

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST SIX MONTHS IN THE
TULE LAKE PROJECT

Revised, July 21, 1943

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Part I. Introduction

There is scarcely an individual or a group whose lives and habits have not been seriously disrupted by the current war, and certainly the Japanese and the Americans of Japanese descent are not an exception. During the past year, the routines of their lives have been broken by one crisis after another. The attack on Pearl Harbor brought about the first shock, bringing fear, the feeling of helplessness, the feeling of not knowing exactly what to do. Then came the savage attacks by misguided Philippino patriots and various governmental regulations which further disrupted the patterns of their daily life. Then came the hysteria in the spring of 1942 that swept aside all who stopped to question, a wave that comminated an indiscriminate internment of everyone of Japanese descent. The period of hysteria was hard one, a period of uncertainty and indefiniteness. Many felt relieved when they finally learned the "Day of Judgment". Once in the center, however, the evacuees were confronted by another shock, the living conditions such as many of them had never dreamed they would experience.

In the centers, the evacuees were forced to suffer inconveniences in housing and sanitation facilities. The barracks were monotonously uniform; all members of the family were crammed into a single room with personal possessions limited to little more than what they could personally carry. The dust, the heat, the cold, and the high altitude was more than what some could stand.

Most of the evacuees had to find new jobs and had to work at a restricted wage scale. There could be no private enterprise in Tule Lake even though someone might have had the initiative to start something. The available consumers' goods were limited; prices charged were the same as the prices outside, but the wages paid could not be compared--in fact, at first there was no assurance that anyone would be paid at all.

The families were thrown together so closely that the proximity of the neighbors seriously restricted one's activities. Rumors of all sorts were rampant, and it became difficult to determine what to believe. Parents had a greater opportunity to exercise control over their children, but they could not select the environment that they desired. The older women had more leisure time while the girls found ample opportunity to work if they so desired. Privacy became a dream, and courtship and similar activities had to operate in a different pattern.

It was under these conditions that the evacuees adjusted themselves to the life in Tule Lake.

Part II. The Objectives of this Section

In this paper we shall be concerned primarily with presenting a rough chronology of the significant events that attracted the attention of the Tule Lake community during the first half year of its existence. A rough chronology of events is therefore presented in Part III. There is no definite criterion of "significance", and roughly, the events reported here have been

selected largely with two things in mind:

- 1) Events which, in the opinion of the observer, the community itself considered important.
- 2) Events which seem important in the light of the analysis given in Part IV.

The treatment is therefore undeniably subjective in selection, although every effort has been made to report the various events as objectively and as accurately as possible.

In the treatment of "Social Change" in Part IV we shall be concerned both with the administration and the community. When we speak of a "community", we are referring to the evacuees of the project not so much because of their similar legal statuses, but more because their associations and institutions arise largely, although not entirely, as a result of a common living in a geographical area. Besides describing the fluid situation, our objective is to outline the nature of the collective adjustment made by the evacuees to the peculiar situations into which they were forced. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the effect of the administration and its actions, for they constitute an important factor in the adjustment of the evacuees.

In a normal and relatively stable community there is a routine of the expected. However, the evacuation and relocation forced these individuals into new situations for which there were no already-established routines of behaving. What, then, was the reaction of the evacuees to the unexpected situations?

We are then interested in the development of patterns of relationships that developed as a result of the peculiar na-

ture of the situation. We are interested in finding what the various situations were that called for new adjustments, and also in the definitions that were given to these situations by various factions in the community. We are interested in seeing whether any collective adjustments were made to these new situations which eventually led to new social structures--new routines better suited to meeting the situations brought about by the circumstances. Our interest is therefore in collective behavior--in the random behavior of a people confronted with a new situation gradually developing and crystallizing into a new social order, with new values, new routines, and new attitudes.¹

Part III. Chronology of Events

On May 27, 1942, the colony received its first group of evacuees--an advance crew of 197 people from the Puyallup Assembly Center in Washington, and another group of 250 from Portland Assembly Center in Oregon. On June 1, 38 people came directly from their homes in Medford, and on the following day, 249 more came from Oregon. On June 3 and 4, 646 more people came in from Washington, bringing the total population well over 1,000. Many of the members of the Caucasian admin-

¹The writer has a feeling that many of the reactions of the individuals did not arise out of any peculiarities (cultural or biological) of the people in the centers but rather out of the peculiar nature of the situation. Studies of C.P.S. Camps and Army camps may provide some interesting data confirming, modifying, or demolishing this notion.

istrative personnel had already arrived and were busy helping the evacuees adjust to the new life.²

The weather was still cold, dismal rain poured, and snow could still be seen in the hills. The camp was far from complete, and the construction crews were busily putting up the new barracks. Scrap lumber for making furnitures and fixtures was plentiful and a huge pile was made opposite Block 4. A canteen was opened for the benefit of the colonists on wholesaler's credit and essential equipment was sold for cash.

Between June 6 and 15, 482 additional colonists came in from their homes in Clarksburg. The colony was still relatively small. The contacts between the evacuees and the administrators were plentiful, and both seemed determined to make Tule Lake "the best relocation center in the country". For those who had come from the Assembly Centers, Tule Lake seemed like the haven for which they had waited. True, things were not as good as they might have been, but they were told that more equipment was on the way. People strained their minds to improvise ways to overcome the inconveniences, such as the lack of furnitures and partitions. Block competed against block--in neatness, in the cooking in the mess halls, in co-operation with the Caucasians.

One of the Caucasian administrators remarked:

"It's amazing how the Japanese people have adapted themselves. They are cordial and helpful. It's a pleasure to work with them."³

²Statistics taken from data at Housing Dept. Sakoda has written up the complete list.

³Caucasian in the Community Services Division, June 17, 1942.

Some of the comments of the colonists were:

"Of course, it's not like home, but in time we'll be one of the best centers of the W.R.A."⁴

"You can't complain about a few inconveniences. We're lucky to have what we have. These Caucasians are here living with us to help. We should in turn co-operate with them."

"The people in the next block think they have a good mess hall, but ours is cleaner. Besides we have the best cooks in the camp."

"Did you see our farm? It's huge. We'll have fresh vegetables and everything we want pretty soon."

When people began coming in from Wallerger Assembly Center on June 16, the editorial in the Tulean Dispatch addressed to them read as follows:

".....For surely, you must realize that this project is ours, you and all the rest that may come and us who are here. It is up to us whether this, the Tule Lake Relocation Center, becomes a Shangri-La or not. This camp is shooting for the stars to outdo Hilton's fantasy."⁵

During this initial period, there was a rush to purchase tools and fixtures to make the rooms as comfortable and as comfortable and as attractive as possible. Men ingeniously solved unexpected problems, and out of scrap lumber built chairs, tables, shelves, and closets. Daily, men, women and children walked out to the woodpile to pick out lumber that seemed useful for their purpose.

One of the difficulties was water. The hard water caused many to suffer from diarrhea. Some got rashes on their skin. On the whole, however, the people seemed to be content. The

⁴These comments were all made by Isseis in Block 4, which later became the center of resistance against the administration. Field Notes, June 16, 17, 18, 1942.

⁵Tulean Dispatch, June 20, 1942.

general lack of supplies, the outhouse latrines (in Wallerga), the general lack of work, the lack of a well-stocked canteens, and the curfews of the Assembly Centers were things of the past. Their anxiety over where they were going had come to an end. Their desire seemed to be to make the center a comfortable place for them to stay until the end of the war. Naturally, no one was jubilant about being uprooted, but Tule Lake apparently was not as bad as they had expected it to be.

The major interest seemed to be in the new friends that were to be made. As might be expected, the young people mixed rather easily although there was some difference between the sophisticated, city-bred northerners and the "hicks" from California. There was curiosity about the habits and the dress of the strangers. Through casual inquiries over matters such as the construction of a porch or the notification of the Justice Department of change of address friendships were made. Perhaps the most common question was, "Where did you come from?"

On June 16, the people from Wallerga began to come to Tule Lake--500 a day until by the end of the month they had increased the total population to over 6,500. On June 18, Mr. Rachford, who was slated to direct the project, visited the area, but after a week's stay left for another center. On the 20th, the Legal Aid Department was started to help the colonists in their problems. The Christian Churches initiated an ambitious program of services, young people's groups, and Sunday Schools. Classes began under the Adult Education program in various commercial subjects. Block managers were appointed in large numbers by a committee of Caucasians. War-

dens for police and fire duty were organized. As the various blocks began to fill with evacuees, councilmen for the City Council were elected.

By this time, the recreational activities were beginning their program. A softball league with eight teams had already started. The teams represented various communities from which the players had come; such as, Clarksburg, Salem, and Longview. Groups such as the 4H Club, tennis enthusiasts, photography club, Boy Scouts, handiwork, choir, and Issei-senryu (humorous poetry) clubs were already under way under the Recreation Department.

To help young women who had to work, the Nursery Schools were organized and opened with a staff of inexperienced but eager Nisei girls as teachers. Furniture displays were held, and contests to see who could make the best furniture out of scrap lumber were held. During this time, new members of the administrative personnel continued to join the project.⁶

The Saturday night dances were well under way, and it was here that the first open breach and animosity on a large scale broke out. The dances had been held since the first week to the music of a nickelodian. On June 19, couples from Sacramento made their first appearance and the trouble began.

The northerners were apparently accustomed to dancing to soft, slow, and smooth music; whereas those from central California preferred to jitterbug. Since the people from the

⁶For details, see Billigmeier's report on the Administration.

north had arrived in camp first and were in charge of the dance, the Sacramentons objected to their style of dancing and demanded that they be given an opportunity to "jive". The northerners objected that there was not enough room for jitterbugging and a heated argument arose over who was to put the nickel into the juke-box. Fear was struck into the minds of those from the northwest when someone reported that a gang of tough Sacramento boys were waiting outside to beat up the principals concerned in the argument after the dance. Although no one seemed to be definite, rumors were current that there was a big fight after the dance and that someone from the north had been seriously injured.⁷

Another conflict broke out in the office of the Tulean Dispatch. The staff of the Wallerger Wasp went into the office of the director, Mr. Shirrell, with a letter of introduction from a Caucasian in Sacramento and demanded that they be allowed to take over the Tulean Dispatch, since the paper was nothing more than a bulletin board put out by unexperienced newspapermen. When the staff from the northwest heard of this, they became very unfriendly to the Sacramentons, and the editor refused even to speak to the newcomers. Members of the Caucasian personnel had to step in to settle the issue and tried to give everyone a fair chance on the basis of ability. One of the Sacramento boys remarked, "Most of the Washington guys are O.K.; it's just that dumb bastard Tanabe (the editor) that gets me." Many of the colonists from Washington admitted that the paper was not too good and remarked that the editor was not particularly bril-

⁷Field Notes (TS), June 23, 1942.

liant; however, they seemed to resent the manner in which the Sacramento boys tried to take over.⁸

Apparently the Issei from the two regions did not have much difficulty in getting along. The sectional strife was one that involved primarily Nisei. The northerners thought:⁹

"Californians are sure funny. They don't have any common sense. Anybody knows that it's hard to jive in a crowded room." (female, 19)

"Do they always jitterbug in California? It's all right once in a while, but not for every dance. Jitterbugs remind me of savages." (female, 26)

"Californians are fast aren't they? I hear they always go around the whore-houses in Sacramento." (male, 30)

"I wouldn't be seen with a California boy. My reputation would be spoiled." (female, 19)

"Gosh they're black! Don't the girls know how to dress?" (female, 24)

Californians thought:

"Washington girls sure fix their eyebrows a funny way. They smear something on there and make it look funny." (female, 21)

"Washington people are snooty. They think they're somebody." (male, 20)

"God! They must be in the stone ages! They never jived before!" (male, 19)

"Do we have to live with those guys! Hell!" (male, 19)

Sacramentons were referred to as "California Blacks"; northerners were called "T.B. Lilies". Thus, the first major

⁸Field Notes (TS), June 23, 1942 and July 2, 1942. This seemed to be the opinion of many of the older Nisei from the Northwest.

