

Wax, Rosie Hankey.  
2:4

Tule Lake fieldnotes: May 1944: pp 1-50

N.B., Readers must not disclose identity of individual evacuees

Restricted until 2008. Permission of the Director necessary

83/115  
c



MAY 1944Introductory Statement

[It will be helpful to the reader of these notes for May, 1944 to have some knowledge of what had and had not happened since my visit of April 12-16. On April 15, Mr. Robertson had told me that word had just come from Washington that the Administration could proceed to encourage the "colonists" to select a representative committee (Fieldnotes, April 15, 1944, p. 24). On April 22, the authorization, which had come from D. S. Myer, was published in the Newell Star along with an invitation from Acting Project Director, Black, to participate in planning the election. Black requested that an Arrangements Committee be formed to work out the final plans and supervise the election of a permanent representative committee. There was no response to this invitation. Thereupon, on May 4 and again on May 8, Mr. Best, the Project Director, re-announced procedures for the organization of an Arrangements Committee and outlined elaborate plans for camp-wide block nomination meetings to be held on May 18, and for an election to be held on May 22.

When I arrived at Tule Lake on May 13, I had no knowledge of these announcements, and it is interesting that the first person to tell me that a meeting was scheduled for May 18 was Mr. Yamashiro who, on May 18, told me that he was not planning to attend.]



May 13, 1944

2  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MAY 13, 1944

On arriving for a permanent stay I was given the works, which involved being finger-printed for Army and WRA files and having my picture taken for my badge. To my surprise a room had been found for me. However, I was asked by Mr. Wells, head of Administrative Management and by another man, important in Social Welfare, just what my work implied. I made quite a speech on the splendid ambitions of the study and gave an impression of a willingness to cooperate which I shall live up to as I see fit.

I found Mr. Best cordial and agreeable and much less worried than in March. After pouring on a little oil, I left and encountered Dr. Opler in the hall.

TALK WITH DR. OPLER

His first words and his attitude, which was relaxed and cheerful, caused me to doubt the veracity of the reports (I had heard at Gila) that Tule was boiling up again. Dr. Opler is perhaps viewing the present situation optimistically. Yet subsequent interviews with evacuees bore out his statement that the colony is in better shape than it has been since the "incident".

One of the more important developments is the change in Mr. Best's attitude. He is putting himself out to be agreeable. He had the Administration call a half holiday on the Emperor's birthday (which happened to fall on a Saturday), ordered a big meal to be served on that day (the week's best meal is ordinarily served on Sunday) and threw the first baseball game at the celebration.

Military registration went off very quietly. Some twenty boys did not show up, but no action has been taken against them.

Releases from the stockade have also been proceeding rapidly. There are only from twenty to thirty men left inside now. The reduction in the stockade population is quite apparent when walking by. It looks almost empty, even though the weather today was unusually fine. There are scarcely enough fellows left to make up two volley ball teams. Games were usually played in the afternoon.

No progress has been made toward organizing the community and obtaining a body of representatives except the publication of the announcement from Washington [April 22] which is enclosed. Some Japanese Americans have informed Opler that the selection of this body is going to be difficult. Persons who might be representatives fear that hot heads on committees will make demands with which the Administration cannot comply.

The influx of additional segregants is creating a serious space problem.

Dr. Opler said that he had argued for allowing the school children to leave the project and visit the farm. (That is, go outside of the "man-proof" fence.) This has been done, and according to some of Opler's informants it pleased some of the parents greatly. (Some of my respondents also commented favorably on this action.)

An announcement of the possible removal of stockade internees to Leupp has been made, but only as a unconfirmed step.

Mr. Black is off the project and Mr. Harkness is acting in his place.



May 13, 1944

3  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

TALK WITH JIM TAKEUCHI

I found Jim having his Saturday afternoon snooze. He received me quite cordially considering the inconvenient interruption, and was soon speaking with his usual volubility.

Mess Trouble With Segregees

We're just going crazy with the new segregees. Day before yesterday they told us a bunch were coming in Friday evening. Next they told us Saturday and then Monday. Everybody in mess got busy and figured out what they should send to the new blocks. Then the first thing that happened they said they were really coming in Saturday evening. That was at 11 a.m. Friday morning. So we started sending everything out. Then at 3:30 yesterday afternoon (Friday) another teletype came saying they weren't going to come in.

It was the same thing this morning. They claimed there would be a bunch in today. So we went to work. Then at 10:30 we got a teletype that they wouldn't be in till tomorrow morning.

New Identification Requirements

This new business about getting off the colony is a pain in the back. First they give you a little piece of paper with your name, age, etc. on it. Now they picked these up and give you another paper with a number on it. On Monday everybody will have to go through a turnstile and they'll give you a little button which matches the number on your little piece of blue paper. They'll probably try to stop you and see if your button matches the number.

It's just downright silly. If a man is going to swipe your button, he'll swipe the paper too. I could forge one of these in five minutes anyway.

(Jim showed me his paper and it did appear very easy to forge. However, I'm sure it would take more than five minutes.)

Possibility of "Trouble" on Draft

I don't think there's going to be anyone here who'll be taken, providing he's a repatriate. Of course, the Yes-yes boys showed up. I think they sent out 82 notices and 17 boys, all Yes-Yes, showed up for their examinations. One No-No boy showed up too, but he knew his own physical condition and knew he'd be refused.

All they did was come around and pull you in for a couple of hours of routine questioning. Some boys had their suitcases all packed. They asked, 'Where do we go from here?' They said, 'You can go home now.'

One of the kids is in our division: he got pulled in and asked the same questions as he was asked on his military questionnaire. He said, 'I'm a Jap and a repatriate and disloyal.' He signed a statement then to back up what he said and they turned him loose. He thought sure he'd be sent to Leupp.

The only guys they are going to send to Leupp are the guys in the stockade and I think they ought to go anyway.

Possibility of Explosion if Men in Stockade are Sent to Leupp

There's no undercurrent of a coming explosion. They ought to know better than that. The Japanese don't work like that. When the Japanese get really started to boil over you don't see the warning signs.



May 13, 1944

4

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Besides the food has really improved. We have 48,000 pounds of cured ham sitting there in cold storage. (Here Jim suddenly changed his habitual somewhat cynical expression to one of playful ecstasy.) In the coming month we are going to average eight eggs per person per week. That's an egg a day!

Private Enterprise Rule at Tule Lake

I haven't heard a thing about Private Enterprise here. They have had people working all the time.

44 Hour Week at Tule

They tried to enforce a 44 hour week about the middle of March. Somebody got a bright idea and said we were to go to work at 8:30 and quit at 11:30 and also from 1:30 to 5:30. It lasted about two days. Then they went back from 8:00 to 12:00 and 1:15 to 5:30. It doesn't make a damn bit of difference to me as far as I'm concerned. Why should the Japanese work eight hours just to wind up with the magnificent salary of 16 dollars a month?

Rumor About Exchange Ship

There's a rumor that there's another exchange ship on the way. I won't believe that till I hear it on the radio. If it were true, it would be good for the morale of both sides.

Resegregation Sentiment

People feel just about the same on resegregation, but they figure the draft will take care of that pretty nicely (by automatically removing Yes-Yes people from camp.)

Inu hate has died down. Things are quieting down. People are forgetting Akitsuki. He stays in the background. As long as you don't keep floating something in front of peoples' faces, they forget about it.

Improvement in Food

The food improvement is remarkable. Up until the end of March all we ever had was corned beef, salt pork and cabbage; and then repeat it. Besides that all we had was weiners, boloney and eggs. There was very little other vegetable except cabbage. But from the beginning of April, things have started to come in. Now we get lettuce, spinach, asparagus. We still get frankfurters and baloney, but we also get beef and veal occasionally, lamb and mutton more than beef though.

Our only squawk is our difficulty in getting pork. I think that's because the quartermaster refuses to send us pork because we have a big hog farm here. And they'll only kill the damn hogs when we're out of all other meat. We don't even get it once a week.

Prejudice of Tule Lake Town(1) Against WRA Appointed Personnel

The residents of Tule Lake seem to be holding the appointed personnel here in an unfavorable light. They suspect the feeling of the appointed personnel here is anti-American and pro-Japanese. So when some of the appointed personnel happen to wander out to Tule and [1. Mr. Takeuchi here refers to the small town of Tule Lake near which Tule Lake Segregation Center was constructed.]



get caught without gasoline, they just won't sell it to them. There has been talk of bringing a party here and having some Japanese citizens and people from Tule Lake there to impress upon them that the people here weren't so bad at all.

#### Concern Over Crowding and Large Number of Segregants Yet to Come

I wonder what's going to happen when all the rest get here. They've got just three blocks and then the vacancies. I think they're going to try to squeeze in 2,000 people. When they start putting them into Recreation Halls and start partitioning off, I wonder what's going to happen.

#### Much Complaint Over Sanitary Facilities

There are a lot of complaints over the sanitary facilities. There are lots of complaints over the duckboards in the shower room. They are very slippery and are dangerous. Also there is no place to wash out urinals. In any of the latrines there is no such place. They're squawking like everything.

It's not a very pleasant thing to be brushing your teeth in the morning and have somebody come along and wash out a urinal beside you.

There doesn't seem to be any such thing as a sanitation committee here. At least we ought to have something for the mess hall employees and things like that.

#### Representative Body

Nobody cares a thing about having a representative government. So far as I can see, nobody is going to break their neck trying to work up a few representatives for the block. They just don't care. Things are going along pretty good, so leave well enough alone.

We haven't any block representative now, just a ward representative. But he's always been in existence. I don't see any call for them (representatives) at all.

My idea is this: if there's a representative from each ward, that's eight people. Then, if any problem or complaint is important enough to merit bringing before the attention of the higher-ups, whoever was interested enough to do so could look up the ward representatives and present his case. But if there is a representative in every block it would be a simple matter to bring up minor items and cause confusion. I think they should leave it that way and save a lot of trouble, listening to minor complaints. Things will smooth themselves out. I think having a representative in each block makes it too damn easy for anybody to put up silly complaints.

#### Best's Activities

Best has brought up a proposal to bring up the food costs. I had this from Hayward himself that Mr. Best called him in and suggested quietly that we have an allowance of 45 cents a meal and so wouldn't it be a good idea to keep the meal costs in the 40 bracket rather than the 30.

Maybe he feels like he's getting pretty stiff competition for his job. In WRA the way it seems to me, every man below is always trying to do something to get the job of the man above. That is one of the reasons the appointed personnel rarely gets to cooperating with each other. Black is trying to get Best's place; Hoover would like to get Hayward's job.



May 13, 1944

6  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Hayward is trying to start a cooking and baking school. So if the mess hall personnel could attend schools it would contribute to the welfare of the whole block.

When they sent out 6,000 pounds of ham, the other day, they had about every damn Caucasian in the place standing around watching the poor guys weighing out the stuff. I guess they were afraid somebody was going to walk off with it. (Jim described with relish how he had walked in and cut himself off a good-sized slice of ham and eaten it in the presence of the astonished Caucasians.)

TALK WITH MR. ROBERTSON

I paid a brief courtesy call on Robertson to check up on important current issues. He said that ever since the unconfirmed report that stockade internees might be sent to Leupp had appeared in the paper there had been a steady stream of people coming to the office trying to get information. He felt sure that if the action were carried through there would be some attempt at a demonstration on the part of the colonists.

Since I have a great deal of trust in Robertson, I told him something of Washington's present apprehension about imminent trouble in Tule Lake. [Evidently this rumor of "imminent trouble" at Tule Lake had been passed on to me by Dr. Gordon Brown, at the Gila Center.] He suspected that Provinse's visit(1) might have had something to do with it. I suggested that on his last visit Provinse might (as Opler says he did) have received a far more accurate impression of the colony's condition and had decided to shake the Washington office up a bit to offset Myer's optimism. Robertson agreed that this might very well be true.

As to the election of new representatives Robertson said that the colony does not appear to want to make a move until the Leupp question is settled. Larry Kataoka (former Daihyo Sha substitute secretary) had told him that the people would take no part in the election of representatives until the Daihyo Sha matter was taken care of. (This opinion is corroborated by most of the evacuee informants I have so far visited.) There is (said Robertson) a large group of the camp's population who feel that they elected their representatives once and they were incarcerated.

Robertson also told me of one of the boys from Leupp who has been kept in the stockade since his arrival, although he has committed no offense whatever. He did not arrive at Tule Lake until after the incident. He is considering taking legal action for unconstitutional treatment.

[1. John H. Provinse was at this time Chief of Community Management Division of WRA in Washington.]



May 14, 1944

7  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MAY 14, 1944

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Beatings in the Manzanar Center

I heard there were four boys in Manzanar badly thrashed. They were Fred Ogura, Anzai, Moto and one other. They were all badly beaten up, and are in the hospital. They are Issei. Those who beat them were those whom they had persuaded to change their answers from No to Yes. Then the boys got caught in the draft and beat them up.

Of course, I don't know whether this is authentic, but I heard they are having martial law in Manzanar now. How much of it's true I don't know, but that's what I heard.

On Harry Miyake

Miyake was my business partner in Los Angeles in 1926-28. That boy is too good in nature. If I go a step further in saying it, he hasn't got a mind of his own.

Mr. Best and Good Will

I heard Best has been trying to regain the good will of the people. One good thing that has been done, they've taken the fence down (the fence dividing ward 7 from the rest of the colony.) That has made the people feel better. If they would continue to tear the fences down, Mr. Best could regain part of the confidence which he wants on the part of the people.

Resegregation

I can't state definitely what progress they are making. Right now, I don't think the opposition group (resegregationists) is getting support, because in my opinion their original intentions and attitude was wrong.

Change in Attitude

Things have changed a great deal. Mr. Robertson himself is feeling very much relieved. I heard Mr. Provinse had a great deal to do in influencing Mr. Best to change his mind and take advice from the right party (Mr. Robertson). I hope Best will continue. Right now things are simmering down pretty fast.

