

Wax, Rosalie (Hankey) Tule Lake Fieldnotes, Oct 1944 : pp 1-68  
2:9

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

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OCTOBER 1, 1944

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN

Events at Community Management Meeting:

I called on Mrs. Deschin, the new social worker, to get her story of this meeting, where, I had heard, she had been the only staff member to speak up to Mr. Black on the imminent closing of the camp to relocation.

After Dr. Opler completed his report on the Denver conference, in which he stressed that it appeared that the complaints at the other centers were the same as those at Tule Lake, Mr. Black got on to the business of when the [west] coast is opened and the possible closing of Tule Lake [to relocation].

I said, 'What concerns me is just how we can use this among the people if it is just a probability.'

Mr. Black said, 'If you know anybody intending to leave you can tell them this.'

Irene and Helen (two young members of the Welfare staff with little or no formal training) said in an apple-polishing manner, 'May we use your name and tell the people that the big officials in the Administration believe this?'

Then some teachers asked what to do about the sixteen year old kids. Huycke answered that after the servicemen return, maybe things aren't going to be so rosy. Maybe we shouldn't pressure them.

I tried to get back to the subject and said, 'Why can't reasonable notice be given?' Then Mr. Gunderson and Mr. Black said simultaneously, 'That's all Hearst would need!' I said, 'Are we running this camp for Mr. Hearst or for the people?'

Mrs. Deschin added that not one of the other staff members gave her any support. There are some of the teachers, however, who are so concerned over this that support might be gotten for a petition to Washington requesting that some sort of statement be given the people.

Huycke Leaving:

Mr. Huycke definitely announced before a group of friends that he was leaving here October 15.

FBI Investigates Soldiers on Furlough:

Mrs. Deschin told me that twelve or fourteen Japanese American soldiers, all of whom had had their basic training at Shelby and some of whom had seen service for considerable time in the service commands, were given furloughs and came to Tule Lake. After they had been here a short time, the authorities were amazed to receive letters from all of them stating that they had decided to apply for repatriation. The letters are said to have been written on the same general plan, and some appear to be copies. An FBI investigator was sent to Tule Lake to investigate and see if this were some kind of plot. He saw all the boys and their families and came to the conclusion that the stories they told him were true and that it was not a plot against the U.S. government. The boys said that after arriving here they were treated as social outcasts. Nobody would speak to them. Even their families were cold and treated them as if they were fools. Not being able to endure this



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ostracism or the knowledge that their families were going to Japan and that they were fighting for a cause which all their relatives and families thought foolish, they applied for repatriation.

(Private note: Mrs. Deschin did not tell me that by applying for repatriation, the soldiers might avoid being sent overseas. It is customary, I believe, to give soldiers an opportunity to visit their families before going over, and it was probably believed that this eventuality could be avoided by applying for repatriation. I do not, however, mean to minimize the effect of the sneers and ridicule which the young men may have received in the camp. The fact that their families did not support and respect their military service would make them feel like fools. Compare J. Takeuchi's account of how Japanese communities supported Japanese American draftees before the evacuation. (Fieldnotes, September 17.))



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TALK WITH GEORGE YAMASHIRO

George was unusually talkative. About the resegregation announcement he said:

I'll say, 'Leave me alone and I'll leave you alone.' If I feel like it, I'll sign. I haven't signed yet.

I'm Japanese - no matter what they (pressure group) say. If we swear to be Japanese, we are Japanese.

Myself, I went to see Reverend Tsuha (the nominal founder of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan). We talked until 1:30 in the morning. We had a different idea and couldn't come to an agreement so I came back.

Even if we sign or don't sign, it won't do no harm. Maybe somebody will ask me and maybe I will sign, but nobody has asked me to sign.

(I asked if they had been given a time limit to sign as Mrs. Matsuda had told me Saturday.)

We didn't get any time limit to sign. They didn't give us any deadline.

The Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan is back of it. Reverend Tsuha told me, 'Anybody who sign on the paper can be in the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan, but whoever doesn't sign can't be a member.'

(We discussed the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan and the Resegregation pressure group and George said:)

It's like a brother and sister.

Reverend Tsuha told me, 'Mr. Akashi is the first one to put out the resegregation petition and he's the father of naming the Sokoku.'

I went to see Reverend Kai and Mr. Kuratomi the other day but we were both being so careful what we said, that I couldn't get any clear picture.

Santa Fe Men:

(I asked George for his opinion on the efforts being made by the Nisei members of the Negotiating Committee to bring back the Issei from Santa Fe.)

I think it's right to bring them back. That's giri.

War Developments and Renunciation of Citizenship:

I think that Nimitz and Montgomery are going to get to the Phillipines. I think they'll get that far. And I think that the renunciation of citizenship is going to be brought out at the same time.



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Justice Department:

If we go under Justice those who have money will be all right. But those who can't earn will sure start crabbing again. (George believes that as internees the evacuees will not get paid for working. I take his word for it, since I know nothing about it.)\_ You remember, that was the main point against the status quo.

For my frank opinion I'd like to be an internee, but this is not a one person camp.

I think the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan is just like that fellow Kawaii, (Nobu Kawaii of the JACL)(1) who said to the JACL that all the Niseis wanted to go into the Army.

(George may mean the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan represents just as small a part of the public opinion of Tule as the JACL did in Gila.)

The Sokoku doesn't say a thing what their purpose is.

Membership:

George told me that he has, in the past few weeks, made a pretty thorough study of the strength of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan. He said that they do not have more than 60 or 70 members in each ward which gives them a membership of 550 at the outside. His own ward, VI, has the largest membership and they are also very strong in his block, 68. Ward I has 52 members and ward III has 50. I remarked that it looked as if they had started the circulation of their paper in the blocks which are known to be most strongly status quo. George said he had no doubt of that. George also said that he knew that the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan was the moving force behind this resegregation pamphlet.

During the conversation, Mrs. Yamashiro remarked that Mr. Kurihara had come over to see George, but, unfortunately, George was not home. (This may have been a friendly call - but there is the possibility that Kurihara may be trying to get information or support. Think I'll go to see Mr. Ige, another Leupp internee tomorrow.)

[1. Japanese American Citizens League.]



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TALK WITH MR. TACHIBANA

Called on the Tachibanas today to see how they felt about the reception of their pamphlet. They said they were satisfied, but they did not sound happy or enthusiastic. Mr. Tachibana remarked that Mr. Black had tried to make trouble for them, but that he (Black) had gotten nowhere. Clearly, he did not wish to talk about the pamphlet, and with no warning, he gave me the following lecture. I dutifully wrote it all down.

You know, Miss Hankey, the Japanese people, we were here for 40 years. Our fathers and mothers came here as immigrants and came here by the rights of immigrants. But the immigrants went through all kinds of hardships. It cannot be considered that they came here as pioneers, like those who came from England, because they (English) came here to a new country and were the landlords of a new hemisphere because there was no one to boss them here except the wild Indians.

And other new immigrants (not Japanese) when they came here they were of the same race and there were many millions of countrymen already had built up the place in this country.

While the Japanese, when they came to this country it was altogether different. They couldn't get any jobs except those left by the other people because they were very inferior in pay and very cheap.

They had a hard time to adapt themselves to the way of living in this country. Firstly, they could not speak even a single English. But because of their determined ideals, they finally struggled their way through.

They worked on the railroads. These railroads, over in Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho, they were actually set by the immigrants who worked all day long with a very, very poor food and living conditions. They used to make biscuit-like things with a barrel, with nothing for seasoning but salt. They ate this kind of food every day, day after day. Many became undernourished. They had one egg for one week. For those people it was considered to be a very fine thing for them. They can't complain their jobs under such circumstances, because working on the railroad was the only job open to them. And if they quit that job they can't find another job because there was no way of finding another job. That's only the particular job that was open to the Japanese immigrants.

A great part of the Southern Pacific, the Union Pacific and the Great Northern were actually laid and spiked down by Japanese labor.

Take for instance the lumber business of the Northwest. They (the Japanese) cannot open the lumber industry of the Northwest today. But for the agricultural industry, especially in the three western states, this was opened up with the assistance of Japanese labor.

Stockton, the Delta, used to be known as the natural marshes that can never be transformed into agricultural land. It was finally transformed to the most fertile land in the United States. Now it produces millions of the products. This was accomplished by the Japanese immigrant. Those sandy gravels, like a desert, at Fresno, many millions of acres of such dry sand land has never been thought to be a vineyard of such a great extended area. Now it is actually the most great grape industry of today.

Take the fishing industry. Without the Japanese immigrants who were engaged in fishing, the great salmon industry of Alaska might never have been opened up. The salmon



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industry became the second to the gold industry in Alaska. It was opened up with the assistance of Japanese immigrants.

Take Terminal Island. Ninety-nine percent of the residents of Terminal Island were Japanese who fished all along the Southern waters, nearby Mexico, and the yearly outcome of such industry were a great income to the United States.

This are only the few itemized industry that the Japanese immigrants engaged in and made a great thing for the benefit of this country. Under the circumstances, it's altogether different from the European.

The degree of difference of hardship and the difference went through by the Japanese immigrant cannot be rated, unless you are one of the immigrants.

Finally they built up a little foundation for the future generation to follow. Prior to the war, the records show that the Japanese by race, generally speaking, were the most law abiding race. Their police records were not bad, if not better than some of the other European immigrants. Unfortunately this war broke out, for which no one was to blame or responsible. All the Japanese have to evacuate from the West Coast.

I know of many, many instances where the evacuees suffered unnecessarily because of there's no definite plan set aside by the American government. But they forced the evacuation just the same, according with the program.

(I remembered that I had been told that Mr. Tachibana often acted as advisor on legal matters to residents of Tule Lake. Since the study is interested in evacuee losses, I asked him if he had records of specific cases. He then gave me the following lecture on evacuee hardships and losses.)

For instance, take Terminal Island. The fisherman were prohibited to go out to sea for fishing right after the outbreak of the war. At the eve of the war proclamation by the President, nearly all of the masters of the families were taken to the immigration detention station, situated at both Terminal Island and San Pedro. Some were taken to the county jail after these former places were filled up.

These families, without father or master, have to support themselves till the actual evacuation order took place. It was close to four months time between their fathers were taken to custody of the Justice Department and actual evacuation. These families have to go without fathers and without any income.

Did the government of the U.S. or the city of Los Angeles help these poor families? None of any account helped. But instead, they forced on these innocent families, including the little children, they forced strict regulations on them. A steel bridge connecting from the mainland to the San Pedro side, was closely watched by the officers day and night.

These families suffered tremendously in a financial way. Their food have to be distributed to them free. Did Los Angeles help these poor families? I say, None. The City Market of Los Angeles and the Terminal Market of Los Angeles, and the Produce Houses owned by the Japanese, got together every day from two to five truckloads of vegetables which were actually taken down to the Terminal Island with the city's permission to dump them at the central corner of Terminal Island around noon-time.

It was a peculiar thing that happened - not even the children never came around to look for the dumping of such vegetables. But by the next morning all the vegetables were gone, leaving just empty crates, showing that the Japanese residents felt shame of taking such vegetables for free. Yet they have to eat. And there was no way to eat. So they



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evidently went around after dark.

This continued until the outbreak of the war till the outside evacuation took place around April. Many families, knowing they have to move from Terminal Island, finally succeeded in moving themselves with their own free will, with the assistance of their friends from inland localities. They moved to their friends' places. All the Japanese Language Schools, all the Japanese Association offices in Los Angeles, or other inland localities. They had nothing with them except for dishes, pots and kettles, and a few clothing.

