

*Ex parte Mitsuye Endo*: Breaking Through Barbed Wire

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## Introduction

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, racism against people of Japanese ancestry spiked and the United States government issued restrictions on those of Japanese heritage, regardless of their citizenship status.<sup>1</sup> Executive Order 9066 was signed, giving the military the power to evacuate all Japanese-American residents of the West Coast to internment camps.<sup>2</sup> The conditions in these internment camps were reportedly worse than prison.<sup>3</sup>

Frustrated at the violation of their rights, many young Nisei (second-generation Japanese-Americans) resisted.<sup>4</sup> Three Nisei resisted these orders and their cases (*Hirabayashi v. United States*, *Yasui v. United States*, and *Korematsu v. United States*) were heard in the Supreme Court.<sup>5</sup> In all three cases, internment was upheld.<sup>6</sup> A fourth case, a due process lawsuit challenging whether there were lawful grounds for detention (a writ of *habeas corpus*), was filed by a Japanese-American named Mitsuye Endo.<sup>7</sup> On December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the internment of loyal citizens was unconstitutional.<sup>8</sup> Within a month, all internment camps were closed.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reeves, Richard. *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*. Henry Holt and Company, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Okazaki, Steven, director. *Unfinished Business*. Farallon Films, 1985. <<https://vimeo.com/ondemand/unfinishedbusiness/300609902?autoplay=1>>

<sup>5</sup> Daniels, Roger. *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War*. University Press of Kansas, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 176.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas, William Orville, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: Ex Parte Endo, 323 U.S. 283. 1944. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep323283/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep323283/)>

<sup>9</sup> Earl Warren, Governor, "Public Proclamation No. 21," *California State Archives Exhibits*, <<http://exhibit.sos.ca.gov/items/show/10617>>

By convincing the Supreme Court that the internment of Japanese-Americans was unconstitutional because it violated her fundamental due process rights, Endo's lawsuit accomplished what others could not.<sup>10</sup>

When Mitsuye Endo successfully challenged internment, the physical and legal barriers that contained citizens behind barbed wire and restricted their freedom were broken. Although the racist treatment of Japanese-Americans continued even after they were released, ultimately *Ex parte Endo* ensured that no citizens would ever again be imprisoned on the basis of ancestry. To this day, the decision continues to protect the fundamental due process rights of United States citizens.

### Background

Prejudice against East Asians in the United States originated after mass Chinese immigration to the United States during California's Gold Rush. These immigrants offered cheaper labor, angering white workers who saw them as threats to their livelihood.<sup>11</sup> In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, prohibiting Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States.<sup>12</sup> However, discrimination and immigration of Japanese continued. In 1906, the San Francisco School Board sent children of Japanese heritage to a separate Chinese school, causing protests.<sup>13</sup> The policy was reversed after Japan intervened and President Theodore Roosevelt, not wanting to antagonize the rising world power, opposed the segregation order.<sup>14</sup> Despite the

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<sup>10</sup> Noel, Josh. "Mitsuye Tsutsumi." *The Chicago Tribune*. 25 April 2006. <<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2006-04-25-0604250259-story.html>>

<sup>11</sup> "Asian American History" Japanese American Citizens League. *Journey From the Gold Mountain: The Asian American Experience*. 2006. <<https://jacl.org/asian-american-history/>>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, Paragraph 18.

<sup>13</sup> "Gentlemen's Agreement" *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 27 September 2019, <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Gentlemens-Agreement>>

<sup>14</sup> Hosokawa, Bill. *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*. William Morrow and Company, Inc. 1969.

racism they faced, Japanese people continued to immigrate to the United States in large numbers over the decades to come. Like the Chinese, they offered cheap labor in competition with white workers.<sup>15</sup>

On December 7, 1941, the Empire of Japan attacked the Pearl Harbor naval base and other targets in Hawaii.<sup>16</sup> The next day, the United States declared war on Japan, officially entering World War II. Soon after, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began conducting raids on the homes of Japanese-Americans, attempting to remove “potentially dangerous enemy aliens.”<sup>17</sup> These “enemy aliens” were leaders in local Japanese communities or Japanese Americans who worked near military bases.<sup>18</sup>

In the following months, anti-Japanese sentiment grew.<sup>19</sup> On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066.<sup>20</sup> This order authorized the evacuation of Japanese immigrants from military zones along the West Coast. On March 2, 1942, General John DeWitt, the West Coast Commander, issued Public Proclamation Number 3, requiring that Japanese-American residents of the West Coast conform to a curfew and travel limit.<sup>21</sup>

In addition, all Japanese-American employees of the state of California were abruptly

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<sup>15</sup> “The Yellow Peril” *The Commoner*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Volume I Number 46, 6 December 1901. <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/46032385/1901-12-06/ed-1/seq-1/>>

<sup>16</sup> President Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” Address, December 8, 1941; Records of the U.S. Senate (Record Group 46) <<https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/day-of-infamy/>>

<sup>17</sup> “Evacuation and Internment of San Francisco Japanese” *The Museum of the City of San Francisco* <<http://www.sfmuseum.net/war/evactxt.html>>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Reeves, *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*, 9.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>21</sup> DeWitt, John. “Public Proclamation No. 3” United States Army, Western Defense Command. 24 March 1942. <<https://calisphere.org/item/0715c52f9388ee98ef4f593af6be7271/>>

fired.<sup>22</sup> They were falsely accused of having dual citizenship with Japan, practicing traditional Japanese religions such as Buddhism and Shintoism, being members of Japanese organizations, and being opposed to the United States government.<sup>23</sup> The government assumed that the employees would not contest the charges. However, some of these employees sought legal help through the Japanese -American Citizens League (JACL).<sup>24</sup>

Soon, the evacuation process was begun.<sup>25</sup> Evacuees were given less than a week to settle their affairs. More than a hundred thousand American men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry were relocated to assembly centers throughout the West Coast.<sup>26</sup> The inhabitants of these assembly centers were then loaded onto busses and transported to remote internment camps.<sup>27</sup>

### In the Courts

In early 1942, Saburo Kido, president of the JACL, contacted James Purcell,<sup>28</sup> a lawyer, about the Japanese-American employees of the state who had been fired.<sup>29</sup> Purcell agreed to take up their case for free.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Miller, E. Vayne and the California State Personnel Board. Letter to Mitsuye Endo. 8 April 1942. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 6.

