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Heart Mountain Relocation Project
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

Community Analysis Section

The Heart Mountain Community

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Prologue (caps)

The scene of this report is northwestern Wyoming, the valley of the Shoshoni ~~river~~ river. The stream comes out of the mountains through a narrow gorge just west of the town of Cody and flows ~~through~~ ^{down} the valley past Powell, about thirty miles ~~away~~ ^{away} ~~stream~~. The present river ~~is~~ ⁱⁿ bed is ⁱⁿ a rather ^{well} ~~rather~~ ^{rather} ~~do~~ ^{rather} ~~defile~~, some 200 feet ^{above} ~~below~~ the level of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{former} ~~the~~ flood plain that constitutes most of the valley floor. ~~Above~~ ^{above} this is ~~it~~ ^{it} varies in width from a few hundred yards to three or four miles. Above this ~~is~~ ^{are} the remains of a still older flood plain. Much of it has been eroded away, but in a few places it forms a broad relatively flat bench. From here, foothills rise and slope away to the high mountains that surround the valley on all sides.

*next page

This is the country of "the great open spaces." The population is sparse. ~~For~~ Cody and Powell are towns of 2500. The ~~next~~ ^{next} ~~place~~ ^{nearest} ~~that is~~ ^{larger} community, Billings, Montana, is more than a hundred miles away. Near the valley there are oil wells, and ~~there~~ ^{Cody} ~~is~~ ^{has} ~~a~~ ^{is} refinery, ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ Cody. But the main economic base is farming and ~~and~~ ^{and} cattle and sheep raising. ~~The tourist trade~~ →

In peacetime the tourist trade ~~is~~ ^{is} also of considerable importance, especially for Cody. It is the last town before Yellowstone Park and is the shopping center for numerous dude ranches in the vicinity.

~~Except where the land is irrigated~~
A highway and ~~scat~~ and a spur of the C.F. and G. railroad connect the valley with the outside. The railway affords freight service only. Passengers must travel by bus.

Except where the land is irrigated, the vegetation is scanty. Scrubby sagebrush are interspersed with low cactus and a few blades of grass. The prevailing color of the landscape is a dull gray-brown, tinged with ~~flaunt~~ ^{hint} of green ^{only} during spring and early summer.

→ ~~In June, 1942,~~
~~until June, 1942,~~

About midway between Cody and Powell, is one of the ~~points~~ ^{places} where the ^{mentioned above} ~~alder~~ and higher flood plain forms a wide beach. Until June, 1942, it was ^{open} range-land like most of the surrounding territory. ~~Sheep grazed undisturbed. Coyotes Coyotes Coyotes~~ ~~Herds of sheep grazed over it.~~ Suddenly, it was a scene of prodigious activity.

Suddenly, it ~~was~~ ^{became} the ~~scene~~ scene of prodigious activity. Men and machines were ~~building~~ ^{constructing} a camp.

The plans called for almost ~~500~~ ^{more than} ~~some~~ ⁵⁰⁰ ~~barracks~~ ^{buildings}, a water system, a sewage system, a power line — all of the facilities necessary for human habitation. Less than sixty days after the first sagebrush was disturbed, before the ~~camp~~ ^{construction work} was ~~not~~ ~~camp~~ finished, the residents began to arrive. During the next three years almost 14,000 people lived here. The peak population was a little less than 10,000. At its height, it was the third largest ~~town~~ ^{community} in the state of Wyoming. ~~The town was~~ ^{The} ~~community~~ ^{community} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~Heart Mountain.~~ ^{Heart Mountain.}

~~The Camp~~

~~The physical arrangement of the camp was orderly in a rigid, mechanical way. Alongside the highway and railroad, a group of barracks housed a~~ ~~det~~ ~~sw~~

~~The physical arrangement of the camp was orderly in a rigid, mechanical way. These main sections It was made up of three main sections.~~

~~Alongside the highway and railroad, Here a group of about a dozen barracks housed a ~~small~~ ^{small} detachment of military police. This was ~~outside~~~~

The Camp

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(4)

Heart Mountain ~~was~~ it was
~~called~~ ^{named} in honor of a ~~prominent~~
mountain that ~~stands~~ but directly
to the west. ~~Its~~ Its residents most
often spoke of it as a camp. The
~~the~~ ~~to~~ Government Agency that
~~operated~~ ~~it~~ operated it, the War
Relocation Authority, referred to it
as a "relocation project" when speaking
of the whole reservation on which
it was ~~built~~ ^{located} or as a "relocation
center" when the camp proper was
meant. The residents, ^{usually} referred to it simply
as "the camp." ~~and~~

It was a camp. ~~Its~~ Its arrangement
was orderly, ~~The~~ ~~camp~~ with the ~~the~~
~~rigid~~ ~~such~~ rigidly and ~~mechanical~~
~~orderly~~ orderly in ^{the} rigid and ~~mechanical~~
way. ^{It} ^{is} ^{characteristic} ^{of} ^{things} ^{done} ^{to} ^{army} ^{specifications.} It was made up of three parts,
two small and one large. The first
was situated on the valley floor,
alongside the highway and the
railroad. Here about a dozen
barracks housed a small detachment
of military police. This was outside
of the ^{barbed-wire} fence that ~~surrounded~~ ^{enclosed} the
camp ~~itself~~.

A road led through a gate in the fence and up a hill to the ~~highest~~ higher bench. On ~~the~~ ^{the} outer edge ^{of the bench} about a quarter mile from the gate, was the second part — the administration area where the ~~Civil Service staff~~ ~~the staff of the War Relocation Authority~~ project staff ^{Civil Service appointees,} ^{where} many staff of them ~~members~~ lived. ~~During~~ Early in the history of the center, the area contained four office buildings, a post office, a dry goods store, a hospital, a firehouse, ~~a hospital~~, four dormitories, ~~and~~ a mess hall, and a recreation hall. Later ~~construction~~, continuing through the summer of 1944, added another dormitory and 12 apartment buildings. With the exception of two office buildings and the hospital, all structures were of the barracks type.

Compared to both of these parts of the ~~camp~~, the third was immense. There were ~~the~~ about 450 barracks ~~that~~ ^{were} used as living quarters and more than a hundred that served other purposes. There ~~was~~ ~~to~~ ~~one~~ ~~other~~ ~~clearly~~ It was here that uniformity and regularity became overwhelmingly

apparent. Streets ran north-south and east-west with ~~the~~ mathematical exactitude.

They divided the camp into ~~19~~ 19 full blocks. There was an additional block that had been only half-built, making 20 occupied blocks. ^{in all} Each of the full blocks was just like all others. The plan

(See ~~chart~~ map, p.)

all ^{of} the full blocks were exactly alike. Residential barracks were arranged in ^{rows} groups of six. Two such ^{rows} groups composed a half-block, separated from the other half by a ~~two~~ fire-break.