Bringing Small Groups of Segregants to Tule Lake

People coming in a little at a time like that will continue to cause small trouble and unrest during the period of transition. They're easily agitated and will fall in line with the agitators. What I'm looking forward to right now is that those who took the leadership in camp in the last incident were from Rohwer and Jerome. They are going to get a fair number of sympathizers (from the groups who have just entered). I'm thinking of watching that end of it.

When segregation first started, if they had had all the camps brought in together, they could have gotten all the trouble over at once. Everytime a new group of people comes in they are going to find out and see for themselves that conditions aren't what they should be.



Representative Committee

I know only a little about it. I'm not sure, but I'm afraid this thing is going to cause a little trouble. There is a party opposing it. The one who is opposing it, not because he knows anything about it, but because he merely took a dislike to it. He has some sort of a false impression. He may try to cause a little trouble. (I did not think it wise to press Kurihara for more information on this opposition leader. When he feels like telling me, he'll tell me.)

People are not very enthusiastic about it. But I think that a body ought to be formed to try to cooperate with the Administration and set things rolling harmoniously. You'll find the Issei will try to cooperate with the Administration whether they like it or not. The Nisei will fall in with them too. So eventually they are all going to be called inu.

It would be best if the body stood up and spoke for the rights of the Japanese, even if they are thrown into the stockade. Then they'll be idolized. But if he falls into line, he's going to be called a stooge no matter what he does.

Mr. Best must recognize the opposition. If the people (elected) have the guts to stand up, O.K. But if mostly Issei are elected they will swallow and swallow and just get to be despised.

You're not going to find any respectable, well-educated Japanese willing to attempt that position. You'll get a body of people who before evacuation were just nobody.

Boys Unjustly Put in Stockade

As far as isolating those boys who didn't have no connection with the incident, that holds true, not only in Tule Lake but in Manzanar. Many were sent from Manzanar who had nothing to do with it. One was a boy who if he were dressed in girl's clothes could not be told from a girl. Many of the boys have been kept in the stockade for four months or six months.

(Kurihara added that he thought some men were imprisoned, though innocent, just to terrify the people.)

Three Issei from block nine were thrown into the stockade only last month. They didn't raise no trouble but had been complaining against people in that block regarding the distribution of gifts sent from Japan. But they were thrown into the stockade and are still there.

False Statement on Terrorism

In the paper I've read that some Nisei high school teachers have been threatened because they are pro-American. But there has not been any threatening. That's a falsehood.(1)

TALK WITH LAB TECHNICIAN

Called on Caucasian lab technician on her invitation since she wished to hear how Dr. Pedicord was getting along in Gila. She appreciated the story of his locking up the hospital warehouse to keep the Japanese from getting kleenex and said that kleenex had been one of his

[1. I had not raised the questions of threats. In view of the fact that the center was shortly to be engulfed in a wave of terrorism, Mr. Kurihara's emphatic denial of this report of threats is curious.]



May 14, 1944

9

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Tule Lake Fieldnotes

sore spots at Tule Lake. He had flown into a fury on several occasions over purported waste of sanawipes in the laboratory. He was given to eccentric petty economics. One of his chief henchmen, a man named Hutchinson, left last week, ostensibly to take up his abode in Gila.

Mrs. H., the technician, recounted an odd incident of friction between Japanese assistants in the laboratory. Pedicord had forced Mrs. H. to take as assistant a young man named Kiyo, a good worker but lacking initiative. About a week ago, her best worker, a younger boy named Taka came to her and demanded three days off. She gave them to him without question. Moved by this, he told her the reason when he returned. It seems he can't stand Kiyo. The chief reason for this antipathy is that Kiyo was one of the eleven who appeared for his (military) physical examination. Mrs. H. went to Dr. Sleath and presented part of the case to him, but got nowhere because she felt she could not reveal the true cause of Taka's dislike. Dr. Sleath, I am told, is very popular among the evacuees and appears to be getting on well at the hospital.



May 15, 1944

10  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MAY 15, 1944

Spent most of the morning arranging for the delivery of my express packages and trying to get a permanent pass such as is given to WRA employees. The latter was denied me and I eventually had to get a special pass from the Police Department, ominously marked "Good until revoked." As I was about to leave the office, a paunchy middle-aged man beckoned me into a private office. Here he showed me a certain Caucasian lady's name, Miss Wynward, if I remember correctly, and asked me to keep an eye on her activities. According to him she is a racketeer taking advantage of the Japanese. She is a Buddhist, has spent many years in Japan, and yesterday requested that she be allowed to sleep in the colony. I promised to keep my eyes open for any reprehensible actions, which, I judged, was the only tack to take with the Police.

I then went to the Processing Office to get myself another Army pass. Here I encountered a voluble sergeant, a second generation Armenian, who professed great interest in the study.<sup>(1)</sup> I explained briefly, whereupon he asked if he could give me any information. This put me on my guard, perhaps unnecessarily. However, I asked for his impression of the gradual lifting of Army control. (He may be curious or he may be G2, or both.) In any case he gave me my pass and promised assistance in anything within his power. His statement:

The release of Army control is hard to determine. There is nothing definite that I can see. In January a lot of the guards were released from duty in the colony and the curfew restriction was lifted. After that it has been just a gradual letdown.

We are constantly ordered to deal with the people in a business-like way, not to fraternize, but never to behave in an ungentlemanly manner.

TALK WITH BILL NISHINO

Mr. Nishino took the initiative in the first part of our conversation, bursting out with his reasons for segregation. He explained in phrases which are beginning to pall on my ear that he could not bear the injustice of evacuation and the false pretenses of democracy. Then he asked me how I felt when people talked to me like that. Didn't I get mad. I thought fast and said that the injustice of which he complained was the concern of any citizen of the United States worthy of the name. This seemed to please him.

He showed me his first baby, a really handsome boy, so much better looking than his brother's baby that I could not help remarking on the difference. He beamed and said he had told Ken (his brother) the same thing. The child is very fair, a fact of which the father is very proud.

Changes in Camp Since My Last Visit

Ever since you left here hasn't been much change. All quiet on the Western Front. Things are going pretty good except for the reduction of persons working in the family. In this block there were eight or nine families who had more than two persons working. In my opinion the Administration is making a big mistake by saying that only two people in each family may work, because there are some families who have as many as ten members and they ought to be allowed to have more people working.

In our block there is a family of seven with three people working. I told the man, when he came to talk to me, that it was not necessary for his daughter to quit. The Administration put a notice in the Tule Lake Dispatch (Bill means Newell Star) which said that if they don't quit by May 20, they are going to send out termination notices.

[1. The Evacuation and Resettlement Study, for which I was doing my fieldwork. This was Sam Yaramian. See Fieldnotes, January 8, 1945.]



Block Managers' Discussion of Issues to Put Before Spanish Consul

In the Block Managers' meeting today the main factors we are requesting through the Spanish Consul is better sanitary conditions. Have you heard about Manzanar? [The recently constructed area where the segregants from the Manzanar Center were housed was called "Manzanar".] (Here Bill went into great detail over the lovely fixtures given to the segregates from Manzanar, and contrasted them with the undivided Tule Lake washbowls and the disgust which he felt when the man beside him brushed his teeth and the spittle flowed past on its way to the drain.)

Resegregation Issue

Resegregation will come up again.

Reaction of Colonists Toward Working Overtime to Help Segregates

Mr. Kawaii, the head of Housing; he was No and changed to Yes and wants to be transferred to another center. He called a meeting before the people from Rower and Jerome came in. He told them that when Manzanar had come in they had worked overtime and didn't get paid for it. So he had told his staff not to work overtime this time. He was kicked right back on his face by the staff. They said, 'We are all Japanese. We are going to help those guys even if we do work overtime.'

Draft and Physical Examination

There were some Yes-Yes guys in this block. I hear they have asked for repatriation. I also heard that only two guys showed up for their physicals.

Mr. Furukawa's Regulation on Meetings in Center

Furukawa, head of Civic Organization, is good for nothing. I don't think he's capable of sitting in that office. He sent out a notice through Internal Security that all meetings which are to be held in the blocks should be reported to Internal Security 24 hours beforehand. Previous to this, if the meeting was for more than 50 people we had to take out a fire permit and get an O.K. from CAS. This new regulation came through Internal Security signed by Furukawa. If he's thinking of the welfare of the people he wouldn't do that thing. So today in block managers' meeting we shoved it right back at him.(1)

New Representative Committee

As Block Managers we are not to stick our nose into any political affairs. So we are just going to act as chairmen until they get a chairman. If we had to abide by this new Internal Security rule we'd have to tell them about every meeting. It's crazy. We're not going to notify him. At least he should have brought this thing up in general meeting and discussed it with the Block Managers.

They're going ahead with this Representative Committee, but I personally would really like to see the people in the stockade to be released. In my opinion getting new delegates for the Representative Committee will be pretty tough to organize. People say, 'What's the use? We put up representatives once again and they wouldn't recognize them.'

[1. I talked to several WRA staff members who should know about this and they said no such notice had been sent out.]



May 15, 1944

12  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

I don't know. You really don't hear people talk about it much. They're just sick of it. Some of the daha people (those against status quo) they're talking about it. As far as I'm concerned I don't care if they do it or not as long as they take care of sanitation and family employment.

Screens

We have no screens here. That is one more point we will ask the Spanish Consul. Some of the old Tuleans took our screens. Some people who went out took their screens with them.

Boys in the Stockade

As for the stockade - when I do sign my name for anything I want to live up to it. We said once they are our true representatives.

Warehouse Incident, November 4

I think the Japanese people as a whole made a big mistake at the warehouse. If the food then had been as it is now it couldn't have happened. Now we have tofu (bean curd), all the Japanese food we want, plenty of rice and vegetables.

Forthcoming Election

In the election we'll have to take down the names of the persons and send them in to the Project Director's office. If the person is on the black list, I know the Administration will not O.K. it.

Delay Over Mr. Kamiya, Ex-Daihyo Sha Member as Block Manager

In block 31, Mr. Miyake in this camp was ward chairman of ward 42. This man was here during the time of segregation and had his wife and his father leave for Minidoka while he stayed behind here himself. It may be he's going out. So he told civic (Organization) he would like them to get a new block manager for 31. So the block people had a meeting. Unfortunately Mr. Yamatani lives in this block. But you never see him there. He doesn't even eat there. So the people elected a new manager. He happened to be Mr. Kamiya, the Ex-Secretary of the Daihyo Sha.

So they took it up to Civic. It's been three weeks or a month now and Civic hasn't O.K.ed him. Mr. Miyake is acting as Block Manager but he doesn't show his face in the block.

That isn't right when the people want Mr. Kamiya as block manager. I think they should have him as block manager.(1)

[1. I asked Dr. Opler about this situation and he said that I had been given a twisted version of the story.]



May 16, 1944

13  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MAY 16, 1944

TALK WITH MAY IWOHARA

Mr. Huycke Deferred

Mr. Huycke is deferred or exempted, I don't know which. When he came in and told us about it he was just smiling like everything. I thought 'the villian's smile.' Many people hate him.

(George Wakida's chief reason in leaving the employment of the CAS in Tule was antipathy to Huycke. In my opinion Huycke is probably near the top of evacuee dislike of the Appointed Personnel.) May also told me that there had been no more developments in the troubles which her block, 18, was undergoing during my last visit. The people have not been forced to move, nor has the undertaking establishment been installed against their wishes. May is still working with Mr. Akitsuki, he having been asked by the Civic Organization to stay on the job and finish up business. Her future plans are uncertain. She will probably continue to work in Civic Organizations with Mr. Akitsuki. She asked me again if there were any possibility of an evacuee leaving Tule Lake for another center and still remain a repatriate or a No-No. I told her what Mr. Robertson had told me, which was 'No'. However, if they changed their answers, Mr. Best would no doubt assist them.

May's Brother and Military Questionnaire

May's brother, she told me, had been asked to fill out a Military Questionnaire on reaching his 18th birthday.

My brother filled out his Military Registration, saying that he was loyal to Japan and would not serve in the U.S. Army. Unfortunately he did it with red crayon. So the F.B.I. called him in. (May was not sure who had called him in but thought it was the F.B.I.) He showed my brother the red crayon and my brother said, 'Looks bad, doesn't it?'

The man said that my brother could be sent to the penitentiary for six years. My brother said he's been locked up in camp two years and it's not so bad. The man said, 'Why do you want to be repatriated?' My brother said, 'My parents are old and I want to be with them.' The F.B.I. man said, 'Before you get back to Japan all of your relatives will be bombed; you'll have no place to go.' He said my brother's was a rare case and he would have to be taken to Sacramento.

(I promised to do what I could to find out what will be done to boys who do not register, although I suspect that nobody knows at present.)

Representative Committee

It doesn't seem as if this representative body is going to go through. I hear so many people say as long as they are obligated to the Daihyo Sha they will refuse to vote until they're released.

I think they ought to release all of those out of the stockade that have no charge against them. They're so slow. There are many innocent ones in there.

(Mr. Akitsuki now came into the room. He gave me the remainder of the translated minutes (of the Daihyo Sha Kai meetings.) He was the same cordial, relaxed Akitsuki of my April visit, when he had been released from strain by the resignation of the Coordinating Committee. I asked him about the Kamiya case and what was behind the delay in this appointment. He said that the matter was in the hands of Civic Organization. They were reluctant to take the chance, since Kamiya had been a very active member of the Daihyo Sha Kai and had, moreover, continued to make trouble since his release from the stockade.)



MAY 17, 1944TALK WITH DR. OPLERButtons Issued by Army

It's really funny. The buttons are great big red affairs that look like the rising sun. The Army's gotten all messed up on the button situation. They gave them out. We didn't. They're trying to work out a gate procedure. I think they should be issued by the head of each worker's office. I've heard Captain Hartman saying, 'There are too many rules for the Japanese. There's got to be one set of rules for any one of them.'

(Dr. Opler does not think highly of the Captain or his rules.)

F.B.I. Man Interviewing Boys Who Did Not Show Up For Physicals

He talked a beautiful line on the interviews. He sensed their views very well. If he can write as well as he talked, that should make a grand reference in the Department of Justice.

(Dr. Opler informed me that here in Tule Lake the Co-op had taken on the Private Enterprise responsibility delegated by Myer, which, it will be remembered, was causing such a uproar in Gila during my stay.)