<sup>23</sup> Irons, Peter. *Justice At War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases*. Oxford University Press, 1983.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 103.

<sup>25</sup> Reeves, *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*, 65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>29</sup> Miller, E. Vayne and the California State Personnel Board. Letter to Mitsuye Endo. 8 April 1942. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 6.

<sup>30</sup> Yogi, Stan. "James C. Purcell." *Densho Encyclopedia*. 27 August 2018. <<https://encyclopedia.densho.org/James%20C.%20Purcell/>>.

Shortly thereafter, Purcell visited the Tanforan Assembly Center.<sup>31</sup> Purcell was shocked to discover that the conditions in the assembly centers were worse than those in prison.<sup>32</sup> This motivated him to file a lawsuit fighting for the release of Japanese-Americans.<sup>33</sup> Anticipating that a case challenging the firings of state employees on the basis of race would be dismissed, Purcell instead pursued a *habeas corpus* lawsuit.<sup>34</sup> Purcell felt that a *habeas corpus* case challenging the constitutionality of interning loyal citizens without providing due process would be more successful than a criminal case challenging the race-based restrictions created by the military.<sup>35</sup>

To find a suitable candidate for the lawsuit, Purcell surveyed the former Japanese-American employees of the state, with the goal of finding someone without recent ties to Japan or Japanese culture.<sup>36</sup> Mitsuye Endo had never attended a Japanese language school, could not speak Japanese, had never visited Japan, and did not practice either of the traditional Japanese religions, Buddhism or Shintoism. Additionally, her brother was serving in the United States military.<sup>37</sup>

Endo agreed to let Purcell file a *habeas corpus* lawsuit on her behalf.<sup>38</sup> He did so on July 13, 1942.<sup>39</sup> Unbeknownst to Purcell, Endo's case would garner special attention from the War

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Patrick Johnston Papers, "Correspondence on Endo Case," *California State Archives Exhibits*, <<http://exhibits.sos.ca.gov/items/show/10674>>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Irons, *Justice At War: The Story of the Japanese-American Internment Cases*, 102.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>38</sup> Tateishi, John. *And Justice For All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps*. University of Washington Press, 1984.

<sup>39</sup> Purcell, James C. Letter to Fired Japanese-American Employees of the State. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 5.

Relocation Authority's (WRA) lawyers, as they felt that this case was the most likely to be successful.<sup>40</sup>

The first barrier in the legal system was presented on July 20, 1942, when Judge Roche, the judge hearing Endo's case, decided to hear the case during the hearing intended to set the date of argument.<sup>41</sup> Purcell was surprised but ready. After hearing the case, Judge Roche seemed in favor of granting the petition.<sup>42</sup>

However, Judge Roche did not issue his decision until several months later. Eventually, he ruled against Purcell's motion without explanation.<sup>43</sup> Purcell then appealed the decision. In April 1944, the Court of Appeals certified questions about the case to the Supreme Court, which agreed to hear it.<sup>44</sup>

During this time, officers of the WRA tried to dismiss the case by having Mitsuye Endo sign an application for long-term leave from the internment camp.<sup>45</sup> If Endo was released, she would lack standing and the case would be dismissed. Realizing this, Endo refused to sign the papers, choosing to sacrifice her freedom for a greater good.<sup>46</sup>

Purcell also faced barriers of his own. While arguing Endo's case at the district court, one of the government lawyers threatened to have him imprisoned as a way of derailing the case.<sup>47</sup> He was also menaced by his own neighbors for defending someone of Japanese

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<sup>40</sup> Irons, *Justice At War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases*, 144.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 145.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 147.

<sup>43</sup> Purcell, James C. Letter to Mitsuye Endo. 12 July 1943. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 6.

<sup>44</sup> Letter from United States Circuit Judges to the United States Supreme Court. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 9.

<sup>45</sup> Forster, Clifford. Letter from Clifford Forster to Philip Glick. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 11.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>47</sup> Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, 424.

ancestry.<sup>48</sup>

When the case was argued in district court, the government's brief had claimed that the internment of Japanese-Americans was a proper use of martial law.<sup>49</sup> However, in their Supreme Court brief, they acknowledged that neither the president nor Congress had told the WRA to carry out the internment process.<sup>50</sup>

The main arguments addressed by Endo's lawyers were that internment violated the constitutional rights of due process for Japanese-Americans and that General DeWitt's prejudice had been one of the reasons for the internment of American citizens.<sup>51</sup>

Oral arguments on the *Endo* case were made on October 12, 1944, coincidentally the second day of oral arguments for the *Korematsu* case.<sup>52</sup> The Supreme Court did not announce its decision on either case until more than two months later.<sup>53</sup>

On December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in favor of Endo, stating that no loyal citizen could be detained without reasonable cause.<sup>54</sup> In the Opinion of the Court, Justice William Douglas stated:

The Court holds that Mitsuye Endo is entitled to an unconditional release by the War Relocation Authority... For the Government to suggest under these circumstances that the presence of Japanese blood in a loyal American citizen might be enough to warrant her exclusion from a place where she would otherwise have a right to go is a position I cannot sanction.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, page 431.

<sup>49</sup> Mitsuye Endo v. Milton Eisenhower. 323 U.S. 283. U.S. Supreme Court. 1944. Brief for the United States.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Mitsuye Endo vs. Milton Eisenhower. 323 U.S. 283. United States Supreme Court. 1944. Brief of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

<sup>52</sup> Irons, 320.

<sup>53</sup> Douglas, William Orville, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: Ex Parte Endo, 323 U.S. 283. 1944. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep323283/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep323283/)>.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.