Between ^{the rows} the groups there were service ^{buildings} that were used in common - a mess hall, ~~and~~ ^{an H-shaped structure,} ~~containing~~ a boiler room, a laundry room, and two latrines. The other half-block was a mirror-image ^{of what has been described.}

~~the halves~~ A fire-break separated the two halves. The only buildings here were ^{two} recreation halls. The

7
reminiscent
an open space was leveled so as
to serve as a recreation field
for soft-ball ~~and~~ and basketball. (See
block chart, p. 7)
~~power~~

Public buildings of various sorts were widely distributed. They
consisted of two
grade schools, a high school, a Community Activities Building,
two
movies, two general stores, two barber
shops, two beauty parlors, and several
other a number of others. Only the The
high school was unique in that it was
a specialized structure.
especially built for the purpose
it served. The grade schools occupied
barracks, ^{in blocks 7 and 25} that had been meant for
residence. Barber shops and beauty
parlors were squeezed into laundry
rooms. Three transplanted CCC
barracks hooked together into a single
structure housed Community Activities
headquarters. All other public
buildings were black recreation
halls - not available for recreation
consequently.

Residential barracks were constructed
according to a simple plan. Each was divided

They were distributed. They
Community Activities Building,
several churches,

It may be noted that in external form and dimensions the recreation halls were identical with residential barracks. Only ~~the~~ messhalls and laundry-latrines were different in outward appearance.

into six apartments rooms, euphemistically designated "apartments." These ~~at the~~ There were three sizes.

The two end ones were the smallest; the two middle ones ^{were} medium sized; and the others, the second and fifth, were ^{the} largest.

~~The original~~ Uniformity extended into the ~~to~~ interior of the apartments. ^{All were rectangular} ~~Each~~ All ^{and all} were provided with the ~~same~~ same kind of coal-burning ~~and~~ heating stoves and an army cot for each occupant.

~~Not much was done in the ~~in~~ ~~the~~ three years that people lived in the camp to modify~~

In three years of living in Heart Mountain ^{the residents did a few things} ~~little was done~~ to ^{mechanically regular} modify the physical shell of the community. Some blocks improved ~~this~~ ~~playing~~ recreation space in the firebricks more ^{than} ~~ways~~ with other blocks did. There were ^{quite} ~~some~~ ^{elaborate} flower gardens by ~~some~~ certain messhalls; none by others. Many

people built ^{covered entrances} ~~entrances~~ over their doorways or at ^{least} ~~but~~ put up a windbreaks. These varied greatly from doorway to doorway. Within the apartments there was ^{much} ~~great~~ diversity in decoration and furnishings. ~~Storage space~~ Extra storage space ^{might be} was provided by excavating ~~at~~ a cellar to be entered by a trap door through the floor. Within the apartments, there was much diversity in decoration and furnishings. ^{The project} ~~It~~ administration recognized ^{human} ~~the~~ differing requirements ~~by~~ ^{by} adding partitions ^{for a few} ~~in a few~~ ^{blocks} changed the ~~inter~~ ^{room} arrangement in a ~~of~~ ^{few} barracks to provide ~~some~~ small apartments for individual occupancy.

^{For general it may be said} ~~What this seems to indicate is that~~ variety developed where the efforts of individuals ~~and~~ families could be effective. Block-groupings produced some changes that reflected differences ^{among} ~~between~~ blocks. The physical arrangement of the larger aspects of the ^{physical mold of} community remained ~~unchanged~~

about as it had been originally constructed.

This does not mean that community life conformed to the rigid ~~or~~ framework that had been provided. There was a good deal of functional "modification" of the plant. Residential It has already been indicated that residential barracks became schools, ~~and~~ recreation halls became stores, and so forth. On a part-time basis, messhalls were meeting places, theatres, or dance halls. The varied needs of the community were ~~not~~ ^{taken care of, more or less adequately,} ~~such~~ ~~more or less~~ in- ~~convenient,~~ by ~~working~~ ^{getting along with} the structure that existed.

So far this description has omitted ^{perhaps} the most obvious thing about the physical appearance of the camp. No mention has been made of color. The soldiers' barracks had gray walls and green roofs. The same colors were found in the administration area, ~~with the addition of the plus some other~~. ~~The apt Ten apartment-barracks had sand walls and red roofs, an addition to the 2~~ ^{two} old CCC office building buildings that were used for offices, ^{were} formerly ~~had~~ ~~paint~~ ~~covered~~ with paint. This was, ^{mostly} gone by the time they had been transported to Heart Mountain and their color was that of weather-beaten wood. Another such barracks that served as an addition to the hospital was newly ~~paint~~ painted bright green. ~~The~~ In contrast, the main part of the camp ^{on the} was black. ~~Black tar paper covered~~ Every one of the hundreds of residential barracks, messhalls, recreational halls, and laundry-latrines had black tar paper walls and roofs. ~~The only exceptions were the~~ ^{a few weather-beaten} CCC barracks and the high-school - the latter startling ~~so~~ with its large size, buff walls, and red roof. The centrally located

no 97

← The centrally located high school, with buff walls and red roof, ~~was~~ stood out like ~~an~~ ~~island~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~sea~~ of blackness.

~~One~~

When one ~~stood~~ ^{out} looked over the camp and the countryside the prevailing impressions were of blackness and bleakness. mechanical orderliness, blackness, and bleakness. To a newcomer, it ~~seemed~~ ^{seemed} unreal. The writer put ~~down~~ his ^{thoughts in a letter} ~~impressions~~ after about six weeks in the place: "My first feeling that this community did not ^{actually} ~~really~~ exist, that it was just a bad dream I was having, has pretty much subsided. I have decided it is real after all. Now when I look out over the project, it seems substantial enough, but it just shouldn't be. Most settlements sort of grow out of the ground and look as if they belonged. This one looks stuck there; it doesn't fit the landscape; it is so obviously created by decree." In ~~a~~ almost two years, the writer ^{became} ~~got~~ used to the place, the place. the camp, ~~as did~~ others who lived there. But ~~until the~~ ^{until the} end, however, contemplation of the physical aspects ~~gave me~~ ^{gave me} little satisfaction. The ~~camp~~ camp was ~~too~~ regular and too rigid. It was unnatural, artificial,

Both by itself and in its relation to its setting, it was unnatural and artificial. ~~It hardly seemed~~ Nevertheless, people did live here. The barracks became homes; not normal homes, but to be a place

~~It seemed that people might stay there~~

It hardly seemed that people could live there. They might stay there ~~perhaps~~ temporarily, using the facilities to ~~permit survival.~~ in order to subsist and survive, but not live.

~~A~~ People did live. The barracks became homes; not normal homes but homes nevertheless. The camp grew to be a community. Again, it was not full-pledged community. But there was organization, collective sentiments, ^{and} even some civic spirit.

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The People and the Community

There were three kinds of people at Heart Mountain, corresponding to the three sections of the camp - soldiers, Civil Service ~~to~~ appointees ~~and their~~ employed by WRA ~~and~~ their families, and persons of Japanese ancestry evacuated from the West Coast. It may be well ~~is~~ to ~~indicate~~ ^{give the more common} the terms ~~used~~ ^{for} to refer to

the members of each category so that the words can be ~~employed~~ ^{used} as we proceed.

The soldiers were ^{simply} called "soldiers", "military police", or "M.P.'s". The Civil Service appointees spoke of themselves ^{and were a part of} as ~~the~~ ^{"personnel", "the} "appointed personnel", "perfect staff", ~~the~~ ^{"staff"}

"administration", or ~~the~~ "Caucasians." ^{The personnel of Japanese ancestry} ~~used~~ ^{used} all of these expressions plus the Japanese word for Caucasians i.e. habugin.