The sold all their big things, like furniture and kitchen goods, because they were told actually that you don't need those things anymore as the government is going to put you people in Assembly Centers in the very near future.

They sold all their big things because they don't want to cause their families and friends unnecessary trouble. Many second hand stores and peddlars, we suppose many of them were Jewish, came around. They bought hundreds of stoves and ice-boxes which can be resold for a profit today.

At Terminal Island, anyone sold their up-to-date ice-box which originally cost them \$150 and \$200, they sold it for \$25 which was considered to be a very high price. The average price paid for a good refrigerator was \$5. The reason they were so cheap was that these business people came in and took this wonderful opportunity for granted, while the city of Los Angeles, or even the government of the United States did not interfere in this unreasonable purchasing of such things from the poor evacuees.

After these families moved to their friends' houses or those institutions owned by the Japanese at that particular locality, they went to another sad living. Since the father was in an internment camp, the wife could not work for a living, as they have to take care of the children. Naturally, they were dependent for support on all the other Japanese who were never known to them. I know many occurrences where friends were supporting three, four families from Terminal Island in their homes and feeding them.

I know that in the San Gabriel Japanese Association office, six families from Terminal Island were quartered. And the members of the Association decided that every day five families were to make and prepare for one day for their foods. The following day the next five members brings them their foods in rotation. Did the government of the U.S. help these poor families? No.

Of course I can easily understand and appreciate the treating of such distressed families without public assistance was not the intention of the American government to treat them that way. We can appreciate that they have tears and that they have heart, but it was such a hurrying that the government was not able to prepare for such occurrences like this to meet for the demand.

But these evacuees suffered just the same. We know that many of their American friends were willing to help these poor families. But the situation were so bad that since the Japanese are Japanese, they cannot be sympathized, because America is at war with Japan. They were afraid to help these poor Japanese, because they felt it might make very bad feeling to other Americans. But anyway, these poor Japanese were only befriended by the Japanese, and the Japanese peoples helped whole-heartedly.

This wasn't only at Terminal Island. The case was all the same all around the coast. Where they were strategically situated, they were forced to evacuate inland.

Then the final evacuation order were issued. The Japanese people followed the order and moved into the Assembly Centers or obeying the order as a patriotic attitude toward



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our mother country. They didn't even complain for moving. But the way the American government and even the officers taking the evacuation problem, were very official and dogmatic. They treated these innocents as if they were criminals.

Because of this evacuation, every one of the Japanese sacrificed all the properties and the foundation resulting from the 40 years most difficult works. They moved into the Assembly Centers without anything to speak of.

The program of the WRA at that time was not decided. And the officials of the WRA at that time, actually advised these evacuees to sell all their bigger things. You were allowed to carry only those things that could be carried by the shoulder and arms. Many of them had to sell their places and their merchandize for almost nothing. Their farms, small and big, they sacrificed everything materially. And these merchants who are buying Japanese belongings at that time, they took this opportunity as granted. They never helped the Japanese. Everything was so cheap because these merchants knew that the Japanese have to be evacuated and because they have to be evacuated, they have to sell all their belonging anyway. They got thing for practically nothing.

I know a farmer who bought a team for \$550 and sold it for only \$25 with the remaining hay in his barn, maybe five tons, given away with that price.

And these merchants bought only the articles and things that can be resold for a good price. So these Jewish people buy the good things and the remainder were picked up by peddlars. We Japanese went to the Assembly Center with almost nothing.

Like my place. I had a store, good for maybe \$1500. I had a hard time selling it for \$100. A very good Italian friend bought it from me. We were glad to sell it for that much.

Because of this evacuation and 40 years of history of the Japanese immigrants in the United States, if the U.S. have racial prejudice against the Japanese people, through this evacuation order, we can understand the policy of the American government. But personally, I think that the reason for that evacuation order being set aside only to the Japanese race, was because the American government took this opportunity to solve the Japanese problem once and for all to get rid of all the Japanese race from the Western Hemisphere.

If this evacuation order were mainly for the military program, the Japanese think that they would have evacuated not only the Japanese but also all the Germans and Italians.

Renunciation of Citizenship:

Why if this is not so are they taking away the Japanese citizenship? Of course, there might be many, many reasons for taking away Japanese citizenship. But from the Japanese view, we see it this way. (As an attempt to remove all Japanese from this hemisphere.)

(I tried to call on Mr. Ige, a Leupp internee, to see if Mr. Kurihara had talked to him, but found him out. I will write him for appointment.)



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TALK WITH NISEI GIRL - OLD TULEAN, ASAKO HIGAKI

In a discussion on the workings of the trouble-makers in which nothing very much was said on either side, Asako remarked that there are still people in her block who will not speak to each other because of their year long disagreement on the status quo question.

CALL AT THE MATSUDAS

The Matsudas seemed very ill at ease during this call, which may have been due to the fact that I caught sight of their oldest daughter, a girl of about nine, dancing or drilling with a Japanese flag in each hand. When I entered the room (I had seen the girl through a window while approaching) the flags were out of sight. Mr. Matsuda asked me if I had seen the statement Mr. Black put out today(1) against resegregation. I had not seen it. He said it was very strong. Mrs. Matsuda, however, informed me that the Manzanar section had had 1,200 new signers to the resegregation petition, "which means just about the whole Manzanar section." (If this is true, it is a remarkable showing.) I asked how the rest of the camp had stood up, but was told that they had not been tallied yet. Mr. Matsuda asked me again when Dillon Myer was expected, but I do not know. He said he had asked Mr. Robertson also. Mrs. Matsuda said she thought in a few days, because she had heard that he was now in Manzanar and would be there for a couple of days. From there, she thought, he would come here. Mr. Matsuda said that Black's statement was not going to bother them a bit. (I'll see if I can get a copy of the paper.)

MEETING WITH OPLER

The Oplers picked me up on my way out of the colony and Opler remarked that it looked as if real trouble were brewing. Pressure was being applied against the key workers. All he would add was that some Japanese person's life had been threatened and that if word got to the colony that this was known to the Administration, it would mean the man's life. I decided to call on Robertson.

TALK WITH ROBERTSON

Robertson seemed most disinclined to talk about the subject, but by pretending to know more than I did and making some guesses, I got the following story. It appears that last night at 9:00 p.m. the "trouble" hit. A Japanese came to the Administration and revealed that the "agitators" of whom he was a member, were planning to disorganize the operation of the project. This morning, one of Mr. Robertson's key workers resigned. Another has threatened to do so.

There seems to be a very definite tension - worse than it has been since the Hitomi killing. Yesterday morning and today it sprang up. I look for something very definite in a couple of weeks.

It came out with threats against the workmen. I had one resignation of a top man today and the threat of another. The excuses they give are illness, but it appears to be pressure. They will not give details.

[1. Perhaps Mr. Black's statement of September 30 (Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 316) did not appear in the Newell Star until October 4.]



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The Administration feels that it's the anniversary of another November incident.

They could paralyze operations in the camp. The tension spread like wildfire today. It looks as if the young Kibei are doing the work now. They are hitting from several different angles.

Santa Fe Issue:

Mr. Best saw everyone (on the committee) today except Tom Yoshiyama.(1) Best's attitude toward the question was the same as it has always been.

Best told the group he had every reason to believe that the Justice Department would soon take over and that they might as well not kick up so much fuss. Eventually both Santa Fe and Tule Lake would be under the same Administration.

A man came in to see me yesterday to see about getting an appointment with Mr. Myer. (I recall that Mr. Matsuda told me this morning that he had gone to see Mr. Robertson.)

Black's statement was extremely strong against resegregation. He made the statement to the block managers who had asked Black what their stand should be in this deal (resegregation pamphlet).

Dr. Opler thinks that Kai and Kuratomi have pulled away from the resegregation group. (I have heard a number of hints that this is so.)

[1. Yoshiyama told me last week that he'd raise up the camp if Mr. Best did not see him.]



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I spent about six hours today calling on old friends. I talked to people of varied "political" sympathies but got no indication at all that they were apprehensive or the least bit excited. Since some of these people are very old friends, I think they could not have hidden their feelings completely from me. Kurihara was not at home - a most unusual occurrence. I made an appointment to see him tomorrow. He, if anyone, will know if anything is brewing and will tell me more than any other person.

TALK WITH NISEI GIRL - KAYO IIDA - STATUS QUO SYMPATHIZER

Most of the people in block 7 don't seem too enthusiastic about it (resegregation petition). But in block 8, I hear there are quite a few strong backers.

TALK WITH NISEI GIRL - ASAKO HIGAKI - ANTI-STATUS QUO

In a long conversation on desultory topics this young woman remarked that she had heard that the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan had, in some wards, forced the children of parents who did not sign the resegregation petition to stop attending the morning exercises.

TALK WITH MR. CAMPBELL, PROJECT ATTORNEY

Campbell told me tonight that there was a big fuss going on in Manzanar. Wakayama has resigned from his block managership. Evidently, he told a man in his block that he could build a porch. The man proceeded to do so and WRA made the man take his porch down. Wakayama lost so much face that he resigned.

TWO ENCOUNTERS WITH MR. YOSHIYAMA

I encountered Yoshiyama in the hospital while getting my bandage changed. He told me he was going to see Mr. Best about the Santa Fe matter. Then, returning from my calls in the colony, I met him again. I asked how matters had gone. He did not seem discouraged, but rather puzzled. He said he had not been able to get anywhere with Best. Moreover, Best had told him what he had told the committee yesterday - that it was almost a certainty that the camp was going under the Department of Justice within 60 days.

I confess that I feel very much out of my depth. Yoshiyama talked to me so naturally and normally that I cannot picture him as making murderous threats. (See Opler's remark, October 4, page 1.) Kurihara tells me that Mr. Wakayama is a very dangerous man ---and other respondents have hinted about the terrible Manzanar gang. But the Matsudas are the only people who have told me that they control a group of strong-arm boys. Well, we shall see.

HOSPITAL BULLETIN

My sliced leg looks pretty awful but the doctor says it's coming along fine. They are keeping it open because they say it is not safe to let it heal from the outside. I asked hopefully (lazy Hankey), if walking on it will hurt it. "Not a bit," said the doc. Anyway, there is no sign of infection.



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TALK WITH MR. ODA, CONSERVATIVE BLOCK MANAGER

Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan:

Mr. Oda still stands stalwartly behind the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan as an entirely unpolitical organization. He told me that they had a lecture every Saturday. He thought these lectures very good. Last Saturday the subject had been Japanese history.

Resegregation Pamphlet:

That is not authorized. That's one of the biggest objections right now. Everybody hates to sign because of the unauthorization of the statement.

I got a notice last week (notice Black sent out) that Mr. Best was against resegregation. I don't know who's working on the body.

Suppose I sign this paper? I don't think that would make me go to Japan very soon. Those things are determined by the Japanese government.

Really, I'd like to know why those persons do it. Maybe they tried to get authorization (from the Administration) but they were rejected.

Everybody would like to go back to Japan. But that wasn't done through the proper channels. The way I feel, I think they should contact WRA before they distributed those pamphlets. That's the regular procedure to something like that.

Some of the people want to take my advice. But I can't tell them because I don't want to give false statements. We had many signatures in this block. (Oda's block, 59, is very strongly status quo.)