Statistics on Segregants Entering Tule Lake Now

1,700 people are expected in this movement, part of which have already arrived. Two more trainloads are arriving this weekend. On May 12 and 13, 500 entered from Jerome and 500 from Rower. The expected arrivals in order will be (these are estimates): 160 from Jerome, 200 from Rower and 140 from Granada; 125 from Heart Mountain; Minidoka has already sent 59 who came in the 12th or 13th.

Provinse and Stockade Internees

Provinse told Slim Tsuda(1) in my office that he was going to do his utmost to get rid of the stockade.

(Dr. Opler implied that it is through Provinse's influence that the Leupp movement has been delayed and will, according to appearance, never be carried out.)(2)

Trouble In Block 9 Mentioned By Kurihara(3)

That block 9 is an old, old squabble. Block 9 had a split vote. It was a majority of anti-status quo with a strong-minded minority. After the vote was taken, people entered from the outside and swung it in the pro-status quo direction. Certain families were criticised.

- [1. Mr. Tsuda had been the chief of the evacuee police force. In November, 1943, he became a member of the Executive Board of the Daihyo Sha Kai. He was subsequently confined in the stockade, but had been released in April 1944. He refused to join forces with the Resegregationists, but continued to play an important role in center politics.]
- [2. The suggestion that the citizens detained in the stockade be transferred to the Leupp Isolation Center.]
- [3. See Fieldnotes, May 14, p.2.]



May 17, 1944

15  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

There was mess hall descrimination and a fight between two seats of mess hall crews. This criticism over gift distribution was only one of the things. When last heard from, some anti-statu quo people were considering getting out of the block.

There was a real threat of mess hall trouble. That's the real reason they were put in the stockade.

Complaints Over Reduction in Family Employment

That's a common complaint. They are now beginning to look askance at young married couples both working.

Stockade Question and Provinse

The final meeting of the Coordinating Committee was with Provinse sitting in. They were bringing up any problem - even the stockade question. Huycke said, 'In some blocks they're going to try to put up Daihyo Sha Kai members.' That is happening in some blocks. Provinse immediately called him on that. 'What if they do?' he said.

Kai and Daihyo Sha Kai's Committees

I know for a fact now that Kai handpicked people on the night of November 4, picking the committees and the block representatives. I don't understand, since he had no control over the note taking. I understand Kai worked like a machine. Evidently Kai is not all organizational brains.

'If this is a proven fact,' said I, 'Doesn't it indicate that the Daihyo Sha members were not particularly well organized long before the incident?' Opler agreed that it did. (Opler has either seen the Daihyo Sha minutes or, as he avers, was told about the meetings by excellent stockade informants. Since, however, he used almost exactly the same words as the minutes, I suspect he's seen them. The picture of both of us sitting there talking about "informants" when we both have probably read the minutes is a little amusing.)

Mr. Obayashi told me that he had interviewed Kai previous to the incident several times on what was happening in the community. He heard about Kai and went to visit him. His own version to me is that Kai was surrounded by a strongarm squad every time he went to speak to him. Obayashi is 51 years old and well respected. He's an old time repatriate. Kai, he said, dealt with him very arrogantly.

Stockade and Leupp

I think Provinse got next to Dillon Myer on that subject. He really understood the colony situation. We arranged meetings in the colony to talk very frankly with 'the guy from Washington.' We even got him to talk with the pro-status quo group. He's a shrewd operator, much better than Best or the Chief of the Tule Lake Police Department (Schmidt). He told the people what he thought and it was not to Leupp.

If I saw Schmidt looking happy, I'd write Provinse.



MAY 18, 1944

(Excerpts from a letter from May Iwohara (dated May 7) which she had sent to Gila and which just reached me today.)

Tule Lake Center continues to be subjected to many trifle discords, unrest, and disharmony, which probably will never end. Transfer of some 100 agitators to Leupp Center (although this item was discounted by Best), Army Physicals, arrival of new segregates from other centers, election of a Representative Committee, etc. seems to be the basic cause of disorder. One consolation -- remember that Ward 7 fence, it's been torn down.

Well, finally on the 30th of April the Divisional Responsible Men disbanded. Thank Heavens! The way is now completely opened for an election of a Representative Committee, which will be selected by first holding a nominating election, followed by an election, which will be conducted in the Block Manager's office by means of a ballot box. Perhaps you already know the particulars of this instructions permitting community government. There'll be twelve (that is, not to exceed twelve) representatives who will be paid. I forgot to mention the fact that prior to the real election, they're going to elect an Arrangements Committee, which is going to devise or rather set up the mechanism.

Divisional Responsible Men's group as well as the Coordinating Committee are practically out of existence. Sure hard to trace the members now. Mr. Akitsuki and I were asked to remain in the office to clean up all the left-over and unfinished works, so we're still in the same office, all by ourselves. The place is so quiet and incidentally, hot, that it makes us sleepy and restless. I was so worried about my next job, but as it is now, I guess I'm relieved of that worry for at least this month. By the time I start in worrying again, you'll probably be here. I tried to get that accompanist's job in the High School and Miss Clark and Mr. Cheek had approved of it; however, according to the Principal, since the teachers did not place in their request for an accompanist, I was told to wait until they did so. Fortunately or unfortunately, because of my work with Mr. Akitsuki, I continue to remain in that joint, and my accompanist's work is pending. I've written to the Nishimotos(1) but haven't received any reply.

In spite of many things, Center's social activities continue to function as if there's no trouble whatsoever. Baseball, basketball, dances, shows, engi kais, (2) bazaars and field day of various track games are some of the activities which enliven our almost "dead" spirit.

P.S. Mr. Huycke was deferred or rather he was reclassified as 4-F or something like that. When he came to break the news to us, inside myself I felt like saying, 'O villian, villian, smiling, damned villian!' I hated to see him smile so happily. Others felt the same, I reckon.

#### TALK WITH MR. YAMASHIRO

##### Representative Committee

I have no idea about it. They've asked me to be one of the representatives but I won't. I'm not going to be in any political organization. In fact I'm going to quit the Seinen-dan in June. (Yamashiro appears to be giving as many farewell parties to the Seinen-dan as the proverbial prima donna. He told me he was on the verge of resigning in February, March and April.)

[1. Richard S. Nishimoto, who was, at this time, a member of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Mr. Nishimoto was a friend of May Iwohara and before my February visit had suggested her as a respondent.]

[2. engeki kai -- dramas.]



May 18, 1944

17  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

WRA hasn't got any solid policy. WRA don't want to make a solid policy. It seems that they don't want any actual organization to run the community. They themselves want to have a lot of power, like the British in India.

I talked to Mr. Best. Give me any kind of job I said. Even the pig farm, I don't care.

Tonight every block is going to have a meeting to nominate delegates. I'm going to play baseball and have a lot of fun.

The people feel pretty bad. If you do good for the people you get put in the stockade. If you do good for WRA you get called inu. So I'm going to play baseball.

#### Best and Seinen-dan Constitution

On our Young Peoples' Constitution Best gave me a statement - he said the present policy was O.K. but we (the Administration) may change it without notice. That shows how they feel.

#### Meeting With Mr. Provinse

The other day I met Mr. Provinse. He asked me why I organized the Tule Lake Seinen-dan. I told him the same old story of our fathers and mothers who gave up everything. They have nothing now, so their sons and daughters should entertain their parents all they can.

Mr. Provinse says, 'Is that the only reason?' I said, 'Yes, it's the main reason.' Mr. Provinse said, 'Well, George, that is going to make the camp very good. But if you make it a better place for the Issei to live in, a lot of other Issei will want to come to Tule Lake.' Mr. Provinse wouldn't like that.

From now on until I go back to Japan, I'm going to keep out of everything. I can't take no risks for WRA. When the time comes I'm going to stand up - but not till then.

#### The Draft

This is the way I think the Japanese feel. Anyway, it's the way I feel. If I get called for selective service and show up for my physical examination, the Japanese think, if we are loyal to Japan, we are pure Japanese, so we don't have to go. If we go, that means we have some loyalty to the United States of America. If we are going to refuse to go into the Army we are going to refuse from the beginning.

I said I'm going to refuse to appear. Mr. Robertson said, 'That's not wise, George. Take the American way. The physical examination is a federal law, and you are going to involve federal law.'

But if I'm going to be a Japanese I'm going to be pure Japanese and not American at all. I didn't use to be like this. But now I just see this camp from the Japanese point of view only. As a Japanese, I got to do it this way.

Yamashiro's wife and his mother had moved to the rear of the room, where they sat conversing and working behind screens while George and I talked. When I was ready to leave they came out and said their farewells. I remarked on the absence of the fence and Mrs. Yamashiro's face lit up as she exclaimed how much more free they all felt.



Removal of Fence From Ward 7

I paid two more social calls in ward 7 that afternoon. At each home the residents remarked with joy on the removal of the fence. Many other people have commented on the fact that it has made the whole camp feel good and has had more effect than Mr. Best throwing baseballs. They usually add, 'Now if they'd tear down some more of them it would be better yet.'

Army Identification Buttons

As I passed the Army sentry post I saw a soldier giving an evacuee hell for some irregularity in the manner in which he wore his red button. A large group of Japanese were returning to the colony and the soldiers were ordering each one loudly, 'Wear your button on the left lapel. Wear your button on the left lapel.'

The evening was brought to a close by a staff meeting at which, it was rumored, Lt. Colonel Austin was to make an important announcement.

Mr. Best opened the meeting with the remark that from now on a general staff meeting was to be held definitely once a month. He added that from now on, as long as he is with WRA, he was going to find out who schedules the trains for segregees so that they arrived on Saturday and Sunday. He then turned the meeting over to Mr. Black who asked Mr. Huycke to report on the Denver conference on Community Management and Community Activities.

Mr. Huycke said that a great deal of support was to be given to the Tule Lake CAS on the part of the other projects. The other representatives at the meeting had thought this support just. The people must be kept busy, instead of sitting around and arguing about what's wrong with Tule Lake. There is also going to be more support for staff recreation. A new staff recreation hall is to be planned. It will include a lounge, a fireplace and a canteen.

Mr. Black now spoke and stressed the contrast which had appeared in the interests of Tule Lake and the other nine centers. Relocation had been spoken of even in terms of liquidating all the other centers within a year. Mr. Black did not think WRA could accomplish this, but it is their objective. Some members of the conference had foreseen that at the end of one, two or three years there still would be a hard core of people in the centers who could not be relocated. What can be done? This had been the subject of much discussion and planning. One suggestion had been to have one or two centers as old folks' homes, while the process of returning the responsibility back to the state and local governments was gone through. Mr. Black personally had found no relocated person in Denver who was not perfectly satisfied.

The second contrast had been in the Internal and External security. All the other centers had been able to list considerable reductions. For Tule Lake, Mr. Black had only been able to say that Mr. Schimdt was considering raising (this was said humorously) the Tule Lake Internal Security to 180, sixty coming, sixty leaving and sixty on the job. As for the soldiers, he could report that Tule Lake had been able to bring them down to about 600. (laughter)

Other centers had had great success with a re-directing program for CAS, and this was now contemplated for Tule Lake. On the Health Program Mr. Black was glad to be able to report that the Tule Lake health staff was better than that of any of the other centers.

He added a final speculation: that since WRA's present main objective was relocation, this was diametrically opposed to Tule Lake. Some members at the conference had been of the opinion that the WRA's relocation program would flourish better if Tule Lake were amputated and divorced from the WRA program. Too many people, apparently, are still looking to it as a refuge.

Mr. Best introduced Lt. Colonel Austin with excessive politeness. Lt. Colonel Austin, assuming a bluff and cordial manner, told the personnel that hereafter guests would not be allowed to attend the Army motion pictures. Only legitimate members of the WRA personnel, residents of the project could attend.



May 19, 1944

19  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MAY 19, 1944

The weather was unusually lovely today and I decided to devote the afternoon to calls. However, this proved unwise because the fine weather had evidently brought everyone outdoors. Finding no one at home at four different places I gave it up as a bad job.

TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. ROBERTSON

Called on Mr. Robertson in the evening with more success.

Identification Buttons

I was told that evacuees must carry an identification tag, a blue card, and the numbered button. (The buttons are 2 1/4 inches in diameter by actual measurement, a brilliant dark vermillion and have a black number printed on them.)

Mrs. Robertson told how she had been stopped by the sentry on guard today and after some argument had been allowed to pass. However, when she came out the soldier told her he had been seen by the O.D., who had given him hell for letting her in. So far, I have had no trouble.

Rumor About Exchange Ship

Mr. Robertson said he had heard the rumor about the exchange ship several times.

Mr. Robertson: There is a sanitary corps here.

Mrs. Robertson: Well, it's certainly not very much in evidence.

Police Chief: Mr. Schmidt came into Best's office the other day and said, 'Who do you suppose they want as (evacuee) chief of police here - Harry Ueno!'

(Harry Ueno is a boy from Leupp who was put in the stockade on his arrive in Tule Lake.)

Mr. Robertson replied to Best, 'Well, why not?'

Forthcoming Election of Representatives

I think that the results of this election are going to be appalling.

Mr. Best's Position in Colony

I had an interesting talk with one of the Leupp boys today. He didn't think there has been any change in the colony toward Mr. Best at all. I said, 'Well, he came in and pitched ball, didn't the people like that?' 'Naah,' he said, 'the Japanese people understand that.' The boy added, 'I heard they beat up those fellows in Manzanar. That tickled me. That tickled me.'

Colony Housing

Robertson thinks the most serious problem in the colony is that of housing. With more people coming in in carloads, it is a problem which cannot be overcome.



MAY 20, 1944TALK WITH MR. FUKUMOTO

I met a very interesting person today, perhaps as compensation for yesterday's blank. Bill Nishino introduced me to Mr. Fukumoto, an ex-Gilan, ex-Leupp power behind the Seinen-dan. Fukumoto, a tall, dignified man of middle age, spoke no English but with Nishino's interpreting this proved not to be a severe handicap. I explained the aims of our study at length whereupon Mr. Fukumoto was moved to say that a study like ours is one which should be undertaken by God.