## The End of Internment Camps

On December 17, 1944, the Western Defense Command issued Public Proclamation Number 21, stating that all internees not previously deemed dangerous would be released from the internment camps.<sup>56</sup>

Suspiciously, this proclamation was issued the day *before* the Supreme Court announced its decision on the *Endo* case.<sup>57</sup> The wording of the proclamation also hints at the influence of the *Endo* decision. In the *Endo* decision, the Supreme Court specifically designated that loyal citizens could not be detained without reason.<sup>58</sup> Public Proclamation Number 21 only released internees that were not specifically determined to be disloyal. In addition, the government had not demonstrated any signs of wanting to let evacuees freely return to the exclusion zones before the proclamation was announced.

This proclamation was met with much resistance from white inhabitants of the West Coast.<sup>59</sup> Many people opposed the idea of Japanese-Americans being released, and others even favored deporting all people of Japanese ancestry in the United States back to Japan.<sup>60</sup> As a result of these sentiments, many Japanese-Americans returned to their homes and farms to discover scenes of destruction.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Earl Warren, Governor, "Public Proclamation No. 21," *California State Archives Exhibits*, <<http://exhibits.sos.ca.gov/items/show/10617>>

<sup>57</sup> "Supreme Court Upholds Endo Case on Loyalty" *Topaz Times*, Volume 9, Number 23, 20 December 1944, Topaz, Utah. <<https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=24212585>>

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Spiedel, Jennifer. "After Internment Camps: Seattle's Debate Over Japanese Americans' Right to Return Home" *The Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, University of Washington, 2005. <[http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/after\\_internment.htm](http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/after_internment.htm)>

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Colorado Times (Kakushu Jiji)*. Volume 31. 31 May 1945. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn83025518/1945-05-31/ed-1/?sp=1&r=-0.005,0.02,1.095,0.466,0>>

Despite the racism they faced, most Japanese-Americans were happy to finally go home. On December 19, 1944, Endo sent a telegram to Purcell, reading, “[a]m extremely joyous of results appreciate very much your long effort in restoring our rights.”<sup>62</sup>

### Other Cases and *Endo*

Three other cases unsuccessfully challenged the constitutionality of the internment camps.<sup>63</sup> In all three, the Supreme Court upheld that placing restrictions on Japanese-Americans in the name of military necessity was constitutional.<sup>64</sup>

The first cases regarding Japanese internment to reach the Supreme Court (*Hirabayashi v. United States* and *Yasui v. United States*) were filed by Gordon Hirabayashi and Minoru Yasui, who had violated the curfew and refused to report for evacuation.<sup>65</sup> On June 21, 1943, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the curfew was constitutional,<sup>66</sup> so Hirabayashi and Yasui were guilty.<sup>67</sup>

Approximately a year later, the Supreme Court heard *Korematsu v. United States*. Fred Korematsu, who had resisted evacuation and remained in his San Francisco home, was convicted of violating evacuation orders.<sup>68</sup> On the same day that *Ex parte Endo* was decided, the Supreme Court ruled 6-3 that the evacuation was constitutional and that Korematsu was guilty.<sup>69</sup> Their

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<sup>62</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>63</sup> Okazaki, Steven, director. *Unfinished Business*. Farallon Films, 1985. <<https://vimeo.com/on-demand/unfinishedbusiness/300609902?autoplay=1>>

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Stone, Harlan Fiske, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81. 1942. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep320081/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep320081/)>.

<sup>67</sup> Stone, Harlan Fiske, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Yasui v. United States*, 320 U.S. 115. 1942. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep320115/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep320115/)>.

<sup>68</sup> Daniels, *The Japanese-American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War*, 34.

<sup>69</sup> Black, Hugo Lafayette, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214. 1944. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep323214/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep323214/)>.

opinion stated that they were “unable to conclude that it was beyond the war power of Congress and the Executive to exclude those of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast war area.”<sup>70</sup>

In the *Hirabayashi*, *Yasui*, and *Korematsu* cases, the Supreme Court avoided ruling on the constitutionality of assuming an entire racial group was disloyal. Justice Owen Roberts addressed this in his dissenting opinion in *Korematsu*, writing that “it is a case of convicting a citizen as a punishment for not submitting to imprisonment in a concentration camp, based on his ancestry, and solely because of his ancestry.”<sup>71</sup>

How could the Supreme Court rule, on the same day, that the exclusion of Japanese-Americans was constitutional but that the internment of loyal citizens was not?

The difference between the cases lies in the method of suit and the narrow definitions of *Ex parte Endo*. *Korematsu*, *Hirabayashi*, and *Yasui* opted to test the restrictions by purposefully violating them, and then challenging the convictions.<sup>72</sup> While defendants are supposed to be considered innocent until proven guilty, the opposite was presumed during martial law. When their innocence was not proven in full, the Supreme Court ruled that they were guilty.<sup>73</sup>

Endo broke through the barrier of internment by complying with Executive Order 9066 then filing a *habeas corpus* lawsuit challenging her detention in an internment camp, instead of violating a government proclamation.<sup>74</sup> In her case, the question was not whether or not Japanese-Americans were loyal to the United States; the question was whether or not it was constitutional to intern loyal citizens. Thus, when the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that this

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Black, Hugo Lafayette, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214. 1944. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep323214/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep323214/)>.

<sup>72</sup> Daniels, *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War*, 78.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>74</sup> "Mitsuye Endo." *Densho Encyclopedia*. 11 January 2018 <[http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mitsuye\\_Endo/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mitsuye_Endo/)>.

was unconstitutional, it did not legally contradict their reasoning that it was constitutional to place restrictions upon people deemed dangerous by the military.

### Legacy

The Japanese-American internment cases were not well known until the redress of *Korematsu*, *Yasui*, and *Hirabayashi* in the 1980s.<sup>75</sup> But Endo's case was successful, and thus was not included in the redress and did not become as prominent as the other internment cases.<sup>76</sup>

While *Ex parte Endo* is not as prominent as the other internment cases, it is not without recognition. In May 2015, Hawaiian Senator Brian Schatz sent a letter to President Barack Obama recommending Endo be awarded posthumously with the Presidential Medal of Freedom.<sup>77</sup> While Endo did not receive the honor, the movement did garner attention for her story, which is now more well known.