Really if they want to organize a good organization, they should contact WRA. If they want to carry out things.

Mr. Oda and his wife remarked on the unusually quiet atmosphere prevailing in camp at the present time. I am certain, from their unchanged, natural attitude, that they also had no idea of the threats received by certain individuals. At the idea that there might be a memorial demonstration on November 1, one of the Administration's present pet bugaboos, they laughed heartily. The people don't want any trouble, said Mr. Oda.

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

I called at Kurihara's place before I went to see Oda but found him out. I then returned and found that he had come home from what he called another

[At this point I find that I removed the carbon paper from my typewriter, because I felt that it would be dangerous to keep a copy of what Mr. Kurihara had told me in my room at Tule Lake. I sent my only copy to Dr. Thomas at Berkeley. Kurihara had been doing some investigating on his own and had come to the conclusion that Mr. Wakayama was responsible for the threats that had resulted in the resignation of key Japanese personnel and had so disturbed Mr. Robertson. I had been warned several times that my notes might be stolen and I did not wish to put either Mr. Kurihara or myself in jeopardy.]



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RUMOR THAT ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE MADE

Mr. Campbell, the project attorney, told me last night that the Administration was seriously considering making an announcement to the people on the transfer of the center to the Department of Justice.

CO-OP BOARD AND INTERNAL SECURITY

Mr. Currie told me Saturday that he had written a letter, thanking the Internal Security for their assistance in putting a stop to the vandalism and thieving which had been perpetrated against the canteens. George Matsumura (manager of the Co-op) had seen the letter and had nearly had a stroke. We can't thank Internal Security for anything, said he. Do you want us all to get our throats cut? Currie did not send the letter.

REMARK BY MRS. MATSUDA

I recall that Mrs. Matsuda told me the story of her cousin the other day. This young woman arrived in camp with the group from Manzanar. However, she has asked for leave clearance and was returning to Manzanar to care for her foster parents. She is doing this although she knows no English and has spent most of her life in Japan. Said Mrs. Matsuda: She feels more giri to her foster parents than she does to her country (Japan). I tell her that she is foolish and wrong and then she cries. Mrs. Matsuda seems to think that one owes greater giri to one's country than to the persons who reared and cared for one during childhood. [Also a sad and ironic is the fact that Mrs. Matsuda has told me several times that she had a brother serving in the United States Army.]



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TALK WITH NISEI GIRL - KAYO IIDA

On the subject of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan meeting held last night, this young Nisei girl said:

The speeches were quite impressive and they are very educational for the young people and they impress the older men too.

Kayo also told me that the girls and the younger children who drill in the morning are the school children from ward III. The Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan boys drill separately from these and are the ones who yell WASH-SHO -the rhythmic bellowing which disturbs the sleep of the Old Tuleans, and mine too for that matter. I asked what "Wash-sho" meant, but Kayo did not know.(1)

TALK WITH MRS. MATSUDA

Mrs. Matsuda was more garrulous today than I have ever known her to be, perhaps to make up for her shortness at my last visit. She seems to be growing more arrogant week by week. She almost struts from one side of the room to the other as she discourses with me as if she were giving a dramatic performance. When she gives me a paper she does it with an almost regal gesture. (She acts a little "touched in the head".)

Mrs. Matsuda's Experience at Meeting Last Night:

Because Mrs. Matsuda had her hair up (in curlers) she did not feel that it was proper for her to go into the high school. So she stood outside the door and listened. While she was standing there, Sandborn, a member of the police force, drove up. She said he came so close to her he nearly ran me over. He asked her what was going on. She said she did not know, but that the group had a permit for the meeting. He said he thought they had a permit for a dance, and added that she ought to know what was going on because she was listening. He then asked how many people were there. Again she said she did not know. One of the boys finally came out and answered his questions and said about 600 people were present. Sandborn finally said he didn't want any funny business and drove off.

Mrs. Matsuda also told me that those persons who are members but do not attend the meetings are being asked to resign. I asked if these were weekly meetings. Mrs. Matsuda said each ward had a weekly meeting.

The complete tally of resegregation signatures has been made, I was told. They have 10,000 signatures.

That is the final membership we are not going to take any more because soon we'll be under the Justice Department.

Gossip About Best:

My friends from Heart Mountain write me that the Project Director at Heart Mountain said that at the Denver conference the other Project Directors said that only Mr. Best was responsible for the bad reputation of WRA. They say that Best got quite a workdown.

[1. Wash-sho has no verbal meaning. It is a rhythmic exclamation made while running. The closest English approximation would be "Hip! Hip!"]



Justice Department and Robertson:

When Justice takes over we are all going to petition for Mr. Robertson to stay. Mr. Tachibana says that in the internment camps, they could get a man to stay if everyone asked for it.

Meeting of Stockade Committee With Mr. Best:

Andy (Sugimoto), Reverend Kai, and George (Kuratomi) went to see Mr. Best about five days ago.

They had received their answer from the Justice Department. This letter said that (the Justice Department) didn't care. They said it was the WRA office in Washington who was opposing it. If they could get the consent of the project director it was all right (to send the men back).

Mr. Best started out by saying that he couldn't do anything about it. Then they showed him the letter. He said he hadn't known about this. He said he would have to copy the letter and consult Mr. Myer.

Mrs. Matsuda added that Best had then shown the three "boys" a letter from Santa Fe which stated that seven of the Issei sent there had said that they did not wish to return to Tule Lake as long as Mr. Best was Project Director there. Best said, "You boys have tried awfully hard to get me out. In sixty days I'll be gone, anyway." They talked for two hours.

The Kai-Kuratomi Schism:

For weeks I have wanted to know if there is any truth in the rumor that Kai and Kuratomi have broken with the Resegregation Group. As a chance shot I asked Mrs. Matsuda whether she thought it would be all right if I went to see George again sometime in the near future.

Well, we've been hearing bad things about George. It seems the people in his block are trying to kick him out.

In a way Reverend Kai and George are outcasts now.

We gave them full cooperation. We thought we owed them giri. When they came out of the stockade they didn't live up to their purpose, and giri, and cooperation. They were independent. They took steps to tie up with Tsuda.

When there were those indictment rumors. . . Tsuda, Kai and Kuratomi spread the rumors and tried to get the Resegregation Group to put up the money for Tsuda. They said they would put up the money for Tsuda if he really needed it, but he wasn't a member. . . Of course, the Resegregation Group didn't do this in a meeting but that was what was in the air.

Tsuda didn't take action with us. He wasn't Japanese.

We knew the indictment business was fishy anyway. He wanted our financial support.

Certain people who had done a lot to get Mr. Besig here went to Kuratomi and said, 'You and Reverend Kai are members of the Resegregation Group. And we're sorry because if you take action with Mr. Tsuda, we cannot support you.'



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George and Reverend Kai said, 'You folks are too darn narrow minded.'

It was just a rumor anyway. You didn't know what Mr. Tsuda is up to.

So George and Kai are outcasts.

Besides, they should have published a statement as soon as they got out (of the stockade), thanking the people for their support and for the money. But they didn't give a word of thanks.

Instead of thanking the Saiban-iin-kai, the 'Trial Committee' (Mr. Matsuda refers to the group of relatives and friends who called in the ACLU) they didn't even think of this. In a lot of instances, they didn't live up to Japanese manners.

They think we took the wrong action and they believe everything Tsuda says. Even Reverend Kai, none of his congregation go to see him. They say he's too darn conceited.

We think November 4 was these boys' fault. They tried to organize the whole center when they didn't even know what kind of people the center was composed of. If one of them was elected to a position, one of the others would be jealous and would inu. They should have considered these things. They were too ambitious. . . .Of course, we always say that WRA caused the riot. . . .But if these boys hadn't been so ambitious. . .

The least they should say is to say to the people: 'Due to our carelessness and youth we were sorry to cause such a disturbance among you.'

Out of courtesy Reverend Kai should have done that. Of course, we can't out speak and ask him to do it, but he ought to. He didn't live up to our expectation.

If they had stayed quiet it would have been all right but they took sides right away with Tsuda.

(I'd certainly like to get George Kuratomi's version of this story, however, I think it will have to be done very carefully. In time I'll have to talk to Mr. Tsuda. It's too dangerous to try to contact him now.)



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TALK WITH MR. TOKUNAGA

Called on Mr. Tokunaga today, the man who prepared a paper for the study. After paying him some compliments on the paper, I remarked that I had heard that the Manzanar section had had 1,200 new signatures on the repatriation petition.

They may have gotten them here in the Manzanar section. The people here don't know what it was all about. The majority of them signed under intimidation or ignorance.

I was going to tell Mr. Kurihara, 'Don't worry about it. It's not so serious as you think.'

(I hinted that Mr. Kurihara might be in some danger because he was trying to get information about the intentions of the leaders of the Resegregation Group. But Mr. Tokunaga said, in a reassuring tone:)

Akitsuki was top man opposing this movement. Openly, he said he objected. If Kurihara tried to crawl around in the dark, he might be caught.(1)

(I said, But there are dangerous men in this center. . .)

Even among themselves they are not agreed. The people who signed up say, 'When I go to Japan I don't want to go with this group or that group.'

(I asked if he had heard of Mr. Wakayama's resignation as block manager.)

Wakayama resigned the block managership to take charge of the Resegregation movement. That may be the cause of big trouble. He wishes for himself to be a big shot. I hate that type of man. Of course, if one works on something with a sincere idea, you will respect him, but when he does it for himself, I hate them.

(I said that I thought that there were quite a few honest, sincere people working on the Resegregation movement. Mr. Tokunaga agreed, saying 'Especially some of the young people.')

Maybe I told you about a young man I talked to when I was working on Social Welfare. This young man was about 22 or 23 years old and he had been on Terminal Island and his father was interned. In 25 hours he had to evacuate and sacrifice everything he had. He was so indignant at his treatment - so he joined the December incident in Manzanar, because he didn't know what else to do. He was mad at the way the government had treated him.

They brought him here in October. He joined this trouble and was put in the stockade.

When they brought him to my office, I looked at him. He looked like an honest, nice boy, but he had a very strained expression on his face. After he explained his application, I talked to him about a half hour. I told him, 'I understand how you feel

[1. At the time Mr. Tokunaga made this statement I did not fully understand what he was saying. But because I knew more about the Resegregationist leaders than did he, I was not reassured. Reading his statement today it appears that he was telling me that Mr. Kurihara had nothing to fear if, like Akitsuki, he opposed the Resegregation openly. Indeed, this is what Mr. Tokunaga himself proceeded to do.]



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- and in the meantime I appreciate your demand for wrongs to be righted. But don't try to attain your object by violence. You're a young man. Japan's future depends on your shoulders. Your life is too valuable. If you make trouble in camp, it's just like throwing tofu against a stone wall.' I really cried myself at him. He cried too. Then he said, 'I understand. I'll never try again to do any violence.' I told him to study in this camp.

(Tokunaga could not remember this young man's name.)

To make right demands to the government is all right.

Department of Justice:

I don't know. If the Administration plays too much monkey-business, we prefer military rule. The rule is strict but they are honest. In Manzanar they felt that way. The only difference is that we would have soldiers with bayonets hanging around.

Strike Threat:

Did you hear about the stubborn people proposing a strike?(1)

I (hopefully) said I had heard only vague rumors. But Mr. Tokunaga then said that he had been in bed with a severe cold for two weeks and hadn't heard much. He would tell me no more and said instead:

The majority of people are sick of all this trouble.

Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan:

The Sokoku Kenkyu people don't know Japan. They think they are fighting for Japan's egoistic idea. They still think Japan is fighting for Japan only. When they go back to Japan they will say, 'We did this for the people in camp and we did that.' But the government of Japan doesn't think that way. It wishes for the people in camp just to live in peace and keep their health.

I say to them: 'The Japanese government is not so narrow-minded as you. They are sacrificing material wealth for the people of Asia.'

A lot of people are disgusted at the way they (Resegregation Group) act. They are going out of camp because of it. You know there is a Japanese proverb - Tsuno wo tamete ushi wo korosu. (By trying to straighten the horns of the cow, you kill it.) So - by trying to keep the Japanese in camp here, they are driving the Japanese out of camp.

Just yesterday, a woman and her daughter, 24 years old, came to see me. They had intended to go back to Japan. But after they saw all this kind of trouble they want to leave camp. Her mother came to me yesterday and cried all afternoon.

Resegregation:

Resegregation means nothing when you analyse what they say. My family of five have applied already through the Spanish ambassador to go back to Japan. So what more do we need?

[1. Mr. Tokunaga was the first of my respondents who indicated that he knew anything about the threats mentioned by Opler and Robertson on October 4.]



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(We then discussed the changes in the Administrative personnel that a change to the Justice Department might bring. Mr. Tokunaga was glad to hear that Black was going.)

I think his head is a little muddled. He talked about one hour and the point was only that much. (Here Tokunaga indicated about 1/2 inch with thumb and forefinger.)

Even those who signed for resegregation are tired of trouble. They simply think those who want to go back to Japan should live together. If we (men like Tokunaga) were given a chance to explain our opinion, they would be convinced again (would swing over). But we are not given the chance to talk.

Some say they have 8,000 signatures, some 6,000, some 4,000. I don't believe 10,000 signed. This time, in the old camp (Tule Lake excluding Manzanar section) nobody signed. Even those who signed in this block, they are ignorant or uneducated. If they are educated they are stubborn and narrow-minded.

STAFF MEETING AND SPEECH BY DILLON MYER

Dillon Myer [National Director of WRA] who arrived on the project today and left tonight, addressed the staff briefly. He began by giving a resume of the history of Tule Lake, saying that after the incident (1943) the WRA was investigated until the middle of summer. In fact, he believed he was right in saying they were the most investigated agency in the government. This year (1944) had been entirely different. The whole situation has changed. There have been a few little troubles, but since January 1, the whole situation had taken on an entirely new complexion.

He spoke of the great victory WRA had gained with the reinstitution of selective service for the Nisei. He felt that one of the cardinal achievements was that in the camps there were some American citizens who had a right to fight with the others. The battle news had aided the Japanese Americans tremendously. The American Legion had had a hard time. This was one of the main reasons the situation had changed, drastically because the Legion was one of WRA's main opposition groups.

Myer said he felt that a new era had opened up in WRA. In fact, he wondered if things were not too quiet. The situation had changed. However, their job was only one third done. Their great job now is relocation. 32,000 people have relocated out of some 90,000 eligible for relocation. Until they get all the others relocated their job will not be finished.

He said he had been asked many questions about the Department of Justice. He didn't know who Tule Lake was going to be turned over to. He wouldn't worry about it. Honestly, he didn't know the answer. There were so many variables and too many different factors to be considered. He assured the staff that their jobs were safe and that the most challenging job in the whole history of the program was still ahead of them.

MR. BLACK'S STATEMENT

The following memorandum was issued by Mr. Black in the middle of last week and caused the pressure group great annoyance and some concern. It was sent to me by my friend, Mr. Oda, who, as a block manager had a copy.

MEMORANDUM ON RESEGREGATION MATERIAL

The proponents of resegregation have been active for several months. They have addressed letters and petitions to Mr. Myer, to Secretary Ickes, and to Attorney General



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Biddle, all of which letters have been referred back to project Director Best for consideration and reply. The interested leaders have been repeatedly advised that, regardless of letters and petitions, there will be no further segregation either at Tule Lake Center or elsewhere, because such a program is impractical and infeasible.

The petition now being circulated in the Colony deserves only to be ignored. It is anonymous, and, from its context, has no sponsorship. It is unauthorized, and, contrary to a statement contained therein, resegregation is receiving no consideration, serious or otherwise, from WRA, either here or in Washington.

Individuals and families who wish to look forward to a future in Japan have complied with all of the requirements of either the American or the Japanese Government when they have filed either with WRA or with the Spanish Embassy or both a request for repatriation, or expatriation. It is the official view of WRA that nothing more need be done. No further step will enhance the prospects of any individual or group for an early exchange, nor will the present agitation, circulation of petitions, or carrying on of correspondence serve to hasten the day of exchange.

It is obvious that the activities of the leaders of the resegregation question are detrimental to the residents of the colony. They incite unrest, produce confusion, upset peace of mind, and contribute to tension and nervousness. Uninformed people do not know what to think, do not know whom they can trust. Most people do not know who the leaders are. Few know whether to sign or refuse to sign. If they sign, they do not know what they have signed. If they are asked to sign, many are afraid to decline.

No petition will bring about resegregation because the administration policy on the subject has already been determined. No petition will gain preference for individuals and groups for exchange because the Japanese government is not at present interested in discussing further exchanges with the United States government. No petitions or letters addressed to officials in Washington will receive greater consideration than a request made to the Project Director. Such communications are always sent back to Mr. Best in any event.

Block Managers always have the right to their own personal opinions on any matter. Any advice they give residents on controversial issues should be personal and unofficial. Such personal advice would depend, of course, on personal views. The resegregation question is, of course, a political question, and Block Managers should officially be neutral. They are not called upon, as Block Managers, to publicize unauthorized announcements and they should see that their offices, their bulletin boards and their mess halls are not used for the dissemination of unofficial information. The best official attitude toward resegregation propaganda is to ignore it completely.



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TALK WITH SALLY AND GEORGE YAMASHIRO

Since both George and Sally Yamashiro voted against the status quo and since they appear to distrust and dislike the Resegregationists, I thought it would be interesting to get Sally's version of the incident and her picture of how much support the Daihyo Sha had during October and November, 1943. Sally always talks more freely when George is not present, so I arranged to see her alone.

During the "trouble" we lived in a very strong status quo block.

The Farm Strike:

Well, I didn't think it (the truck accident) was the fault of WRA like the people said it was and I didn't understand why the residents went on a strike. There were many reasons, but they didn't sound very well grounded to me. The way everyone rushed to the farm office, standing in line and giving up their badges. . .

Bringing in Harvesters:

At that time I thought, 'If those people from the other centers really understood the situation in here they wouldn't dare come.'(1) Even if Mr. Best did want them to come, they didn't have to. I didn't blame Mr. Best at all. Those Japanese who did come should know better.

The Public Funeral:

We had a lot of meetings on that. They were block meetings to which everyone could go. I went to all of them.

(Here Sally told me that she had kept a diary of the meetings and of what occurred, sensing that these events were important. George had told her to dispose of the diary but she thinks she still has it among her papers somewhere. I told her how much the study would appreciate this diary (it is written in Japanese) and she promised to look it up and translate it for me. If the diary is at all detailed it ought to give an extremely valuable picture of the peoples' meetings held at that time about which we have almost no field data.)(2)

I know Mr. Takahashi had a very hard time getting an O.K. for the funeral. And when he did get it, one of the members of the Daihyo Sha demanded to have the auditorium for the funeral. Mr. Best said No. He said to have it in a mess hall. Then I think Mr. Takahashi went back and said (he told us about this in a meeting) he said as he went in the door. . . First Mr. Best said, 'No, that's my last word and I'm not going to say anymore.' And Mr. Takahashi said, 'I'd like to say one thing more. If I took the whole responsibility, I'd like to have Mr. Best's permission and I would cause no trouble for the Administration and I would not have it in the Auditorium.' But he did not tell Mr. Best where he would have it.

I heard that the Jerome and Topaz boys went and cleaned up the sumo place in the firebreak. I didn't attend the funeral.

[1. Mrs. Yamashiro is referring to the Japanese Americans who were brought in from the Relocation Centers to harvest the crop during the strike.]

[2. Unfortunately, Sally was unable to find the diary.]



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(I then asked Sally whether she thought it wise or unwise for Mr. Best to refuse permission for the funeral, considering the temper of the people at this time. She replied:)

Wouldn't it seem strange if they didn't have a public funeral when they made an issue of it such as the strike? That would be the step any leader would take.

Present Actions of Mr. Takahashi:

Mr. Takahashi is being very quiet now. He tries to make a good face I hear, but people just don't listen to him.

More on Funeral:

If it was just the case of the farm workers and Mr. Kashima, for that reason alone, such trouble wouldn't be necessary. But I believe there was a very good reason behind what the Daihyo Sha did.

November 1:

It was announced in the mess that Mr. Myer was here and that the representatives of the Daihyo Sha would see him on matters that the residents of the colony wanted determined (such as the hospital). I think the hospital was the biggest problem then. They said they didn't care whether we were young or old. They wanted us to go, and they told us that we would not be permitted to come home when we wanted to.

About ten minutes after we came home from lunch, everyone of us got ready and formed a line in front of the messhall and we walked to the Administration building. When we reached there, the place was packed with people from other blocks.

It seemed some blocks didn't take the trouble to really get serious and residents went on their own will. Every one of us went from block 68. I think a lot went from curiosity.

Mr. Takahashi:

At that time Mr. Takahashi was already disliked by many. Their firm belief that he was a good leader was shattered. Those meetings we were having with him as chairman. . . how could we tell what he was saying was true? We would bring up things to discuss but he wouldn't give us any answer on what the Daihyo Sha attitude was toward our requests. . . But we were ordered to go, so we went.

November 4:

We didn't know anything about it.

The next morning I had an appointment at the housing department, because George was coming. When I went the housing place was closed. Then I see so many people out at the firebreak. (Sally then went to another housing office and found the evacuee head of housing standing about.) I asked the head of housing, 'Why are there so many people? It's not a holiday.' He said, 'You'll find out. You better go home. That's the safest place where a woman should stay.'

I heard some Caucasians came to steal the food. Some boys guarding the place jumped on them. Then the soldiers came in and tried to clear the people away. But the people wouldn't go. I saw the Army throw tear gas into the crowd and saw the men running away from it into block seven and six. The Army and Internal Security was trying to force



the people back of the road. (The road along which a fence has now been erected.)

There was a great big group there. It (the tear gassing) made a lot of the people mad. Many of the people went there just to see. I heard that many of the people in the crowd were people with children working in the hospital.

(Melba Kaminaka, a Nisei friend, told me that the hospital workers were not allowed to leave the hospital for several days.)

The residents of this block were really scared stiff. They wouldn't go out at night. The people (in this block) with children (working) in the hospital went to the block manager. But he had no way to get information. They kept them there (in the hospital) several days.

#### Support of the Daihyo Sha:

My impression is that up until November 4, the people of this block seemed really to support the Daihyo Sha. After the November 4 incident, I think a lot of people were in doubt whether it's right to support the Daihyo Sha or not.