⁹These are miscellaneous comments picked up in various parts of the camp (library, canteen, mess halls). These remarks were all made by Nisei.

misunderstanding broke out with the arrival of colonists from Wallerga. The Wallergans came as a fairly well-integrated group. They had all lived in Sacramento prior to the evacuation and knew each other quite well. Furthermore, in Wallerga the individuals had established themselves in various positions and wished to maintain their status in Tule Lake. Naturally, this meant conflict with those who had come before. Furthermore, there seemed to be a difference in the background and the outlook between the more sophisticated urban people from the north and the rural people, born and reared in a community almost entirely of Japanese.

Dissension also broke out in regard to work in the farm. On June 18, Acting Director Shirrell made an appeal to the colonists to work in the farm. He pointed out that the W.R.A. had purchased \$80,000 worth of potato seeds and that unless they were planted at once that money would be lost. On June 19, the Tulean Dispatch ran an "Extra" on Mr. Shirrell's appeal. It was in the reaction to this appeal that the sincerity of the War Relocation Authority was first openly questioned.

Many of the colonists volunteered for work eagerly. Some said:¹⁰

"Why aren't you out there working? If I were an able-bodied man, I would go out there and work. Think of it! All that potato going to waste. It's for the good of the people." (Nisei, female, 21)

"After all, they brought those seeds in here for our benefit. The least we could do is to plant them.

¹⁰The comments were picked up at random, but most of them are those of people in Ward I. Field Notes, June 20, 21, 22, 1942. Some of the ages are approximate.

I've been a farmer all my life; it's easy work for me." (Issei, male, 56)

Thus, many of the colonists volunteered for work on the farm to save the seeds. On the other hand, the elements of dissatisfaction also began to make known their feelings:

"Why should I give a damn what happens to W.R.A. money? I had a farm for 30 years and they took it away from me and shoved me into a dump like this. You city people don't understand; you never owned anything and raised anything like we did." (Issei, male, 48)

"Why should I work? There are others to do it if they want to. Now that I'm here, I'm going to take life easy and wait for the war to end. They have to feed us anyway." (Issei, male, 55)

"Why should we co-operate? The dirty "keto" put us in here. We should have put up a fight. We are now at the mercy of the damn "keto". They could starve us if they want to. They are telling us to work in the farm or starve. I'm going to show them that I'm a real Japanese with "yamato-damashi". I'm going to show them that they can't bluff me." (Kibei, male, 28)¹¹

This is not to say that feelings of antagonism did not exist before; they certainly did after the evacuation began. However, up to this point those who had felt antagonistic had managed to keep their ideas to themselves or to their intimate friends. It may have been because of the fear of reprisals. However, with this issue, heated arguments arose between groups of colonists. Issei argued against Issei; Kibei argued against Kibei--it was a disagreement between those who wished to co-operate and those who did not particularly care.

Thus, we can see that during the period of initial adjustment, on the whole, the colonists were co-operative. However,

¹¹This man was arrested during Registration.

after the arrival of Sacramentons in large numbers, dissension began to rise and those who questioned the wisdom of co-operating made known their opinions. Goals to make Tule Lake the "best relocation center in the country" were set, but by the end of June sectionalism and suspicion of the "keto" crept in as threats to the realization of that goal.

On June 24, the movement from Wallerga was completed and there began about this time a long period that we might roughly label as one of "random behavior". It was a period in which people seemed to be disturbed about one thing or another and yet a period in which there was no unity in the definition of situations or in action.

On that date, the W.R.A. officially announced the wage scales which were to be effective in the centers. Professional workers were to be paid \$19; skilled workers, \$16; and unskilled workers, \$12. It was also announced at that time that everyone would be expected to work 200 hours a month and that anyone who did not work would be charged \$20 a month for himself and each member of his family for room and board.¹²

Many other significant things occurred during this period. The post office on the project was officially named "Newell"; the work in the hospital got under way and a regular schedule was announced; the library got under way with donations; the building of a factory was announced. On the 27th, 18- and 19-year olds registered for the Selective Service. The Buddhists began their services. A plan for a shoe repairing shop was an-

¹²Tulean Dispatch, June 24, 1942.

nounced. The University of California Club was organized.

On the 25th of June, 2,500 evacuees from the Arboga Center in Marysville began to come into Tule Lake. These people, along with those who arrived from Wallerger, had a considerably more difficult time in adjusting themselves than those who had come before. Lumber was now no longer as abundant as it was before, for those who came first had taken the best pieces for their porches and other fixtures; or, if they had enough for themselves, they were hoarding lumber for friends whom they expected. There was a serious lumber crisis. The late-comers naturally objected when they were unable to get even scraps while the others had porches and piles of lumber heaped up besides their barracks. Construction work was nearly over, and left-over lumber was dumped opposite Blocks 36 and 37. Wardens were posted to guard the scrap pile. In order to give as many people as possible an equal opportunity to get lumber, the officials decided that no one would be allowed to go into the lumber area until 6 o'clock p.m. During the day, the trucks dumped the wood in piles. The demand for lumber was so great, however, that wardens were simply unable to hold off the mobs after 5. Once there was a break, there was a mad rush for the wood by hundreds of people who tore at each other to get as much as possible. The daily rushes were wild scrambles--the people resembling packs of hungry wolves tearing after the only food left in the world. It was like a stampede--a matter of each individual for himself.

The newcomers also flooded into the canteen and the daily sales soared to about \$1,500. Many who had thrown things away

had to purchase many items since they expected to stay in Tule Lake for the duration. Many who had come to the project expecting to find nothing flooded into the store to buy convenient items. Household furnishings and tools were sold rapidly. The large turnover of goods led to some apprehensions about excessive profits.¹³

On June 29, the Army began to censor mail leaving Tule Lake. Apparently a corporal had started censoring cards personally and when reprimanded by Mr. Shirrell had taken up the matter with his commanding officer, Captain Patterson. The Captain and Mr. Shirrell had a heated argument on the matter and it seemed that the latter won. Not to be outdone, however, the Captain went to his superior officer and secured permission to censor all letters. While this controversy was going on, all letters were held up. The official censor who was to do the work did not arrive as scheduled; so Captain Patterson decided to let his own men read the mail. There was apparently no set standard of what one could write and what one could not write; the men who were censoring the letters did not know themselves. The matter was finally taken up with the San Francisco office of the Fourth Army and on July 7, the censorship was lifted.¹⁴

The incident did not upset the colony to any extent. Perhaps this was because many of the Issei and Nisei expected something of this nature anyway. When the block managers announced

¹³Detailed data on canteen sales are in the section on "Economic Institutions".

¹⁴Field Notes (TS), July 1, 1942

that all letters except business letters and mail headed for Army camps were to be taken to the post office unsealed, there did not seem to be too much objection. Naturally, a few were disgruntled, but this issue attracted less attention than many other seemingly less important things.

In July the temperature rose considerably. The mess halls were so hot during lunch and supper that everyone was just bathed in sweat as he came out. During the days, the workers had to lose themselves in whatever they were doing to forget the heat, while the older people and children sat or played in the shady side of the barracks. It was in this heat that the many conflicts occurred.

Because of the loose control exercised by the administration, many of the pro-Japanese elements in the center began to be more articulate. Paradoxically, this pro-Japanese feeling became very apparent at the Fourth of July celebration. In spite of the very patriotic items listed officially in the Tulean Dispatch,¹⁵ the sentiment of many Issei and Kibei came out strongly in the program for the day. The day's celebration began with the singing of songs such as "The Star Spangled Banner" and "God Bless America". During the afternoon, "sumo" and a number of softball games attracted attention. It was in the evening that the sentiments of some factions came out.¹⁶

About 7 o'clock, on the outdoor platform, Mr. Shirrell

¹⁵The official program can be found in the Tulean Dispatch, July 3, 1942.

¹⁶It was not for almost a month that the officials found out what actually went on during the Fourth of July celebration.

gave the address of the day in which he stated that the Americans would triumph in the war. As the interpreter began to translate that section of the talk, he was greeted by phrases such as "sore de ii!" and "wakatta, wakatta!" (that's enough and we understand) indicating that the Japanese-speaking audience thoroughly disapproved of what was being said.

Later in the evening during an Issei entertainment, "naniwabushi" and "ahodarakyo" were sung praising Japanese soldiers and glorifying Japan.¹⁷ The administration thought that they were being democratic by letting the colonists celebrate in their own way, but some irresponsible individuals realizing the language handicap committed these rash acts. Besides this performance, a "bon odori"¹⁸ was held in the firebreak opposite Block 4; this, however, was innocuous.

During early July, the interests of the colonists seemed to vary. For the first two weeks, long lists were issued every-day or every other day containing the names of people who were to receive their "i.d. tags" (identification cards) to facilitate the payment of wages. There was considerable speculation over what center was to be relocated in Tule Lake next; many expected Portland or Puyallup, while some even expected Tanforan. Many were interested in trying to get their friends or relatives transferred to live with them on the project. A demand

¹⁷"Ahodarakyo" is an impromptu performance, the primary objective of which is to make people laugh. It is not necessarily patriotic and can be on any topic.

¹⁸"Bon odori" is a festivial group dance, originally a part of Buddhist ceremonies. In America it has lost much of its religious significance, and has become an almost purely recreational pastime.

was made for rice and "tsukemono"¹⁹ in the mess halls. There was considerable interest in the "bon odori" which were still being held.

A barber shop was opened next to canteen no. 1. A second canteen was opened, and the discussion of canteen profits began. The City Council created a Judiciary Committee to handle misdemeanors in the colony, and a few days later a heated fight broke out in Mess 26. Registration for school began, and the Student Relocation Committee got under way in the center. On the 6th, some of the people who had worked in May were paid, and this increased the talk about wages.

On the 4th of July, Salinas people moved in, and on the 10th, some evacuees from the "White Zone" began to pour into the center at the rate of 500 a day. This once again brought to fore the problem of hoarding lumber and more conflicts occurred. On the 15th, the "White Zone" movement was over, and on the following day, people began coming in from Pinedale Assembly Center. This stopped most speculations about who was coming to the center next.

On July 11, those who had worked in Wallergera during the month of May were paid. On the following day, the hour of Recorded Classical Music made its debut; this program continued to be held weekly until cold weather in November made it impossible to continue. The first Community Forum was held on July 13 on the topic, "Nisei Citizenship--How Can We Preserve It?" and featured Mr. Edwin Fergusson, regional attorney

¹⁹Pickled vegetables.

for the W.R.A. The Forum was highly successful, drawing a larger crowd than any subsequent discussion. On July 15, the possibility of repatriation to Japan was announced, but this did not cause much disturbance in the routine. On July 19, a "bon odori" festival was held at the Outdoor Platform, and on the following day, the education for co-operatives began under the direction of Mr. Elbertson. On the 20th, the Tulean Dispatch became a daily paper. On the 24th, it was announced that the camp was almost full now that the Pinedale movement was over.

During this period, the discontent was obviously growing. The days were extremely hot, the temperature ranging between 95° and 108° during the day. Since it was so hot, the people began adopting the practice of sprinkling water on the grounds. This practice and the frequency at which people were forced to take showers created a strain on the water supply, and the administration had to make a warning about wasting water.²⁰

One of the major bones of contention was the wage scale. On the one hand, there was the complaint on the part of many of the older Nisei that they were not being paid enough. On July 15, the City Council demanded a new wage scale setting \$40 as the maximum wage level. This, however, was not the major problem.

Serious problems were created when many competent people, especially Issei, refused to take responsible positions. Since those who were supervisors and foremen were disliked by many

²⁰Tulean Dispatch, July 24, 1942

of the men, the competent men often refused to take the responsibility if their compensation was to be only \$3 more per month. Many people felt that since the difference in the wage levels was so small anyway, everyone ought to be paid a uniform wage. Many of the Issei claimed that they did not mind being paid a few dollars less than some young Nisei college graduate, but that it was the idea of being subordinate in status that disturbed them. The discussion went on very heatedly until the middle of July and then began to die down. Many had already forgotten the issue when it was discussed at the second Community Forum on "Uniform Wage Scales" held on July 27. The forum revived the interest temporarily, but the subject died down.

Another topic that was the center of concern during this period was the matter of excessive canteen profits. This issue made it very difficult for the co-operatives to make any headway in the colony, since the issue was confused. The complaint was that the canteen was making so much profit that it ought to cut its prices. The colonists felt that since most people did not have too much money anyway, it was much better to have low prices at once than to get vague promises from the W.R.A. (which they had begun to distrust by now) that the profits would be distributed to the colony. The complaints became so bitter that on July 17, the Tulean Dispatch revealed the amount of profits in June--\$5,313.00.