The ~~most~~ ^{most} usual ~~to~~ ^{designations} terms for the persons of Japanese ancestry were "evacuees", "residents", and "Japanese". ~~Staff members~~ Some staff ~~the~~ members talked about "japs" in conversation among themselves, but it was avoided in ~~so~~ contacts with ~~evacuees~~. Others never used ~~it~~ ^{the word,} and everybody avoided it in contacts with evacuees. Many of the

residents, especially those born in Japan, referred to themselves as nihonjin and to the appointed personnel as hakujin.

Not much need be said about the soldiers. They were present because they were ordered here to guard the Japanese. ~~Although they~~ ^{As a group of people,} ~~to a group of people,~~ they never really became members of the community. ~~Their importance was chief~~ They were of significance ~~to the community~~, chiefly as a focus of ~~evacuee~~ attitudes. ~~The~~ The Army had ordered and carried out evacuation and, ^{the Army} had insisted on the barbed-wire fence that surrounded the camp proper. Early in the history of the center, ~~guarding~~ the guarding activities of the local garrison were ^{quite} elaborate. Several watchtowers along the fence were manned constantly and at night numerous searchlights illuminated the fence line. For a time, there was

Unlike either the soldiers or the evacuees, the appointed personnel came to Heart Mountain voluntarily. Their primary motive was to take advantage of the economic opportunities that ~~for~~ employment on the project offered, ~~in a fair~~ a fair number of persons though in a few cases non-economic ~~motives~~ factors considerations were important. ~~These latter persons~~ Such considerations were a desire to participate in a ~~real~~ novel situation, to gain experience and perspectives, or to help the unfortunate evacuees. Just as staff members could ~~come~~ ^{come voluntarily}, they could and did depart when they wished. Very few stayed through the whole life of the center and there was always a substantial percentage of relative newcomers.

staff members

The staff represented ~~the~~ WTR # on the project, ~~and operated under~~ ~~this position~~ gave them the authority over the resi a large amount of authority over the residents.

~~This meant several things.~~

Their position and functions were laid down in instructions issued by the Washington office. This meant several things. They were given a large amount of authority over the residents, were charged with the obligation of providing for the manifold needs of the community, and were restricted and directed in carrying out their duties. ~~It happens~~

~~One of their~~ ~~to~~ Certain of their instructions had them to take account of the views of residents and to develop ways to discover these views. On most points "the taking account of" was to be only in the nature of consultation.

~~The~~ final decisions rested with the staff or with the Washington Office if the situation seemed not to be covered by the existing instructions.

M 1.00

Japanese Relocation Papers
Bancroft Library

THE HEART MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY

PROLOGUE

The scene of this report is northwestern Wyoming, the valley of the Shoshoni River. The stream comes out of the mountains through a narrow gorge just west of the town of Cody and flows down the valley past Powell, about thirty miles away. The present river bed is in a rather deep defile. Some 200 feet above the river is a former flood plain that constitutes most of the valley floor. It varies in width from a few hundred yards to three or four miles. Above this are the remains of a still older flood plain. Much of it has been eroded away, but in a few places it forms a broad relatively flat bench. From here, foothills rise and slope away to the high mountains that surround the valley on all sides.

This is the country of "the great open spaces." The population is sparse. Cody and Powell are towns of 2,500. The closest larger community, Billings, Montana, is more than a hundred miles away. Near the valley there are oil wells, and Cody has a refinery. But the main economic base is farming and cattle and sheep raising. In peace time the tourist trade is also of considerable importance, especially for Cody. It is the last town before Yellowstone Park and is the shopping center for numerous dude ranches in the vicinity.

Except where the land is irrigated, the vegetation is scanty. Scrawny sagebrush are interspersed with low cactus and a few blades of grass. The prevailing color of the landscape is a dull gray-brown, tinged with faint green during spring and early summer.

A highway and a spur of the C. B. & Q. railroad connect the valley with the outside. The railway affords freight service only. Passengers must travel by bus.

About midway between Cody and Powell is one of the points where the older and higher flood plain mentioned above forms a wide bench. Until June, 1942, it was open range-land like most of the surrounding territory. Suddenly, it became the scene of prodigious activity. Men and machines were constructing a camp. The plans called for more than 500 buildings, a water system, a sewage system, a power line -- all of the facilities necessary for human habitation. Less than sixty days after the first sagebrush was disturbed, before the construction work was finished, the residents began to arrive. During the next three years almost 14,000 people lived here. The peak population was a little less than 11,000. At its height, it was the third largest community in the state of Wyoming.

THE CAMP

Heart Mountain it was named in honor of a prominent mountain that stands out directly to the west. The government agency that operated it, the War Relocation Authority, referred to it as a "relocation project" when speaking of the whole reservation on which it was located or as a "relocation center" when the camp proper was meant. The residents usually referred to it simply as "the camp."

It was a camp. Its arrangement was orderly, orderly in the rigid and mechanical way that characterizes things done to Army specifications. It was made up of three parts. The first was situated on the valley floor, alongside the highway and the railroad. Here about a dozen barracks housed a small detachment of military police. This was outside of the barbed-wire fence that enclosed the camp itself.

A road led through a gate in the fence and up a hill to the higher bench. On the outer edge of the bench about a quarter mile from the gate, was the second part - the administration area where the staff of Civil Service appointees, worked and where many of them lived. Early in the history of the center, the area contained four office buildings, a post office, a dry goods store, a hospital, a firehouse, four dormitories, a messhall, and a recreation hall. Later construction, continuing through the summer of 1944, added another dormitory and twelve apartment buildings. With the exception of two office buildings and the hospital, all structures were of the barracks type.

Compared to both of these parts, the third was immense. There were about 450 barracks used as living quarters and more than a hundred that served other purposes. It was here that uniformity and regularity became overwhelmingly apparent. Streets ran north-south and east-west with mathematical exactitude. They divided the camp into 19 full blocks. There was an additional block that had been only

half-built, making 20 occupied blocks. (See map).

All of the full blocks were exactly alike. Residential barracks were arranged in rows of six. Two such rows composed a half-block. Between the rows were service buildings that were used in common - a messhall and an H-shaped structure containing a boilerroom, a laundry room, and two latrines. The other half-block was a mirror-image of what has been described. A fire-break separated the two halves. The only buildings here were two recreation halls. The remaining open space was leveled so as to serve as a recreation field for softball and basketball. (See chart)

It may be noted that in external form and ^{mentions} discussions the recreation halls were identical with residential barracks. Only messhalls and laundry latrines were different in outward appearance.

Public buildings of various sorts were widely distributed. They consisted of two grade schools, a high school, a Community Activities building, several churches, two movies, two general stores, two barber shops, two beauty parlors, and a few others. The high school was unique in that it was especially built for the purpose it served. The grade schools occupied barracks in blocks 7 and 25, that had been meant for residence. Barber shops and beauty parlors squeezed into laundry rooms. Three transplanted CCC barracks hooked together into a single structure housed Community Activities headquarters. All other public buildings were block induction halls - not available for recreation consequently.