The Daihyo Sha had an office formed where we were supposed to take all our troubles and they would negotiate with the WRA and put in requests. I know many families did put in requests. But it seems that some people who really had troubles and requested, didn't get any answer for such a long time. It got to be a question if the Daihyo Sha was really the representative of the residents.

#### Period When Leaders Were in Hiding:

When Kai and Kuratomi didn't come out (of hiding), a member of the Daihyo Sha, put people in the places of these people (hiding and apprehended members of the Daihyo Sha) by his own will. Those weren't Daihyo Sha members at all, because the Daihyo Sha was supposed to be representatives of the people.

(I asked Sally if the people ever wondered about how the Negotiating Committee had been formed.)

The people took the first Negotiating Committee for granted.

#### The Status Quo Vote [January 11]:

The block we were in, we were really status quo. Everyone over 18 had to go (to the voting) girl or boy. We got a pamphlet (the future Coordinating Committee's work). All of our names were called out in the mess hall. Then we had to go up and vote. We had to go to a certain table where the M.P. was standing.

Before that, the block manager had a paper that he had to read and explain. He was for status quo and made a very unnecessary statement. He said in Japanese that the people who want to get the men out of the stockade should vote for status quo. That made a lot of the anti-status quo people angry. You could hear what they said when they went out.

Some ladies didn't understand what it (status quo) meant, and they asked a man what it is. Then they'd ask this person, 'What do you think I should do?' It was just silly.

Even wives who had babies had to come. Everyone was compelled to come.



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(I asked if any measures had been taken against people who did not come to the voting.)

They didn't do anything to people who didn't come. They didn't dare! My husband was so angry at the block manager (George and Sally voted anti-status quo). He was going to say something, but I held on to his shirt.

In our block status quo won by a large majority.

(At this point George came home. I brought up the point of the Coordinating Committee's original status with the people. Both Sally and George agreed that the people were calling them dogs even before they were appointed to the Committee. George now took over the conversation.)

When the question of status quo came up, Mr. Takahashi was already the Advisor of the Coordinating Committee. Mr. Takahashi was called inu way long ago. Although Mr. Takahashi wasn't on the Coordinating Committee everybody knew that he was the Advisor. He was going up there (to the Administration building) all the time.

Because Mr. Shimada and Naido came to see me to get me to work in Community Activities, the people said I was an inu too. (Merely because George was visited by these two men.) That was in January already.

George's Brother in U.S. Army and Overseas Service:

George told me how his brother had been promoted to Staff Sergeant and was told to go overseas. He refused and was demoted to private. He was then promoted again and the whole process was repeated. He wasn't going overseas. The subject came up because Sally had just received a card telling her that a close relative of hers was being transferred to Shelby, which, according to her, meant imminent overseas service. (See Notes, October 1, page 2.)

Signatures on Recent Petition:

I sent a man over to Manzanar to see what was going on. He said only 1/3 signed. Two-thirds of the people haven't any interest in it. This man says the same thing I say, 'Leave me alone, and I'll leave you alone.'

Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan:

I heard Mr. Tsuha resigned.

Now everybody is getting wise. I don't like the way the Sokoku Kenkyu threatens people. They said, 'If you don't sign, you're going to be drafted.' So a lot of dumb people signed. (Then making a wry face, George added:) But I think those who signed were wise. I'm too stubborn to sign and that makes me enemies. It's better to be like the proverb: Nagai mono ni wa makarero; Okii mono ni wa nomareyo. (Literally, Let the long thing wind about you, let the great thing swallow you -or as George translated it: Let the long snake wind around you, let the big snake swallow you.)

If I were project director I would segregate them. I'd give each person a pink paper and a white paper and an envelope. Then those who want to be segregated could sign the pink paper and those who didn't could sign the white one. Then they could mail it to the WRA and nobody see it. No block manager, nobody to see. Then I'd like to see how many would sign!

Then I'd fence off a place and put them in it, not going to get 16 dollars a month and all work voluntary. Then I'd make Mr. Best project director over them and Mr. Robertson over us.



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Renunciation of Citizenship:

That renunciation of citizenship will be pretty hard. You got to request for it. You got to write a whole mess of things. Then if you do it, it doesn't mean anything. They are going to check it in Washington.

I think when it starts, I'll open an office and make some money (helping people fill out the forms).

New Seinen-dan Forming:

George informed me that a new young men's organization was forming, which is being called the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan.

I don't know who is back of it. But they are forming, I'm sure.

Petition:

When they had this petition (recent pamphlet) they said, 'If you sign this paper you won't be drafted and you'll be the first to get off the boat.' So everybody signed - boy!

Maybe I'll be last to get off the boat. My name begins with "Y" anyway.

TALKS WITH ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

I was told that the Resegregation Group's attempt to see Dillon Myer had failed.

Co-op Board Preparing to Close Caucasian Canteen:

I was told by Currie that the Co-op Board of Directors is planning to close the canteen in the Administrative area. This will certainly raise hell with the appointed personnel. The Board's reason is that this separate Co-op doesn't pay it's own way and is a great deal of trouble.

CHANGE IN HIGH ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

I was informed that at a staff meeting held this afternoon it was announced that Mr. Wells, head of Administrative Management is leaving. His place will be taken by Harry Black, which will no doubt please many colonists. Mr. Gunderson, the high school principal, will take Black's place as head of Community Management. My own meetings with Gunderson have been few. I am told that he takes a tough attitude, "cannot understand the way THEY (the Japanese) think, but does have guts." Some teachers dislike him because he is a stickler for details which they consider unimportant. He has little tact or courtesy.

HUMOR COLUMN

Noticed while walking through the colony that a seagull overhead had two red spots painted on the underside of its wings. Now I know why the children catch them.

Last Sunday evening our master mind Internal Security friend joined a staff party and announced that he had just been giving the Sokoku Kenkyu meeting the once over. He told me that Kai was speaking and that he was sure Kai was the head of the organization. I asked why. He said, "Well - it's got Kai's name on the end of it." I didn't tell him that kai means group or organization. (So far as I know, Kai is not even a member.)

HOSPITAL BULLETIN

I am now dismissed as cured and all I'll have to endure is the bill.



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TALK WITH ROBERTSON

Resegregation Group's Attempt to Meet Myer:

Mrs. Matsuda called me and asked me if I'd arrange for an appointment with Mr. Myer. I told her she'd have to call Mr. Best. She called Mr. Best and his secretary told her that Mr. Myer's time was completely taken up, and that he would not be able to see them at all.

She told me later that the secretary had told her that Mr. Myer would try to see them on his next visit.

Appointment of Gunderson:

Robertson is of the opinion that Gunderson will do about the same kind of job Black did. He has been working under Black and is accustomed to lean on him for any important decision. There is no reason to think that he will not continue to do so.

More Information on Key Workers Resigning:

Robertson stated that the Administration was now pretty well convinced that the scare they fell into about the resignation of personnel was nothing more than the attempt of one of the fellows to get out of camp. Robertson, however, thinks that the boy who informed sounded too sincere to have been telling an entire cock and bull story. The informer had stated specifically that the pressure group was going to try to promote a general strike.

Wakayama Resignation:

Wakayama tried to get all of the block managers in the Manzanar area to resign with him. He did get the fire inspectors to resign. However, the administration refused to accept the resignations. As far as I know, Wakayama is still block manager.

Department of Justice:

I had a long confidential talk with Myer and he told me that he really doesn't know about the Department of Justice taking over. I think Mr. Best jumped the gun on this. I don't think Myer intended him to do that. The rumor around here was so strong among the Administrative staff that I thought I'd ask Myer where I stood. I reckon it's about a 50-50 chance.

Sokoku Kenkyu:

Tsuda told me that the Sokoku Kenkyu has 1,000 members.

New Plans of Resegregation Group:

Mrs. Matsuda told me that the resegregation group has changed their whole viewpoint now. They are trying an entirely different thing. They are going to form a service organization which will have many branches, social, etc. It will be called by a name meaning, "Those who want to leave promptly."

As far as its motives are concerned, the general public will only know it as a service organization to promote the welfare of the colony. But it is still the



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resegregation group. It probably grew out of a meeting they held last night. She was all bubbling over with the new prospects. They intend to attack it from a new point of view.

Best's State of Mind After Hunger Strike:

Robertson told me confidentially that when Best made his last visit to San Francisco to see Myer and Cozzens he had been in such an upset state of mind (according to Myer) that Myer had suggested his leaving Tule Lake. To Myer he appeared on the verge of a nervous breakdown. This was after the last hunger strike, when Opler told Best that threats against his life were being heard in the colony. Moreover, said Robertson, just the other day a fresh Japanese had knocked on the door of Best's house. Mrs. Best, home alone, opened it. The Japanese asked for a drink of water and while her back was turned, followed her into the house. He remarked that she had a fine house here and asked her where the bedrooms were. When Best heard about it, he blew up and told her never to allow anyone (Japanese) in the house again under such circumstances.

CURRIE ON THE CO-OP BOARD

Currie is peeved at Opler because Opler keeps trying to pry out of Obayashi, his informant and a member of the Co-op Board, whether the Board intends to close the Caucasian canteen or not. Then Opler tries to pry the information out of Currie. Currie says he makes a practice of not butting into the board's affairs, and if they decide to close the canteen, they have promised to let him know a considerable time in advance. By prying around, Currie feels Opler may upset Obayashi and mess up the works. Opler hates to see the canteen close since he feels it is a point of contact between the Caucasians and the colonists. Currie and I agree that it is a pretty petty point of contact. Moreover, Currie does not trust Obayashi (Jimmy Takeuchi's friend) too much.

George (Matsumura) told me that he felt that the Board of Directors had passed through the stage where they were willing to do anything to get public acclaim. Moreover, George thought that if the Caucasians would be willing to put up the money to pay for the supplies in the Caucasian canteen, say 25 dollars per member, George feels that he could convince the board that the Canteen could be kept up since there would be no monetary loss to the Co-op.

Nomura (the General Manager who took Matsumoto's place) has left. He was not really a manager but a public relations man. He never intended to be permanent. Ten days ago he came and said he was going to quit. I said, 'Use your own judgement.' So George made Nakashima executive president and gave Nomura a month's holiday. Now I hear Nomura is in the hospital sick. I think Nakashima was elected in a special meeting of the board.

Nomura and George Matsumura have been fighting hammer and tongs according to Currie. Currie told me he had deliberately been taking next to no part in the Board meetings, letting them solve their problems alone and giving them a great deal of responsibility. He is only called in on special occasions for certain issues. He, therefore, really does not know exactly what they plan to do about the canteen. His policy has so far worked excellently - for the Co-op Board has regained an amount of prestige that seemed inconceivable after the Hitomi murder. If they began to pull the slightest monkey-business, it is certain that Mr. Kurihara would no longer retain his place as unpaid accountant.



OCTOBER 14, 1944TALK WITH IGE - EX-LEUPPE INTERNEE

I arranged for this interview with Ige because I wanted to check on how he felt about the pressure group, since Kurihara and Tokunaga are so strongly opposed to it. I had been warned by Robertson that Ige was the most close-mouthed Leuppe boy of the whole bunch and, moreover, hated Caucasians bitterly. Ige called up Robertson and asked about my aims and character before he would consent to see me. However, he spoke fluently and at length.

Present Camp Situation:

The situation is very different in camp from what it used to be. As far as I know - I haven't participated in any political movement this is my personal point of view -

Any person in this camp can tell that there is no unity or harmony because of political differences. And I understand that there is a group of elements here loyal to America who are not loyal to Japan.