This announcement, as might be expected, brought out a new barrage of protests. The arguments pro and con then began to involve the co-operatives which had been announced. Some

felt that the W.R.A. should operate the stores and sell things at cost; others felt that the co-ops should take over and distribute the profits; others felt that canteens were entirely unnecessary since the W.R.A. was supposed to provide all essentials anyway. The most frequent argument used was that children could not resist candy and soda water and the fathers of large families would be destitute unless some change was made. Accusations were made against the W.R.A. for not providing such items as clothes hangers, which were on sale in the canteen. This issue, which began in June, continued even to winter and did much to discredit the sincerity of the W.R.A. in the eyes of the colonists. It was claimed that the W.R.A. had promised to provide necessities; and now that such items were being sold, there were suspicions of "graft".

Nor were the difficulties only those between the administration and the colonists. The colonists bickered among themselves as well. Early in July, in the Sacramento area, Wards II and III, much resentment was developed against two professional men--attorney Walter Tsukamoto and Dr. George Iki. Both were older Nisei who had dealt with Issei before and had built up reputations in Sacramento. Because of their age and reputations and because of Mr. Tsukamoto's connections with the J.A.-C.L., the two men were given considerable authority in Wallerga Assembly Center. They were in many ways the liaison men between the administration and the evacuees there. The conditions in Wallerga were apparently none too good, food being terrible for one thing, and no one being paid or receiving clothing allowances for another. Since the two men were on such good terms

with the Caucasians, many of the people concluded that the administration, with the co-operation of Iki and Tsukamoto, had "chiseled in" on the government allowances to better their own personal ends. This accusation, that they had conspired with the hated "keto" to rob their fellow Japanese, was a serious charge, and since it was a charge that was difficult to disprove, the stories spread rapidly and the resentment became very strong. Some of the comments were:²¹

"Dr. Iki is a good doctor, but he mixes in with politics. It's too bad that he can't go straight."
(Nisei, female, 29)

"Tsukamoto and his cigar-smoking cronies were always a bunch of grafters anyway." (Nisei, male, 23)

"The sooner we get rid of "inu" (dog) like that the better." (Issei, male, 58)

By the time the stories reached other sections in the camp, they had grown considerably. "Actual proof" was presented; such as, the men and their families ate "sukiyaki" in the hospital with the "keto", and people who could have been saved died because of neglect. The feeling against these men proved to be very important in the subsequent happenings in the center.

The fight in Mess 26 early in July and the one in Mess 4 toward the end of the month created some antagonism between Kibei and Nisei elements in the center. In Mess 26, the chief cook (a Kibei) had told his crew to take home meat from the mess hall since the deliveries were not large enough to feed

²¹These comments were taken at random from various parts of the Sacramento area.

meat to the whole block anyway. He apparently felt that it would do little good to give the people insignificant portions of meat anyway. Unfortunately, one of the cooks who was carrying the meat home in a can dropped it when several people were looking on. Immediately a protest went up, and the mess crew walked out. When the people in the block got together to cook themselves, the chief cook came back to watch them and heckled them. Words led to more words and finally some blows were struck. In the eyes of many Nisei, the hot-tempered Kibei cook was at fault.

On July 27, one of the residents in Block 4 complained in the Tulean Dispatch that he was "fed up" with the beans, stew, and "slop suey" that was served in rotation. The Kibei and the Issei in the block were angered at the editor of the paper for including such an item which they considered to be a "disgrace to the colony" because it seemed like a complaint to the "keto", and they threatened to beat him up. Only the pleading of other Issei who thought it would be a greater disgrace to commit violence saved the man.

These two incidents were widely discussed in the colony, and many Nisei were of the opinion that the Kibei were too "hot-headed" and were trouble-makers. Needless to say, this did not improve relations in the community.

Another matter that became the source for concern was the fear on the part of many mothers that their daughters were not behaving as well as they might be. Rumors were going about the camp that there were 200 unmarried girls who were seeking abortions in the hospital. The mothers in Block 4 held a meet-

ing early in July to plan ways and means of combatting the matter. They decided not to let their daughters out unless some better arrangement could be made to insure their daughters' coming home earlier and to avoid sex troubles. Mothers complained that dances ended at 11 and their daughters did not come home until 3 in the morning. They complained that the conditions of the camp were too conducive to misconduct. Some suggested that each block hold dances of their own and have them invitational so that some control could be had over the type of people attending. Rumors continued to circulate and mothers continued to worry and complain, but the interest in the matter gradually died down.

During the latter part of July, the Census Office (Records Office) began to survey the camp. All persons over 16 were required to answer questions. On July 28, the Red Cross Investigating Committee came through the center. It seemed that the State Department had become perturbed about an article in the New Republic about the centers and had requested the Red Cross to investigate. The staff was notified ahead of time and were warned to be careful of what was said in the presence of the investigating committee.²² Interest was also high in some circles during this period about absentee voting; only a comparatively small number actually voted, however.²³ On July 31, considerable grumbling occurred when, in accordance with Army orders, a midnight census was taken in the city. Many felt

²²Field Notes (TS), July 27, 1942.

²³Actual numbers were printed in the Tulean Dispatch.

that people could have been counted just as well at 9 o'clock.

By this time, the feeling of the colonists toward the center had changed considerably from that of May and early June. There was no longer the feeling of thankfulness to the Caucasian staff. There was in its place growing distrust and fear. Many felt that the place was unbearable, and the news of July 31, that citizens would be allowed to leave the center was taken with considerable glee by some, although many did not take the matter seriously. The anti-keto feeling was beginning to rise, and those who were closely associated were considered as "inu" (dog).²⁴ Many feared that in the winter, the snow might block the train and that the Caucasians might leave the Japanese to starve to death and began drying food that they got from the mess halls.²⁵

Several minor things occurred that were irritating to some of the colonists. Toward the end of July, mosquitoes swarmed over the camp. Since the barracks were without screens, some of the people were considerably inconvenienced. Another thing that irritated many was the bank. The Bank of America in Tule Lake had complained to the project that there was not enough business in the camp to warrant their sending a man once a week. However, every time the bank man came people stood in lines for hours in the baking sun. The bank man often came several hours late; sometimes he did not come at all on the appointed

²⁴By "dog" the Japanese are not referring to canine. They mean that the person is a "stool-pigeon". This is one of the most serious charges that could be made.

²⁵See the Tulean Dispatch, July 23 and July 30.

day. The bank charged 10¢ for every check cashed--even for deposit! Some of the comments were:

"So re mi. Keto no yatsu wa baka ni shite yagaru."
(Look at that. The "keto" are making fools out of us.)
(Issei, female, 48)

"Those bastards think they got us by the balls and do anything they want. Just wait and see. Some day, they'll get theirs." (Kibei, male, 25)

"What the hell is this anyway? These guys are robbers. I don't have to do business with them. I'm not going to. The hell with them." (Nisei, male, 27)

It was difficult to find anyone who had kind feelings about the bank. They patronized it only because of necessity.

Anxieties grew about this time. There was apprehension about the pay checks early in August, for June workers had not yet been paid. In spite of the almost unbearable heat, there was some anxiety over what would happen in the winter and people began banking up the sides of their barracks. This was finally done throughout the camp under the supervision of the block managers. Grumbling about the canteens continued, and the people in Ward III signed petitions requesting that no canteen be set up in their ward. It was about this time that organized protest began.

Thus we see that by early in August the life in Tule Lake had changed. There was one disagreeable incident after another making it extremely difficult to live happily. Attitudes had changed considerably from co-operation to antagonism and distrust. Strife was plentiful.

On August 7, plans were begun for self-government in the colony through the City Council. The W.R.A. adopted a policy of giving all power to the Nisei. Not only were many of the Ni-

sei unwilling to assume this power, but this decision also helped to crystalize the discontent among the Issei. About this time, the huge cast iron stoves for the winter coldness were distributed throughout the camp. On the 10th, a Community Forum was held on education in Tule Lake.

The delivery of the huge coal stoves (three feet high) caused many to think of the winter. There was some concern about food deliveries and about coal. The administration experienced some difficulties in recruiting coal workers because it was a dirty job and paid only \$12 a month.

There were other seeds of discontent. The Pinedale people who had just come in found themselves without lumber or even plaster board in their rooms. Furthermore, they found that most of the desirable jobs were already taken and that it was difficult to break in. As those who had enjoyed a relatively high status in the Assembly Center tried to maintain their status, conflicts ensued. This conflict, however, was largely one between the Nisei. Many of the Issei did not seem to care enough about working to make an issue out of jobs.

Another source of dissension was the breaking of the cesspool opposite Block 34. The concrete structure had been built by Army Engineers. When the Nisei engineers in the center pointed out that the ground was too soft and the water level too high for such a heavy structure, the Army men and the administration ignored them and went ahead. The ground was too soft and one part of the structure caved in, breaking pipes and creating a stench that could be smelled in all of Ward III. This odor did not help. (Field Notes (TS), August 8, 1942.)

The weather did not help the situation either. It was still almost unbearably hot. However, when the wind blew, the dust became so thick that sometimes it was difficult to see the next barrack. Whirlwinds swept through the camp, breaking windows and spraying on a new layer of dirt and dust. Needless to say, this did not help the morals.

On August 11, a Mr. O'Brien of the Office of War Information came to the center. He met with a group of Issei and Nisei on the following day and indicated to them that the O.W.I. was concerned over reports that American prisoners in Japanese hands were being mistreated and that they wished to have some of the people in the relocation centers broadcast to Japan to assure the warlords that everything was all right here.²⁶ He was advised not to ask publicly for volunteers for such a broadcast, and he accepted the advice given at this time.

On August 12, the Tulean Dispatch carried an item stating that the canteens had done \$74,000 of business during the month of July. This naturally irritated those who had been arguing against canteens. The interest in the subject was heightened the next day, when canteen #3 burned in one of the biggest fires in the history of the camp.

At about 4:30 in the morning of the 13th, the siren screeched the fire warning. Since it was the first major fire for most of the inhabitants, many ran out to see what it was. The flames were so big that they could be seen several wards away, shooting

²⁶Mr. O'Brien met with a selected committee of Issei, Nisei, and Kibei, chosen for the conference by Mr. Coole, the Reports Officer. See diary of August 12, 1942.

into the sky. There was a bedlam of noise. Firewagons dashed toward the fire from the three firestations. People ran madly in the direction of the fire, dressing on their way. Those who lived nearby quickly began packing their valuables.

Fortunately, the firemen and the wardens were able to keep the situation under control. The wardens immediately cleared the vicinity of the fire of all spectators. Armed with sticks they patrolled the area. The firemen efficiently fought the flames and brought them under control within a few minutes. Thanks to the fine work of these crews, only the front part of the canteen went down.

Among those who were watching, there seemed to be three theories as to how the blaze began: (1) electrical trouble, (2) spontaneous combustion, and (3) "fire-bug" (including two possibilities: a maniac and a person against canteens). Among some of the typical comments were:²⁷

"I'm certainly glad it wasn't someone's home that burned down."

"Lucky no one was hurt."

"The canteen burned down. We never wanted it in this ward anyway."

"Oh boy, now we can have a fire sale."

"I left my shoes in there for repair. I wonder what happened to my shoes."

No one seemed to be too concerned about the fact that the canteen burned down, little realizing that the store belonged to the colonists. Rumors were current that the canteen was not

²⁷These comments were typical; almost everyone-in the latrines and among the crowd-were making remarks of this nature. See Field Notes, 8/13/42.

covered by insurance because no company would take the risk. Some were actually glad that what they thought to be the money-robbing canteen had burned.

The fire brought to fore several questions that had been discussed up to this point. Many of the Issei who had argued against canteens had thought that it was an instrument through which the W.R.A. could take back from the Japanese the meagre salaries that they earned (salaries had not yet been paid). Thus, they may have felt happy about the fire. However, many learned within a few days that the stores belonged to the people and that the people would suffer the loss if there were any.²⁸ Some of the reactions were:

"As long as they make money, the "keto" take it all; as soon as there is a loss, they charge it to the Japanese. It's just like the "keto"." (Issei, male, 61)

"If it was our store, why didn't they let us run it? We asked for low prices, but they keep on setting it. Now they tell us it's ours because they lost something." (Issei, male, 58)

Along with this grumbling about the canteen profits came grumbling about wages. Everyone seemed to be spending money--especially those with many children--and some had exhausted their meagre savings. Since no one had yet been paid their June wages, the demand grew for the payment of something. Some argued that the "keto" never had intended to pay anyway and used the tardiness as an example of the insincerity of the Caucasians.