Residential barracks were constructed according to a single plan. Each was divided into six rooms, euphemistically designated "apartments." There were three sizes. The two end ones were the smallest, the two middle ones were medium sized; and the others, the second and fifth, were the largest.

Uniformity extended into the interior of the apartments. All were rectangular and all were provided with the same kind of coal-burning heating stoves and an army cot for each occupant.

In three years of living in Heart Mountain the residents did a few things to modify the mechanically regular physical skill of the community. Some blocks improved the recreation space in the fire-breaks more than other blocks did. There were quite elaborate flower gardens by certain messhalls; none by others. Many people built covered entrances over their doorways or at least put up windbreaks. These varied greatly from doorway to doorway. Extra storage space might be provided by excavating a cellar to be entered by a trap door through the floor. Within the apartments, there was much diversity in decoration and furnishings. The project administration recognized humans differing requirements by adding partitions in a few barracks to provide small apartments for individual occupancy.

In general it may be said that variety developed where the efforts of individuals and families could be effective. Block-groupings produced some changes that reflected differences among blocks. The arrangement of the larger aspects of the

physical mold of community remained about as it had been originally constructed.

This does not mean that community life conformed to the rigid framework that had been provided. There was a good deal of functional "modification" of the plant. It has already been indicated that residential barracks became schools, recreation halls became stores, and so forth. On a part-time basis, messhalls were meeting places, theatres, or dance halls. The varied needs of the community were taken care of, more or less adequately by getting along with the structures that existed.

So far this description has omitted perhaps the most obvious thing about the physical appearance of the camp. No mention has been made of color. The soldiers' barracks had gray walls and green roofs. The same colors were found in the administration area plus some others. Ten apartment barracks had sand walls and red roofs. Two old CCC buildings that were used for offices were formerly painted. This was mostly gone by the time they had been transported to Heart Mountain and their color was that of weather-beaten wood. Another such barracks that served as an addition to the hospital was newly painted bright green. In contrast, the main part of the camp was black. Every one of the hundreds of residential barracks, messhalls, recreational halls, and laundry latrines had black tar paper walls and roofs. The centrally located high school, with buff walls and red roof, stood out like an island in a sea of blackness.

When one looked out over the camp and the countryside the prevailing impressions were of mechanical orderliness, blackness, and bleakness. To a newcomer, it seemed unreal. The writer put down his thoughts in a letter after about six weeks in the place. "My first feeling that this community did not actually exist, that it was just a bad dream I was having, has pretty much subsided. I have decided it is real after all. Now when I look out over the project, it seems substantial enough, but it just shouldn't be. Most settlements sort of grow out of the ground and look as if they belonged. ~~This one looks as if they belonged.~~ This one looks stuck here; it doesn't fit the landscape; it is so obviously created by decree."

In almost two years, the writer became used to the place. Until the end, however, contemplation of the physical plant and its surroundings gave little satisfaction. The camp was too regular and too rigid. Both by itself and in its relation to its setting, it was unnatural and artificial. It hardly seemed that people could live there. They might stay there temporarily, using the facilities in order to subsist and survive, but not live.

People did live. The barracks became homes; not normal homes but homes nevertheless. The camp grew to be a community. Again, it was not a full-fledged community. But there was organization, collective sentiments, and even some civic spirit.

THE PEOPLE AND THE COMMUNITY

There were three kinds of people at Heart Mountain, corresponding to the three sections of the camp - soldiers, Civil Service appointees employed by WRA and their families, and persons of Japanese ancestry evacuated from the West Coast. It may be well to give the more common terms for the members of each category so that the words can be used as we proceed. The soldiers were simply called "soldiers," "military police," or "M. P.'s." The Civil Service appointees spoke of themselves and were spoken of as "appointed personnel," "personnel," "project staff," "staff," "Administration," or "Caucasians." The most usual designations for the persons of Japanese ancestry were "evacuees," "residents," and "Japanese." Some staff members talked about "Japs" in conversation among themselves. Others never used the word and everybody avoided it in contacts with evacuees. Many of the residents, especially those born in Japan, referred to themselves as Nihonjin and to the appointed personnel as Hakujin.

Not much need be said about the soldiers. They were present because they were ordered here to guard the Japanese. As a group of people, they never really became members of the community. They were of significance chiefly as a focus of evacuee attitudes. The Army had ordered and carried out evacuation and the Army had insisted on the barbed-wire fence that surrounded the camp proper. Early in the history of the center, the guarding activities of the local garrison were quite elaborate. Several watchtowers along the fence were

manned constantly and at night numerous searchlights illumined the fence line. For a time, there was even one guard post on a ridge some two miles behind the camp, maintained presumably to apprehend any desperate evacuees who sought to escape by taking to the barren and uninhabited hills. After awhile, security measures were relaxed, the size of the garrison was reduced, and it was finally withdrawn in August, 1944. For many months, its duties were limited to controlling ingress and egress through the main gate that led to the highway and the bus station. The residents could go through the fence at any other point without interference. During this long period, most evacuees did not often see soldiers and rarely felt their authority. But the earlier experience was not forgotten. Until the garrison was removed, it remained a symbol of evacuation and confinement.

Unlike either the soldiers or the evacuees, the appointed personnel came to Heart Mountain voluntarily. Their primary motive was to take advantage of the economic opportunities that employment on the project offered, though in a few cases non-economic considerations were important. Some persons desired to participate in a novel situation, to gain experience and perspective, or to help the unfortunate evacuees. Just as staff members came voluntarily, they could and did depart when they wished. Very few stayed through the whole life of the center and there was always a substantial percentage of relative newcomers.

Staff members represented WRA on the project. Their position and functions were laid down in instructions issued by the Washington office. This meant several things. They were given a large amount of authority over the residents, were charged with the obligation of providing for the manifold needs of the community, and were restricted and directed in carrying out their duties. Certain of their instructions bade them to take account of the views of residents and to develop ways to discover these views. On most points "the taking account of" was to be only in the nature of consultation. Final decisions rested with the staff or with the Washington office if the situation seemed not to be covered by the existing instructions.

Chronology

1942

- August 12 Heart Mountain Relocation Center officially opened; first trainload of volunteer workers from Pomona Assembly Center.
- August 18 First of regular trainloads of evacuees arrived.
- August 25 General Information Bulletin, forerunner of the Sentinel appeared.
- September 8 First meeting of the Temporary Community Council.
- September 11 Recruitment for workers in the sugar beet fields.
- September 14 Mess difficulties being investigated.
- September 150 bed hospital completed.
- September 17 Last group of evacuees arrived; basic construction work completed.
- September 28 Dry goods store opened.
- September 30 Population stood at 9,995; with 865 out in the sugar beet fields. 4,00 employed in center jobs.
- October 5 School opened in temporary quarters, with inadequate supplies.
- October 12 Formal opening ceremonies of Heart Mountain Court.
- October 24 First issue of the center paper, the Heart Mountain Sentinel.
- October Police strike.
- November 3 Temporary Block Chairmen asked to continue in office in absence of a permanent community government set up.
- November 21 Petitioned National Director to remove barbed wire fence and watch towers.
- Robertson in?*
Dec. 14
1943
February 6. *Robertson in* Registration starts.
- January 24 292 applications for expatriation or repatriation in.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Relocation Center

Order No. _____

Page No. _____

Subvoucher No. _____

Grant Voucher No. _____

CLOTHING ALLOWANCE ORDER FOR MONTH OF _____, 19____

LINE No. (1)	FAMILY No. (2)	INDIVIDUAL'S NAME ¹ (3)	AGE (4)	DEPENDENT (Relationship) (5)	RELATIONSHIP OF FAMILY HEAD (6)	ALLOWANCE (7)	TOTAL PAYMENT TO FAMILY HEAD (8)	PAYMENT TO INDIVIDUAL (9)	(SIGNATURE OF PAYEE) We, the subscribers, severally acknowledge to have received, IN CASH, the sums set opposite our respective names. (10)
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
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The Center

Heart Mountain was located in northwest Wyoming, in Park County, on approximately 45,000 acres of the Shoshone Reclamation Project. It is about midway between the towns of Cody and Powell, both of which were hostile to evacuees. There is low average rainfall in the area, but it was irrigated. The temperature ranges from 100 degrees to 35 below.