If the WRA or the Administration which presides over this camp, I think, if they can divide these two groups - those determined to go back to Japan and those who wish to remain in America, . . . these should be segregated from the others.

And another difference I see is this. There are groups here among the so-called patriotic groups who have the point of view of not having resegregation while the other group desires resegregation. I understand (this is my personal view) the group that does not want to resegregate feels that inasmuch as the Japanese here are Japanese by blood they should not be demarcated by means of resegregation. I guess the conflict between these two groups originated in the earlier part of the year. While the other group desires resegregation regardless of any circumstances, because of the fact that they feel that the Japanese here are not all at heart true patriotic Japanese.

Now in the Japanese way of life their duty to the state and to the Emperor is far more grave than anything, including life. Therefore, the Japanese who are determined to go back to Japan should bear in mind to sacrifice everything they have, materially and bodily, and be separated from those who are indifferent or of contrary opinion.

The Recent Pamphlet:

I wouldn't try to criticize the pamphlet. I can't say it is good or bad. I thought that maybe the group or organization that put out the notice had the feeling that they wanted to make the colonists in general realize that the resegregation committee - their motives - by putting them on paper and making themselves understood.

Reverend Tsuha, he didn't tell me directly, but he insinuated that the resegregation committee is not to intimidate any person to bring in more members. If they increase the membership by intimidation, the movement will fail when they return to Japan, bringing back a lot of numbskulls and addle-brains.

Department of Justice:

My friends feel that it would be a fine thing if the Justice Department took over the camp because they have heard a lot of good stories of the internment camps and they think that then this camp will come directly under the management of the cabinet, under the U.S.A., not indirectly, as now.



Renunciation of Citizenship:

My personal opinion is that I would very much welcome this action. Those persons who will request denationalization will be truly loyal to Japan. This will be very important for America and for Japan.

Mr. Robertson asked me why I wanted to renounce my citizenship. We who are ready to face any eventuality to serve the Emperor feel that if we wait even one day, we are not serving the Emperor. Therefore, if we waited, we would be unpatriotic. If I could renounce my citizenship this minute, not because Japan is going to win the war -this matter does not concern victory or defeat -it's a matter of instinct and duty.

Mr. Ige also stated that he admired the Japanese who were truly loyal to America - loyal to the point where they were willing to fight and die for this country - very much. In Hawaii, said he, he knew several boys who fought with all their might for American principals. But for those who sit here waiting to see which way the war will turn out he had little respect. They, he thinks, can be useful to neither America or Japan. We also discussed Mr. Best's unpopularity; Ige is convinced that if Mr. Best were replaced by a man who was not so extremely unpopular, it would benefit the camp. He himself, he says, feels no personal animosity toward Mr. Best.

CALL ON MRS. MATSUDA

Mrs. Matsuda was not very communicative today. But as Robertson had remarked, she repeated that the resegregation group was going to change its tactics: resegregation as such, was not to be stressed so strongly. The Sokoku Kenkyu was going to devote itself to the service of the community.

She gave me the very interesting bit of information that the Sokoku Kenkyu had selected the 8th of each month for its meeting because that is the day when everyone prays for victory. (Privately I wondered whether a meeting on the 8th to pray for a Japanese victory was in any way related to the fact that Pearl Harbor was bombed on the 7th.)

DOMESTIC HELP QUITTING

In the past weeks a great many of the older women who clean the Caucasian barracks have quit. One of those who remain, hinted to me that there is something behind it. (On the other hand, it may be the advent of cold weather which makes the long walk in and out of the colony pretty uncomfortable.)



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TALK WITH MR. YOSHIYAMA

[I had been puzzled and embarrassed by Mr. Yoshiyama's detailed account of how he had been pressured into marrying a young woman he did not love and by his concluding wild-eyed assertion that if Mr. Best refused to see him he "would raise up the whole camp" (September 30, pp. 3-4). When, four days later, Dr. Opler and Mr. Robertson told me that certain key workers had been threatened (October 4, pp. 1-2), I began to feel uneasy. My apprehension and ambivalence is reflected in my comment on my accidental meeting with Mr. Yoshiyama (October 5, p. 2), where I say: "Yoshiyama talked to me so naturally and normally that I cannot picture him as making murderous threats." Somewhat reassured, I called on him on October 16. When I entered the apartment his wife excused herself and left us alone.]

I asked Mr. Yoshiyama about his views on the status quo vote (January 11). He remarked that the people who voted against the status quo thought that they could get the men out of the stockade by giving up the status quo. He also gave me the minutes of the meeting of the Planning Board, an important document, which I shall send to you as soon as it is copied.

Justice Department:

I told Mr. Yoshiyama that I had heard that the matter of the Justice Department taking over was not nearly so certain as he had been led to believe. He said:

If the Justice Department did not take over it would put me in a tough spot, because I made a report to the segregation committee that they would take over in 60 days. Mr. Best definitely told me that this would take place within a week after the election. I told him, 'Why don't you put it in the Tulean Dispatch so the Nisei who want to go out can think about it?' He told me, "Mr. Myer told him not to make any statement of any kind." However, he said that Mr. Myer had made a statement in the Gila paper hinting that Tule Lake will be under the Justice Department and that he (Mr. Best) will publish an exact copy of this statement in the Tulean Dispatch.

Most people who are really loyal to Japan would rather have this camp under the Justice Department. When I made this report to the resegregation committee they were very happy over it. They feel that under the Justice Department only the loyal Japanese will be here - no American citizens - and would be under the protecting power, which is the Spanish Consul.

Under the WRA we do not know our status, whether we are under the government of Japan or America.

There is not much rumor yet - as far as I hear. I was told by some of the segregation committee not to start a rumor yet, so I'm keeping mum.

Of course, the people who want 16 dollars a month shouldn't be in here. If you're loyal to Japan you shouldn't be thinking of refrigeration and ice boxes. The real Japanese wish to go back to Japan in body only--this is, if it is necessary. I'm willing to go through any kind of suffering or hardship. We always think of the soldiers at the front. What we're going through now is nothing to that. That's why those who wish to resegregate do not get along well with the inu.

I said that I did not think much of the inu and then Mr. Yoshiyama, who had become very flushed and excited looking, told me that he had a group of Topaz boys here who would



do anything for him. He could get an inu beaten up anytime he wished. It had been the same in Topaz. Though he had worked for the Administration, his real desire had always been to help the Japanese. In Topaz (he said) he had an intricate espionage organization -- girls in the offices who would tell him if anyone informed and a large group of boys-- and he had been responsible for beating up twelve inu there. The boys would go to their rooms at night and beat them up.

(I wrote down nothing of this, and simply listened.) Yoshiyama then told me that he had caused the November 4th riot! Here I tried to stop him, since I don't want any Japanese to know that I know anything about the inside workings of that.(1) I don't know why I tell you all these things said he, but if I've gone this far I may as well finish. We had the same kind of an organization here. We were determined to get the Co-op heads. We had plans laid to burn down the canteens.

Mr. Best gave us a verbal promise that no food would be taken out of the warehouse during the night. I couldn't trust Mr. Best's word.

Mr. Yoshiyama said that he had put about 40 boys in the warehouse area to see that the Caucasians didn't come sneaking around to steal the food. He had "his boys" in the warehouse area too. If they were actually stealing food he was prepared to beat them up. However, he wanted to make sure.

At this moment someone knocked at the door. It turned out to be Mr. Ige, the young man I spoke to Saturday. Yoshiyama blushed red as fire and called to his wife for another cup of coffee while I asked Ige how he was. Ige refused to say however. Evidently, the spell was broken for from this point on Mr. Yoshiyama watched what he said.

The boy (Kobayashi) came running into the meeting and blurted out that the Caucasians were stealing the food. The people started making a racket at the meeting. Some said, "We must stop it." I went there, intending to stop the riot. Of course, I wasn't going to stop it if I saw with my own eyes that food was being stolen. I went to the Motor Pool and talked to the fellow I had stationed there (Takata). He told me that they had refused to give the keys to the Caucasians when they had come. Later, however, they came back with Jarrett, Zimmer, Schmidt and Boerback. They took out 116,117,144, three trucks.

At this time the young men were restless. It was different from what it is now - more action. A little friction would cause them to burst out. The news had gotten around that they were taking the food.

I told the boys to return (back to the colony) and told them definitely that I'd go back to Best's office in the morning and see about it. About 40 of them came back with me. Later I heard some young men returned there. I don't know who they were. I think they went to beat up the Caucasians. They were fellows who wished to show the energy they had.

During the riot one of my men said, "There's a suspicious looking Caucasian parked near Mr. Best's office." We went over. I tried to ask his name. It was Mr. Schmidt, but I didn't know who he was at that time. He beat it out. He really went fast. We chased after him. We ran the car in front of him and almost bumped into him. He backed up and went out of the gate. If he'd talked to me we could have explained it, but when he ran away we just took out after him.

[1. I felt that if Mr. Yoshiyama was subsequently arrested and if he had told me that he was responsible for an assault, I might be considered the informer. In addition, I did not want to know about any criminal activity, since I felt threatened by the possibility that the authorities might call on me to testify.]



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I turned the conversation to various Japanese cultural matters in which I am interested and after a time, took myself off. As I left, Mr. Yoshiyama told me that I should come back any time I chose. He added that he's getting things pretty well organized now. People are coming to see him and he can sit home and manage matters instead of going to see them.(1)

He also told me that if the camp goes under the Department of Justice, he would be willing to keep data for me on any camp occurrences. How he will get it through the censorship, he doesn't know.

(Minutes of Planning Board meeting and an interesting letter sent by a Department of Interior big shot to the New York head of the ACLU will follow as soon as they are typed.)

[I was disturbed and shaken after the talk with Mr. Yoshiyama. He had made it clear that he was strongly attracted to me. But the fact was that I did not find him attractive. I was under considerable obligation to him, for he had given me many valuable documents and he and I had spent many hours enlarging and correcting my historical account of what had happened before and during the strike. He was also my best informant on the less edifying activities of the Resegregation Group, and he had implied that he was on good terms with Mr. Wakayama. I wrote to Dr. D. S. Thomas for advice, but she did not respond. So I decided to postpone my decision, see what happened in the center, and to visit Mr. Yoshiyama less frequently.]

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Thought I'd give myself a good stiff dose of the opposition and called on my friend, Mr. Kurihara, this afternoon. He remarked that he was disappointed that I hadn't come sooner. I explained that I had been extremely busy.

Wakayama:

I heard he took it back (the block managership). I have been hanging around in block 83, because if any threat comes it will come from 82 (Wakayama's block). In 83, though, they didn't know anything.

Kurihara agreed that there had been no threats made which would upset any considerable part of the camp's population. He would certainly hear of it, whenever it occurred.

Department of Justice:

That is known throughout the camp, but it is not being talked about. The resegregation group are bragging through the camp that it is because of them that the camp is going under Justice. I said to one, 'If your influence is so great as that, you could do much more for the Japanese in other ways.'

I've told a man who I know talks a lot so that he'll tell Wakayama, "If serious trouble breaks out in camp, he will not escape." I also told him that I had prepared papers to be sent to the FBI and to Mr. Best, so that if he kills me, I'll speak from the grave.

I've been told that there's a group in there who cut their fingers and signed with their own blood. They are real fanatics.

There are a lot of people in camp who know what's going on.