We had a long conversation on the current election and Fukumoto expressed views very similar to those of Kurihara. When the people came into camp, said he, they were confused. They are still confused. The reason they are refusing to support this proposal is that the old matter (the men in the stockade) is not settled. If they were all let out, the election would be proceeding in an entirely different matter. He said that no intelligent able man would accept the nomination. He certainly wouldn't. I inquired as to how the nominations had gone the night before last. His block (block 5) had had nobody nominated. 'Of course, this is Reverend Kai's block.' I asked Bill what happened in his block. 'Nobody nominated,' said he. This news was quietly enjoyed by all three of us.(1)

Mr. Fukumoto mentioned that at Leupp Mr. Best had been in the habit of using the outer entrance at all times and coming inside the stockade as little as possible. Mr. Robertson, on the other hand, had always left by the exit which took him through the camp, asking if he could get the boys something. This showed he had a Christian heart. Fukumoto was a Christian but has become a Buddhist since he has determined to return to Japan. He, Bill and I agreed that there was little difference between the true practices in both religions, 'except,' added Bill, 'the Christian says, 'Love thy neighbor.' The Buddhist says, 'Respect thy neighbor.'

Mr. Fukumoto said that one of the chief aims of the Seinen-dan was to give the many idle young people something to do. By being occupied, they would keep out of trouble. To help amuse the Issei is, of course, their obvious purpose, but in this camp, the idle time of the younger people was so great a problem that the Seinen was devoting much of its time to them. (Incidentally, Mr. Fukumoto was head of the sumo group in Gila. He said he had never known Spencer(2) well.)

In discussing the injustice of military registration Mr. Fukumoto went into considerable detail, retelling the speech that Matsuoka had made in San Francisco, urging that the young people of Japanese descent in this country support the land of their adoption just as a person in feudal Japan, following bushido would fight valiantly for the prefecture of his adoption, thereby bringing credit to the place of his birth. The idea is: by fighting valiantly against Japan, a Nisei would bring great credit to Japan.

I promised to take a message from Mr. Fukumoto to Mr. Huycke, offering the cooperation of the Seinen-dan to any activity which CAS may wish to sponsor. This was meant graciously, but I doubt if the implication of Seinen-dan superiority will please Mr. Huycke.

- [1. This remark reveals the degree to which I had already internalized the point of view that I attributed to my respondents. This kind of involvement does not contribute to good fieldwork, but at Tule Lake, it was often impossible to avoid. (See pp. 139-142 and 152-161, Rosalie H. Wax, "Doing Fieldwork.")]
- [2. Robert Spencer was the field researcher who preceded me at the Gila Relocation Center. I had heard that he participated in sumo matches there. On sumo at Tule Lake see Marvin K. Opler, 1945, "A sumo Tournament at Tule Lake Center." American Anthropologist, 47:134-39.)]



Before I left, Mr. Fukumoto promised at a later date when I am not so busy, to acquaint me fully with the activities of the Seinen-dan, which, since this is probably the strongest organization in Tule Lake at present, will be a worthwhile addition to my study.

#### SERIOUS TROUBLE IN BILL'S BLOCK

Bill had to hurry away after the interview saying that he had been terribly busy because of big trouble in his block (54). He showed me a brief petition by the people of the block to remove two residents. It was quite a mess, said Bill. They even called Internal Security. All I gathered was that the two men were suspected of being inu and that block feeling had risen so high that the police had to be called. (I'll get the details from Bill later.)

[I was later to find out (not from Mr. Nishino) that these two men were Issei, one of whom was a warden on the police force. They had publicly criticized certain young men in their block who were participating in "morning exercises" resembling the militaristic exercises customary in Japan. These exercises were probably covertly sponsored by the underground Resegregation group, though Mrs. Matsuda, in the interview following, calls them "radio exercises". On June 13, the Issei warden accused of being an inu was attacked and beaten so severely that his skull was fractured.]

#### TALK WITH MRS. MATSUDA

Yesterday, May 19, I had not found Mrs. Matsuda at home. Evidently neighbors keep a good watch for her and today when I entered the Administration building I was told by Mr. Robertson's secretary that Mrs. Matsuda had asked that I come to see her this morning since she had a man she wanted me to meet. The secretary had told her that I might not be in in the morning and so an afternoon meeting had been arranged.

When I arrived, Mrs. Matsuda was very cordial, thanking me for the letter I had sent from Berkeley. She had been out yesterday, 'visiting friends from Jerome,' which may be related to Mr. Kurihara's guess that the Jerome group coming into the center will now be subjected to considerable pressure.

Her brother, Tokio Yamane, is still in the stockade. She said that the boy who was so badly beaten had been released. However, it is rumored that the beating has affected his mind. She herself did not know her brother was beaten until she received a letter in which he said his wounds were healed. It had not been until January and February that rumors about the beatings had seeped into the camp.

#### Trouble In Block 54 (where Bill Nishino is block manager)

A fellow from block 54 had just told her the story of the trouble:

Those two men were against everything that was done in the block. Some people in the block had what they called a Young Men's Club. They had radio exercises in the morning. These men (the purported inu) threatened the parents of the boys who attended these exercises that the Army will come up and stop them. 'They'll kick you for doing this,' they said.

(Mrs. Matsuda's husband, whom I met for the first time today, interrupted to say that that was only one of the things these men had done. Previous to this they had annoyed the block by their actions again and again. This Young Men's Group had been the first to stand up to them.)

So the boys went to see them and tried to make them see the thing their way. 'If you are real Japanese,' they said, 'You would co-operate with us.' The boys heard one of them say, 'Maybe I'm not Japanese.'



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

One of the men is a policeman. He called the Internal Security and told them to arrest the boys. But they didn't arrest them because there was no reason.

The people in the block have put up a petition asking that these men be moved.

Mrs. Matsuda's Experience With Army And With Mr. Keyes

On April 22 Mrs. Matsuda and Mrs. Kai had been at the Army Processing Office. There they had been talking with Sergeant Yaramian. He had been very polite and courteous to them. Then Mr. O'Brien and another member of Internal Security had come in. They sat on Yaramian's desk and 'looked Mrs. Matsuda from top to toe several times.' They made impolite and sarcastic remarks, especially O'Brien.

Then on April 24 a man named Keyes (whom I know to be employed to take shorthand at hearings) came to see her. He asked if she were alone. When she said she was, he accused her of having a man hidden in the closet. After a time he told her she and the rest of the people in camp were foolish. If they were really loyal to Japan the thing to do was to say "yes", get out of camp, and make trouble in this country or in South America. Mrs. Matsuda didn't know what to say to this. She has a brother in the Army fighting in the Pacific. When Keyes accused her of blabbing to the Army she became angry. Evidently she has always been treated courteously by the Army. Moreover, she fears reprisals on her brother if she should do anything rash in camp.

Then Keyes said, 'You think I'm working for Internal Security here. Well, I'm not. I'm really working for the Germans and Norwegians.' Again, Mrs. Matsuda did not say anything.

Then he made her promise to say nothing about his visit or what he had said. She said, 'If you're so scared, why do you come around?'

'Of all the talking he did, he sounded like he's Communist. But he made me promise I wouldn't mention his name. And he kept asking, 'Who have you got in the closet?'

I promised to let Mr. Robertson know of this interview. The man has not come around again.

Mrs. Matsuda told me proudly that only 25 people had come to the (nomination) meeting in her block, and since 50 were required to form a quorum for nominations, no nominations had been made. (Bill's block had an attendance of 35 -and also no nominations.) She was very curious about what the Administration was going to do now, but I assured her that the workings of their mind were beyond me.

She also asked me about public sentiment on resegregation. I answered truthfully: that the matter was far from closed, but that public interest at present is low, partly because of better treatment and partly because of the sentiment that the draft would remove many Yes-Yes.

The man she had wanted me to meet was a certain Mr. Tachibana, who had just arrived from Santa Fe [Internment Center]. I made an appointment with him for tomorrow. (Only hope the nasty blisters on my feet will heal. They're beginning to bother me.)(1)

TALK WITH DR. OPLER

Called at Opler's to check "election results". He had a preliminary but incomplete report. In the total of 74 blocks:

---

[1. In making my calls on Japanese Americans I often walked many miles in a day, and the gritty soil of Tule Lake was hard on the feet.]



May 20, 1944

23  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

- 9 - not heard from
- 2 - delegates nominated but rejected by block
- 4 - no attempt to hold meeting
- 44 - no quorum
- 15 - representatives nominated.

I heard that block 73 had a long argument. The block manager arrived and was accused of being an inu, for helping in this. He said he had a fight (verbal, it seems) with the 'worst radical' in the block. He added that there were others 'too radical to listen.' Anyway, the group couldn't be handled. There were no nominees.

In block nine, there were no nominees.

In block 69 they put up representatives, but they also had an argument. Apparently it was in the blocks which had no nominees that they had the worst arguments.

In block 29 things went O.K. There was a nomination. But they had a one hour wait before people came. I think that was usual. They had to go around in the block and get them to come in.

In block 16 an anti-status quo man said, 'We had to drag them out of bed to get nominees.' This block is very pro-status quo.

Administration's Action in Regard to This

You'll probably see it in the paper. Mr. Best said in sweet tones that if the center felt that this was premature, we will have it later. He isn't calling it off.

It's a curious inversion. Once, when they had the organization, Best was trying to slow it down. Now Best is saying, go ahead, and the people are slowing down. Many people told Best not to have it now.

(Opler hinted that something big was going to break from Washington within a day or two. I guessed it has something to do with stockade policy, perhaps wholesale releases.)



MAY 21, 1944TALK WITH MR. TACHIBANA, MR. TSUDA, AND OTHERS

[Mr. Tachibana was born in Japan and was about 48 years old. He had had twelve years schooling in Japan and had received an A.B. from both the University of San Francisco and Stanford University. In the Poston Center he had, in February, 1943, been arrested by the F.B.I. for alleged obstruction of the registration program and complicity in the beating of the national president of JACL. He was interned by the Department of Justice at Santa Fe, New Mexico, and had now been released to Tule Lake. He was to play a very important role in Tule Lake as the most powerful "behind-the-scenes" leader of the Resegregation Group. He was arrested by the Department of Justice in December of 1944 and interned. He returned to Japan.]

Mr. Tachibana looked about forty years old. His wife was very elegant and handsome. Their apartment was well furnished; in fact, it was the best looking apartment I had seen at Tule Lake. There were so many people present that it looked as if the Tachibanas were holding a reception. All of these people were listening to Mr. Tachibana with the appearance of great respect. Mr. Matsuda was among those present. Seated near me was a striking looking man almost six feet tall. He was introduced to me as Mr. Tsuda. I pricked up my ears, for Tsuda was the ex-chief of police who had been a member of the Negotiating Committee of the Daihyo Sha Kai and had for a long time been imprisoned in the stockade. He was also, rumor had it, the camp's vice king, running a gambling establishment and controlling the bootleg sake market.

At intervals other men and women called, stayed briefly, and then withdrew, engaging Mr. Tachibana in some of the most elaborate bowing rituals I had ever seen. Almost all of the conversation was carried on in Japanese. I sat, watched, and said nothing. After this had been going on for about half an hour, Mr. Tachibana addressed me in English, telling me that he was a graduate of Stanford University and that he approved of our study. At this moment he was called away and I ventured to address Mr. Tsuda, told him I was pleased to meet him and that I hoped some day to discuss certain aspects of the early history of the center with him.(1)

Mr. Tachibana

When Mr. Tachibana returned he explained that to understand the happenings at Tule one had to go back even before evacuation.

First there had been segregation, a mistake. Then military registration, which was illogical. Then, to push the relocation program, the answers made at military registration were used to segregate a group which never should have been segregated. This had created a problem for WRA which they had not originally anticipated. Those who came into Tule Lake as segregees had been treated with greater severity than in their relocation centers.

Mr. Tsuda interjected here that the resegregation question is a matter for which WRA must take the responsibility. But it has expressed no policy. 'We residents are very much embarrassed by this.'

Mr. Tachibana: We came here for the purpose of repatriation so that we will be on the priority list to be segregated to Japan. We may change our feeling after the war, but for the time being, we must rely on the Emperor of Japan, not on the U.S. government.

[1. I was, of course, well aware that information obtained from persons who had been members of the Negotiating Committee of the Daihyo Sha Kai would be of great value to the Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Mr. Tsuda had been released from the stockade in April and was trying, at this meeting, to get Mr. Tachibana's support in the court action that he, Kai, and Kuratomi hoped to undertake (see Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 290-1). I obtained not the slightest hint of these plans at this meeting.]



May 21, 1944

25  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Our loyalty is to Japan. Naturally we are very earnest about it. Some Japanese say that they are still loyal to the U.S., but I don't believe it.

I asked Mr. Tsuda whether there had been any organization before the farm incident.

Organization Before Farm Incident

Mr. Tsuda: There was no organization before the farm incident. That incident could be the impetus for the organization of the organization.

In order to make a statement one must go clear back to evacuation and the places from which the people came into Tule Lake, the sort of communities they had prior to evacuation.

In the eyes of the new influx that came in, probably it did appear that the Tule Lake people were meek. To a certain extent I admit that too. I believe the reason is as simple as that why most of the people who had lived in Tule Lake up to segregation were from Sacramento, Marysville, Seattle and Portland and were comprised mainly of family people. Whereas the people who came from other centers were mostly free lance responsibilities. That makes a lot of difference in calling the Tule Lake people meek.

But I'll say this. We, the Tule Lake people, did not have any appreciation of the camp conditions within the other camps. Therefore, we cannot say until the people came in and told us, that other camps were in better condition than Tule Lake.

(Mr. Tsuda is an old Tule Lake resident, one of the few on the Daihyo Sha Kai. Pro-administration stooges insist that he was put on the Daihyo Sha by Kai and Kuratomi just to invalidate Best's criticism that their organization contained no representatives who were old residents.)

November 4

I know the Administration is trying to tie up the Daihyo Sha with that. As you know, all of the representatives were either selected or elected. Up to November 12, the authorities, including the Army, had actually recognized the Daihyo Sha Kai. When they started to pick up people on the 13th, they announced that they would not recognize the Daihyo Sha further as the sole representative body of the colonists. To me, it didn't make sense.