The People

The first trainload of volunteer workers from the Pomona Assembly Center arrived August 12, and trainloads arrived regularly all through September. The population on October 21 was 9,685. 5,260 came from Pomona, 4,603 from Santa Anita Assembly Center, 986 from Portland Assembly Center, and 46 others from miscellaneous points or born in the center. 1,142 at the time were out on sugar beet work.

The evacuees were from both rural and urban centers in California: Los Angeles, Silver Lake and West Lake, Covina, Monterey Park, Santa Clara and San Jose. There were also groups from rural areas in Washington and Oregon - the White River Valley and the Hood River Valley.

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Center Living Conditions

The induction period at Heart Mountain was one of extreme disorganization as far as living conditions went. Although evacuees were favorably impressed with center facilities as compared to those at the Assembly centers, mismanagement of housing and mess caused discomfort, anxiety, and a sharpening of tempers. Violence was barely averted on at least two occasions.

Documentation consists of:

1. Frank Cross report, Sept 21, 1942. Confidential files on Heart Mountain food situation.
2. Heart Mountain confidential file on food situation: police reports on food complaints and shortages.
3. Ht. Mt. conf. files on food situation: report of committee of nine teachers investigating situation.
4. Ht. Mt. conf. files on food situation: testimony at trial of cook who tried to carve up the assistant steward.

By the beginning of October when the evacuees had all arrived these matters had been or were being ironed out, construction was almost finished, except for some latrines. Housing was considered better than in the assembly centers, although still lacking celotex for insulation and some had huge cracks in floors and ceilings. (J.I.)

No other unusual circumstance aside from the routine discomforts of camp life and the cold occurred for two months. Then the Army started putting up a barbed wire fence around the center. Although restriction on movement had also become routine, the fence was the focus of resentment as further restriction and unnecessary.

Without saying much about it in advance toward the end of November the Army contracted for the construction of a "stock barb wire fence" around the center. The fence line ran very close to the barracks, and the evacuees were very disturbed by it. At practically every meeting or discussion group since the fence was started the subject came up, and bitterness was evident. The constructor hired a number of evacuees to do the work, but one morning all of the evacuee employees working on the fence failed to show up for work. They had been ridiculed for thinking they were putting up a fence to keep the stock out rather than the evacuees in, and there was some talk that they had been threatened by other residents, and so refused to go on with the job. The Commanding Officer at Heart Mountain was disturbed about this and said he would get the fence built whether or not the evacuees worked on it. (Project Attorney report, November, 1942; J.I.)

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Evacuee-Administration Relations

Except for early adjustment of living problems, the settling down period at Heart Mountain seems to have been relatively calm. Even the issuance of such an unpopular administrative instruction as the one on citizen government did not evoke violent protest (discussion below under community organization).

The question of organizing a Cooperative Enterprises at Heart Mountain provoked considerable discussion. The majority of the residents were suspicious of the cooperative plan, and there was little understanding of cooperative principles. Evacuees felt that WRA was trying to force a cooperative on them, or that their own representatives studying the question were trying to do so. Most preferred that some system be worked out whereby a WRA employee could run the business and give evacuees the lowest prices possible. (Project Attorney Report, Nov, 1942) A cooperative was never established at Heart Mountain; business enterprises operated under a trusteeship.

There was not much contact aside from official, of appointed personnel and residents. Three or four members of the administrative staff and a few school teachers became close to evacuee friends, but otherwise the two groups formed separate communities. Once in awhile Nisei might eat in the administrative mess hall, but the unwritten policy was against it (J.I.)

Early school teacher attitudes toward the evacuees are documented. Almost none of the teachers had had any contact with persons of Japanese ancestry before coming to Heart Mountain. Many of them started work with a sympathetic approach toward the residents. During the settling down period they underwent a "disillusioning process," claiming to have been disappointed in the way that many evacuees "failed to help themselves." These attitudes are evident in the following interviews with school teachers (Heart Mountain report of Sept 1, 1943, Interviews with School Teachers):

"When the evacuees arrived at Ht Mt they were actually herded off the train, through the clearing house, and up into the project. The military police were pacing back and forth with their guns on their shoulders and one was actually walking up and down among the people with his billy club swinging.

"It seemed that each time a train arrived we had either a severe dust or rain storm. The people were loaded onto open army trucks which were piled high with baggage, fathers, mothers, and little kids. The small babies were taken up in private cots to the hospital. Some of the babies coming off the train had mumps and measles, and these were isolated immediately. All of the evacuees were given a preliminary examination so as to help prevent any epidemic.

"The facial expressions of the children were one of bewilderment. There seemed to be no expression on their faces as they did not seem to know what the score was.

The parents acted bewilderedly but at the same time appeared

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to be exceedingly grateful for any courtesy shown to them. They seemed to be resigned to the situation and accepted it in the customary oriental way. Their profuse gratefulness naturally set up a barrier between the evacuees and the Caucasians.

"When I was working down at the tracks helping to receive the people I simply felt that I wanted to sit down and cry. My reaction was one of extreme pity. It was a terrific emotional shock for me to see these people herded off the trains and into such terrible living conditions. It seems to me that a good portion of the appointed personnel reacted in much the same manner.

"It is my notion that due to the pity and unusual sympathy of the Caucasian appointed personnel, it was not long before the Japanese started feeling unusually sorry for themselves and gradually changed from a dominating attitude of gratefulness to a central attitude of demand. For example, some time during the month of November the block chairmen and managers instructed us to appear at a meeting held at the administrative mess hall. We were not informed in advance but someone just came over and said, You are to appear at the mess hall. Long prepared speeches were delivered in which it was pointed out by the evacuees that the appointed personnel did not understand their problems and did not have the proper sympathy for them. These speeches were delivered with the idea of elaborating upon their background in California so that the Caucasians could perhaps gain some notion of what had preceded the movement to Heart Mountain.

"Mr. Griffin, the head of Internal Security and the Fire Protection office, was being put on the carpet by both the Japanese and Caucasians. I was shocked at the whole performance. It was the first time that I realized how far our sympathies had gone and that there was actually a racial issue involved. Mr. Griffin at the same time was working single-handedly, and due to his close association with the Japanese, he knew exactly what was going on ...