*Ex parte Endo* has had many impacts beyond the court of law. By forcing internment to end, Endo and her lawyers ensured that it would not be repeated. The internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II is now widely regarded as one of the greatest violations of citizens' rights in the history of the United States.<sup>78</sup> It may not have been acknowledged as such without the bravery of Mitsuye Endo.

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<sup>75</sup> Reeves, *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*, 168.

<sup>76</sup> Buck, Stephanie. "Overlooked No More: Mitsuye Endo, a Name Linked To Justice For Japanese-Americans" The New York Times Co., 9 October 2019 <<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/09/obituaries/mitsuye-endo-overlooked.html>>

<sup>77</sup> Tyler, Amanda L. "Unsung WWII hero deserves the Medal of Freedom" The Sacramento Bee, 25 August 2016 <<https://www.sacbee.com/opinion/california-forum/article97641497.html>>

<sup>78</sup> Qureshi, Bilal. "From Wrong to Right: A U.S. Apology for Japanese Internment" National Public Radio, 9 August 2013. <<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/08/09/210138278/japanese-internment-redress>>

One recent application of her case was in 2004, when the Supreme Court ruled in *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld* that if enemy combatants are citizens of the United States, they have the right to due process when captured.<sup>79</sup> The *Endo* decision was applied in arguing that loyal citizens cannot be interned without reason, and Hamdi's loyalty had not yet been determined in a court of law.

While internment is seen as an abuse of rights, restrictions have since been placed on loyal, law-abiding citizens. One of the jobs of the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is to investigate non-citizen immigrants with a criminal background.<sup>80</sup> Often, these individuals are placed in custody until their situation has been cleared.<sup>81</sup> However, ICE has mistakenly arrested citizens and detained them for prolonged periods of time even after documents proving their citizenship were presented.<sup>82</sup>

On January 4, 2020, United States citizens of Iranian descent tried to cross the Canadian border to return to the United States. They were held for hours by the United States Customs and Border Patrol, which was detaining Iranian-Americans regardless of citizenship status.<sup>83</sup> Detainees reported being held for more than ten hours while being interrogated by border patrol agents about their political views.<sup>84</sup> During this process, the border patrol agents refused to answer the detainees' questions pertaining to the reason for their detainment.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> "Hamdi v. Rumsfeld" *Oyez*. <<https://www.oyez.org/cases/2003/03-6696>>

<sup>80</sup> "Detainers" United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 13 November 2019. <<https://www.ice.gov/detainers>>

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>82</sup> St. John, Paige; Rubin, Joel. "ICE held an American man in custody for 1,273 days. He's not the only one who had to prove his citizenship" *Los Angeles Times*, 27 April 2018 <<https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-citizens-ice-20180427-htmlstory.html>>

<sup>83</sup> Hooper, Ibrahim. "Breaking: CAIR-WA Assisting Iranian-Americans Detained at U.S. Border" Council on American-Islamic Relations, 5 January 2020. <[https://www.cair.com/breaking\\_cair\\_wa\\_assisting\\_iranian\\_american\\_detained\\_u\\_s\\_border](https://www.cair.com/breaking_cair_wa_assisting_iranian_american_detained_u_s_border)>

<sup>84</sup> Johnson, Jake. "'This is Alarming': Iranian-Americans Reportedly Detained, Asked About Political Views At U.S. Border" *Common Dreams.org*, 5 January 2020.

<<https://www.commondreams.org/news/2020/01/05/alarming-iranian-american-reportedly-detained-asked-about-political-views-us-border>>

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*.

## Conclusion

*Ex parte Endo* was a groundbreaking case which ended the unjust internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. In addition to breaking the physical barriers of the internment camps, *Endo* broke legal barriers that allowed for the detention of loyal citizens. Her case has also helped ensure that internment will not be repeated by bringing the issue on the constitutionality of interning loyal citizens to the Supreme Court. The success of this groundbreaking case has helped to shape our nation today by safeguarding citizens' fundamental rights to due process, regardless of ethnicity.

## Appendix A



This is an image of Mitsuye Endo as she finally leaves the Topaz internment camp on January 1, 1945. During her case, Endo had been offered an earlier release so long as she did not settle on the West Coast as a way to dismiss the case. However, Endo had declined the offer and stayed in the internment camp, sacrificing her freedom for the greater good.

**“Endo, Mitsuye.”** *Utah Department of Heritage and Art*, Jan. 1945, <<https://collections.lib.utah.edu/details?id=483152&q=mitsuye+endo>>

## Appendix B



As Purcell's father was a prison official, Purcell had grown up on prison grounds. When he visited the Tanforan Assembly Center, he was shocked to find that the conditions in the assembly center were worse than those in prison. This motivated him to find a candidate for a *habeas corpus* lawsuit. Purcell never charged Endo any legal fees.

**"James C. Purcell.."** *Densho Encyclopedia*. 17 Jul 2015, 11:04 UTC. 22 May 2020, 14:57  
<<https://encyclopedia.densho.org/sources/en-purcell-portrait-1/>>.



## Appendix C

CLASS OF SERVICE	WESTERN UNION	SYMBOLS
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.	(44). K	DL = Day Letter
	A. N. WILLIAMS PRESIDENT	NL = Night Letter
		LC = Deferred Cable
		NLT = Cable Night Letter
		Ship Radiogram

The following information is to be filled in by the sender. The time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

• KHA445 15=D TOPAZ UTAH 19 300P  
1944 DEC 19 PM 2 47

JAS PERCELL=

=MILLS TOWERS SFRAN=

=AM EXTREMELY JOYOUS OF RESULTS APPRECIATE VERY MUCH YOUR LONG  
EFFORT IN RESTORING OUR RIGHTS=

MUTSUYE ENDO.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

On December 19, 1944 (the day after the decision on the *Endo* case was announced) Mitsuye Endo sent a telegram to James Purcell thanking him for his hard work on the case. Mitsuye Endo and James Purcell never met in person, but they often corresponded about the case.