I'll still say I have a dirty hunch that the Daihyo Sha Kai up to November 12 had actually gathered enough evidence about the WRA on the deficiencies of the Administration, which the Administration had to strive in any way under the sun to tie up to the so-called chauvinistic group, the Daihyo Sha with the riot of November 4.

The Daihyo Sha Kai had nothing to do with what the boys did that night.

(Here a considerable discussion took place among all present on the adolescent youthful thoughtlessness which was really responsible for this incident.)

I pointed out this thing to them time and time again while I was in the stockade. That's why I was not released.

That night, when the boys started to congregate and went to the Administrative area around 9 or 10 o'clock.



[Here Mr. Tsuda made statements that I did not think it safe to keep in my copy of my notes. They are part of the account given in Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 142-3. Sensing that he was becoming uncomfortable, I thanked him and remarked that someday I hoped to learn the inside story of what had happened that night. Meanwhile, I suggested that he watch my activities until he was sure that I could be trusted. Tsuda made no reply. Eight months later when I was finally able to talk to him alone, he told me that my last statement had impressed him. 'When you said that, I knew you weren't so dumb.']

Mr. Tsuda: You couldn't blame it on the Daihyo Sha Kais because the Daihyo Sha Kai had just been elected, and had been going only ten days or so.

Mr. Tachibana: The starting of such an action is the responsibility of the Administration itself. If the Administration had taken consideration of the comfort of the people as a whole I don't think they could ever have had any action as that which came from the miserable colony.

(Some of those present agreed that for the last few weeks some kind of power seems to be working on Best and making him act differently.)

Mr. Tachibana: The American government put itself into the position to make a segregation center. Before, they did not dream of it.

[Someone made a reference to the recent fiasco in the Administration's attempt to sponsor the election of a new Representative Committee.]

Mr. Matsuda: This is a great victory for the residents.

Mr. Tachibana: It is the Japanese way of taking the responsibility. Any responsible person has to resign the position. It shows that the majority of the residents as a whole have no confidence in the Administration. It's as if the President of the United States gave an order which was not obeyed by the people. He'd no longer be President.

Much of it is due to the people still in the stockade. They are taking too much time for settling this little business in the stockade. Mr. Best every day is taking valuable time with the chief consideration of keeping their face. They have to spend so much time on the stockade that they are disregarding other things such as watering the roads and improving the mess halls.

Mr. Tsuda: I don't have a college education. All of the members of the Coordinating Committee are better educated than me. Yet when they came to see me not a one of them could argue with me.

The Coordinating Committee kept their positions altogether too long, not knowing that they were not wanted. No matter how well educated they were, they didn't know what they were doing.

I don't think one of them will ever be repatriated.

Mr. Tachibana: (ominously) Not while I'm alive!

Mrs. Tachibana: They disgraced themselves and they also disgraced Mr. Best.

Mr. Tachibana: If the Coordinating Committee had not been appointed by Mr. Best, this trouble would have been cleared up long ago. Everybody who came into this camp had a different viewpoint on what segregation was.

It was now noon. I attempted to make my farewells but those present insisted that I eat dinner with them. We proceeded to the mess hall where an unusually good dinner was served. (Sunday dinner is the best evacuee meal here.) A small slice of ham with crushed pineapple, noodles with tomato sauce, a small helping of spinach, a cinnamon roll, rice and tea. I



May 21, 1944

27  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

commented on the good food, whereupon Mr. Yamashita told me that everything was much better in the internment camps for Americans in Japan. I said nothing.

ADDITIONS TO MEETING OF THIS MORNING

So much was said this morning that a few details worth noting slipped my mind at the time I wrote up the notes.

Mr. Tsuda gave a very interesting description of how his mind had changed after the segregees entered Tule. Previous to segregation he had felt American and acted American. After segregation, he could not help himself. In everything, he began to think and act like a Japanese. The Administration had been at a loss to understand him and he had lost their good will.

Mr. Tachibana also told me that after the war, 'all those present were going to be very influential people in Japan.' He would greatly appreciate it, if I saw that they were sent a copy of our completed study. I promised to do this if at all possible, though the earnest assurance of Mr. Tachibana's face (he looks very like Jerry Colonna with a tremendous 1890 villian mustache) was so comical that I used up a two weeks' supply of self-control retaining a straight face. 'The Rockefeller Foundation can afford it, I am sure,' he concluded.

TALK WITH KURIHARA

A terrific duststorm had come up, so severe that I decided to cancel my visiting plans for the afternoon. But since I was eleven blocks from the gate and I had promised to bring Mr. Kurihara my copy of Fortune when I received it, I stopped at Kurihara's and delivered it. By the time I arrived I looked like a poorly made up member of a minstrel team.

Nomination Meeting of Friday Night [May 18]

I didn't attend the meeting. I was home and they came for me. But I refused to attend. I heard they had only twenty people attending. They seem to have appointed me and another gentleman next door. But I flatly refused to accept the nomination. Regardless of what Mr. Best may say, I will absolutely refuse to serve.

(I asked why Kurihara was so set against serving.)

To be frank, I made a promise to Mr. Best, Mr. Robertson and Colonel Austin and Meek that I will never appear in any political affair unless they officially free me to accept the nomination. (Kurihara added that Best and Robertson might release him from his promise on this issue but he couldn't see [Colonel] Austin and Meek doing it.)

People are taking the attitude, why should they make a committee when they [WRA Administration] refused to recognize them in the first place. If the Administration had recognized the boys at that time (November) they would have had success this time.

The agitators will certainly claim the credit for this.

As you know, the Japanese people are, I would say, stubborn. Once they bear a grudge they very seldom forget. Mr. Best lost the confidence of the people at that time.



Relation of this Election Flop to Status Quo Vote of January

The first status quo proved the situation at that time. The difference was so small, that proved that the residents were against the Administration. If they had been in favor of the Administration, the vote at that time would have been overwhelming.

Rumored Release of Reverend Kai

I hear that Kai is going to be released. But if they let Kai go they must let the rest go. If they did that it would create a much more happy atmosphere.

MAY 22, 1944

TALK WITH THE KOMURAS

Paid a call on the Komuras. They are good friends of the Kondos (among my good friends in Gila) -- in fact they told me that they were related to some of the Kondo's best friends in Gila. I was happy to be able to do this because the Komuras live in one of the strongest pro-status quo(1) blocks.

Only Mrs. Komura and an older woman were present. We discussed Gilan affairs for a long time. I hesitated to bring up the subject of the abortive nominations, but by sheer luck, George Yamashiro, dropped in and launched immediately into a vivid description of what had happened in his block. The frankness with which George spoke before me, helped my status with the Komuras.

Election in Block 68

George did not go to the meeting. Eighty-two people were needed for a quorum and only 75 showed up. Then anti-status quo people went about and "got people to come." George went. He was nominated. He absolutely refused the nomination, saying that he intended to engage in no politics. Meanwhile, the procedure had dragged so that about ten people had left. The body refused to allow George to decline the nomination. When all other arguments failed, he pointed out that a quorum no longer existed, so his nomination was not valid. After considerable more aimless (George implied) discussion, the meeting ended with no nominations.

Mr. Takahashi (a reputed public inu number one), worked very hard to get people out and did his best to get nominations. 'Won't he get himself in trouble?' I asked. 'Well,' George answered, 'He's an old man and is going to die soon anyway.'

This spirited recital stimulated Mrs. Komura to tell what had happened in her block. There were no nominations. People had had a meeting, all right, but they had said, 'No, No, No, No.' At each 'No' she beat with her hands on the arms of her chair.

The conversation now turned to rumors with which it appears the camp is at present more than usually occupied. There are rumors that all the people in the stockade are going to be sent to Leupp. There are rumors that some are going to be released. There is much speculation on when the Spanish Consul is coming. There is a very common rumor that the food has improved because the Spanish Consul is coming soon.

Block 37, Mrs. Komura remarked, had no meeting at all.

[1. By this time, the term "pro-status quo" had begun to take on the meaning of being stubbornly resistant and even hostile to the WRA Administration.]



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Before George Yamashiro appeared, Mrs. Komura had told me (after I had asked about her little boy) that he had pneumonia and was in the hospital. She was allowed to visit him only once a week on Sunday. The child, said she, is afraid of the nurses and is quiet only when she is with him. I promised to ask about the strictness of this rule, but I could hold out no hope. I have been told that the attitude of the hospital is - unless a patient is dying - one visit a week, no more. She mentioned the matter to George and he said she should have been more servile to the nurse. That helped him, when his father-in-law was ill. Mrs. Komura did not want to be servile to the nurse.

An additional rumor was that no letters are being allowed to be sent out of the stockade at this period. George Yamashiro also reported that block 37 had had no meeting.

NOTE: It will be interesting to compare the results of this 'nomination' with the status quo vote in January. Opler will get this material and I will ask him and send it on to you.

TALK WITH LIBRARIAN Asako Higaki (Byron Akitsuki's sister-in-law)

After returning some books entered into conversation with the librarian on the nominations. She proved to be very anti-Daihyo Sha Kai. She came from block 29 where nominations had been made. She told me that it was well known that the agitators had been plotting the Tule Lake trouble even on the train from Jerome. She seemed worried and concerned over the present situation. She does not want the people released from the stockade.

TALK WITH KAYO IIDA, MY SECRETARY

[I did not know at this time that Miss Iida's father was a supporter of the Resegregation Petition. I mention this because while I came to know some of the Resegregationist leaders well, few of the followers were among my respondents. She was to go to Japan with her family, but subsequently returned to the United States.]

Miss Iida told me that she heartily approved the action taken by her block (7) which was to put up no nominees. She said that people felt that as long as the men whom they had once elected were in the stockade, there was no reason to elect another committee. The block manager had gone about from house to house, trying to get people to come.

TALK WITH OPLER

Opler had little to add, having been able to get no additional block reactions due to other duties. He did, however, tell me that he and Robertson knew that Best had received a phone call from [Dillon] Myer, telling Best that "The stockade was his problem and that he shouldn't let Schmidt run him." This call is thought to be the result of Provinse's influence or pressure on Myer.

Opler also remarked that a considerable number of his informants doubted the wisdom of releasing Kai and Kuratomi. In other words, it's all right to let the others out, but these men, 'N-n-no!' This attitude is shared by only a few of my informants. Even those who were critical of the Daihyo Sha in February now tell me that all the men ought to be released.

Opler's Story of Block 54 Trouble (Cf. May 20, pp. 2 and 3)

One of the men (Morimoto, accused of being inu) is a warden. He felt he was acting within his rights. The Young People's Group locked the wardens up in one of the ironing rooms and kept them there until Internal Security released them.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Another reason these men are unpopular is because their kids are among the few in the block who go to the movies. Bottles have been hurled at their kids for this reason. (Implication, block doesn't want people to go to movies? Not Japanese? Will check with Bill, block manager friend.)

Spanish Consul

There is a rumor that the food is getting better because the Spanish Consul is coming.

MAY 23, 1944

TALK WITH MRS. MATSUDA

Called on Mrs. Matsuda to thank her for arranging the interview of Sunday. She was still quietly elated by the "election."

The people didn't vote because that would make them (the men in the stockade) guilty.

We have made an appeal to see the Spanish Consul. My husband and Mr. Tachibana are going to see him. I've kept hammering at them.

Mrs. Matsuda said that she had written a letter to the Spanish Consul, but he had replied that since she was born in Hawaii she must appeal to the American government. But we don't want to do it.

Fifteen boys in the stockade did send out their signatures that they wanted a lawyer. Their parents were just frantic. Nothing has been done because we didn't know how to go about it.

We haven't had a letter from the stockade for quite some time. I guess they don't want the Issei messages to get smuggled out to the Spanish Consul. The boys who came out said the Issei there wanted to have the Spanish Consul meet them. I heard all the Issei wrote to Mr. Best to be allowed to see the Spanish Consul. I heard none of them received an answer.

Mrs. Matsuda now read me an excerpt from a letter in which the writer stated that he had written to Mr. Best asking the reason for his confinement. He is still awaiting an answer. He warned Mrs. Matsuda "not to overdo, because I've been called by the Internal Security three times and twice they asked me about you and Mr. Matsuda."

Mrs. Matsuda gave me the following letter, with permission to copy it.

(This is a part of the copy of the original letter, Mr. Yoshiyama, Block 6 representative, has written to the residents of the block sometime after his arrest in November.)

Original letter is filed at Block 6 office.

I have firmly resolved never to return to the center unless much improvements has been made. I am doing my very best, life is necessary, for the well being of all Japanese in this center.

The WRA has even ordered the escorting soldiers to kill me. The exact word Mahrt said to me was: 'Get the hell out of here! Kill that son of a bitch! I don't give a damn!' There were



May 23, 1944

31  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

two Japanese to verify and witness the above statement. They, the WRA, wishes to get hold of some of my records. I'll never surrender any documents or records to any agencies connected with the WRA because I must bring it back to Japan with me and let the Japanese government study it thoroughly.

Rest assured for I have a strong conviction that everything will be fine and that we Japanese residents will be victorious.

signed (Satoshi Yoshiyama)  
Secretary of Negotiating Committee

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Mrs. Matsuda

They asked questions like this of the boys in the stockade, 'If the Japanese Emperor ordered you to kill us, would you do it?' Some boys said nothing. Some said, 'yes.' Then the Internal Security man said, 'President Roosevelt wouldn't ask you such a thing.' They make me so mad. That's got nothing to do with this.

Mrs. Matsuda told me that she had heard that the trouble at the warehouse on November 4 was started by Takahashi, and his supporters, who by standing guard, felt they might get popularity.

Kobayashi, who Mrs. Matsuda said was a young man who had just been an Internal Security warden three days before the trouble started, came and told Reverend Kai how bad the warehouse trouble was.

Kobayashi got a police car and came to ask boys on the Negotiating Committee to help him stop the trouble. My brother, Tokio Yamane, was one of those who went with him. He was very badly beaten. Their car got just as far as the High School and was stopped there. That's where they were caught.