Another incident occurred that heightened the ill-feeling between the administration and the colony. On August 5, some

²⁸The store was fully covered by insurance.

irresponsible Issei made some uncomplementary remarks about Caucasians. At an Issei entertainment on that date, when all Caucasians were occupied elsewhere at some party, the announcer said over the public address system: "Since there are no "keto" here tonight, we can say and do anything that we please."²⁹ This statement was preceded and followed by "naniwabushi" and "ahodarakyo", songs and acts which glorified Japan. Some of the songs glorified the Japanese Army.³⁰ Some of the Issei who attended were shocked; others apparently did not think much about it and simply had a good time.

It was not long that rumors began to spread throughout the camp that the man who had been announcer had been arrested by the F.B.I. and had been sentenced to 20 years in prison. This rumor did the rounds before the Caucasians in the administrative personnel even knew about the incident. The feeling ran high, however, and there was open antagonism against the administration. When the man in charge of Issei recreation was discharged,³¹ this was taken as proof that the administration knew of the incident and the hunt began for the stool-pigeon.

A few days later, after many wild hunches, ³² one of the block managers was accused of being the stool-pigeon. He re-

²⁹Actually, this statement was made in connection with something else. There is a W.R.A. ruling against soliciting donations, and the announcer, in asking for donations, was remarking that no one would know the difference anyway.

³⁰"Ahodarakyo" are not patriotic songs; they are to make the people laugh.

³¹The man was discharged for other reasons. He had not followed one of the recreation director's orders.

³²Christian ministers were accused of "squealing".

ceived an anonymous letter (in perfect English) threatening his life. Wardens were assigned to guard his house and had to chase away young Kibei groups armed with two-by-fours. Everyone "knew" who the "stoolie" was and everyone seemed to be out to "get" him. The Kibei and Issei elements were up in arms; the Nisei looked on with mild interest.

On August 14, a committee of Issei, Nisei, and Kibei representatives met with Mr. Waller of the recreation staff to settle the issue. Apparently Mr. Waller had found out about the incident somehow in the meantime. At that time, the administration (represented by Mr. Waller) bent over backwards to let the incident go--providing there could be some guarantee that the thing would not happen again. Plans were made for an Issei recreation committee to supervise all Issei entertainments. The conflicts did not settle down here, for some of the Issei refused to co-operate with the new committee, and those who had been performing in the programs tagged along with the man who was discharged. This issue, however, was overshadowed by other events.

From the first of August there had been much grumbling on the project farm. Claims were made of mismanagement, incompetence, and poor labor relations on the part of the Caucasian personnel. Complaints were frequent about non-payment of wages, failures to issue clothing, lack of provision for mess halls on the farm, etc. There were conflicts between the Caucasian division and section heads, and contradictory orders were frequently given. Promises made by the staff to get gloves, shoes, clothing, and wages were not kept. Finally, on August

15, the farmers went on a strike, demanding wage payments, clothing and equipment, and better food. The strike was actually precipitated by the breakfast served that morning: two pieces of bread per person and tea.

The strike soon became general, except for essential services, i.e., the mess halls and the hospital. Negotiations were carried through with the Caucasian staff (although the project director was absent in San Francisco) and the administration promised to meet the strikers' conditions. In general, the community reaction was divided. Many Nisei showed little interest in the situation; others opposed the anti-administration attitudes of the Issei farm workers. Some of the Nisei said:³³

"What the hell! If those dumb Issei knew what the score was, they wouldn't raise such a fuss." (male, 28)

"I don't see any reason why I have to quit work just because some old farm men want me to. Why should I?" (female, 21)

"If the farmers want to have a strike, it's their own damn business. I don't want to get messed up in this one." (male, 24)

"Do you think the soldiers will come in? After all you can't strike against the government." (male, 19)

Some of the Issei commented:³⁴

"If we must have a strike, let's have a strike. But if we must have one, let's do it cleanly and

³³These comments were picked at random from various sections of the camp.

³⁴These comments were picked at random throughout the camp. Most of the comments were overheard in various situations, and since the writer did not know the people, a rough estimate is given of their ages.

and get it over with like real Japanese and not let it drag on like a bunch of women." (male, c. 60)

"I don't think we can do much here in this camp. After all the "keto" have been taking advantage of us for a long time. But now that it's started, let's see it through to the end like men." (male, 56)

"These damn "keto" promise and promise. They have smooth tongues, but their hands never catch up with their tongues. They'll probably give us more promises now." (male, c. 45)

"It is wrong to fight and to start trouble, but once something is started, men see it through. We should try to settle all the difficulties as soon as possible and live in peace." (female, c. 70)

"I really don't know why these men are so excited. After all, we have a tolerable existence. You can't expect anything from the cursed "keto" anyway. We should be thankful that we are still alive." (female, c. 60)

A camp-wide mass meeting was held on Sunday evening, August 16, at which there was insistence on the use of the Japanese language and anti-Caucasian feelings were sharply apparent. When the leaders tried to calm the crowd by assuring them that the Caucasians had agreed to their demands, they were heckled and reproached for not demanding enough. Other causes of discontent were brought out, notably food shortages in certain mess halls. The heated meeting was finally broken up by one speaker who skillfully ridiculed the crowd and by another who appealed to "Japanese pride". In spite of efforts to agitators to prevent the men from going to work, most activities were resumed the next day. Sporadic outbursts occurred for some time but the feeling did not rise to the pitch of Sunday night (the 16th).

The period of organized protest was now well under way. The feeling against the administration, all Caucasians, and

against stool-pigeons was very high. The men were serious, ready to kill if necessary. The misunderstanding and suspicion had almost reached its peak.

While the farm strike and the "ahodarakyo" incidents disturbed many Issei and Kibei, the Nisei world went on almost uninterrupted. After some struggle within the City Council, that body released jurisdiction over the co-operatives on August 19. Kite-flying was the center of interest in some circles, and each evening dozens of kites (American and Japanese style) graced the skies. On the 20th, a skeleton was found in Block 51, and this aroused some interest and speculation. People went in droves each evening and over the weekends to see the baseball games. On the following day, a Queen Contest to select the queen for the Labor Day celebration was announced and before long this became the focus of interest for many Nisei.

On the 21st, an oratorical contest was announced. On the same day, plans for Japanese baths were announced. Then came warnings from the administration that scorpions were in the vicinity; this caused some fear for posters were put up warning all residents (in both English and Japanese). On that day, the first magazine section of the Dispatch, containing articles, short stories, and poems by Nisei writers, came out. On the 22nd, there was a big musical show for the Nisei. Thousands flocked to the outdoor platform to listen to the artists perform in a beautifully arranged and spectacular show.

At long last, June wages began to be paid on August 22. Many were surprised and could not believe that they were to be

paid. Apparently the procedure had been stepped up since the strike. The farm group was paid first, but the date for paying the other crews was not announced; and many simply treked into the Fiscal Office for their checks.

About this time, the Army relaxed its hold over the colony. Soldiers were relieved of the task of signing out people who were going out to the farm or on hikes. The Department of Internal Security took charge of sign-outs and package inspection in the post-office. The latter move was welcomed by the colonists since they were no longer required to walk to the post-office for their packages. They were delivered to the block managers' offices often unopened.

On August 24, a Community Forum was held on the topic of marriage. Many young girls (and old ones) attended, some probably because they were troubled about their own problems. The Forum was thoroughly enjoyed because of the many wisecracks, but the question raised in seriousness were not answered by the speakers. On the following day, Dr. Blaisdell, director of higher education for the W.R.A. came to the center to discuss questions of higher education in Tule Lake. Broad plans were drawn up, although everyone agreed that the major emphasis should be on student relocation rather than on education in the project.

On August 25, the first cold hit the center. Rain greeted the colonists as they came out of their supper. Everyone was gleeful and happy that at last the heat wave had ended and the dust had stopped. It was really the first series of cool days in months.

On the 27th and 28th, the oratorical contests took place in typical Nisei fashion. The speeches given were very reminiscent of the type of delivery accepted in pre-war Nisei circles. During the contest, attended by several hundred Nisei, several of the candidates for queen were presented. From this point on, the interest in the queen contest was strong. Work crews entered their candidates; friends collected votes; posters were pasted up throughout the camp. By the 28th, 15 candidates were entered.

On the following day, Mr. Shirrell, following the advice of colonists,³⁵ addressed the colony in a general meeting. With the help of an able interpreter he outlined the new policies of the W.R.A. as they had been worked out in the recent conference that he had been attending. He discussed wage policy, policy on leaves, on room and board, clothing allowances, grants, and several other items. The meeting was attended mostly by Issei men. They did not seem too impressed, although they did sit for 2 hours and 20 minutes in the baking sun listening very patiently even when Mr. Shirrell was speaking in English. Some of the comments were:³⁶

"If he can keep the promises that he made, this camp might be all right. I don't know if he can."

"It's all right to talk, but I'd like to see something done. He talked about clothes. I'll bet we won't get them. They will think up some excuse by the time the money is to be circulated."

"You know how the "keto" are. They talk and talk but they never mean what they say. I've heard things

³⁵Two members of the staff of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.

³⁶Comments overheard at the meeting.

like that before."

"Oh, the talk was all right. He works very hard, but he just doesn't understand the feeling of the Japanese."

"I told you they weren't going to raise anybody's salary. They always tell lies and then blame somebody else."

"He said he wanted us to get out. Does that mean we can go home? Where else can I go?"

On the same day, several other announcements were made.

A statement was made in the Tulean Dispatch that the W.R.A. would not be able to get tires after present supplies are exhausted. This naturally disturbed some people, because they wondered how they would get food in the winter if there were no trucks to deliver food to the mess halls. As one Kibei man remarked, "What the hell is this anyway? They put us in a place like this to take care of us for the duration. We've been here only for a few months, and they're yelling about shortages already!" On that day, kite-flying was banned because of the danger to the colonists should there be any trouble in the power lines (which are uncovered); people went ahead anyway. On the following day, it was announced that Issei could hold appointive offices in the colony; no one seemed to take this too seriously.

Feeling ran high among some Nisei over the beatings administered by some unruly Kibei in the center. On August 21, Howard Imazeki, editor of the Tulean Dispatch, was seriously beaten by a group of Kibei.³⁷ Although there were reasons

³⁷See the section on Community Disorganization.

for his beating that were to some extent understandable, the reasons were not clearly known, and many Nisei came to the conclusion that Kibei were too hot tempered. Rumors were rampant about other instances of beatings; some Nisei commented:³⁸

"These god damn Kibei bastards; they're so hot tempered that when they get mad they just see red and kill somebody. It's a wonder somebody hasn't been killed here yet." (male, 21)

"They're the most unreasonable guys around. They're so pro-Japan that they're not interested in understanding anything that has anything to do with America. They can't understand English and they take lots of things the wrong way." (male, 28)

"You know how they are. They just get mad and go off the beam. They get everybody in trouble because they don't give a damn what the outsiders think of us in here. They're all planning to go back to Japan anyway. I hope they go." (male, 25)

"We ought to get up a gang of tough Nisei and beat the hell out of some of them." (male, 19)

The feeling ran high for a few weeks. After a trial by the Judiciary Committee over the Imazeki case, the Council announced plans to combat what they labelled as "gangsterism".³⁹

In the meantime, the first call was made for labor in the autumn harvest. Representatives of sugar beet companies visited the camp to ask for labor. At first the people were a bit cautious about going, but soon many were signing up. A surprisingly large number of Nisei signed up to work in the beet-fields. Some of their comments were:⁴⁰

³⁸These comments were picked up in the groups of Nisei around the canteens and recreation halls.

³⁹Tulean Dispatch, August 26, 1942. See also the confidential report of the Judiciary Committee to the council of the same date. See also Field Notes (TS), August 22, 26, and 28, and section on Community Disorganization.

⁴⁰Again, these comments were taken at random throughout the project in varying situations.