**Endo, Mitsuye. Telegram to James C. Purcell. 19 December 1944. The James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 5.**

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

**Black, Hugo Lafayette, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214. 1944. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep323214/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep323214/)>.**

This document contains both the majority opinion of the court, concurring opinion (Justice Frankfurter,) and dissenting opinions (Justices Murphy, Jackson, and Roberts) for *Korematsu v. United States*. As the *Korematsu* decision was issued on the same day as the *Endo* decision, this source helped me better understand the difference between the two cases, but also the contradictions in the decisions. In my paper, I used this source to describe the *Korematsu* case and how it is different from the *Endo* case.

**Colorado Times (Kakushu Jiji). Volume 31. 31 May 1945. Retrieved from the Library of Congress. <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn83025518/1945-05-31/ed-1/?sp=1&r=-0.005,0.02,1.095,0.466,0>>**

This document is one of the newsletters issued by the Colorado Times, otherwise known as the Kakushu Jiji, which is a newspaper available in English and Japanese that was published outside of the internment camps and provided news about life outside the camps. This volume mainly details events concerning former internees who have moved back out of the internment camps. Most of the articles are about the violence and discrimination the former internees faced, and contains a short interview with Mitsuye Endo on why she moved to Chicago instead of returning to California. This helped me understand how strong anti-Japanese sentiment was on the West Coast. In my paper, I used this source to describe the violence Japanese-Americans faced when returning home.

**Douglas, William Orville, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: Ex Parte Endo, 323 U.S. 283. 1944. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep323283/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep323283/)>.**

This document contains the opinion of the court for the *ex parte Endo* case. In this decision, the court stated that loyal citizens could not be detained against their will as an act of military necessity, and that Mitsuye Endo was a loyal citizen. This source helped me understand what the *Endo* decision was, and how it was different from other decisions about the internment of Japanese-Americans. In my paper, I used this decision to describe

the Supreme Court's opinion of the case, how it differed from the other internment cases, and how it related to Public Proclamation Number 21.

**Earl Warren, Governor, "Public Proclamation No. 21," *California State Archives Exhibits*, <<http://exhibits.sos.ca.gov/items/show/10617>>**

This is a copy of the proclamation issued by General H.C. Pratt concerning the release of Japanese-Americans from the internment camps. The proclamation describes how the "release" process will work, and that certain individuals would still not be able to return home. This proclamation was released a day before the *Endo* decision was made, and went into effect less than a month after it was issued. Reading this proclamation helped me understand what effect the Endo decision had on the Japanese-American population. I used this manuscript to describe how, and under what conditions, Japanese-Americans were released from the internment camps.

**"Evidence of Disloyalty of American-Born Japanese" Remember Pearl Harbor League, 1945 <<https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/pioneerlife/id/17502>>**

This is a pamphlet written by the 'Remember Pearl Harbor League' in response to the release of the Nisei from internment camps. Their "evidence" is that some Japanese-Americans were educated in the ways of Japanese culture, and they bring up the topic of "secret societies" of Japanese-Americans plotting treachery. Reading this booklet helped me understand the anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast and what the Japanese-Americans faced as they went home. In my paper, I used this pamphlet to show the racist opposition to Japanese-Americans living amongst other citizens on the West Coast.

**Forster, Clifford. Letter from Clifford Forster to Philip Glick. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 11.**

This is a letter written by Clifford Forster, a lawyer for the ACLU, to Philip Glick, the solicitor of the WRA. In the letter, Mr. Forster questions Mr. Glick about freeing Mitsuye Endo from the camps, and therefore voiding her case. Reading this letter helped me understand how even members of the ACLU were against the *Endo* case, and the extent to which the WRA was willing to stop any challenges to the internment camps. In my paper, I use this letter to explain some of the challenges the case faced.

**Letter from United States Circuit Judges to the United States Supreme Court. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 9.**

This source is a letter from the United States Circuit Judges to the Supreme Court. In this letter, certify questions to the Supreme Court regarding the constitutionality of interning

loyal citizens. This letter helped me better understand the process the case went through in the legal system, and some of the issues that the Supreme Court faced in issuing a decision on the *Endo* case. In my paper, I use this letter to describe the progression of the case from the district court to the Supreme Court.

**Miller, E. Vayne and the California State Personnel Board. Letter to Mitsuye Endo. 8 April 1942. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 6.**

This source is a letter sent to Mitsuye Endo from the California State Personnel Board informing her that she had been dismissed from her position with the Department of Motor Vehicles. The letter specifically states that Endo was being dismissed because of the perils associated with employing a Japanese-American during the time of war. This source helped me better understand the discrimination Japanese-Americans faced and the unfairness of the government's reasoning. In my paper, I used this source to describe how state employees of Japanese descent were fired after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

**Mitsuye Endo vs. Milton Eisenhower. 323 U.S. 283. United States Supreme Court. 1944. Brief of the American Civil Liberties Union.**

This source is a brief submitted to the Supreme Court regarding the *Endo* case on behalf of the ACLU. While opposing internment camps, this brief took a more conservative view than the briefs drafted by Wayne Collins. The brief helped me understand the ACLU's view of the *Endo* case. In my paper, I used this brief to describe the position some of Endo's lawyers took.

**Mitsuye Endo vs. Milton Eisenhower. 323 U.S. 283. United States Supreme Court. 1944. Brief of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.**

This source is a brief submitted to the Supreme Court regarding the *Endo* case on behalf of the NCACLU. While it may seem strange that the ACLU and its Northern Coast chapter would file separate briefs, it makes more sense when it is explained that the NCACLU's brief was filed by Wayne Collins. Like his other brief, this brief takes a more aggressive position than the ACLU's brief. This brief helped me understand Collins' view on the *Endo* case. In my paper, I used this brief to describe Collins' arguments.