"We Caucasians appeared to be flabbergasted as we did not know the Japanese at that time as we do now. Frankly, half the meeting was over and I was sitting there with my mouth open before I knew what was going on. Criticisms against Mr. Griffin started coming to the forefront after a number of speeches had been made. Then I suddenly realized that Mr. Griffin was under attack and was in the process of being railroaded out of the center. Shortly before this, the mess steward... had been railroaded out as he was very unpopular with the Japanese.

"Some of the charges made against Mr. Griffin was that he was too strict, too cold-blooded, no sympathy with the Japanese conditions and attitudes.

"They claimed that both Griffin and Hawes were from California, and consequently were prejudiced against the Japanese. At the same time they brought out the fact that the Japanese had no important criminal records, no record of juvenile delinquency, and were regarded as a law abiding people... The Japanese claimed that they were afraid of Mr. Griffin and insinuated that he was likely to report them to the FBI. They were suspicious of him because they had found something out about his occupational career which I believe included a term of work with the FBI....

"This awakened me definitely to the fact that the Japanese were

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starting to make claims and expressing what we have come to call a demandatory psychology. I guess it is fair to say that I am in sympathy with their problems and position but not in sympathy with their attitudes toward it, and I still feel that we are not sufficiently constructive in trying to pull them out of their self pity. I think our program is not sufficiently constructed in helping the Japanese to go out and change community attitudes regarding their acceptance. They are the only ones who are able to do that..."

(Included in same report are interviews with two other teachers recording similar reactions to the same things - pp 6-17)

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Community Organization

Assembly Center organization did not carry over importantly to relocation center life. For example, while people heard of the "Santa Anita bunch," the group did not carry any weight in the relocation center. Leaders in Pomona stepped out of the limelight in Heart Mountain. One Pomona man in particular got a bad reputation and became very unpopular due to his work with the administration there, and so at Heart Mountain stayed in the background. (J.I.)

Numerous boys and girls clubs were organized immediately in the relocation center, on a block basis as a rule.

The Buddhists united into one church, irrespective of the sects involved. However, each sect carried on with its own congregation.

There was conflict between certain Issei and Nisei groups in the center, but there were very few active leaders in either group. (J.I.)

As each block in the center was progressively occupied the Chief of Community Services, after talking with block representatives, appointed a temporary block chairman to conduct block meetings and act as the people's representatives in dealing with the Administration. Although the Block Chairmen were Issei, theoretically the office was not restricted to Issei. They acted as "shock absorbers" between the evacuees and the administration, according to the Chief of CS. During their first month of existence the Chairmen daily met and dealt with the Administration, individually and as a group. They were the main channel of communication between administration and community; Block Chairman had personal contacts with the 500 evacuees in his block. In the early days block meetings were held every Monday night, with attendance varying from fifteen to 400, depending on block political development and current issues. Common problems were discussed and requests and recommendations to the administration formulated. Meetings originally suggested by the Nisei, as a guarantee of democratic control. Block committees were elected at these meetings, types of committees selected varying by blocks. Barrack heads or tobans rotated among family heads (at least in some blocks, if not in the Ishiyamas').

The Block Chairmen acquired considerable prestige (the reports say) by their work. They were effective in ending the early mess hall difficulty (how??) and other problems challenging the new community. Chief of Community Services claimed that any of a succession of problems might have developed into incidents but for the handling of them by the Block Chairmen. As well as reaching agreements about problems, they set examples by actual work. For instance, unloading coal and taking on active responsibility for law and order during the "police situation."

Toward the end of October the police walked off the job (because the evacuee assistant police chief had resigned

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*George Selwyn's opinion
that Griffin finally asked to
resign because predicted riot,
take stringent measures to suppress it, no
wanted to riot in the air
actually.*

on account of couldn't get along with Caucasian Chief Griffin I think) At the request of the Temporary Community Council of Block Chairmen however the police went back to their posts on a voluntary rather than paid basis, in the service of the Council.
(Marks report, Nov 1-4, 1942)

Early in September, the Chairmen asked for confirmation of their positions by block votes. This was done, with only one Chairman not getting his constituents backing, and the Temporary Council was formally organized.

As the Block Chairmen were Issei, the Block Administrative Officials - appointed and paid by WRA - were Nisei. They were to administer their blocks especially with respect to physical equipment and communicating administrative instructions - duties those of the later Block Managers. They were considered by the community to be representative of the Nisei in the center. However, the administration discussed important policies ~~with the Officers~~ with the Officers as well as the Chairmen.

A keen struggle for power was carried on in the early period at Heart Mountain. Individuals and groups came to the center feeling persecuted and that anything offered by the Government must be looked on with wariness, but at the same time with the idea of securing the best positions possible in the center. The cleavage between Issei and Nisei was evident in this regard. One Issei said:

"Why there are two groups so clearly divided I cannot understand. While we were in this camp we should strive to cooperate and make this camp a good one to live in. We are all in the same boat."

The formation of the Issei Temporary Council of Block Chairmen and the Nisei Block Administrative Officers in some ways crystallized this cleavage. There was rivalry between the two groups for power in the center especially in the first two months. Much of their work overlapped and many residents wondered why the two groups were necessary. At this early time the Issei-Nisei conflict at Heart Mountain was the strongest.

Although the Block Administrative Officers were supposed to be purely administrative and not concerned with policy or politics, they frequently met as a group to discuss and consider common problems, and attempted to enlarge their role. They became a political clique and effectively represented the Nisei group, in many matters tending to balance the Issei decisions and influence. For the first two months they sought unsuccessfully to compete politically with the Chairmen. In December they were rechristened Block Managers and officially cut off from all political activity. This was possible because it was believed at the time that the new permanent government was immediately in the offing and many of the Administrative Officers would be elected to a Nisei Council.

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Although this cleavage, formally represented by the two community government bodies, existed, there was a definite trend toward improved relations (instead of an increased straining of relations as happened at Manzanar). One report (Final) says that the Issei, although with a greater interest in community government and a greater voting power, were anxious for Nisei participation and urged the establishment of the Block Administrative Officer position for Nisei. There was a developing tendency of the Block Chairmen to work with the Officers through joint committees on community problems and joint sessions. The initiative for this joint operation was largely from the Issei.

In October work on the charter for permanent community government began. Forty members were selected to work on the charter commission, one Issei and one Nisei from each block. Since about half of this number were either Block Chairmen or Administrative Officers, much political discussion from Council and BAO meetings was transferred to the charter commission meetings.

Many residents had first been enthusiastic about "self-government," but the administrative instruction specifying citizen government considerably dampened this enthusiasm. Issei as a whole felt that they were discriminated against in this respect, so were reluctant if not opposed to the charter. The existing Temporary Council had achieved relatively high prestige and power, and favored the status quo. Most of the charter work was done by the Nisei who felt that if the charter were approved it would give them more control. Their point of view is represented in the following Sentinel editorial:

"There is no doubt that the citizen group can profit much from the wisdom and practical viewpoints of their elders. Yet, we must not lose sight of the fact that the careers of the younger generation extend into the unknown future. Their lives are yet to be lived. It is necessary, if we are to think of their welfare, that they be given an opportunity to develop their initiatives and acquire needed seasoning through the assumption of responsibilities during this interlude in their lives. In this aspect of the problem the matter of whether or not the project is self-governed in the best manner possible is secondary to the importance of preparing through experience the post-war leaders of the entire evacuee group." (Nov 14, 1942)

Some members of the commission realized that there was little chance of approval of the first charter because they had worked to give as much power as possible to the evacuee government - seeing how much WRA would permit. The Charter was rejected, and permanent government which was supposed to have materialized by November was delayed. The charter was kept an issue however, because the administration was interested in having some kind of charter presented and voted upon. People began thinking of it as "Washington's Charter," not the "evacuees charter." Permanent government did not materialize until August, 1943, after the restriction on Issei participation had been withdrawn.