Mr. Tsuda told me that when he was put into the stockade my brother's face was so swollen he couldn't recognize it.

When people come here from Santa Fe or when they are released from the stockade Mr. Best tells them, 'Now I don't want to put you in the stockade again.' That makes them mad. That hasn't helped Mr. Best in the last few weeks. It hurt him in the whole colony.

#### TALK WITH GEORGE YAMASHIRO

If Kai and Kuratomi are released, then maybe they'll have a Negotiating Committee. The Army and WRA made a promise to the Daihyo Sha Kai that they wouldn't arrest any of them, but they did.

It was unfair to put the representatives in the stockade. It was a dirty deal. That's really what the people feel. Eighty percent of the camp feels this way, not because they support Kai and Kuratomi but because they think WRA treated them bad.

#### Why Even 15 Blocks Supported Election

In any block there are some young Kibei and Nisei who have no place in social organization but they want to get a name somehow and that's why maybe they were candidates. Also there may be a few blocks who are pro-Administration.



I think if it were put in the Newell Star that Mr. Best was going to resign and that they were going to take the fence down, then I think it's going to be peaceful here.

Mr. Best asked me individually whether the election will be successful or not. I told him give me a job instead. He said, well, as soon as Mr. Black came back he's going to have the election.

#### TALK WITH MR. AND MRS. ODA

##### On the "Election"

Mr. Oda: In my opinion the reason it didn't come out successfully is because some of the people in the center feel that unless the men in the stockade are released they will continue to back the Daihyo Sha Kai because the men in the stockade are our representatives.

I told you last time it was better to have a good strong [representative] organization. But the way people feel right now I think it's better to release the men from the stockade. I feel pretty strong that way.

I had a meeting. Only 25 or 26 people attended, so I just told them the meeting was adjourned. (Oda lives in block 59.) As you know, the block managers can't stick their nose in politics, so I must be neutral. I did my best, but the people feel that way.

##### The Coordinating Committee

Another thing, the Coordinating Committee was organized for the purpose of releasing the men and bringing the center back to normalcy. But right now it is in better condition than it was three months ago. The camp seems normal, now, but as long as the men are in the stockade people will feel that it is not a normal condition.

Some of the people say the Coordinating Committee didn't finish their work. They made a statement in the paper that they had completed their work but more than 50 persons are still in there. Some of the Issei were sent to the internment camp, which made the group mad.

Mrs. Oda then repeated a milder version of the story of the beatings of the internees by Internal Security, saying that a girl who works in the hospital had told her and she knew this girl wasn't the kind to lie.

Some people say they'd like to know where they get the scum they hire on Internal Security. Internal Security has a very bad name.

Mr. Oda: Unless WRA releases the men in the stockade there is no necessity to organize another committee. If the men are sent to Leupp there is no hope at all to organize another committee. The majority of people are just watching the administration to see what they do. Besides people hesitate to be block delegates. They may go to the stockade if they are.

It is interesting to note the change in Oda's attitude since March and April. He is a strong proponent of obeying the laws of this government and the rules of the Administration while in this camp on U.S. soil. He has said very harsh things about the Daihyo Sha Kai. But the powerful sentiments of his very strong pro-Daihyo Sha block have convinced him that stockade release is the only solution.

[According to Weglyn, "Years of Infamy" (p. 207), the Army withdrew from the stockade on May 23. On May 25, the Newell Star announced that the WRA had taken over the stockade from the Army. I did not at this time know that this step had been taken.]



MAY 24, 1944

[Early Evening]

[I made a practice of typing my notes as soon as possible and sending a copy to Dr. Thomas. I was also at this time preparing a preliminary report on the "November uprising." In consequence, I occasionally worked in my room all day eating my meals there with groceries bought from the Co-op and seeing no one all day.]

EVACUEE SHOT

Having devoted the entire day to writing I missed out completely on an event which may have great significance. A soldier shot an evacuee who was entering the colony through the gate near the Personnel Office. Paul O'Day, informant, tells me that as far as he can determine the man was in a truck, the soldier told him not to get out, he got out and the soldier shot him through the abdomen.<sup>(1)</sup> The range was very close. Evacuee witnesses could not see any reason why the man should be shot. Some say the soldier was drunk. The shooting occurred between 2 and 3 p.m.

I anticipate that this will limit visits to the colony. The appointed personnel will become far more excited than the colonists. I shall wait till tomorrow to talk to the appointed personnel because they will have better information then.

FEMALE SCHOOL TEACHERS FORBIDDEN TO ENTER PROJECT AT NIGHT

Miss Young, my school teacher roommate just entered in a rage. She had been forbidden to stay in the colony. Having entered and begun her class, Mr. Harkness (Superintendent of Education) found her there and said excitedly, "What are you doing here? Don't you know no women are supposed to come in tonight?" She was forced to leave her class. She was particularly griped since the male teachers were allowed to stay.

[1. A detailed account of this shooting was prepared by an investigation committee of eight Issei (Thomas and Nishimoto, pp. 249-52). Immediately before the shooting, the sentry is reported as having said, 'You Japs and your WRA friends are trying to run the whole camp.' (Ibid, p. 250.)]



MAY 25, 1944

Tension in the Administration building this morning is terrific, far surpassing that manifested in Gila after the shooting.(1) It is shown by both evacuees and the appointed personnel. Opler, looking very concerned, asked my opinion on possible developments. I had nothing to guess. He told me that the WRA intended to make a sympathetic announcement in the mess halls today and that the full story will be released in the newspapers today. He asked me if the announcement in mess would tie the matter too closely to WRA. I said I didn't think so. The announcement will also state that the Army will release information to WRA. I made appointments to see both Robertson and Opler tonight. Mr. Robertson's secretary was disgusted, saying the man had been shot at a distance of two or three feet, which I suspect is slightly exaggerated.

The inevitable airplanes are circling and zooming overhead.(2) I plan to see Kurihara this afternoon and get his advice on visiting people. I am waiting till the afternoon to start my calls hoping to pick up reactions to the mess hall announcement. Moreover, judging by the Kira case, it takes about 24 hours for news like this to seep through camp, and I wish to avoid being a newsbringer.

BRIEF TALK WITH ROBERTSON - 12:00 noon

Arranged to see Robertson this afternoon after I have visited in the colony. He told me that according to the other Japanese in the truck, the soldier ordered the Japanese to get out of a truck. As he got out the soldier made a threatening gesture and the man raised his hand to protect himself. The soldier shot him at a range of less than three feet. A Caucasian witness said it looked to him as if the soldier ordered the man to stay in the truck and added that harsh language was exchanged on both sides.

The announcements scheduled to be made in the mess halls today will state that the Army is investigating the case and that strict disciplinary action will be taken.

The construction crews quietly quit about 11:00 a.m. today. They didn't seem to know what to do. In general many evacuees have not come to work today.

One informant had told Robertson that the colony was going to demand that Mr. Best resign. 'How can they do that?' asked Robertson, 'Mr. Best had nothing to do with this.' 'Well,' replied the boy, 'if it weren't for Mr. Best the military wouldn't be in control and this wouldn't have happened.'

While we were talking, Markley, Reports Officer, came in and wanted to know how come a soldier had ordered an evacuee down from a telephone pole where he was working and had taken him into custody. Markley was sure that Colonel Austin had given no such orders. Robertson guessed that Captain Hartman was responsible. Markley was very angry and tense. Robertson, extremely worried.

[I went into "the colony" after lunch to call on Mr. Kurihara and ask him whether it would be seemly to call on my Japanese friends and acquaintances at a time like this. I had not heard that Mr. Okamoto had died and that an announcement of his death had been made in the mess halls at noon. When I entered his barrack, Mr. Kurihara seemed unusually gentle and serene. He spoke quietly and haltingly.]

[1. See my unpublished report: "The Shooting of Satoshi Kira," The Bancroft Library.]

[2. After Mr. Kira was shot at Gila, Army planes zoomed over the center for several days.]



VISITS OF MAY 25, DAY OF MR. OKAMOTO'S DEATHMR. KURIHARA

I heard quite a lot of criticism about it, but one thing surprises me, the people are very calm. There is quite a lot of resentment but they are not excited. The people are saying, let's be cool and know more about it before we take any action. We must not make any rash judgement until we know the facts completely. The colony itself is taking it calmly.

You might find hot heads may start to agitate. But we must be fair. Mr. Best is not responsible.

We had an announcement here at noon, in English and Japanese. As I say, they were very calm. The Japanese could take it. They'll take it more than any other race.

From the information that has been gathered, of course I don't know, it looks as if the soldier used too rash judgement in using his gun.

(I then inquired how the man was. Kurihara told me he was dead. I expressed my regret. His eyes filled with tears and he began to cry, repeating over and over again: 'I wonder if there is a God.' I was much moved and did not know what to say.)

[I was so shaken by the news of Mr. Okamoto's death and by seeing Mr. Kurihara cry, that I almost abandoned my plan to visit people "and collect their attitudes about the shooting." To take notes of peoples' expressions of fear and grief would, I felt, be in the worst of taste. But I had an appointment with my secretary, Kayo Iida, who lived in the same block as Mr. Kurihara, and an appointment at the Co-op to get my hair washed and set. I decided to keep these appointments and then leave the "colony".]

MISS IIDA

I called on my secretary to take her some work and received the same impression of calm. However, she seemed very glad to see me and eagerly told me that people were talking a great deal and had had a meeting that morning. They did not as yet know who was in the right, but thought the soldier had been too quick with his gun.

BEAUTY SHOP GOSSIP [Helen Sasajima]

I had had an appointment to get my hair done, but again the hairdresser seemed glad to see me. When I entered the shop a young man was talking to the cashier in mixed English and Japanese. It seems that a public funeral is contemplated. Miss Sasajima told me the boy who was killed is 30 years old and a member of a very large family. He is not married though 'fortunately', she added.

[Clearly, Miss Iida and the young women at the "beauty shop" had been glad to see me and to express their feelings. Perhaps the fact that I had entered the camp and visited them was reassuring. I decided to visit other friends.]

CALL ON MRS. TAKEUCHI

The people are angry about it. But we heard over the radio that Secretary Ickes said that it was the soldier's fault, that he [the soldier] was going to hit him (the Japanese) on the head. That made the people feel better. (Ickes' statement.)



They were all angry around here but nobody knew what it was all about. Some were saying, 'Well, maybe he got fresh.' But now even Secretary Ickes blames the M.P.

(Mrs. Takeuchi had not heard talk of a public funeral.)

#### MEETING WITH ROBERTSON

While hiking the mile to Bill Nishino's house I met Mr. Robertson. He informed me that he, Best, Black and someone else had called at the bereaved home to pay their condolences. He had not heard Ickes' speech. However, he said the Colonel had mentioned it and stated that he agreed with Ickes. Robertson was optimistic over the fact that the soldier might be convicted. He thought a public funeral would be granted.

#### TALK WITH MAY IWOHARA

Bill was not at home, so I proceeded to the office of the Civic Organization, where I hoped to have a quiet chat with May. Mr. Akitsuki was the first person I saw when I entered and he did not look as if my presence was welcome. Then I noticed about 15 men at the extreme end of the room, seated in a semi-circle talking quietly in Japanese. I left the room hurriedly with May. She seemed most angered and enraged over the shooting, and hinted that according to the announcement made in the mess hall at noon WRA was apparently trying to get out of it. It was Mr. Best's fault for bringing in the Military in the first place. They're meeting about it in there now, she said. The Civic Organization? I asked. No, said May. I take it it was a block or ward meeting. May said that she bet that even if the soldier were convicted he would be freed soon. She had heard that the soldier who did the shooting at Topaz was seen stationed at Gila the next year.

Don't you think that WRA ought to give the man's family some compensation? she asked.

It was interesting to find this strong anti-Administration point of view where I least expected it.(1) I shall bear it well in mind in coming developments.

#### TALK WITH ROBERTSON

When I arrived, a group of young men representing the workers who had not worked this afternoon were leaving Best's office, having been in conference with Best and Robertson. They had held a meeting in the colony this afternoon and had decided that if they could be assured protection they would go back to work.

Robertson told me that he thought that Best had acted very wisely so far, making the mess hall announcements, visiting the family, and now giving the workers all they asked for in the way of protection.

He also informed me that a compensation paper had been filed. If the soldier is found at fault more compensation will be expected.

Robertson told me that when the members of the Appointed Personnel had visited the family, the members of the family had broken down completely. This, he interpreted to mean that they did not hold WRA responsible.

[1. That is, among members of the Coordinating Committee. Apparently, I was still naive enough to take it for granted that people who were willing to talk and work with the Administration would be inclined to side with the Administration.]



SPECIAL STAFF MEETING, 5:30 P.M.

Mr. Best made a very short and excellent speech.

He said that the incident was very regrettable. The staff was apt to be confronted with a situation similar to that of November 4 when the newspaper reports were blown up to an extent which it took a long time to repress. This might be the spark which would start another incident. Mr. Best, however, did not think another incident imminent. He had just had a meeting with the representatives of the workers. Their absence from work this afternoon had not been a strike. The people were mainly waiting to be reassured that there was no danger in their coming through the gates. Starting tomorrow morning there will be colonial (Japanese) police and Caucasian police at gate 3. [WRA] Patrol cars will move among the workers on the farms and a patrol car will accompany the garbage detail. He called for the cooperation of all the staff to reassure the colonist that they would be adequately protected.

A Board of Inquiry has been appointed by the Military. WRA Headquarters had requested that a member of the WRA staff be on this board. Mr. Best has appointed Mr. Black. It will be the policy of the Administration to release all information to the colony as soon as it is released by the Military. (I heard from Robertson's secretary that this Board meets at 7:30 tonight.)

Best then gave the floor to Markley who read a statement to the staff.

This statement (a copy of which I may be able to procure tomorrow) warned against discussing the shooting, stated that the brother of the dead man had asked that the investigation be thorough and that there be no protest action on the part of the center. The staff was asked to refrain from personal comment and to realize that it was the right of 'these people' to express themselves, so long as this expression did not result in violence.

Best added that the representative of the Examiner [newspaper] was in a car on his way to Tule Lake, so the staff knew what to expect.