**Mitsuye Endo v. Milton Eisenhower. 323 U.S. 283. U.S. Supreme Court. 1944. Brief for the United States.**

This source is a brief submitted to the Supreme Court regarding the *Endo* case on behalf of the United States government. This brief gives Endo's lawyers an advantage by conceding points that had once been disputed. The source helped me understand the

government's reasoning for interning loyal citizens. In my paper, I used this brief to describe the government's position when arguing in the Supreme Court.

**Patrick Johnston Papers, "Correspondence on Endo Case," *California State Archives Exhibits*, <<http://exhibits.sos.ca.gov/items/show/10674>>**

This document is a letter from James Purcell, Mitsuye Endo's lawyer, to Professor Peter Linzer. In this letter, Mr. Purcell details the Endo case and his role in it. Mr. Purcell strongly believes that the evacuation orders are wrong and unconstitutional, and demonstrates his willingness to help overturn them. This source helped me better understand the case proceedings and Mr. Purcell's motivation in defending Mitsuye Endo at his own cost. In my paper, I use the letter to describe the process the case went through to get to the Supreme Court.

**Patrick Johnston Papers, "Speech on Endo Case," *California State Archives Exhibits*, <<http://exhibits.sos.ca.gov/items/show/10675>>**

This is a speech made by California state legislator Patrick Johnston regarding the Endo case, and his resulting efforts to pass a bill compensating Japanese-American government employees who were fired because of racial bias. This source helped me better understand the Endo case from the perspective of a politician and its effect beyond backing of the closure of the internment camps. I used this understanding to demonstrate how Public Proclamation Number 21 affected not only Japanese-Americans, but also government officials.

**President Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" Address, December 8, 1941; Records of the U.S. Senate (Record Group 46) <<https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/day-of-infamy>>**

This is the famous speech made by President Roosevelt the day after Pearl Harbor was bombed by the Japanese. In this speech, FDR emphasizes that the United States will defend itself at all costs, and not be subject to this kind of treachery again. This helped me understand the government's starting position on the war with Japan and their justification for Japanese internment. In my paper, I used this source to describe the United States' response to Pearl Harbor.

**Purcell, James C. Letter to Fired Japanese-American Employees of the State. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 5.**

This is a letter from James C. Purcell, Mitsuye Endo's lawyer, to the fired Japanese-American civil servants. It explains the progression of *Ex parte Endo* through the justice system. The letter helped me understand the interest in the internment camps with *Ex parte Endo* and how Purcell was in charge of two different legal matters relating

to internment at the same time. In my paper, I used this letter to describe the filing of the *habeas corpus* petition.

**Purcell, James C. Letter to Mitsuye Endo. 12 July 1943. James C. Purcell Collection, California State Library, box 3755, folder 6.**

This is a letter from James Purcell to Mitsuye Endo informing her that Judge Roche had decided against her. Reading this letter helped me understand how Purcell was arguing for someone truly cut off from the rest of the world and not able to be there as her case was being argued. In my paper, I used this letter to describe the progression of the case through the justice system.

**Stone, Harlan Fiske, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81. 1942. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep320081/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep320081/)>.**

This document contains both the majority opinion of the court and concurring opinions (Justices Murphy, Rutledge, and Douglas) for *Hirabayashi v. United States*. The *Hirabayashi* case was heard and decided before the *Endo* case, and was not successful in challenging the curfew placed upon “citizens of Japanese ancestry.” This source helped me understand the unfair view that constitutional rights could be violated because of military necessity. I used this source to describe the *Hirabayashi* case, and how it was different from the *Endo* case.

**Stone, Harlan Fiske, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: Yasui v. United States, 320 U.S. 115. 1942. Periodical. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <[www.loc.gov/item/usrep320115/](http://www.loc.gov/item/usrep320115/)>.**

This document includes the opinion of the court for *Yasui v. United States*, a companion case to the *Hirabayashi* case. Reading this decision helped me better understand the Yasui case (and the *Hirabayashi* case, as it is referenced several times in this decision,) and how it differed from the *Endo* case. I used this source to describe the *Yasui* case, and how it was different from the *Endo* case.

**“Supreme Court Upholds Endo Case on Loyalty” Topaz Times, Volume 9, Number 23, 20 December 1944, Topaz, Utah. <<https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=24212585>>**

This is an article published in a newsletter in the Topaz internment camp. The article was published two days after the decision was made. In addition to announcing the court’s resolution that it was unconstitutional to intern a loyal citizen, it explained how the Korematsu decision contradicted it and announced an army order that internees would be released. Reading this article helped me to understand the reaction in the internment

camps to the *Ex parte Endo* decision. I used this article to describe the reaction in the internment camps to the *Endo* decision.

**Tateishi, John. *And Justice For All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps*. University of Washington Press, 1984.**

This book is a collection of interviews with Japanese-Americans who had been interned in various camps. Most relevant among them is the only interview Mitsuye Endo ever gave. It is strikingly short, but helped me better understand where Endo was coming from and her role in the case. In addition, the other interviews of internees helped me understand the conditions in the internment camps and other movements against internment, and how they differed from Endo's case. In my paper, I used this book to describe Endo's reluctance to be the one to challenge internment.

**"The Yellow Peril" *The Commoner*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Volume I Number 46, 6 December 1901. <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/46032385/1901-12-06/ed-1/seq-1/>>**

This source is an article describing the "Yellow Peril," a term white journalists used to refer to the "problem" caused by Asian immigrants who were willing to work for lower wages. It encourages people to advocate for the renewal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The article also argues for all Asian races to be included in the exclusion act. I used this article to describe the discriminatory laws and views Asian immigrants and their descendants faced.

## Secondary Sources

**"Asian American History" *Japanese American Citizens League*  
<<https://jacl.org/asian-american-history/>>**

This article gives an overview of the history of Asian immigration to the United States and the treatment that the immigrants and their descendants received. Although it includes the history of a variety of Asian groups, it focuses mainly on Japanese immigration. In my paper, I used this article to give a brief summary of the history leading up to Pearl Harbor and the internment camps.