"This is a hell of a place. I figure no matter how bad Idaho is, it can't be worse than this place. I want to get out of here." (Nisei, male, 19)

"I need some money so I can get out to go to school. The evacuation left me broke and I figure I can pick up something in this deal." (Nisei, male, 21)

"I haven't seen whiskey in months. That means more to me than national defense. The hell with the farmers. I want to get some fun out of this." (Kibei, male, 25)

"I can't make any contacts here. I figure if I were out it would be more or less easier for me to meet people that could help me." (Nisei, male, 26)

"Anything to get out of this dump." (Nisei, male, age unknown)

Thus, for varied reasons many Nisei left the center. When we consider the fact that a large number of Issei also left, we might conclude that helping in the defense effort was one of the least important motives leading to the exodus.

In the meantime, other difficulties were occurring. On August 24, the trouble in the construction crew began. They could not go on a strike because many of the crew were busy installing sheet rock and their quitting would cause inconvenience to the people. It was not long after they had helped the farmers in their strike, that grievances of their own developed. Soon when half of their crew was laid off for not obeying orders, the trouble began.⁴¹

The situation on the farm was still not much better and for several weeks it seemed that the men were on the verge of having another strike--this time to end all disagreements one

⁴¹Details of the difficulty can be found in the section on Community Disorganization. Most of the difficulties mentioned in this chapter will be treated more critically in that chapter.

way or the other. Fortunately, nothing more happened on the farm,⁴² but on the 28th, the packers went on a strike. Their main demand was for aprons, and the matter was settled before long.

On August 27, three Nisei (one of them a perpetual trouble-maker) were caught in the town of Tule Lake and arrested. Very few people in the colony found out about this, but the action of these boys created greater problems for the administration in its efforts to win the good will of the nearby community.

On the same night, canteen no. 4 (in the administration area) was robbed of \$95. and 20 cartons of cigarettes. The thief gained entrance through a rear window. He was apparently an amateur for he left many finger prints and foot prints. This was the first major theft in the camp.⁴³

On August 30, a fight took place in Block 42 that in some ways concerned the entire camp. One of the participants, a butcher, had been discharged because someone had been stealing meat from the butcher shop.⁴⁴ The major complaint was not that someone was depriving the colony of meat, as might be expected, but the fact that a colonist (the steward) had "squealed" on fellow colonists to the administration. As a result of the "squealing" men were discharged (probably the

⁴²The farm has been perpetually the source of trouble. It cannot be said that the farm was ever quiet. There was always trouble and misunderstanding, but this period was relatively quiet.

⁴³Tulean Dispatch, August 29, 1942.

⁴⁴No one ever proved that this man did it.

wrong men). It was the matter of telling the "keto" that irritated many.⁴⁵

In the meantime, in Nisei circles, the queen contest became the major focus of attention. The interest rose and rose until on September 1, several thousand people attended a program introducing the "lovelies" to the people. As the contest got under way, tricks were played and charges and counter-charges were made. The Records Office was accused of stuffing the ballots box. Supporters of one candidate accused supporters of others of buying ballots or of collecting unused ballots (Issei did not take much interest and didn't vote) and marking them to their own suiting.⁴⁶ By the 2nd of September, 23 candidates were entered and in the election of that day, all but seven were eliminated. During the final campaign to select the queen, more charges and counter-charges were made, and even members of the recreation staff, who were distributing the ballots, were accused of dishonesty. Finally, on September 6, Miss Shiz Tamaki was selected to rule.

In the meantime, there was a period of unpredictable weather. There was rain, which brought joy because it eliminated dust. There was wind and the accompanying whirlwinds. Then it became unbearably hot again. Then once again it became freezing cold. All this time, the feeling against the Caucasians was high among the Issei. Suspicion and distrust against the "keto" was almost as high as the disgust over the dust and

⁴⁵Testimony of Kay Hisatomi, who lived in Block 42 and who witnessed the fight.

⁴⁶Field Notes, (TS), September 4, 1942.

the whirlwinds. People continued to dry vegetables in preparation for the "winter starving".

Early in September, the major focus of interest was on the conflict over coal; however, several other items of interest appeared. Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago visited the camp on the 1st to see what could be done for the Nisei when the new W.R.A. policies are drawn up. The O.W.I. brought in hundreds of pamphlets that they thought could be used to change the minds of the Issei about Japan. These pamphlets were distributed only once (in English), for the editor of the Tulean Dispatch understood the feeling of the Issei well enough to know that they would only sow the seeds of greater strife. On September 3, the announcement was made that Tule Lake farm products were being sold to other projects; this brought some heated comments from the Issei about "starvation in the midst of plenty", but within a few weeks the grumbling died down. On the 5th, it was announced that all workers would have to walk to work in order to save tires.

The conflict over the coal situation arose on September 1, when the block managers were told to inform their people that they either had to haul coal or else do without it this winter. The whole thing might have been worked out amicably, but it seems that the trouble arose largely as a result of the rather direct manner in which the proposition was presented.⁴⁷

⁴⁷Assistant director, Joe Hayes, was in charge of the situations. Instead of appealing to the selfish motives of the Issei, he threatened them. The Issei were not in a mood to take threats from a Caucasian.

For some time prior to the flare-up, there had been some difficulty in getting enough people to shovel coal because it was a hard and dirty job, and paid only \$12. The City Council asked that the coal workers be paid \$19., but were told by Mr. Shirrell that that could not be done because of the regulations on wages. The coal crew began to quit work in large numbers, and a serious situation arose because the trains had to be unloaded by a certain date or else the project would be sued for demurrage. It was at this time that the colonists were told bluntly; "either shovel coal yourself or do without".⁴⁸

Each block was asked to contribute three volunteer workers per night (each volunteer to get the next day off with pay) to unload the coal. Another difficult factor was the scarcity of trucks which made it impossible to work during the day. The volunteers were asked to work for eight hours at night. Clothing was to be furnished by the W.R.A. When some of the older men, who realized that someone had to do the work, asked if two of them could go and work four hours each, for some odd reason they were told, "No". On the whole, the people responded and sent the volunteer crew, but this was largely because they had no alternative. In some blocks, the block managers put the question very subtly and the people responded well; in other blocks, the heads were very irate and some resentment cropped up. Some of the comments made in this connection were:⁴⁹

⁴⁸See issues of the Tulean Dispatch for this period.

⁴⁹Most of these remarks were taken from Block 4, which sent volunteers after considerable opposition from certain Issei factions. The Kibei in Block 4 were in favor of volunteering for coal work.

"Well, whether we like it or not, it looks like we have to do it. Hell, it gets cold here. We have to have coal. If the other guys don't want to haul the coal, I'll go after my own anyway." (Nisei, male, 29)

"It seems to me that there is some more intelligent way of handling this thing. There are plenty of young men around here. Why should these old men have to do that hard work?" (Nisei, female, 24)

"They are making suckers out of us again. They pull us out of a comfortable living and then dump us into a place like this. Then, they can't even take care of us. Here it is. A couple of months since we came here and they are blackballing us already." (Kibei, male, 28)

"So they're afraid of being sued by the railroads. If the "keto" don't want to pay, why don't the "keto" get out there and haul the coal themselves?" (Issei, male, 55)

"We didn't invite ourselves in here. They put us here and they have to take care of us. Let them worry about it." (Kibei, male, 28)

The volunteer crews went out for several nights, but before long enough permanent workers were recruited. Later on, a few Caucasians from Tule Lake were hired (for 90¢ an hour), for the Japanese crew did not work fast enough for the railroad company. This caused some difficulty because the Nisei objected to their being paid a few cents an hour for doing the same work, but the grumbling died down before long.

During the coal situation, open resentment against the Caucasian personnel was loudly expressed, perhaps sometimes justifiably and more often because of some misunderstanding. Certainly, the whole event intensified the fears of many colonists that terrible things were in store for them during the winter. Their distrust of the Caucasians increased markedly after this incident. It seems that the stable elements in the colony were no longer able to keep.

On September 4, the construction crew went on a strike when half of their crew was laid off.⁵⁰ In the meantime, the workers in the furniture factory had gone on a strike and the manufacturing of furniture for the schools and some of the office rooms had to wait.

The celebration of Labor Day helped to alleviate the situation. The festivities began on Sunday, September 6, with a "sumo" tournament. On Monday, the day began with a parade, followed by a Flag dedication ceremony. In the afternoon there was open house and baseball games. At night, there were talent shows and dances.

As usual, the parade began late. At 9:30 the first group began. By that time crowds lined the streets that it was to pass, mostly Nisei or old Issei carrying or watching small children. It was led by the wardens; then came the American Legion veterans and the boy scouts; then came the prancing majorettes and the band. The girl reserves, the nursery school kiddies and the floats came last. Among the floats were the beautifully decorated farm float (which lifted the pride of the farm workers), and numerous comic floats, including the entry of the International Nuthouse Gang with the "Queen of 1960"--a 200 pounder.

The flag-dedication ceremony was held at the reviewing stand. Several dignitaries gave speeches; patriotic songs were sung; and the flag was presented to an Issei who was a

⁵⁰No reason was given by the administration. Mr. Shirrell's reply to the demands of the strikers was: "When a man's fired, he's fired."

World War veteran. Many stood at attention as the flag was raised and as the "Star Spangled Banner" was sung. It was interesting to note, however, that many people began to walk away as Mr. Shirrell got up to speak.⁵¹

On September 8, the Tulean Dispatch announced that black widow spiders were to be found in the colony. This greatly alarmed some people who had not seen them before. On the same day, a call was made for some women workers on the farm. This created some antagonism on the farm, but nothing serious happened.

On September 9, several things happened that made it quite obvious that it would not be too difficult to leave the project. A few people had left before this time, but the number was so small that most of the residents had thought that they were to be confined for the duration of the war whether they liked it or not. On this day, there began a major drive to recruit workers for the beet fields. Many who were disgruntled seized the opportunity to leave; this time there were several Issei and Kibei. Furthermore, word came in that the U.S. Army was looking for Nisei who could read, write and speak Japanese to teach candidates for the Intelligence Service. Needless to say, many interpreted this as spy work, and the opposition to volunteering was rather strong. On the same day, Robert Frazee of the W.R.A. employment division came to the camp to see if there were

⁵¹It must be pointed out that the concept of loyalty is very much emphasized in the minds of many Issei. They feel that their children should be loyal too--regardless of the country to which they should be loyal. Some Issei, however, have a more racialistic view.

any possibility of Nisei leaving to seek private employment outside. Since so many were planning to leave camp by this time for sugar beet work, for student relocation, or for employment, it became quite obvious that there were possibilities of escape.

On the 14th, school opened for 4,000 grammar and high school students. There was no equipment to speak of; there were not enough teachers; supplies had not yet been ordered; programs for students were not complete. Rumors circulated throughout the center about the inadequacy of the schools. Many Nisei mothers were resentful of the calibre of education their children were getting. Complaints were plentiful from the students, the parents, and from the teachers. Everything seemed to be disorganized.

During this time, the new heavy stoves were installed and the residents were reminded of the approaching winter. The chilly evenings served as warnings.

On September 13, a small nucleus of people opposed to the J.A.C.L. met for the first time at the Civic Organizations Office. Ways and means were plotted for combatting the J.A.C.L. control of the camp. On the following night, the Community Forum held a discussion on the outdoor stage on the subject of crime in the colony. This forum discussion was largely an outgrowth of the concern of many Nisei of the beatings administered during the past months by the Kibei elements.

On September 12, the first petition regarding doctors in the colony was circulated. During the past months, Dr. Carson (director of the Base Hospital) and Dr. Iki had gone to another

center to help organize a hospital there; while he was gone, Dr. Harada had been in charge. Rumors were current that Dr. Carson had refused to order many items vital to the welfare of the people and that Dr. Harada had ordered them in his absence. Rumors were also widespread that Dr. Iki and Dr. Harada did not get along well together and Dr. Iki had persuaded Dr. Carson to send Dr. Harada out to another center.⁵² Since most of the Sacramento people disliked Dr. Iki, they immediately concluded that Dr. Harada must be a fine physician and began circulating petitions to retain him in the center. The first petition and the rumors about the conflicts went around before any public announcement was made about the departure of any doctor. Actually petitions meant nothing, since most people did not know what they were signing. The interest was rather high, however, and the feeling against Dr. Iki rose again.

