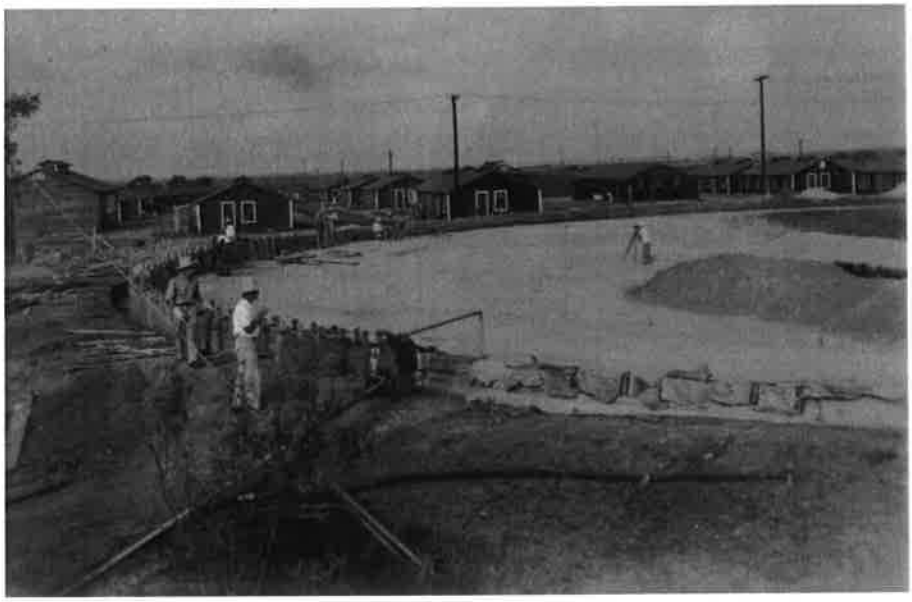


Figure 15: German and Italilan Internees constructing the camp's swimming pool, mid-1943

Source: Reprinted by permission of the Japanese American National Museum. Copyright @ 2013. All Rights Reserved.