As the staff rose to leave, four men sitting beside me began to discuss the statement. One said, 'Proper disciplinary action will be taken! Huh! They're convicting the boy before he's tried.'

TALK WITH OPLER

Ickes said, 'It was an unprovoked attack on an evacuee.' That indicates a possible conviction.

I'm just amazed at what Best is doing. After Ickes' statement was reported to him, he said he was darn glad that it had been made. Yesterday, Colonel Austin was shouting over the phone and acting the sunny face. Today he was serious after he heard Ickes' speech.

The construction crew has asked the WRA for protection. I find that the uppermost reaction today. (I agree with Opler. The people I visited were afraid.)

Best has really done himself proud. He gave in and is now stalling the Justice Department on the stockade. They've been breathing down his neck. (I asked for more information on this but Opler said it was confidential and he had already told me too much.) Now we'll be able to go ahead on the stockade.

I got him to give two cars to the Okamotos for their use and I got him to make the visit of condolence.

The Colonel gave in on the WRA protection question.



May 25, 1944

38  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

Okamoto (the man killed) was a Nisei.

The possible international complications are bothering Best.

The soldier who shot Okamoto is some ignorant Indian or Chinese called Goe.

I suggested placing the Caucasian at the gate.

The pattern of reactions as I see it is:

1. Revenge
2. Wish for protection and assistance.

[After typing these notes I added the comment]

(I'm gong to wait until the middle of next week to hypothesize on reaction patterns. As I see it now the colony is stunned, frightened and angry. Action, if it comes, will manifest itself in two to seven days.)

[As I was typing these notes -- late in the evening -- I was sudeenly seized with a passion of shame and rage. I felt like screaming and beating my head against the walls. I stamped up and down and cried. Finally, my eye fell on my old Bible, the only book I had brought with me to Tule Lake. I sat down and began to read Isaiah and the Psalms. "Why do the nations rage so furiously together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing?" I asked the walls. Then I began to read Isaiah, 40, and felt a little better.]



MAY 26, 1944

Decided that running about today would be a waste of time and effort. At the beginning of the week, before the shooting, I had arranged for four visits on the weekend and I am sure I shall get more natural reactions in this legitimate social manner than by knocking avidly on doors with my notebook under my arm.

I saw Opler twice and learned that he knew nothing. A meeting was held last night in the high school. Robertson will be the best source for what went on. I will see him when he is less harried. Probably Sunday night. No one knows yet what the results of the investigation were, nor has the date of the funeral been set.

I spent the day preparing my Tule Lake Report and have made good progress. A large sheaf of notes on attitudes on the shooting may be expected on Tuesday, May 30, if the post office delivers on Decoration Day.

The May 25 Newell Star was released today and contained two items of great interest. I wish to keep the copies so since they are brief I will type them for your benefit. I don't know how promptly Markley sends them on to Berkeley.

Supplement, May 25, 1944

OKAMOTO DIES FROM GUNSHOT WOUND INFLICTED BY SENTRY

Returning Worker Shot at Main Gate

Soichi James Okamoto, 30, of 3002-A died at the base hospital early this morning as a result of a gunshot wound. He had been shot by a military police sentry at the old main entrance to the project.

Lieutenant Colonel Verne Austin ordered the sentry placed under arrest and appointed a Board of Investigation. These steps were taken by the military who are solely responsible for the investigation of the facts in the case.

The victim of the shooting was employed in the construction section and had been driving a truck. He drove out through this gate to get lumber which was to be delivered to the construction job, and was returning to the center at the time. On the truck with him was one worker, a witness to the shooting, and others were near who have cooperated with the police in giving full statements of the circumstances.

Best's Statement

Mr. Best made a statement this morning which was read at all of the mess halls in the center. The statement follows:

"I regret very much that one of the center residents was shot yesterday afternoon by a military police sentry and that he died at the center hospital early this morning. Everything was done by the medical staff at the hospital to save his life and a great many people stood ready to give their blood.

Investigation is being conducted by the military and proper disciplinary action will follow. The WRA was in no way responsible for the shooting, and I want you all to know that we regret that it happened. No further statement can be made at this time pending the investigation by the board, but as soon as facts are available they will be given to the residents in full detail."

At the same time Mr. Best expressed sympathy to the bereaved members of the family and offered to make available to them any facilities of the WRA.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

The shooting happened at approximately 2:20 p.m. on Wednesday, according to the official reports at the Internal Security office. As soon as the first report was received an ambulance was ordered to the scene and Mr. Okamoto removed to the center hospital. Every effort was made to save his life, and no one was permitted to question him about the circumstances because of the danger of sapping his strength.

Two blood transfusions were necessary before the operation could be performed. The operation was done by Dr. G. Hashiba, who was assisted by Dr. Jack Sleath, chief medical officer of the WRA. Captain Edward of the military medical staff was also present as were two other evacuee doctors at the hospital.

Brother Asks Unbiased Investigation, Justice: No Undue Disturbance in Center

The victim of the shooting is survived by his grief-stricken mother, Sekiyo, an older brother, Koichi, and two younger brothers and two sisters who were at his bedside at the time of death shortly after midnight at 12:10a.m. Another brother and sister are still in Heart Mountain center and a sister is in the Gila Center.

The older brother stated that he wanted a complete and unbiased investigation of the circumstances surrounding the shooting and full justice meted, although he hoped that there would be no undue disturbance within the center over the affair.

NEWELL STAR - May 25, 1944WRA IN COMPLETE CHARGE OF STOCKADE ADMINISTRATION

The WRA is now in complete charge of the administration of the segregated area within the center, it was announced by Project Director Ray R. Best on Wednesday. This area which has been commonly termed the "stockade" has been established by the Army authorities and administered by the Army prior to this time. As stated in the NEWELL STAR last week, releases have been made from the area to the residence section of the center by a WRA committee working with Army officials.

The administration of the segregated area by the WRA as announced by the Project Director means that complete supervision will be in the hands of the project officials. This will include mess operation and arrangements for medical and other necessary services.

\*\*\*\*\*

(This is the big news about which I have heard rumors since the weekend. Robertson and Opler were extremely enthusiastic about it then.)

The following is the first Administrative statement on the new Negotiating Committee nominations flop of last Thursday night (May 18).

Formation of Representative Body Postponed States Best

Plans for the formation of the Representative Committee, a permanent intermediary body which was granted approval by the WRA, have been postponed for an indefinite period of time, announced Ray R. Best, Project Director. The block meetings, which were held Thursday evening to nominate candidates for the block delegates' election as the first step toward formation of the permanent body, did not show sufficient response from the residents.

"The failure of a large number of blocks to hold their meetings and select their nominees serves to defeat the purpose of the organization plan, and indicates that there is not enough



May 26, 1944

41  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

popular sentiment in favor of the formation of the Representative Committee to warrant a continued effort to carry out the election at the present time," stated the Project Director.

He lauded the earnest effort made by the residents of many blocks to launch community representation in accordance with the outlined plan, and states, "It is obvious that unless the residents are virtually unanimous in their participation in the selection of the Representative Committee, then the committee cannot be truly representative."

In conclusion he expressed the belief that the formation of the representative body should be postponed until a more favorable date "in fairness to the entire community."

8:00 p.m. - Called on Opler to catch news. He wasn't home, though expecting me.

Didn't know I had relatives in the stockade. As I passed, one of the younger fellows called out in Japanese, 'Hello aunt.'



MAY 27, 1944

On entering camp this morning noted that the soldiers on guard had no rifles. Instead of being curt and gruff as they sometimes are, they were hesitant and ill at ease. There was no shouting and bullying at people because of their misplaced badges as there has been in past weeks.

Paid my first call on Bill Nishino. He was on his way to a Block Manager's meeting just called to discuss the situation. I immediately remarked that my visiting him now might not be regarded in a good light. He looked very relieved and agreed, but offered on his own to see me some other place. So we will probably get together in the next four or five days. Bill will be an excellent informant since he lives in one of the "worst" [pro-status quo] blocks in the colony.

Called on a young girl and found she would be home this afternoon. Her mother, however, was extremely cordial and welcomes me to come in the afternoon.

Then dropped into Opler's office. Opler was not in, which proved to be fortunate for Larry Kataoka was there and proudly showed me his work on the shooting. He was eager to talk about it and I took rapid mental notes. He stressed the peoples' "hostility to the uniform." Every time they see a soldier in the camp, driving through in armored cars (which they were still doing this afternoon) or shopping at the canteen it makes their blood boil. He also remarked that it would be very bad policy for WRA to over-advertise the fact that the soldier who did the shooting was a Hindu or a Chinese. That would be trying to put the matter on a racial ground which would not deceive the people at all.

Anxious to show me what he was doing for Mr. Opler he brought out the report he had written based on information from friends who witnessed the shooting. According to this report this particular soldier had been rude to evacuees passing through the gate for some time. The evacuees had commented on the difference between him and the previous sentry and had the idea that he "had it in for the Japs." On one occasion, it is reported that he shouted at an Issei that he had his badge on the wrong side. The Issei, not understanding, smiled and attempted to pass, whereupon this soldier hit him on the back of the head with his pistol butt.

The story given by witnesses (Japanese) is as follows. When Okamoto approached the gate, driving the truck the sentry waved at him. Okamoto interpreted this as a signal to stop. The soldier then approached him, cursed at him and ordered him to get out of the truck. Okamoto got out of the truck reluctantly. The soldier then ordered him to walk outside of the fence. Okamoto did so hesitantly and the soldier made as if to strike him with the butt of his rifle. Okamoto raised his arms and the soldier shot him in the stomach at a range of three feet. Okamoto screamed and fell to the ground writhing and clutching his stomach. The soldier reloaded his rifle and lighted a cigarette. The other Japanese looked on amazed. Then the soldier said, "Get the hell out of here or I'll shoot you too." The men ran to the hospital to get the ambulance. While they were gone another truck (a lumber truck) drew up to the gate. Seeing that the man on the ground was a Japanese one of the men in this truck attempted to get out. The soldier shouted at him, "Get back! Get the hell out of here."

Kataoka stressed that if the man is not punished promptly and justly the results "will be terrible."

CALL ON ROBERTSON

I dropped into Robertson's office more to ask him questions than to give him information. I told him that tension was growing due to the delay in making public the verdict of the investigation. Said he, in a quiet voice, "What do you think would happen if the Army white-washed the whole thing and did not release the verdict for months?" I was so aghast I could



May 27, 1944

43  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

not answer at first. "Is there any indication that they may try to do that?" I said. "That's how it looks to me now," said Robertson. "If they do," said I, "or if they set the soldier free, November 1 and 4 will look like a picnic.

5:00 p.m.

When I entered the colony this afternoon I noted that the soldiers were less in evidence than ever. Now they stay inside the sentry post and wave you in. I noticed one evacuee who merely waved a piece of white paper (6 feet away) and was motioned on to go out of the camp.

I called first on some friendly "pro-Caucasian" people. But they were tense and worried and did not want to discuss the matter.

TALK WITH JIM TAKEUCHI

My good friend Takeuchi, however, was an uninhibited as ever. In fact, he was friendlier than usual. His sister Mrs. Mizuno was just arrived from Gila yesterday. She said she had had a pleasant trip. The WRA escort, Mr. Martin and the soldiers had been very nice to her. The only difference I noted in Takeuchi since the shooting was a tendency to make wry jokes and laugh loudly over them, laughter in which I, in my not entirely unnervous state, was glad to join.

Best has called a center-wide holiday on the day of the funeral (day not decided yet). They are also going to have a wake at the High School. That's a darn good idea. It would be more or less ironical to give the fellow a military burial - being as he's a repatriate and a No-No. (laughter)

A lot of how this goes is going to depend on how WRA handles it between now and the time the verdict is released. If WRA can prove to the people that they are sincere in their belief that the man who was shot was of no fault, and that they did their best to get justice, then things might quiet down. But if they exonerate the man completely, there's going to be a blow-off. They'll have to build a double fence around the Administration section.

The smartest thing that WRA could do is to start impressing the people now that the military is more concerned [responsible] than WRA. After all, the man was a soldier. Under these conditions it comes under the jurisdiction of the War Department.

When the announcement was made in our mess everybody took it as a matter of course. Knowing the Military of Japan, they know how it was. The local and civilian authorities have to step into the background.

The smartest thing to do would be to give the man twenty years and send him to jail. Send him to jail anyway and pardon him after three or four years.

After all, he (the evacuee) was unarmed. If I were the sentry and had two rifles and automatic pistols I wouldn't shoot him. I'd bat him on the head with the rifle.

On Schmidt, Head of Police

I saw Schmidt for the first time today. He impressed me as a man of not too much intelligence. I got the impression he wasn't too bright in the head but he did have some knowledge in a limited field, that connected with physical prowess. If he picked anybody on his staff with much sense he wouldn't be able to handle him.



Kai and Kuratomi

I don't think they should be let out of the stockade. Those fellows don't care whether they live or die. If they're let out they'll certainly start another ruckus. Especially if the fellows who were gone over [beaten] are let out. Do you think they'll hesitate to get back?

Best

He's learned a lot. He had to. He's more sensible with the people now.

The Japanese people are appreciative of that (center-wide holiday) especially when it is an order given by the Project Director. It will mean more than any 500 or 600 words he can say.

Other Popular Attitudes

On the other hand, there are people who talk like this: Well, we can't expect justice from the Army here inasmuch as we are disloyal Japs and their enemies. If that's the case and the man is exonerated, all we can do is learn his name (the soldier's name) and remember it until after the war and see which side wins. They want to bring it up at the peace conference.

Another faction says, you won't hear anymore about this until after the war. By that time they hope the people will have forgotten about it. Personally, I think if they drag it out and hope people will forget -- I think there will be a lot less ruckus if they just come right out with it - even if he is exonerated.

You look at it this way. This is what affects the people now. If that can happen and the man is exonerated, that will give the M.P.'s the impression that the lives of the Japs in here are not worth a hell of a lot. That's just asking for more shooting. Heck, I might walk through that gate next morning and the guy will take a shot at me. I'm dead. That's not going to help me any.

I feel this way. He's gone. I can't bring him back to life.