On September 14, the payroll section began paying out July salaries. On the 16th, approximately 500 workers left for various beet-fields. On the 18th, there was an election of the Fair Practice Committee. Very few participated in the

⁵²It seems that there was some conflict in the hospital between Dr. Harada and Dr. Carson. Dr. Uyeyama also apparently did not hide his feelings against Dr. Carson. Apparently Dr. Carson did resent these two Doctors. However, matters having to do with transfers was decided by Dr. Thompson of the regional office who sought to create a balanced staff in all hospitals. There was some reluctance to letting Dr. Iki go because he had donated so much of his own equipment to the hospital. Dr. Carson, realizing the misunderstanding in the colony, requested Dr. Thompson either to send both Harada and Iki away or to retain them both. He realized that if only one was to be left, some trouble might arise. Testimony of Dr. H.S. Jacoby, March 1943.

election. The most common comment was, "What's the use. We can't do anything." On the 21st, an indoor forum was held on the co-operatives in the center. On the following day, a Planning Board was proposed to advise the administration in regard to policy so that the people and the administrative personnel could get along as amicably as possible. On the 23rd, the Merit Board was officially established.

On September 16, the #3 canteen was robbed of some valuable goods. Someone slipped into the building at night either through a window or a door (both were open) and took some valuable items. Other things were scattered throughout the room.⁵³ Furthermore, about this time theft of lumber was still a major problem.⁵⁴

It was about this time that the mess hall trouble began to take shape. In August, the chief cooks had met and had demanded that Mr. Pilcher (formerly steward at Wallerga and reputed to be anti-Japanese) be fired and that the Japanese to be given complete control over the food situation. In spite of negotiations with the administration, nothing happened. Finally on about the 20th of September a petition was circulated throughout the camp demanding (1) the immediate discharge of Pilcher,⁵⁵ (2) the discharge of anyone else not working for the benefit of the community, (3) the replacement of these men by the Japa-

⁵³Tulean Dispatch, September 18, 1942.

⁵⁴Field Notes (TS), September 20, 1942.

⁵⁵The petition was a farce. Very few people knew what they were signing. As Mr. Shirrell said at a Council meeting: "You know damn well 9,000 people didn't know that Pilcher did bad things. Somebody went up to them and told them that he was a son of a bitch, and they signed." Mr. Shirrell was much closer to the truth than he might have suspected. Field Notes (TS), September 21, 1942.

nese, and (4) the complete control over the food situation by the Japanese. Over 9,000 people signed the petition.

Charges and counter-charges were made. Mr. Pilcher was accused of keeping the best slices of meat (loins) for the Caucasian personnel mess and giving the rest to the Japanese.⁵⁶ Finally, Mr. Shirrell, after a few weeks, appointed a committee of Caucasians to investigate the whole situation.

The weather became progressively colder as the days went on and the apprehensions about the conditions of the camp during the winter grew. People continued to dry vegetables and rice in preparation for the starvation. Many Nisei openly expressed a desire to get out of the camp. The feeling was still high against the Caucasians. Rumors were widespread that everyone on the coast would be transferred to Arkansas before long. These rumors became so widespread that Mr. Shirrell had to deny them in the Tulean Dispatch on September 25. It was about this time that the lull before the storm ended. The storm broke in full fury.

On September 22, lumber arrived on the project for the construction of a theatre. When it was learned, however, that the profits from community enterprises (supposedly the people's money) had been used to purchase the lumber and the equipment, a cry of protest went up. Toward the end of August, Kendall Smith (canteen director), foreseeing the government order forbidding the expenditure of more than \$200 for places of amuse-

⁵⁶Contrary to W.R.A. regulations, this was being done. However, Mr. Peck, rather than Mr. Pilcher, was the culprit. Mr. Pilcher apparently never told Mr. Shirrell about this.

ment, ordered movie projectors and lumber for the construction of a theatre. He had consulted several people before he made the move. Many Issei protested that they had not been consulted; many of them might have approved if they had been asked first, but there just wasn't the time in August. Smith had to make the order before the deadline and he probably thought that he would be helping the colony and took action.⁵⁷

During the heated discussion, the major issues were lost, and once again the contention was brought forth that the Caucasians were trying their best to take away the money of the Japanese. It was contended that if there were a movie, the parents of large families would be handicapped because their children would always want money. Many of the more active Nisei, realizing that a movie house would be a boon in the cold winter months argued against this, but it was of no avail. Finally, the City Council, on October 8, led by Walter Tsukamoto, passed a resolution favoring the theatre in spite of the opposition of the Issei.

In the meantime, the construction crew, led by Issei and Kibei, refused to touch the lumber. Finally, when the Council gave the go signal, construction was about to begin, when one of Tsukamoto's opponents revealed to the Issei that the theatre resolution had been advanced by the attorney. Immediately the feeling rose again against Tsukamoto and once more the theatre issue was deadlocked.

⁵⁷Testimony of Kendall Smith to the City Council on September 26, 1942. See Field Notes (TS).

At the same time, almost simultaneously, the community was confronted with another crisis. In spite of the warnings given him in August, O'Brien of the Office of War Information returned to the colony to ask for volunteers to broadcast to Japan. He announced his intentions publicly through the block managers, and immediately another crisis ensued. Many Nisei were willing to broadcast to indicate their loyalty to the United States, but the Issei opinion dominated the block meetings. The vociferous Nisei were thrown out of block meetings. Some of the more level-headed Issei proposed that records be made and played back to them to make sure that no lies were being sent, but apparently this was not agreeable to the O.W.I. men; they refused. Meeting after meeting was held and in the heat of excitement, pro-Japanese agitators stole the scene. There was so much confusion that the level-headed Issei could not be heard. Many of them were unable to speak for fear of being embarrassed by some agitator. The broadcast was not made.

It was in this issue that the long-broiling conflict between the Issei and the Nisei came out in the open. To be sure, the large majority of the Nisei were not particularly interested and therefore followed the dictates of their parents on issues such as this, but many of the Nisei leaders definitely opposed the first-generation. The differences in outlook had been kept under cover, but with the broadcast issue they came out in the open. Sharp words were exchanged and the feeling was high.

During the height of the struggle for power between the Issei and Nisei leaders and the height of the ill-feeling against the Caucasians, another crisis confronted the Nisei world. This

crisis gave some strength to the Issei position. Indeed this period was one of confusion.

At the end of a Council meeting on September 26, Walter Tsukamoto stood up and announced ver dramatically that the House of Representatives had passed a bill depriving all Nisei of citizenship and that the bill had been reported favorably to the Senate. He quoted the weekly of the American Civil Liberties Union. The news spread like wildfire. Everyone was upset. The administration frantically sent telegrams for confirmation to Washinton; Nisei wrote their friends. Most Nisei were very down-hearted. Rumors ran wild. By the early part of the following week, some Nisei were saying with confidence that the bill had passed the House 202-2! There was considerable commotion.

Within a few days, however, telegrams came back to the project saying that the rumor was not true--that no such thing had happened and nothing of the sort was likely to happen. The American Civil Liberties Union apologized, but the damage had been done. Many of Tsukamoto's political opponents, who had begun to organize, took advantage of the situation.⁵⁸ More rumors spread. The J.A.C.L. leaders clung to Tsukamoto's statement to the last, but finally had to admit the error.

On October 4, a Nisei Citizen's Rally sponsored by the Community Forum and the University of California Club was held

⁵⁸Opponents of Tsukamoto included pro-Japanese Issei who disapproved of his Americanism and pro-allied Nisei who disapproved of his tactics and ideology. The latter accused the attorney of being a "fascist".

on the outdoor platform. In spite of the fact that the meeting was held one week after the first word of the report, the attendance was small. Most of the people attending were disgusted by the apathy of the Nisei (who one week before had been so alarmed) who now did not seem to care at all about their citizenship. The meeting turned out to be a political struggle between the J.A.C.L. and anti-J.A.C.L. elements. Much criticism was directed against the organization, but nothing constructive seemed to have come out of the meeting. The prestige of the J.A.C.L. did not rise after the meeting nor did the opponents succeed in organizing anything to take its place. In a few weeks the issue died down and the Nisei world went on as usual with its dates and dances and in almost complete oblivion to anything else.

In the meantime, the hog farm was announced. On the last day of September the co-op representatives nominated members of the board of directors and the organization began to get on its feet. On the following day, the City Council set up a Trust Fund for evacuee workers. On the 7th of October, the announcement was made that there was a scarcity of labor in the farm, and students were called from the high school to harvest the crops. This caused much confusion on the farm and brought complaints from parents--especially of girls. All colonists were urged to help and some Nisei work crews did take a day off to work on the farm.⁵⁹ On the 7th, the

⁵⁹Farm men seemed to be of the opinion that the office workers loaged so much that they were in the way. See Kay Hisatomi's reports on the farm.

opening of a poultry farm was announced when chicks arrived on the project.

The feeling against Caucasians was still high. Among the Nisei, football replaced baseball as the center of interest. There were complaints against Nisei apathy from some quarters. Some were worried about the conditions in the beet-fields since unfavorable reports had come in from those who had gone out. Rumors about moving to Arkansas persisted, and some people began to make preparations.

On the 10th of October, the Sacramento chapter of the J.A.C.L. met and voted \$500. to the national headquarters. Much publicity was given to this. On the same day, parents of Nisei soldiers in the U.S. Army organized in the project. On the 13th, Miyamoto and Taketa, who had been sent out by Mr. Shirrell to look over the conditions in the beet-fields, reported favorably. On the 14th, a new W.R.A. policy that anyone (Issei as well as Nisei) could leave the project was announced. On the following day, the co-op filed its incorporation papers. On the 16th, canteen #5 opened for the selling of articles of clothing.

The major source of interest at the time, however, was the mess situation. On October 8, the Caucasian mess investigation committee made its report. It stated that Mr. Pilcher was at fault in many ways, but noted that he was a good steward. Mr. Shirrell published the report in the Tulean Dispatch, but did not take any other action. Mr. Pilcher continued in his ways, and finally, on October 11, the storm broke.

On the morning of the 11th, every mess hall in the project

announced that a strike would begin on the following day. In order to force a sympathetic strike, breakfast was not served until 8:30 or 9. Lunch was not announced; people were asked to come when the bell rang. Supper was served anywhere between 4:30 and 7. The odd and unannounced hours made it difficult for anyone to go to work. Those who did go to work had to go without eating unless they were fortunate.

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The feeling in the colony was:

"These damn "keto" think they got us by the balls, but we'll show them this time. They think that just because they got us locked up they can do anything they want to us, but this time we'll show them that we can make it tough on them." (Kibei, male, about 25)

"The fucken "keto" makes promises and makes promises and talks smooth but never does anything. Even the "keto" committee found Pilcher guilty, but he's still here." (Kibei, male, about 25)

"Pilcher is no good. We must get rid of him." (Issei, female, 48)

"It's all right if we have to sacrifice a little. When Pilcher goes, we can have better food." (Issei, male, 58)

Actually, for several days no one knew what the difficulty was because the mess workers did not make known their demands. Mr. Elbertson, the labor relations man, experienced some difficulty in getting the demands. When they were finally made known, it was found that they coincided in many respects with demands made before. They still demanded the dismissal of Pilcher; they demanded more and better food; they demanded clothing for workers and their pay checks. Mr. Elbertson was able

⁶⁰These remarks were gathered in Blocks 4 and 16. Some of them were overheard in conversations.

to settle things within a few days by meeting the demands that could be met and by promising the other things, and the mess halls went back to their regular schedules from the 14th.

During and immediately after the mess hall strike, the feeling ran high on both sides--Caucasian and Japanese. Many colonists were very angry at the administration. Rumors went about the camp that Mr. Shirrell had told the men that he would make the place into a concentration camp. Even Mr. Shirrell, who had heretofore been one of the few Caucasians respected in the colony, was put on the distrusted list. Rumors spread about him and his part in the "plot" with Pilcher to rob the people of what was justly theirs.