**Buck, Stephanie. "Overlooked No More: Mitsuye Endo, a Name Linked To Justice For Japanese-Americans" *The New York Times Co.*, 9 October 2019  
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/09/obituaries/mitsuye-endo-overlooked.html>>**

This obituary, published thirteen years after Endo's death, describes the internment of Japanese-Americans and Mitsuye Endo's role in challenging it. It describes how Endo was a perfect candidate for a *habeas corpus* case challenging the internment of the Japanese, as she had no connections to Japan whatsoever, other than her ancestry. Reading this article helped me better understand Endo's background and role in challenging Japanese internment. In my paper, I used this article to describe the effects of *Ex parte Endo*.

**Daniels, Roger. *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War*. University Press of Kansas, 2013.**

This book describes the four major cases about the internment of Japanese-Americans, and how they apply to modern life. What stuck out to me about this book was that, in the first portion, it highlights how *ex parte Endo* was different from the Yasui, Korematsu, and Hirabayashi cases. Endo did not resist any of the laws restricting Japanese-Americans, but rather obeyed the orders and filed for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This helped me understand how Endo's case differed from the others, and what made it more successful. In my paper, I used this source to describe the different Japanese-American internment cases and their impacts.

**“Detainers” United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 13 November 2019.**  
<<https://www.ice.gov/detainers>>

This source is a statement by the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement describing detainers and their use. Detainers issued by the ICE are requests to local law enforcement agencies to take someone into custody. This process is controversial, as only aliens are supposed to be taken into custody, but several citizens have been detained for prolonged periods of time. In my paper, I used this statement to describe the impacts of *Ex parte Endo*.

**“Evacuation and Internment of San Francisco Japanese” *The Museum of the City of San Francisco*** <<http://www.sfmuseum.net/war/evactxt.html>>

This source is made up of several articles and primary-source photos. The articles describe the internment of Japanese-Americans uprooted from their homes in San Francisco, and the local process leading up to internment. This article helped me understand the extent of the discrimination that Japanese-Americans faced, despite their status as citizens. In my paper, I used this source to describe the FBI raids on the homes of “potentially dangerous enemy aliens.”



**“Gentlemen’s Agreement” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 27 September 2019, <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Gentlemens-Agreement>>**

This source is an article describing the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907. This was an agreement between the United States and Japan regarding Japanese immigration to the United States. The article helped me understand the relationship between the two countries before Pearl Harbor and one of the agreements they had previously reached. In my paper, I used this source to describe the events leading up to Pearl Harbor and the internment camps.

**“Hamdi v. Rumsfeld” *Oyez*. <<https://www.oyez.org/cases/2003/03-6696>>**

This case summary describes the case *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld*, on which the Supreme Court decided that enemy combatants can not be held in custody without due process if they are citizens. The summary helped me understand this case, and *Ex parte Endo*’s lasting effects, as *Endo* is one of the cases cited in the briefs. In my paper, I used this source to describe the effects of *Ex parte Endo* on the world today.

**Hooper, Ibrahim. “Breaking: CAIR-WA Assisting Iranian-Americans Detained at U.S. Border” *Council on American-Islamic Relations*, 5 January 2020. <[https://www.cair.com/breaking\\_cair\\_wa\\_assisting\\_iranian\\_americans\\_detained\\_u\\_s\\_border](https://www.cair.com/breaking_cair_wa_assisting_iranian_americans_detained_u_s_border)>**

This article describes the detention of several Iranian-Americans trying to cross over the United States-Canada border back into the United States. The travelers (who were citizens, some of whom had lived in the United States their entire lives) were detained for several hours and questioned about their political views. Reading this article helped me better understand some of the race-based discrimination that occurs today, and how *Ex parte Endo* has failed to effect the United States in certain ways. In my paper, I used this source to describe the effects (or lack of effects) of *Ex parte Endo* on the world today.

**Hosokawa, Bill. *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*. University Press of Colorado, 1969.**

This source is a book describing the history of Japanese people in America. From the legends surrounding the founding of Japan to the impacts of Japanese internment on the world today, this book had a wide range of information. It helped me understand the “narrative” leading up to and during internment. In my paper, I used the book to describe various parts of the internment story.

**Irons, Peter. *Justice At War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases*. Oxford University Press, 1983.**

This book describes the four cases challenging the internment of Japanese-Americans. It includes interviews with many key figures in these cases, such as James Purcell, Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu, and Minoru Yasui. This source helped me understand the difference between the cases and their progression through the justice system. Seeing many of the difficulties that they faced helped me better understand what many Japanese-Americans were going through. In my paper, I primarily use this book to describe the legal process *Endo* went through to reach the Supreme Court.

**Johnson, Jake. “‘This is Alarming’: Iranian-Americans Reportedly Detained, Asked About Political Views At U.S. Border” Common Dreams.org, 5 January 2020 <<https://www.commondreams.org/news/2020/01/05/alarmed-iranian-americans-reportedly-detained-asked-about-political-views-us-border>>**

This article describes the detention of several Iranian-Americans at the United States-Canada border. These citizens, some of which had lived in the United States all their lives, were held in custody for several hours and questioned about their allegiances. Reading this article helped me understand how history can begin to repeat itself and some of the race-based discrimination that still occurs today. In my paper, I used this source to describe some of the current impacts of *Ex parte Endo*.

**Kim, Jonathan. “Habeas Corpus” Legal Information Institute, June 2017 <[https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/habeas\\_corpus](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/habeas_corpus)>**

This article describes what a writ of *habeas corpus* is, the origins of the law, and its history in the United States. Reading this article helped me better understand what a writ of *habeas corpus* was, which in turn helped me better understand the legal difference between *Ex parte Endo* and the other Japanese-American internment cases. In my paper, I used this source to explain *habeas corpus* lawsuits.