I heard that Austin had sent a special car to Heart Mountain to bring his (Okamoto's) relatives in for the funeral. That's the least they could do. It all depends on what the verdict is.

Meeting for Nomination of Representatives

I didn't even go to the meeting. Everything just slid. Nobody was nominated.

Here Mrs. Mizuno interrupted violently: What's that? senjin (representatives) - Hell, the senjin are good for nothing!

Takeuchi continued: Here's what happens when you get representatives. They have to listen to a lot of small complaints from various people. Then when the representatives get called in on something big, they take it up before the board. Their English isn't so good as the people on the board and they get argued out of it. So they have to go back to the people and report a failure. They (the people) get hot and are liable to incite anything from a friendly feeling to a riot. Then people get stuck in the stockade.

The people are getting smart now. They've got a block manager appointed by the WRA as a liaison officer between the people and the Administration. Well, he's beyond being yanked into the stockade. You can't yank a liaison man for anything he reports. The people are starting to realize it would be a smart thing to have a good block manager and let them do all the



May 27, 1944

45  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

representing because they can't be yanked.

#### On Daihyo Leaders in Stockade

There's some guys in there I wouldn't like to see let out. You look at it my way, they're out of circulation.

#### Back to Representative Question

With the Block Managers, there's less danger of filling the stockade. One thing didn't hit me right about this representative business. The suggestion came from the other end (WRA). Just that mere fact that the suggestion came from the WRA offices; it had a rank odor, that's all. It's too much for the WRA to try to be helpful.

The only way the WRA is going to be able to dispel the feeling (of hostility) is to show somehow that WRA is able to trust the people and to make it as easy as possible in here, which is what Best says he's trying to do but there's a lot of difference between what he says and what he does.

I'd like to see the damn fence torn down, and remove the darn guards from the gate. Nothing will happen. It's just human nature. If you know you're trusted you don't want to double-cross anybody. Let them go on picnics too.

#### More on the Shooting

The newspaper stories try to give the impression that the man misinterpreted the sentry's orders.

There's one thing their going to have to look out for. What will Japan do about this? They're liable to figure that ten Americans are worth one Jap. Pretty soon each side will be seeing who can kill them off faster.

As I left Takeuchi remarked that the lid might blow off the camp in two hours and if that happened Mr. Robertson, Mr. Hayward and myself should come to his barrack, which would be the safest place for us.

(Neglected to note that I remarked that Dr. Pedicord was in camp. Takeuchi wanted to know if he hadn't learned his lesson. "If he has any sense, he'll leave on the next train.")

#### CALL ON OPLER - 9:00 p.m.

Opler remarked that the WRA office were trying like hell to keep the Army from whitewashing this shooting.

The funeral was scheduled for Thursday.

One of the Appointed Personnel who has recently lost a son went to see Mrs. Okamoto to offer his sympathy, taking the picture of his dead son with him. The mother kissed the picture, and dragged out her dead son's clothes to show the Appointed Personnel member.

Opler is sure that the present stockade sentiment in camp is not to let Kai and Kuratomi out, lest they start trouble. They "most sensible men" are telling him, Let the others out, all except Kai and Kuratomi and then see if you can start a representative government.



May 27, 1944

46  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

He asked me if I were hearing much talk of "giri" (obligation to the leaders) in camp. I replied some talked of it and some didn't.

I then asked Opler if his staff objected to my seeing my block 54 informant [Bill Nishino] in his office. He said he had asked them and they were all against it. Obviously, working for Opler, they are feeling themselves in an extremely insecure position in regard to colony sentiments.

Coordinating Committee

Opler says that his most sensible informants tell him that the Coordinating Committee was a good idea. The only thing wrong with them is that they "stayed too long." (Didn't resign soon enough.) This may be a correct judgement but it is at present a distinct minority sentiment in camp.



May 28, 1944

47  
Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Rosalie Hankey Wax

MAY 28, 1944

TALK WITH GEORGE YAMASHIRO

Called on George Yamashiro and was very well received. Yamashiro had no hesitation in talking about the shooting and criticising WRA policy. He stressed that WRA's anxiety to avoid responsibility is having a very bad effect on the people. They think, 'If WRA's not responsible, that's bad. Who is responsible?' He said he had a good deal of business to transact outside the fence but he wasn't going out.

I told him that there were Caucasian and Japanese Internal Security men at the gate. He had not heard of this.

His wife remarked on the soldiers patrolling the camp with a machine gun. It didn't look good.

Yamashiro said he had heard that only a few days ago an Issei had been hit on the head with a club (by a soldier) going out of gate 3. Also the people were saying that the soldier who did the shooting had served at Attu and that's why he's so mean. (Yamashiro called it Atsu, the Japanese pronunciation.)

Neither he nor his wife thought there was going to be any trouble. What could they do? They were only Japs. All they could do was take it.

Letter From Mr. Best

Yamashiro allowed me to read the letter he had had from Mr. Best giving approval of the Seinen-dan Constitution. When I got this letter, said Yamashiro, I decided not to run for President in June. The letter transcribed is as follows:

The WRA program is a fast-changing one and the situation and circumstances of tomorrow may be greatly different from those of today. We are thoroughly in agreement with the proposed Constitution today, but we must reserve the privilege of making a contrary determination in the event that the policy and procedure is not completely compatible with WRA operation at some time in the future. If the circumstances should require such a determination, we stipulate that a change of procedure shall not be looked upon as a "broken WRA promise."

The letter closed with wishes of good will and was signed by Mr. Best.

Mr. Doi, of Gila and Leupp, was visiting the Yamashiro's and the subject turned to the reception given the boys from Leupp when they arrived at Tule.

Both concurred in the following statements by Mr. Doi.

Reception on Coming From Leupp

If Mr. Best had been a high minded man I would have cooperated with him very much. We spent ten months in Leupp. We felt we paid our debts. But when we came here they stuck us in the stockade for five days. If he had not done that I'd felt he was a fine man. Then when they left us out he said, 'Don't you ever stick your nose into any political matter.'

If we hadn't gone to the stockade for five days we wouldn't have heard so much about it. But we got a pretty clear picture being in there. When we got out of the stockade we were pretty wise.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Yamashiro then asked me if I had heard how Kobayashi was getting along after his head operation (operation necessitated by treatment with a baseball bat while he was in the stockade.)

He also asked me if it were true that Robertson was going to be Project Director. On the subject of "trouble" he remarked that he wouldn't mind. He'd get a kick out of watching it.

(On going into the camp this morning I could not help being reimpresed by the entirely different attitude shown by the soldiers. One who had previously been very curt to me remarked, Say a prayer for me when you're in church. I could not help retorting, I'm not going to church. But I'll say a prayer anyway, you need it. An armored car drove through the gate at that moment. The soldier driving asked me if I wanted a lift. No, said I decidedly.)

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara did not want to talk about the incident. It hit him pretty hard. Consequently we discussed marriage, General De Witt, the fact that De Witt is rumored to be bossed around by his wife, the fact that De Witt's removal from the Pacific Coast may be looked upon as a demotion and kindred topics. Kurihara's only comment on the shooting was that it is a great shame to the Army of the United States.

AFTERNOON SPENT IN BLOCK 21 (Komura Family)

I had misgivings in sallying into ill famed block 21 this afternoon. This is supposed to be the toughest block in Tule due to the large population of hoodlums. Moreover, I did not know how well I would be received by the Komura family, whose only contact with me is through my friendship with the Kondos. However, as is frequently the case, my misgiving proved unfounded. I found all the men of the house home today, it being Sunday with all the baseball games cancelled out of respect to the dead. I was happy to see that the sick baby was out of the hospital and, except for looking a bit peaked, seems quite fit again. Mrs. Komura asked me if it were true that the soldier who had done the shooting was from Samoa. (He is certainly being credited with widely removed places of origin.)

When the men stopped their bridge game and took up the conversation things really got started. Mr. Komura asked me what I thought of the camp situation and what I thought had really happened. Realizing that this might make or break me, I took a chance and told the truth as I saw it. This, as luck would have it, was exactly what they wanted to hear. They were delighted to hear me say that the people had supported the Daihyo Sha, that Kai and Kuratomi's personal leadership had not been nearly so important as resentment toward the WRA, particularly resentment against the graft going on. Mr. Komura asked me outright if I thought the Co-op was connected with this graft. I said I didn't know but wouldn't put it past some of the men in the Co-op. Ten thousand people wouldn't have come down there on November 1st because they were afraid, said Komura, and added that, of course, everybody knew there were some small citizens (hoodlums). Block 21 was full of them. But he didn't care. I could come to see him and they could call him an inu, if they wanted to. He said that he had invited Huycke to come to see him about studying Japanese. Huycke had come once, but got cold feet and had not returned. He implied, using the Japanese technique of understatement, that there might have been something deliberate about Huycke's being turned down by the Military. He knows Japanese pretty well. His refusal looks strange. . .

[The implication, if I interpreted it correctly, was that Mr. Huycke was a spy.]



The Shooting - Peoples' Attitudes

[Many people contributed to the conversation which followed. People talked to each other and also addressed themselves to me. I did not take any written notes, but typed all I could recall as soon as I returned to my room.]

The soldiers should stay out of camp. Everytime one of them is seen in camp people feel worse. Everything depends on the verdict. I was asked if it were possible that the soldier might be given a heavy sentence and then sent someplace else and released soon. I said I did not know. Then I was asked, if he were given this heavy sentence and sent away to serve a light one, would the soldiers here know about that or would they think he had received the heavy sentence. I said I thought they would never be told about the light sentence.

If the verdict is for acquittal, said Mr. Komura, the best thing WRA could do to avoid trouble is to remove the soldier guard completely and tear down the fence. Then trouble might not start. It would be all right to have the Military at the main gate, but at the other gates - No.

Considerable criticism was levelled at the newspaper accounts. Some, they said, had stated that Mr. Okamoto had attempted to try judo on the soldier.

One man said that it would have been better if Mr. Best had not seemed so eager to escape responsibility entirely. If he had stated that the safety of the people was his responsibility people would now feel better. WRA anxiety to remain entirely unconnected with the affair he considered cowardly. Moreover, Best is responsible for bringing in the soldiers in the first place. He asked for them. Then, if WRA isn't responsible, who is responsible for the safety of the people? Mr. Komura said that there were no meetings now (this is not exactly accurate) but if the verdict were for acquittal there certainly would be meetings.

The word giri (responsibility to the representatives) was used for the first time in my presence.

World affairs and the war were discussed at great length. Komura, who is Kibei, educated in Japan, was in the U.S. Army at the outbreak of the war and was dismissed. For this he is glad, he says. He knows he is going to have a tough time in Japan, since he still has so many democratic ideas but he expects it and is willing to take it. He knows the Japanese government is going to watch him, perhaps for years, but that is all they can do. The Nisei who return to Japan are still going to hold American ideas and must be watched.

He said that he had refused to go into the language school, when he was in the Army. He would not work against Japan.

As to the war news he doesn't believe a thing. He conceded the allies might win in Europe, but in the East, never. What have they accomplished so far? The capture of a few islands.

I was invited to stay for dinner. At least twenty people were present, there was rice and many side dishes, and the man serving the rice did so with great style. [With the elegant gestures of a dancer.] It was the first time in my life that I tasted osashimi (raw fish). I felt very priveleged to be allowed to participate. [Indeed, this dinner was probably the most reassuring and civilized experience I had during all the time I was at Tule Lake. I felt accepted and honored.] One of the ladies asked me to buy six yards of corduroy at Salt Lake City and I left feeling very happy in spite of the present tense and dismal pre-funeral camp atmosphere.



TALK WITH ROBERTSON

Happiness was short lived. Robertson told me this afternoon in strictest confidence that Best is wondering whether I should leave the project in this troubled time. It seems Best has doubts about "what I am doing for WRA." We discussed the matter carefully, and decided that Best could not have gotten his hands on any particular damaging evidence of my activities, since if that were the case, he would dismiss me forthwith. Therefore, I decided that a stitch in time might save nine.

MAY 29, 1944

TALK WITH PROJECT DIRECTOR, MR. BEST - Typed at 9:00 a.m.

I pulled myself together this morning with a carefully memorized outline of evacuee remarks which would tend to show how much Best's actions of the past five days have impressed the evacuees, and went to see Best promptly at 8:00, before anyone was in the office. I think I made a good impression. Not laying it on too thick, I told him what I thought he wanted to hear. I didn't make it sound too good, and I gave him to understand how clearly I understood that the matter was not WRA's fault. He liked some of my "quotations" very much, remarking, "That's just what an old fellow told me the other day."

I told him that I did not intend to do much work in the colony in the next few days, which is the truth since I've seen most of my informants and want to give things a chance to develop. Best looked very pleased and said that would be a good idea. (I'll do as I please, but I let him think I'm working on Lowie's paper which I ain't.) (1)

Robertson remarked last night that he thought Best would have a hard time kicking me off the project without evidence of anti-administration activities. He also advised me not to let Best know of my proposed visit to Salt Lake, because Best will have a much harder time kicking me off than forbidding me to return.

Robertson also told me that his mail is frequently opened and marked, "Opened by mistake." I suggest therefore that any communication you may wish to make on this subject be made in veiled terms. (I thank my lucky stars now that when I did talk to Myer I didn't make a single crack against Best, because he now has no confirmation there.)

Robertson and I thought it likely that suspicion of me is merely one phase of Best's present worried state and if he isn't prodded by Internal Security, I may be safe. It is my opinion that it would be best for the study to take no action at present (if there is any action which could be taken), since any such move would increase Best's suspicions. I'll lay low and keep my mouth even shutter and see what happens.

I told Best that since I did not wish to bother him, I have been in the habit of discussing all my notes with Opler. (I have so many notes that I discuss only what I please with Opler.) In this way, said I, Dr. Opler has the opportunity of analysing groups which he cannot see personally. Best, more credit to him, did comment on the importance of my "family contacts."  
. . . From now on I pray.

[1. I was at this time gathering material for a paper on the eta or outcast class for Professor Robert Lowie of the University of California at Berkeley. The paper was published in The Kansas Journal of Sociology, I, 4 (Fall 1965) pp. 175-187.]