(e.g. "Work on Charter Commission" - Final Report on Com. Govt; work file material written by Harbour with A. P. M.)

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At about this time the military police at Heart Mountain apprehended 32 boys (ranging in age from seven to eleven) who were sleigh riding on a hill within one hundred or so yards of the barracks, but outside of the proposed fence line. They marched them down to the police guard house, and for the time being confiscated their homemade and other type sleds. The boys were ~~later~~ released. (Project Attorney report, November 1943; J.I.) ^{soon}

The mother of one of the eight year olds involved explained to people in her mess hall his reactions to the experience. She said her son asked her what bad thing he had done to be taken to jail, that he must have been pretty bad for such a thing to happen. The mother said that she was at a loss for an answer because she would not tell him that there was a certain line beyond which he must not go because he was in a concentration camp. (J.I.)

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Summary

The striking difference between the settling down periods at Manzanar and Heart Mountain is the turbulence and violence at the former and the relative calmness at the latter. The difference is striking because in almost all respects the centers were alike. Living conditions were trying in essentially the same way; food and housing difficulties stand out at Heart Mountain only because of subsequent uneventfulness and because they illustrate aspects of evacuee-appointed personnel relations. Peoples of urban and rural background and of conflicting orientations were present in both centers. Essentially the same program was planned, and many of the same issues came up. There was FBI activity, and fear and hatred of inus in both centers.

There were differences, however, which many account for early tensions and explosions at Manzanar and their absence at Heart Mountain. These are:

1. The time element. Manzanar opened March 21, 1942, as an Assembly Center, while Heart Mountain did not open until August 12, 1942, when people started coming from three different relocation centers. There was more time for tensions to mount as issues piled up. The Manzanar incident occurred at the end of their settling down period.
2. Activity of Nisei. Although conflicting orientations were present at Heart Mountain, they did not clash as at Manzanar, possibly because of lack of leadership and organization. If the extremes of Nisei beliefs were represented at Heart Mountain, corresponding behavior was not. There were no outspoken Joe Kuriharas, Tokio Slocums, Karl Yonedas or even Togo Tanakas. For example, Bill Hosokawa who may be said to represent an "extreme" Nisei point of view was quiet, rarely spoke publicly about his views. (Also, he lacked the JACL label which smeared the Los Angelenos at Manzanar). The time factor enters, in that many of the young men of Heart Mountain left promptly for the sugar beet fields instead of sitting and stewing in the center for long months before registration.
3. Administrative handling of issues. Center issues upon which sides could be taken according to orientation and personalities were handled differently at the two centers. In the first place, there was a continuity of administration at Heart Mountain which did not exist at early Manzanar with its succession of project directors. The record of handling certain issues at Manzanar is available but since these issues did not become important at Heart Mountain, their handling there is not recorded. ~~xxxxx~~ Citizen government is an exception. Heart Mountain Chief of Community Services emphasized working with an Issei council, did not insist on citizen government.

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¹ Show names of dependents first, then related family head immediately following in order that column 8 will show subtotal for dependents plus family head.

² Do not show total if forwarded.

Prepared by _____

Approved _____

Audited _____

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION: Center Living Conditions; housing.

Frank Cross report, September 21, 1942.

Mainly the unrest, which has threated on at least two occasions to break into physical violence, has been caused by uncertainties and irregularities in the food supply, but more recently it has been much augmented by other difficulties, such as overcrowding, an insufficiency of quarters, beds, and blankets to take care of new arrivals, and by a sudden onset of cold weather coupled with a delay in getting stoves properly insulated to permit fires in them.

After the mess mess subsided, other difficulties arose to disturb the colonists, and more trouble anticipated if evacuees from the Pacific Coast arrived too rapidly to permit an adjustment of the housing situation.

On September 13 two trainloads of evacuees of more than 1,000 persons arrived. A second trainload arrived late in the afternoon. Not enough barracks were available to receive them, and the supply of blankets had been completely exhausted. Several members of the staff worked very late in an effort to take care of them. One wing of the hospital was opened to women and children, but still many of the arrivals were forced to walk the streets all night without protection against the cold, or to seek refuges for themselves. The shortage of blankets had arisen, presumably, because earlier arrivals had pilfered them from the barracks prepared for the later arrivals. Search for them made the next day. Also, orders were issued for the bachelors among the population to be moved together, wherever possible, in order to vacate quarters for families yet unhoused. A survey was made to ascertain what quarters could be vacated. Apparently, however, the survey was not carefully made, for in a number of instances families with as many as five or six persons in them were ordered to move in with other families. They refused to do so for very understandable reasons. When the Chief of Internal Security called upon these families, late in the evening of the day when they were ordered to vacate, he found numbers of men present who asserted that they were merely visitors on friendly calls. It is likely, however, that another reason would more accurately explain their presence.

Even the bachelors, themselves, refused to move in several instances. Several block chairmen were reported to have advised the people not to heed the order. Groups gathered at the Police Station to protest against the housing situation.

Information from J.I.

Came toward end of September. Watter had not been disinfected at that time, drank from barrels in front of the mess halls.

~~SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION~~ Center Living Conditions: mess halls.

Frank Cross report, Sept 21, 1942

During the induction period at Heart Mountain there was a great deal of unrest due to uncertainties and irregularities in the food supply. Very shortly after the arrival of the first train of evacuees complaints began about the conditions in the mess halls. Evacuees were not assigned to specific mess halls, so they naturally congregated at those halls where they found better food and better service. Chefs were unable to plan meals with any knowledge of how many people would have to be fed. No standard menus were in use. No butcher shop was operating, so meat could not be delivered in the proper cuts to induce the cooks to prepare it in any special way. In some messes the food was good; in others it was so poorly prepared that it could hardly be eaten. Under these conditions, since no controls had been established, numbers of young people were reported to have visited as many as four mess halls for one meal to get the best that each one had to offer.

Shortage of trucks resulted in supplies being delivered too late for the chefs to prepare adequate meals. This was especially true on induction days when all transportation was being used. There were reports that supplies for the evening meals sometimes arrived at mess halls as late as 5 in the afternoon. Other reports were that supplies were pilfered en route to the mess halls from the warehouses, as a result of inadequate precautions to insure their delivery. Some mess halls were oversupplied; others were undersupplied. Consequently many of the colonists were forced to go hungry.

Some of the mess halls were operated by conscientious chefs with the welfare of the people in mind, and who did all they could in spite of the bad conditions. Others were staffed by people who, according to reports, treated the hungry colonists gruffly and had no regard for them at all. It is reported that the assistant stewards gave the cooks no access at all to the Project Steward, who was possibly too much harassed by a multitude of other problems and duties to consult with them. Very few, if any, of the cooks had ever seen him, had to voice their complaints through the evacuee assistant stewards, who became unpopular.