[1. Several Issei had told me that "to have people come to see you" indicated that one was an important man.]



The Dai-Nippon Seinen-dan:

Kai, Kuratomi, Mori and Tsuda are behind the Dai-Nippon Seinen-dan. I've been hearing that they've been organizing it. Ten days ago they claimed they had about 100 members.

(Kurihara predicted that if things went on at this rate, it was possible that a kind of gang warfare might break out in camp.)

As far as I'm concerned, I'm not interested in either party. I was asked why I will not join either party. They arranged a dinner party for me, but I refused to attend the dinner party.

The Co-op Situation:

The former Board of Directors are jealous of the present board. At the time the Co-op was turned over to them, they handled it like a hot potatoe. They (the old Board) were afraid of their necks. During the period of transition, they would not cooperate with the present Board. They were wishing that they would not be successful.

The truth is, they were very successful. Now they (old Board) are jealous of it and want to cause disruption and great disharmony among the present directors. They bring up matters which they shouldn't.

(Mr. Kurihara believes that George Matsumura has done a splendid job.)

The President, the Vice-President and the Secretary really are depending on him. He's made a name for himself in the colony - in the good sense.

If the old Board of Directors get too nosy and keep on trying to cause trouble, if they go too far with their dirty work, we (new board) might investigate their past record. Certain things have already been uncovered which are not very good to tell.

For instance, I have stopped the Co-op from investigation shipments of melons and chicken to this camp from Manzanar. Instead of giving it to the people they gave it to the canteens. There is no sense digging out any dirt, because a man got killed. Let it go at that.

Beatings:

I then told Kurihara that I had been doing some thinking on how beatings were arranged. Asking him to criticize my guesses, I told him that probably sometimes people in a block or district would get so mad at some inu that they'd just sock him one if a good chance arose and that at other times a noted inu would arouse so much anger that a group of young men would get together and definitely plot to get him. Kurihara said that both types of beatings occurred. However, some beatings were undoubtedly engineered. A certain organized group would engage on a series of beatings. That had happened at Manzanar. Sometime older plotters behind the scenes would state who was to be beaten. Of the men beaten, Kurihara said:

Some of them deserve it and some don't. Like Yamatani, he should have been buried long ago. But some don't deserve it.

Fate of Shimokon Who Fled to Minidoka With Yamatani:

Shimokon couldn't stay in Minidoka I hear. He had to leave there and to go work on a section gang.



Reverend Tsuha's Resignation From Sokoku Kenkyu:

When a bunch get together who like to get on the front page all the time, they will not allow any person who's smarter than himself to be too popular. He (Tsuha) was the real organizer of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan. He was getting well known throughout the camp, so the other parties were afraid he's getting all the bouquets. So they kicked him out. They want all the credit for themselves. If Tachibana and Wakayama remain as counsellors, at the end they too will fight. They will try to claim all the credit.

This was interesting - No people seemed to care to praise Wakayama's speech at the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan meeting. When Tachibana spoke I heard a lot of commendation.

When Wakayama was introduced he said he had served as a senator of the United States. He told me that in San Pedro too. He said he went in and out of the Congressional Building so many times that no Nisei has stepped in and out of that building as many times as he did.

Now I know there is no senator from the Hawaiian Islands. I've read the Constitution carefully to see. I'd like to know what term he says he's served so that I could check it.

Amusing Incident:

Something funny happened the other day. You know they have stopped serving liver sausage here because the Japanese don't like it. Well, one of the pressure group told me that they (pressure group) had stopped it. I said, 'If you have that much influence, why don't you ask for more eggs?' Last week we got only two eggs.

Those fellows are also bragging that it's because of them that Mr. Black and Mr. Best are going to be discharged.

The other day I had an argument regarding the pamphlet. I was talking to one of their officers. I asked if it (pamphlet) was bonafide, why didn't they sign their names? He said, 'We can't sign our names.' I asked why. He said, 'There's spies among us who might report us.' I said, 'If there are dogs among your group, it's going to be terrible if you are resegregated.' I said, 'According to my understanding, you were permitted to organize the Resegregation Group. You have authority to go ahead with it and why are you afraid to sign your name? All in all, this is too fishy for me.'

Expose of Hitomi Murder:

Mr. Kurihara told me that the expose of the Hitomi murder is being eagerly awaited by those who know what's up. It seems that a former resident of Tule Lake has relocated to Granada and that he's going to publish this expose in one of the outside Japanese newspapers, not the Tule Lake paper, as I understood incorrectly from Tokunaga. Kurihara is looking forward to this.

TALK WITH NISEI GIRL - KAYO IIDA

Chatted with this young lady for some time, but nothing interesting was said, except that she remarked that the entire camp was all excited about the war news - the reported attack of the Japanese fleet. Many persons are sure that Jpaan will win and have been waiting anxiously. This attack is expected to ruin the American forces, having drawn them into a trap.

She asked solicitously if my brother was on his way home yet from India.(1)

- [1. I had previously told many of my friends about my brother who, at this time, was serving in the U.S. Army in India.]



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INSIDE DOPE ON THREAT MADE AGAINST KEY WORKER

A man on the Appointed Personnel who trusts me more than he should, (1) asked my advice on this threat and gave me the facts. It seems that Tom Nishimoto of the Motor Pool was told by an "anonymous group" that he should hold himself in readiness to give them all the cars in the Motor Pool, "When he was told to do so." He refused and his life was threatened. The man who told me this considers the threat genuine. I told him I could tell him nothing.

[1. This statement reflects my ambivalence about the complex ethical dilemma into which I was being drawn. I did not put down my Caucasian informant's name, because I did not want him to get into trouble for giving me this information. But my self-doubt is reflected in my remark that he "trusts me more than he should." The threat made by the "anonymous groups" sounded as if it had come from Mr. Yoshiyama. But Mr. Yoshiyama had also trusted me.]



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TALK WITH MR. NAKAMURA - NISEI OLD TULEAN - EMPLOYED AS LEGAL AID

I began to discuss the November trouble and the camp attitudes with Nakamura and found that he has done considerable analytical thinking on these matters. However, he was out of camp on seasonal leave during the trouble and did not return till January 1944. He left shortly before the farm strike. I was somewhat surprised by the sympathetic attitude he took toward the Daihyo Sha Kai and the Negotiating Committee. He feels that the thing which might have saved the situation is if some type of arbitration board could have been set up to handle the negotiations impartially, give the agitators some of the things they asked for and consider the limitations of the Administration. He explained that it was very natural for the agitators to ask for a great many things that they did not expect to get - in the hope that they would at least get something. He seemed to have little doubt that if the Daihyo Sha had been permitted to carry out its plan of organizing a representative group for the colony that this group would have been of great help to both the people and the WRA. For an old Tulean, these are unusual attitudes. In spite of Nakamura's absence during the spectacular part of the trouble, I think this viewpoint, which is remarkably unbiased, would be worth noting down in detail. He is very willing to discuss the issues at length with me, so I expect to spend one or more afternoons with him in his office thrashing things out. He remarked that in his opinion, the Japanese had been "taken for suckers." Why a fellow of his education chooses to stay in Tule Lake would also be interesting to find out. He also stressed the oft-repeated point that the really first class capable men in the center are holding back and taking no part in significant camp activities.

MEN BEATEN - 11:00 P.M.

Was informed by Mr. Harper of Internal Security that some people had been beaten Sunday (On October 15) for refusing to sign the petition (or, as I suspect) for talking against signing. At first, the colonial police (Japanese) were going to handle the case, but they have now refused to do so, and Mr. Harper has been given the detail. Yesterday, the news of this beating had not spread widely, or Mr. Kurihara would have told me about it. I wonder what he's going to do when he hears about it.



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All in all, a very frustrating day. Called on Reverend Tsuha. Did not ask him about current affairs but discussed the yakuza (gangsters) on whom I may write a paper if I can get enough data. Tsuha knew a good many general things about them, but his English is so poor that he cannot express himself. I then dropped in at the library to gossip with my friend, Asako Higaki, an Old Tule Lake Nisei girl. She told me she had heard about the Sunday night beating, but it seemed as if the people were trying to keep it quiet. She had understood that it was a knifing. I then called on Lillian Manji with whom I had an appointment. She, however, had been called out for some emergency and had asked that I come later. I came home with blisters and little else.

TALK WITH THE PROJECT ATTORNEY

The Project Attorney told me in confidence that three old men were attacked on Sunday. They claim to be Christian Scientists or of some sect which thinks in a Christian Science manner, and they refuse to give any information against their assailants. They say only that they were attacked by "three young men." The situation is peculiar because they were attacked far from where they live. The Project Attorney doesn't even know where the attack took place. I've written a letter to Mr. Kurihara asking him to see if he can find out what happened.<sup>(1)</sup> The old men will not give the reason for the attack.

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[1. Since I had visited Mr. Kurihara on Monday, I hesitated to call on him. If I visited him too frequently, people might call him an inu.]



OCTOBER 19, 1944CALL ON KURATOMI

Decided to risk the possibility of being seen by the Matsudas and called on George today. I found him friendlier than at my last visit. One of the ex-stockade internees, Mr. Shimonishi, was also present. I started out on the right foot by congratulating him on the accuracy of his prediction about the coming split in the Resegregation Group. Shimonishi, George, and I talked for about two hours, and though much of the conversation was carried on in Japanese style, such as discussing individuals whose names were not mentioned, I got along better than I had anticipated. George did not seem concerned about my visiting the Matsudas. Throughout the conversation, it was apparent that George still regards himself as a very important man.

I made an oblique reference to the difficulties of my present position, remarking that it is tough enough to study a camp divided into two groups and that when additional splits occur, my work becomes such that only an optimist would attempt it. I made no uncomplimentary remarks about the Resegregationist leaders, but George and his wife expressed their attitudes in several instances.

George said with determination:

Only definite status for this camp will solve the question. That's why we brought the point up in the meeting with Best and Myer.

On the question of the return of the Santa Fe internees and Best's promise about the Department of Justice, he said:

I think Best is holding off from day to day. He doesn't know what to do.

Mr. Shimonishi asked me if it were true that Mr. Black is leaving the center. I said I did not know.

I asked George if he thought that the renunciation of citizenship would have any significant effect on camp attitudes. He thought not. However, it depends, said he, on how the statements are made in it. He remarked jokingly that he guessed the government would not approve his application. They'll figure they better keep a guy like me here for the duration.

I then asked about the yakuza (the organized gambling gangs of Japan).(1) George said he knew quite a bit about them but could not speak with any authority.

The whole thing lacks authenticity. These people existed, but as to the build up about them, it varies according to the authors.

George remarked that the stories were not unlike the way stories grew around such people as Daniel Boone.

Shimizu Jirocho, the most notorious example of this group, died only about 40 or 50 years ago - around 1895, added Shimonishi, who became quite interested in the discussion

[1. Several respondents had hinted that Mr. Tsuda ran a gambling house. Some had referred to "the gamblers". I hoped that by asked about the yakuza I might get a little more information. I didn't. By mid-November, however, many persons spoke openly of the "gamblers", young men who were supposed to be followers of Kuratomi and Tsuda.]



and promised to look up the subject in a Japanese encyclopedia and bring it to George for him to translate for me. George continued, They formed a code among themselves. It's hard for outsiders to understand them.

Even I can't understand some of their ideas, said Shimonishi.