**"Mitsuye Endo." *Densho Encyclopedia*. 11 Jan 2018 <[http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mitsuye\\_Endo/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mitsuye_Endo/)>.**

This article describes Mitsuye Endo’s life in camp, and very briefly her life afterwards. Mitsuye Endo lived a private life, only giving an interview to John Tateishi in *And Justice For All* and avoiding the spotlight. As well as helping me understand Endo as a person, this article helps me understand Endo’s reasons for not wanting to be the “test case” which makes me respect her even more. In my paper, I used this source to describe some of the differences between *Ex parte Endo* and the other Japanese-American internment cases.

Noel, Josh. "Mitsuye Tsutsumi." *The Chicago Tribune*. 25 April 2006 <<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2006-04-25-0604250259-story.html>>

This article is an obituary published eleven days after Endo's death. In it, Mitsuye Endo's (later Mitsuye Tsutsumi by marriage) contributions to the challenging of the internment camps are described, along with her life before and after the camps. It features an interview with her daughter, who describes Mrs. Tsutsumi's aversion to being well known, and how she was never angry about being interned. Reading this source helped me better understand Mrs. Tsutsumi as a person, and how she continued to live the rest of her life. In my paper, I used this article to describe the outcome of *Ex parte Endo*.

Okazaki, Steven, director. *Unfinished Business*. Farallon Films, 1985.  
<[https://vimeo.com/on demand/unfinishedbusiness/300609902?autoplay=1](https://vimeo.com/on-demand/unfinishedbusiness/300609902?autoplay=1)>

This documentary describes Japanese internment and three of the people who resisted the evacuation orders, challenging their constitutionality in a court of law. With interviews of Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui, and Fred Korematsu, this source helped me better understand the three other cases that tried (and failed) to challenge internment. In my paper, I used this documentary to describe the other Japanese-American cases: *Korematsu v. United States*, *Hirabayashi v. United States*, and *Yasui v. United States*.

Qureshi, Bilal. "From Wrong to Right: A U.S. Apology for Japanese Internment" *National Public Radio*, 9 August 2013.  
<<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/08/09/210138278/japanese-internment-redress>>

This article describes the internment of Japanese-Americans and how it is now regarded as a great mistake. Reading this helped me understand the current view of the Japanese internment camps. In my paper, I used this article to describe the difference between the current view of the internment camps and the view in the 1940s.

Reeves, Richard. *Infamy: The Shocking Story of Japanese Internment in World War II*. Henry Holt and Company, 2015.

This book describes the contribution of Japanese-Americans during the war, and the difficulties they faced. The causes and effects of the internment camps, the invaluable Japanese-American soldiers in Europe, and the shameful justifications of interning loyal citizens are explained. Reading this source helped me better understand the context of the Endo case, and what she must have been going through while her case was being argued. In my paper, I used this book to describe the events leading up to the internment camps and the internment camps themselves.

**“Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and World War II” National Museum of American History: Behring Center, Smithsonian Institution <<https://americanhistory.si.edu/righting-wrong-japanese-americans-and-world-war-ii>>**

This webpage describes the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II and how it disrupted their life. Supplemented by many primary sources, this source helped me better understand life in the internment camps and some of the major issues before, after, and during internment. It also describes the *coram nobis* cases, filed by Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Minoru Yasui, after internment which made these three individuals (and their cases) famous. This understanding helped me write about the other Japanese-American cases.

**Spiedel, Jennifer. “After Internment Camps: Seattle’s Debate Over Japanese Americans’ Right to Return Home” The Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project, University of Washington, 2005. <[http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/after\\_internment.htm](http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/after_internment.htm)>**

This article describes the aftermath of the closing of the internment camps. Reading this article helped me understand the discrimination continued even after the internment camps, and the horrible world the internees lived in. In my paper, I used this source to describe the public’s reaction to Public Proclamation Number 21.

**St. John, Paige; Rubin, Joel. “ICE held an American man in custody for 1,273 days. He’s not the only one who had to prove his citizenship” Los Angeles Times, 27 April 2018 <<https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ci-tizens-ice-20180427-htlmstory.html>>**

This article describes the ICE’s policy of detaining non-citizens with criminal records, and some of the mistakes this agency has made. Several citizens have been detained and kept in custody despite their efforts to prove citizenship. Reading this helped me understand injustices citizens still face today. In my paper, I used this article to describe the effects of *Ex parte Endo*.

**Tamura, Linda; Hardham, John. “Shikata-ganai” History Museum of Hood River, Youtube, 2012 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iuEg4YQFCRg>>**

This documentary, created in correlation with an exhibit, describes the concept of ‘Shikata-ganai’ in correlation with the internment camps. ‘Shikata-ganai’ roughly translates to “it cannot be helped.” In Japanese culture, tolerance is important. Understanding this helped me better understand the social barriers that Mitsuye Endo faced in challenging her circumstances. This understanding helped me write about the social barriers Mitsuye Endo faced in challenging internment.

**Tyler, Amanda L. "Unsung WWII hero deserves the Medal of Freedom" The Sacramento Bee, 25 August 2016 <<https://www.sacbee.com/opinion/california-forum/article97641497.html>>**

This article describes Mitsuye Endo's role in pursuing and maintaining justice, which many felt merited a Medal of Freedom. Ironically, this newspaper, the Sacramento Bee, was highly anti-Japanese during World War II. This helped me understand Endo's role, and current views of her contribution. Amanda Tyler, the author of this op-ed, is a professor who has greatly researched the Endo case and written about it extensively in her book. Reading this helped me understand the view of someone who knows this case very well. In my paper, I use this to describe the movement to describe current views of *Ex parte Endo*.

**Yogi, Stan. "James C. Purcell." *Densho Encyclopedia*. 27 Aug 2018 <<https://encyclopedia.densho.org/James%20C.%20Purcell/>>.**

This article describes James C. Purcell's life. As a white man, Purcell took up Mitsuye Endo's case, despite the alienation from his country and threats he faced. In addition, he covered the legal fees. Reading this helped me better understand the case as a whole and how some non-Japanese citizens found their own ways to resist the internment of their fellow citizens. In my paper, I used this to describe how much work James Purcell put into the *Endo* case and the barriers he faced.