On the other hand, it was not difficult to see why many of the Caucasians who had to work so hard for the colonists were getting tired of the trouble. Many who had been very kind before were getting impatient. They began talking about martial law and "insubordination". Talk about the "agitators" was common among the Caucasian personnel.⁶¹

In the meantime, the theatre issue reappeared. On October 8, as we have already noted, the City Council approved the construction of the movie theatre. On the 11th, some of the Issei held a meeting of their own (in which they themselves eliminated the agitators) and then sent a delegation to ask the Council to reconsider their stand. Finally, it was decided to put the issue to the vote of the colony. On October 19, a vote was

⁶¹It seems to the writer that many of the Caucasians are very sympathetic but also incompetent and inefficient. Some blamed "agitators" instead of frankly admitting their errors.

taken and the "No's" carried by a 5 to 2 majority. The voting was not always by secret ballot, for in more than one block a group of Issei stood by the ballot box all day and watched each voter. It was difficult under the circumstances for many Nisei to vote "Yes", even though they may have wanted to do so. Because of the overwhelming majority in the vote, this ended the theatre issue for the time being.

From this point onward, however, the people in the colony began to settle down. The cool weather probably had something to do with it since it prevented people to congregate to discuss their ills, but probably the most important factors were the issuance of clothing to all workers during the middle of October and the payment of some of the August salaries toward the end of the month.

Toward the end of the month, the weather became cold. Frost came daily, and snow fell for the first time. The interest in the colony shifted to catching geese (illegally) and then fooling the military police. Pleas were made for more beet-workers, and some responded. On October 18, a few of the blocks received their clothing allowance for August; the others had to wait, but a sudden change in the policy deprived many of them of their allowance.

The City Charter was completed and announced to the public on October 21, but there was little interest in it at the time being. On the 24th, the announcement was made that four doctors (including Dr. Harada, Dr. Iki, and Dr. Uyeyama) were leaving the center, but even this did not create much trouble.

It seems that the Tule Lake project underwent its critical

period between the first week of August and the middle of October. The trouble began slowly with minor conflicts over lumber, minor irritations over whirlwinds and dust, minor complaints about the stench caused by the broken pipe in the cesspool. Gradually the resentment grew as wages were not paid, as misunderstandings arose over the canteen profits. The explosion came first over the "ahodarakyo" incident and then the major farm strike. Then came a series of organized protests--strikes in the packing shed, the construction crew, and the mess hall crew. Then there was a lull during which internal strife weakened the attempt at organized protest. The Nisei-Kibei conflict came out after some brutal beatings. An intra-Nisei squabble arose over the queen contest and the J.A.C.L. Then came the coal conflict, the theatre vote, and the broadcast issue. This period was that of greatest tension in the history of the first half year in Tule Lake.

Things began to quiet down toward the end of October. On the 26th, an election was held for members of the Issei Planning Board. On the same day, the Public Assistance Grants for July, August, and September were finally paid. On the 28th, six people went on trial before the Judiciary Committee for theft. On the 30th, the J.A.C.L. held a campwide meeting to plan for a future program for the Nisei in the camp. On the 31st, the Harvest Festival was held. It began in the morning with a parade (which included units similar to those found in Japanese parades); and in the afternoon, there was a carnival with bingo, ball throwing, wheels, penny pitch, sketches, darts, fish pond, entertainment and raffle drawing, and greased pig. The whole

day was declared a holiday. Just prior to the program, August paychecks were distributed. All of these factors probably helped to alleviate the ill-feeling and raised the morals considerably.

On November 2, the schedule for the Cabaret Internationale--a troupe to tour the camp--was announced. Dr. Howard K. Beale of the National Student Relocation Council came to the center to interview some prospective students. On the 4th, the Planning Board of Issei was established and began functioning. On the 6th, some of the September pay checks were distributed and the remainder were given out within a few days. This payment was a surprise to everyone who expected to wait another two months or so for the next pay. Needless to say, it greatly raised the morals.

The Nisei seemed to be in a co-operative mood. When it was announced that there was a shortage of labor in the farm, numerous work corp groups went out to work voluntarily. On the 7th, when the Dispatch announced that the Army wanted Nisei for Japanese language instructors, many expressed their intention to volunteer and did so in December.

There was still some grumbling about lumber. The colonists had been warned time and again against stealing lumber,⁶² but some of them continued to take the lumber that had been purchased for the theatre. The desire of the colonists for lumber at this time was understandable. The winter was rapidly approaching and many did not have enough wood to make porches.

⁶²Tulean Dispatch, November 4, 1942.

As long as the colonists felt that the lumber belonged to the Caucasians, they did not feel that it was wrong to take it.

Wardens who watched the piles were ridiculed and called down:⁶³

"Mr. Warden, you must remember that you are a Japanese yourself and you should not take the side of the "keto" against your own people." (Issei, male, 58)

"Why do you young fellows continue to lick the tails of the "keto"? Can't you find anything better to do?" (Issei, male, 55)

"It seems to me that wardens should help us steal the lumber." (Issei, female, 50)

The wardens, however, kept their vigil, and the thefts died down.

On November 12, the sale of script books for the co-operatives began. On the following day, the Tulean Dispatch carried a headline that the wardens were "cracking down" on gambling in the colony. This announcement was a farce, and the Issei took it in good humor. Rumors were current that one of the wardens had been caught in a "den" himself. On the 17th, plans for higher education in the center were announced and prospective students were asked to register. On the 19th, the Dispatch carried an article on the ruling of the Oregon federal judge on the unconstitutionality of the evacuation of Nisei. Very few Nisei, however, seemed to be concerned.

By this time, the real winter weather began to set in. The thermometer dropped to 10 degrees below zero, and many Californians experienced the bitter cold for the first time.

⁶³These remarks were made after a flare-up about lumber near Block 40.

Snow piled as high as six inches in some spots although it was usually much less. On some days, the rain drenched the area. On the 14th, an unusually severe gale blew out the power lines and the camp was in complete darkness from about 9:30 p.m. to the next morning.

During this period, the interests of the community ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. Many Nisei suddenly became fascinated by the Ouija board. Groups met in rooms of friends and earnestly sought the answers to the dark future. This widespread fad may have been indicative of a basic feeling of insecurity that many Nisei unquestionably had. The interest in the outside world, a rising interest in getting out through Student Relocation, a rising interest in the possibilities of Nisei being drafted by the Army.

Another focal point was the City Charter. For some time, the Issei did not take much interest in the Charter; however, when the day for the voting was announced, many of them got together and discussed the desirability of the charter. The Nisei did not seem too concerned, although the charter was for an all-Nisei Council. One of the strongest arguments advanced against the charters was that Walter Tsukamoto had drawn it up and that therefore it was subject to suspicion. In the final vote on November 16, it was ratified by a narrow margin.

About this time, the beet field workers began to return to the center in large numbers, and the interest shifted to them. Reports about outside conditions circulated, and stories were told of how certain people succeeded in bringing whiskey back into the center. The Military Police went carefully

through all baggage and even searched some of the men, but somehow or other, liquor did get into Tule Lake.

In the extreme cold, the interest in coal also rose. Rumors spread that there was not enough coal, and they had to be officially denied in the Tulean Dispatch on November 23. Whenever a coal truck came in and dumped coal in the block coal pile, people rushed out from all directions with buckets and cans and boxes and hauled it away to their rooms. So many people dashed after the coal that it was impossible to use the wheelbarrows that were available and sometimes so much coal was taken that the fireman for the washrooms had difficulty in keeping his boiler going. At one time, only powdered coal was to be found in any of the piles. Distribution was slow at that time because of the lack of trucks.

On November 20, meat conservation was announced, but the Issei seemed to understand and very few complained. On the following day, plans for the payment of unemployment compensation were announced. This was supposed to have been paid from September, but somehow it was delayed.⁶⁴ Interest rose in the Army language school over the weekend when several Nisei soldiers came to the center to recruit Nisei for work in the Intelligence Service. On the 26th, the morale took a leap when the colonists were given turkey for Thanksgiving--with all the trimmings. The cooks in some mess halls stayed up

⁶⁴The Placement officer for a long time tried his best to get some other department to do the work. Finally he placed part of the work on the Social Welfare Department. This did not solve the problems, however, and no payments were made.

all night to prepare the food, and the day was one of gaiety and festivities.

The Army school issue caused some split among the colonists. Many Nisei wished to go; some because they wished to prove their loyalty to the United States and some because they could no longer stand the life in camp. Many of the Nisei faced the opposition of their parents who in turn had to face the opinion of the community. Apparently there was little complaint if a Nisei was drafted (since then he could not help himself), but there was some opposition to Nisei volunteering for the United States Army. Some of the opposition, of course, arose when the parents thought their sons were to be used as spies.⁶⁵ Women (mothers and relatives of boys in service) passed around the "sen-nin-bari" (needle of a thousand hands)⁶⁶ to send to the soldiers. Here again, there was little opposition if the boy had been drafted, but people were hesitant about helping volunteers. At any rate, in spite of opposition, many volunteers left the camp.

On the 23rd of November, nominations were made for members of the new City Council. Many Issei participated in the nominations and elections and tried to bring in people whom they felt they could control since they themselves could not get in. As usual, the Nisei took very little interest in the affair.

⁶⁵This was not true; the men were to be used as interpreters.

⁶⁶The superstition is that if a soldier (in Japan) wears the belt in which 1,000 different hands have sewed in stitches, he will never die. This is done widely in Japan for men in the Japanese Army.

The half year period that we are considering in this section ended on an ominous note. News had come from Poston of a riot by "pro-Axis" elements. At the same time, preparations were being made to put up a barbed wire fence separating the residents from the Caucasian personnel and the warehouse area. The colonists were not half as disturbed about this as were the teachers and some of the Caucasian personnel, but some expressed their resentment against the Army.

Thus, from the end of October, the situation quieted down. With the payment of salaries, much of the distrust of the Caucasians died down. Some of the more level-headed Issei began to take things into their hands. The Issei set up their planning board; they attempted to control the election of councilmen, and the co-op got under way with their support. The J.A.C.L. made their bid for some unity and action. Aside from the paychecks, The Harvest Festival carnival and the Thanksgiving dinner probably served as powerful impetuses to the rising of the morale in the camp. As the crisis situations disappeared, those who had spoken loudly against the administration began to quiet down--some things they could no longer say. Other Issei began to take over the driver's seat.

Part IV. Social Change

It would be difficult to understand the nature of the adjustment made by the individuals in Tule Lake simply in terms of "conflicting cultures" or in terms of the "Japanese ideology". Actually, it seems that the social institutions usages

of Tule Lake were a combination of: (1) institutions and usages which were transplanted from Japan or the Japanese communities on the Pacific Coast, (2) institutions imposed by the federal government, and (3) the crystallization of collective adjustments made by the evacuees to unexpected situations.⁶⁷

Unexpected situations arose in Tule Lake--physical and social situations for the meeting of which no routine existed. Naturally the nature of the collective adjustment made depended upon the definition that was given to the new situation. The process of institutionalization was full of conflicts in Tule Lake, partly because of differing definitions of the same situation by the various factions in the project. There was some agreement, however, and gradually certain routines began to crystallize--or at least were accepted. Many new attitudes, new associations, and new institutions (new for the evacuees) came into existence at Tule Lake.

One of the first problems that arose in the center was with reference to the lack of furniture and other household articles, the absence of which would mean considerable inconvenience. At first, since there was plenty of scrap lumber, the people simply went to the scrap pile and helped themselves to what they needed. However, as the demand grew and the sup-

⁶⁷We are not using the term "unexpected" here in the sense that one is confronted with something by surprise. By an "Unexpected situation" is meant any situation which did not occur with sufficient regularity among the people involved to have developed a routine manner of meeting it. When one is confronted by an unexpected situation, he is forced to make choices and decisions whereas he might otherwise have simply followed the accepted routine. Cf. J. Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct.

ply dwindled to practically nothing, there ensued a struggle for lumber. There seemed to be a period of milling, during which people did not know exactly what to do. The sanctions against stealing were still being applied and many hesitated to steal lumber. Gradually, however, as the feeling against the administration began to crystallize, a distinction was made between lumber belonging to the "government" and that belonging to fellow colonists. The attitude that one should try to get as much as possible from the government became more and more widespread. Efforts were made by the administration to apply organized sanctions against taking government property, but very little in the way of diffuse sanctions were applied by the colonists. Most colonists looked upon lumber-stealing with humor; whereas perhaps the majority of them would have felt differently were they outside the project.

Another break in the routines was occasioned by the fact that many individuals from different and far-separated communities were forced to live together for the first time. Furthermore, most individuals found themselves without many of the devices through which they had either sought or maintained a certain status. In brief, the old status system of the Japanese community, though it did not break down completely, did change. Strangers did not know the respected men of other communities and consequently failed to pay the expected deference.