September 6 a cook in Block 2 became so angered through frustration that he attempted to attack one of the assistant stewards with a butcher knife. In his testimony later the cook declared that he hoped, if he injured the assistant steward, the attention of the administration might be called to the mess hall situation, and that the asst. steward, incapacitated, would be replaced by a more competent man. The cook still at liberty in the center, no action taken since no courts yet established. There appears to be no doubt in any quarter that the attack was precipitated solely by the conditions under which the cook was forced to work. He had been on duty without relief, occasionally from 8 am to 9 or 10 pm because of the inadequacy of the help assigned to his mess hall. He is reported to have tried repeatedly to reach the Project Steward but to have been unable to do so. The entire body of the colonists is reported to be very strongly in sympathy with him. The people of his block have petitioned the administration to treat him with all possible leniency.

After this incident, complaints and stories about the mess halls continued to circulate and "rumors of unrest" were reported to Internal Security. Project Steward said that it was just the grumbling of a disgruntled minority, and that the mess halls were being handled alright. Obvious they were not. September 11 report made by Chief of Police that six mess halls were totally without supplies for

the following morning. Chief Steward said believed not true, but investigation proved it was true.

Sept 13, on a demand of a delegation of cooks who called on the Project Steward, a meeting was held in one of the mess halls. When the Project Steward got there he found in the mess hall not only the cooks but a crowd of several hundred colonists. P.S. requested everyone not a cook to leave, so they all went outside and gathered around the doors and windows. Then the P.S. explained to the cooks the procedure of requisitioning supplies and outlined for them the organization of the commissary department. The Chief of Police suggested that his talk be translated because he was very doubtful that the cooks had understood the discourse. This was done, ~~once~~ inadequately, once adequately. After the meeting the P.S. left at once but an asst steward was threatened by the crowd. There is considerable evidence that only the strong intervention of the Chief of Police prevented an outbreak of violence. In order to quiet the crowd he managed to contact several block representatives who were present, and together they agreed to appeal to the administration for a meeting later in the evening when the entire situation could be discussed with persons in authority.

This meeting was actually arranged without administrative approval, since the acuteness of the emergency forced the block chairmen to act quickly. Police were stationed at the door and only block chairmen, block committeemen, and block administrative officers were allowed to enter. Four members of the Caucasian staff -- the Assistant Project Director, the Chief of Community Service, the Chief of Transportation and Supply and the Head Storekeeper -- also attended it. Orderly meeting, administrative officers retired after a short preliminary discussion and the colonists continued with the major business of the meeting. Full report on meeting later made (??)

Project Director who had been off the center returned, was told what had happened. Appointed a committee of nine men teachers to investigate the mess halls and warehouses and report on conditions. This they did, maintaining in their report that the difficulties had arisen because "The entire administration (of the commissary department) has been handled in an inefficient and haphazard manner", making specific criticisms and recommendations.

- Lack of cooperation among the administrative officials.
- No systematic organization of personnel in any of the departments.
- No fixed responsibility. Passing the buck.
- No uniformity in issuing foodstuffs to each mess hall.
- Lack of stores in the Warehouse.
- Inadequate management of personnel in departments.

Conversations among members of the a.p., to be easily and frequently overheard at the time when the disturbance was most critical, revealed a definite disposition to place most of the blame on the Project Steward. It is impossible to make an accurate report of the situation without disclosing the common sentiment that he was wholly unsympathetic to the complaints of the colonists. It is alleged that he was openly antagonistic to them in his conversations with other members of the project staff, and caustic in his dealings with the colonists, themselves. (On other hand P.D. alibis him, claims that it was just a terrific task to feed all those people.)

Immediate results - the two evacuee assistant stewards dismissed, P.S. administering commissary unassisted. (*Steward also replaced soon afterward*).

In the Heart Mountain Confidential file are police reports on food complaints and shortages.

Also in Ht.Mt. confidential file is the report of the committee of nine men teachers.

Mess hall complaints were that too many people eating in each hall (350-700); deliveries irregular; requisitions not filled and substitutes not provided for those items not filled; quality of food varies in mess halls; diets improperly balanced for good nutrition. Recommended that a system of checking to see that colonists eat in the proper halls started; deliveries be made regular by certain administrative changes, etc.

Excerpts from testimony at trial of the cook who tried to carve up the assistant steward: (Ht.Mt. Confidential files)

Cook: I keep every time I saw him (asst steward) - "give me help; give me food; give me help; give me food" - everytime I see him.

...

Now when we can go to a certain mess hall the chief chef there has a list of food which he wishes to have and he has to look at that and supposed to furnish that mess hall with that list if such food is in the commissary. But I have known that such food is in the commissary but he does not furnish us with such food; and I could imagine that he short my orders.

Ques- Has this condition existed ever since he took this job under Mr. Hawes, or has there been any period when the situation was satisfactory from your standpoint?

Cook: I tell you true -- not one thing is right. Since three days, four days, they start send too darn much to my place. I can't put no place. In some mess halls they ain't got nothing.

...

(explaining his attempted attack on asst steward) As a result of the previous experience I was convinced that as long as he was head of all the others the whole camp would suffer so I thought if I disable him so that he would not be able to work -- if we can fix him so he cannot continue to work and somebody else can take his place, it will be for the good of the camp, so I took the initiative because under the present condition some time I would get so much food and other mess halls deprived of it, I felt that the people would give me the idea that I have a certain policy or what-not. That is my opinion.

...

Ques- Mr. Takeda, I am going to ask you to fully express your opinion as to what the cause for the complaints with regard to feeding the colonists may be and what you believe may be necessary to bring about the necessary corrections. Just fully explain the situation as to cause and cure as it appears to you.

Cook: It is the head steward, Mr. Hawes. Not knowing the whole setup as to feeding of so many people. Neither do his assistants have any knowledge expecting to run this whole system. Mr. Hawes' going not to find out what is really necessary to take care of all these people is the principal fault.

Army Internal Security Division of Headquarters Seventh Service Command Services of Supply: (see Ht.Mt. conf files) January 1, 1943

Reports on Bests report of large quantities of food stored in mess hall attics and other places. Also: "One Japanese evacuee chef named Haruguchi threatened this white employee (Best), and it is said that he would have killed the white

employees Japanese assistant except for the intervention of Japanese women in the kitchen, who aided in said assistant's escape. Chef Haruguchi was armed with a meat ax and a knife. This Japanese chef cursed and otherwise abused the white employee. Other Japanese cooks serving with Haruguchi support the latter and threaten to strike if he is punished in any way. All cooks appear to be banded together in some type of union, and a spokesman indicated that all cooks would strike within ten days following the holiday season. This spokesman further ~~stated~~ stated that 'If soldiers try to prevent strike someone would be killed and he would also kill someone.'"

Information from J.

In early days before had to eat in one mess hall would go to two mess halls for one meal, taking the best that each had to offer. Doubts possibility of going to four halls, because takes so long to get in one having to stand in line. But would go to one, and if desert were something could pocket like an apple or an orange, take that and then go on to next mess hall.