At first there was an effort to make new friends. Those who had always waited proudly for formal introductions began speaking to anyone. Younger people went to "mixers". At the

same time there was a wild scramble for the "C-classification" jobs, especially among Nisei. There was suspicion and regional conflict. In the quest for status, ambitious individuals started new clubs, entered writing and speaking activities, displayed their talents at outdoor platform activities. In the younger generation of high school students, zoot suits and long chains came into prominence. Athletic events were begun and many made efforts to excel in sports. Conspicuous consumption took an interesting form. In the face of the dominant opinion in the colony that people should not dress well and that everyone should be like everyone else, efforts were made by some young men to be as dirty as possible. Very few spent large sums of money to decorate their homes and until the fall of 1942, dress was informal on most occasions.

Gradually, however, out of this milling there developed certain action structures which provided means for seeking a higher status. New voluntary associations were formed. Regular talent shows and forums were held on the outdoor stage. New attitudes developed concerning cleanliness and fine homes. Contests of all kinds became rather prominent. New class and clique lines replaced the old, and sectionalism was replaced by a feeling of one-ness.⁶⁸ The new status system, however, did not correspond to the new economic structure of the community.⁶⁹ Frustrated Nisei with spare time spent it in a quest

⁶⁸This is not to say that there was no conflict. However, it seems that identification with Tule Lake became more important than the identification with former homes.

⁶⁹For details see the section on "Social Structure".

for power and prestige. Ample opportunities were provided for them.

The lack of facilities also presented a problem. There were no churches and very little in the way of recreational facilities. Ministers held their meetings in the mess halls with improvised altars and children played in the firebreaks. It was not long before the government sponsored and directed the Recreation Department which was accepted by most colonists. Young people's groups were formed and sanctioned by the church.

Many Issei found themselves with very little work to do for the first time in their lives. At first they helped their neighbors and performed odd jobs, and spent much time in gossip. Gradually, however, many of the Issei began to take interest in such activities as flower-making, the making of shell necklaces, and adult education classes in English and sewing. Whereas men had played "gon" and "shogi" before for amusement, they organized and began to participate in contests sponsored by the Recreation Department.

Many Nisei likewise found little to do. There were no theatres or soda-water stands around which to loiter. Dances were not held very frequently at first, and other recreational facilities were overtaxed. This led to rumors about the large number of pregnant and unmarried girls. The "Fujin-kai" (women's club) in Block 4, for example, was formed at first for the sole purpose of discussing ways and means of controlling their daughters. Whereas the dances began spontaneously, the administration entered the picture at the request of the parents and imposed a curfew on all dances. More recreational activi-

ties and interest-clubs were fostered, and wardens were accepted as people to watch the wayward youth.

Many women who had formerly stayed at home to care for their children suddenly found that they had to go to work so that the family would have enough money to purchase necessities not provided by the government. This brought out the problem of what to do with their children. The Nursery Schools were established and accepted by most women with young children.

Early in the history of the colony, the low wage scale was announced. There was considerable agitation for uniform wages, and some asked for higher wages. Older men resented working under young and technically trained men, and much discussion went on for several months. Gradually, the wage scale came to be accepted. Some people (especially the Nisei) tried hard to get the jobs paying \$19. a month, but there was not much prestige attached to these positions. Status, then, came to be determined by factors other than differentials in wages. People also accepted the habit of not working too hard for the government, although many made sacrifices when they were working for their fellow colonists. Possibly to protect those with little earning power, a Community Trust Fund was established.

Another new situation was the exercise of direct control over the community by the government. While the Japanese had always lived under American laws, they seldom had to deal so much, directly, with the functionaries of the governmental agencies. At first the Issei gathered in small and informal groups to discuss various issues with their block managers,

whom they accepted as a go-between. It was not long, however, that block meetings began to be held. Delegations were formed for "suggestions" to the administration. Gradually, block managers and councilmen came to be recognized as the men through whom negotiations were to be made with the officials. When the Planning Board was formed, it was also accepted as a channel for the performance of this function.

The fact that the evacuees no longer could see themselves with any control over the immediate future brought about another unexpected situation. It is true that the evacuees did not have much control over their future when they were outside, but what is crucial here is their definition of the situation. Since the satisfaction of their immediate needs, such as, food and shelter, depended upon Caucasians whom they did not trust, everything seemed very insecure. This feeling of insecurity was manifested in the habit of drying food given out by the mess hall or stolen from the farm, the hoarding of food and coal, and the great interest taken in the Ouija Board. It was not long before there was agitation for control over what was conceived of as being the satisfaction of basic needs. For example, one of the things demanded in the mess hall strike was the complete control over the food situation by the Japanese. Strikes were declared, and it was not long before the strike came to be accepted as a means of settling issues with the government. Negotiation committees in times of strikes came to be accepted as was the procedure of conferring with the labor relations man.

Because of confinement, many individuals found that it

was difficult for them to deal with outsiders on matters such as the disposition of their property. At first the block managers were consulted, but gradually the Legal Aid Department and the Social Welfare Department came to be recognized as the proper channels for disposing such matters.

It was not very long after the colonists had been in Tule Lake that many of them began to realize that it was rather expensive to live comfortably in the camp. Those with money became alarmed at the dwindling of their reserves; while those without money wanted to have some. Much agitation was directed against the government and gradually the attitude that one should try to get as much as possible from the government prevailed. Many Issei defined the situation in such a manner that they began to demand Public Assistance Grants and clothing allowances; whereas on the outside their pride would never have allowed them to go on relief--even if they were almost starving.

Thus, certain action structures developed from collective adjustments to unexpected situations. New attitudes and new associations also formed. Some of the institutions established in Tule Lake were similar to those that had existed in the pre-war days in the 'Lil Tokyos; others were imposed upon the community by the government. Very few of the new institutions have crystallized to the extent that they could not be changed, but the fact remains that these new routines of living are being accepted and are gradually becoming the habits of the colonists.

Perhaps one reason why there has not been a definite crystallization is that there is no social solidarity in the Tule

Lake community. There is no leadership acceptable to the majority, not is there any tradition which is common to all elements of the population. Finally there is no group defined by the entire group as a common enemy against whom they could unite. Differing definitions of the same situations and constant conflicts characterized the community rather than consensus.

Among the many institutions that were transplanted in Tule Lake from the Japanese communities of the pre-war days were: the various exhibits and contests, talent shows, queen contests, churches, the "Fujin-kai", dances, clubs, and interest-groups. However, these institutions met definite needs in the project and were all modified to meet the camp conditions.

Among the institutions imposed by the federal government and which were accepted by the colonists were the various service departments, Student Relocation, wardens, canteens, block managers' organization, block meetings, the City Council, the Recreation Department, the Legal Aid Department, nursery schools, and adult education classes. These institutions likewise provided for needs which were basic or which were necessitated by the nature of the situation.

The Planning Board and the acceptance of the strike as a method of securing demands were the direct outcome of the situation in the centers. It seems that the "Fujin-kai" was revived in the form that it took largely because of the fear on the part of parents that their daughters might have illegitimate children. Collective adjustments were made, then, largely along the lines similar to the adjustments that had been made before or along

lines suggested by the government. When no provisions were provided by either the traditions or the community nor the government, new usages were established. Old institutions, such as the "Ken-jin-kai" (prefectural societies), which were no longer able to cope with the needs of the people, seemed to die away. Resistance developed against the governmentally imposed institutions when in the conceptions of the Issei such institutions were not for the welfare of the community.

Part V. Summary and Tentative Conclusions

Following the evacuation and relocation crisis, successive groups of evacuees attempted to adjust themselves to the life in Tule Lake. From May 27 on, group after group added to the population of the project. At first there was harmony, and many ambitious goals were set up. It was not long, however, before conflicts took place.

It seems that the adjustments in general took the form of a social movement. From the end of June to about the middle of August, people were restless, uneasy, and acted in a random manner. They were susceptible to appeals that tapped their discontent and the agitators played an important role. By the end of August, some of the feelings of discontent began to focus against the government.⁷⁰ This was probably due to

⁷⁰For an excellent discussion of social movements see the article by Herbert Blumer on "Collective Behavior" in R.E. Park, Outlines of the Principles of Sociology. See especially pages 258-72 for a discussion especially apropos to the above discussion.

circular reaction and interstimulation.

Early in September definite notions began to arise concerning the "cause" of the difficulties and the milling continued. Tactics, such as the strike, became organized and accepted.

It seemed that most of the people who came in the advance crew had the desire of co-operating with the Caucasians to make Tule Lake the "best relocation center in the country". Block competed against block and the people tried their best to help each other adjust to the camp life. Everything was getting started, and every day some new activity was added. There were some conflicts between the evacuees, but there was no organized feelings against the administration. There was to some extent an identification of the part of the individuals with the project and the staff.

The first trouble began when Wallerga people began coming into the project in large numbers. Sectional strife broke out. However, there was little in the way of organized resistance against the administration. As a matter of fact, organized resistance was impossible because there were too many different definitions of the situation. The struggle was between the various factions in the community, for status and for lumber. It was a matter of each individual for himself rather than a co-operative effort toward a common end.

As the weather got hotter people began to sit around and grumble. Arguments arose over the lowness of the wages; trouble began on the farm; struggle after struggle came over lumber; arguments arose over canteen profits. There was still much

internal strife. Nisei and Kibei clashed in two mess halls; Nisei fought Nisei for the "soft" jobs; Issei and Nisei fought for political power.

Gradually, however, the suspicion of Caucasians and their motives began to grow. People began drying food in preparation for a winter of "starvation". From the beginning of August the milling about ceased to be as aimless and as random as before. Agitators came to the scene, and the situation was such that they were able to focus the attention of the people on certain discontents.

Trouble began with the "ahogarakyo" incident and immediately thereafter the farm strike broke out. Fear of the "inu" was openly expressed, and with the strike there was some crystallization of a feeling against all "keto", not simply the administrative personnel. Then came the strikes in the packing shed, the construction crew, and the furniture factory. Another flareup occurred over the coal situation. There was open resentment, and the pro-keto element, especially Dr. Iki, was much in disrepute. The Iki-Tsukamoto trouble spread from the Sacramento area to the entire project. The mess hall trouble reflected not only resistance to the administration but also a fear, a feeling of insecurity at not having control over food.

While the Issei in the colony seemed almost unified in their defiant stand against the administration, the Nisei continued to fight against each other. The J.A.C.L. men and their opponents tore at each other; while other Nisei argued and bickered over who was to be the Queen of Tule Lake. There

was little unity among the Nisei.

The building of a movie theatre and the broadcasting to Japan rocked the community. In a sense these two incidents crystallized more than any other incident the already existing sentiments of the Issei and Kibei. The broadcast issue brought to the open attention of everyone the question of "loyalty" to country. The theatre project was probably voted down, not because the people did not want a theatre, but rather because some agitators wanted to show the administration that "the Japanese could not be shoved around". This was a period of organized protest.

Gradually the tenseness began to die down. The aimless milling about and the organized protest seemed to fade away. People began once more to go about their way, preparing for the cold winter to come. Minor crises arose, but they did not attract as much attention as they might have before. By this time, the people were accepting the new routines in their lives as a matter of course. Adjustments had been made and new institutions and associations were being accepted.

During the first six months of its existence, the Tule Lake Project went through considerable strife. Many have attributed the difficulties to agitators or to the poor organization and inefficiency of the administration. It would seem, however, that these explanations omit one very important consideration. It is quite possible that all the strife was a by-product of the effort on the part of the individuals concerned to adjust themselves to the life in the center. What happened in Tule Lake was probably the product of the collective adjust-

ment of diverse peoples to a similar social and physical situation. The agitator, for example, is the product of the situation, for very few would pay much attention to an agitator were it not for the fact that he himself was discontent about something.

It seems, therefore, that the evacuees were confronted by new situations in the project. New attitudes developed, and these were combined with the old. New institutions were imposed upon them, but these were modified to approximate old patterns or to meet other needs. In the fluid situation it is difficult to speak of the crystallization of collective adjustments into institutions; however, given time, this probably will take place.

What happened in Tule Lake then was a result of the response of human beings to the peculiar combination of physical and social situations presented by the project.