George told me that the code of the yakuza was different from that of bushido. On the whole, the gamblers organized in small groups, scattered about the country. On occasions, however, they would form alliances, if they thought it necessary. The head of one clan would meet the head of another clan and exchange cups of sake, something like the American Indians smoking a peace pipe. George also corroborated a statement made by Reverend Tsuha, that there were a considerable number of ryonin, samurai who had lost their lords, in the group.

#### Santa Fe Matter:

George now showed me two letters, one from Mr. French to Mr. Best, stating that the Department of Justice would be quite willing to return the internees to Tule Lake, if Best approved, and another from the Department of Justice stating that the return of the internees was up to the WRA. George said that he could assure me that most of the families of the internees in this camp were determined not to go to Crystal City under any pressure.

Honestly speaking, I don't want to cause any ill tension, but going back to Japanese psychology, whenever you can find no other alternative, you may have to take strong measures. It will be pretty hard to do anything else than to take action embarrassing to the WRA here.

I think Mr. Best knows that the return of the men would bring about better feeling in the center. But if he feels like playing foxy with us, I can play foxy with him.

I think he was told by Myer to stay out of the Santa Fe trouble. I think he has strict orders from Myer that the future Santa Fe business will be handled by Myer himself.

#### The Matter of Meeting With Myer on November 1:

Mr. Zimmer was in control. The farm group went to see him. Yoshiyama, Hayashi and others went to see him. Zimmer made out the reply - a type-written statement that Mr. Myer would see us on November 2, at 2:00 p.m., that is, he would see the farm committee.

Yoshiyama said he wasn't a representative of the farm group and that the Negotiating Committee wanted to see Mr. Myer. So he just refused. So we had to make the other arrangement to see Mr. Myer. This could have been the work of Zimmer and Best and not Myer.

#### Previous Interview of Best and Farm Group:

Best told the farm group to go back to work - or else. So they called upon the people to form an organization to deal with the situation. I have a resolution drawn up by the farm group and the block managers - to give whole-hearted support to the newly elected body. There is also a statement from the farm group.

(Must check with Mr. Yoshiyama about these documents.)



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

Post November 1 Sentiments:

We were very much satisfied with Best's and Myer's statements. In accordance with their statements we were going ahead to form this permanent body. The November 4th incident and the Daihyo Sha have no connecting link.

The Administration, being given the wrong impression at the start, wanted to stick to this wrong conviction.

Food Taken From Warehouse:

The boys in the warehouse brought in an itemized list of the things taken from the warehouse to Yoshiyama. The immediate reaction of the people was, "Our food is bad enough, if they take more away (to feed the harvesters) its going to get worse."

Shimonishi suggested that I check with the railroad and bus companies to settle the matter as to whether a group of harvesters was really coming into Tule Lake on the night of November 4.

Sokoku Kenkyu:

Just to see what reaction I would get, I told of how a member of Internal Security had come to the conclusion that Reverend Kai was head of the Sokoku Kenkyu.<sup>(1)</sup> Roars of laughter greeted this story. Mrs. Kuratomi said, 'Poor Father Kai, we'll have to tell him to change his name.'

At another point in the conversation, George remarked that now 'Best didn't know what to do with this new bunch who were forming (the Sokoku Kenkyu). He didn't know whether to let them go ahead or whether to pick up the leaders.'

[1. See Fieldnotes, October 12, 1944.]



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

OCTOBER 22, 1944

MAN EMPLOYED IN SOCIAL WELFARE

Heard today from a man employed in Social Welfare that Kuratomi and Tereda had come in and applied for a marriage license, stipulating that the marriage be kept entirely secret and that the license be gotten from some place where there would be no chance of publicity developing.

CO-OP TROUBLE BREWING

Currie reports that the Board has been stewing away at a great rate and predicts that they are on the verge of making public some of the misdeeds of the old board. Currie implied that he had seen some of the evidence and that the old board had done some mighty fishy things. He insists, however, that the books were straight and there was no making away with Co-op funds.



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

OCTOBER 23, 1944

TALK WITH MR. WAKAYAMA - MANZANAR BIG SHOT

In line with my resolution to put in a record work week, I tramped off to Manzanar today to interview the dangerous Mr. Wakayama.

I found him in a spacious new office, the walls of which were covered with Japanese flags and scrolls in Japanese script. Two brawny and solemn-faced young men stood on either side of him and another young man stood at the door. Impressive bodyguards, I thought. Mr. Wakayama himself sat behind a handsome desk. I assumed a humble attitude and asked him for his version of the "porch trouble" and about the report that he had resigned as block maanger.

Porch Trouble:

A person named Goto who is one of the residents of my block built an additional room for his daughter. He came to see me and told me about it.

In the middle of June there was an article published in the Newell Star in regard to the building of additional extensions. At the same time one of the fire prevention inspectors came over to me and told me he was told by the fire department chief, Mr. Owens, that as long as 30 feet of space was maintained by the residents, it would be perfectly all right for them to make an extension to the building. The space between the barracks is 40 feet. So there is ten feet leeway.

This was good news for the residents of the new area, because the rooms were so small and the people at that time were requesting the Administration to give them permission to build extensions of warehouses for their belongings.

I made this announcement in the mess hall. The inspector was there too and told me that a permit is not required as long as the residents keep to the 30 foot limit.

Mr. Goto followed instructions and built the room. Mr. Goto is a minister (Buddhist). He has a three room apartment (which he uses for his church). After three months the Administration charged him for violation. At first the police came over. Afterwards, Mr. Best signed the warrant for his arrest.

They held a hearing last month. I appeared as a witness with my assistant and two Japanese members of the Fire department to testify that Mr. Owen made such an announcement.

A bulletin was issued from the Administration in April saying that no construction should be made in the new area. This announcement (by Owens) was made in May.

I said that I made the announcement. It was not the fault of Mr. Goto. I told Mr. Best that the case is very clear and that Mr. Goto should be freed.

Mr. Campbell (the Project Attorney) was so excited when I testified. He went to whisper to the Caucasians there. Mr. Best was very excited also. Finally, the only excuse they made was that it did not apply to the new area. So I said, 'Why didn't you say so and why didn't Mr. Owens make the announcement to the 26 members?'



Finally, Mr. Best sentenced Mr. Goto to 30 days in the Klamath Falls jail(1) which would be suspended if he tore down the building in a week.

But the building cost Mr. Goto \$70. Now he blames me. I'm on the spot.

I said, 'I don't think I can stay on as block manager.' Mr. Best said, 'You're fault is my fault.' I said, 'But you're behind the fence. I'm together with these people.' He said, 'The case is over.' I remained.

I spoke to Mr. Best personally. I said that I thought the decision was very bad and that it will develop into something else. I have to resign. He said, 'You don't have to resign. I can send those persons to Santa Fe.'

However, I made an announcement to the block residents that I was resigning that day because I couldn't face this person. It was my fault. The Japanese thought it a logical thing to do.

Now the residents took the responsibility and said nobody will take on the job of block manager. They got sore and said, 'We shall continue to protest this to the block managers' headquarters.'

The next morning, I went to the block managers' headquarters and handed in my resignation. They refused to accept it. They said there is a rule that unless I bring along my successor, they cannot accept. I said, 'I can't induce anyone to serve in my place.' I said, 'What are you people doing in this office? If you fellows are going to be WRA stooges, I don't think it's worth maintaining this office.'

The boys were sore and demonstrated their offensive spirit to headquarters. (I did not have the nerve to ask who these boys were. Could he be referring to the "Manzanar gang"? ) They got sore and came over to my place. All my residents gathered in front of my office and demonstrated their real sentiments of the outcome of the case.

They called a ward chairman's meeting that evening at headquarters. Meantime, the news spread all over the center. Seventy or eighty young boys surrounded headquarters. Mr. Thomas was observing the gathering. He rang up Mr. Best. Mr. Best said he would meet with a group of representatives from the ward chairmen.

I got the report from the block managers' chairman that at first Mr. Best threatened these people. 'Do you want me to call the Army like last year and teach you folks a lesson?' Of course, the people were prepared for this. They said, 'Do you think you can teach the people a lesson or are you going to be in an embarrassing position?' The people of the new area are different from the people of the old area. We were all ready for it. They said, 'Go ahead and do it. We'd rather have Army control the center than the WRA.'

As soon as the representatives said that, Mr. Best changed his tone. He said he'd see Mr. Owens tomorrow and give his answer.

The people came back and told me about it. I announced to the people what had been done. The next day Mr. Thomas came with a paper signed by Mr. Best and asked me to go along to see Mr. Goto. The paper stated that he'd changed his mind and that he would give Mr. Goto two rooms in the new area, one for his church services and one for living. I told Mr. Goto, 'Are you satisfied?' he said he was satisfied, so I was also satisfied.

Mr. Best said he would not accept my resignation. The block people had also expressed their opinion that they wanted nobody but Mr. Wakayama. Mr. Thomas said he would issue a statement.

[1. I do not think that Mr. Best had the power to sentence a segregee to the Klamath Falls jail. Should check this.]



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Renunciation of Citizenship:

The people are anxiously waiting for the denouncement of it. When Mr. Best made the statement that within 60 days the camp would be under Justice, the people were delighted. We more or less expect it.

There is a rumor that Mr. Best is going to San Francisco to be in charge of the Alien Property.

New Name for Resegregation Group:

The name of the Resegregation group is not appropriate. As one of the advisors, I made the suggestion to have it changed. It is now called, Sokuji Kikoku Hooshi-dan. Very literal translation (Immediately-return to country-to serve-society). The people were getting tired of the name resegregation. This new name now explains our real purpose.

The Administration or Washington are releasing the people from Hawaii who were here before the war broke out to go back to the Islands. Quite a few have gone back from the new area [Manzanar section].

Mr. Wakayama Predicts a New Split in the Resegregation Group:

One thing might develop and that is that the Resegregation Group might be split in two. I have a hunch. The second group would be the one that doesn't want to go back to Japan immediately. There might be two factions.

(Mr. Wakayama then mentioned a speech which he had made to his ward branch of the Sokoku Kenkyu last Saturday night.)

If they are going back to Japan individually, they will regret very much as to their living in Japan, in that country, where everything is different from the United States. The people in Japan work hard - long hours - they can stand the poor food.

But the boys and girls who have led an easy life in this country, cannot compete with the Japanese. I told them the only way they could do this is to go back in a group. To work mutually for their existence. Otherwise it will be a failure. Otherwise, if they go back individually, they might as well stay in the United States.

I made this statement the night before last (Saturday) in the newly organized Young Men's Association meeting (Branch of the Sokoku Kenkyu in ward 8).

Some of the people said, 'That's the only thing we've been worrying about.' I feel that unless they do this they would be a liability to their families and the country. Individually, they will get disgusted in three to six months. I think they should go back as a group and make their own community. But I heard that many people, especially from Ward II, objected to the proposal. I have heard also that they are saying that Wakayama is doing this for his own personal selfishness.

I made my farewells with many expressions of gratitude and appreciation for the information he had given me and he was equally courteous. [Inwardly I suspected that both of us were putting up a false front and I felt uneasy and insecure.]



CALL ON THE MATSUDAS

Found only Mr. Matsuda at home but he was not very communicative. He asked me to see if I could get some crepe paper for decorations for the November 3 celebration (Meiji Setsu)(1) and also asked if I would ask Mr. Robertson if it would be permissible to display the Japanese flag on the outdoor stage. All I learned was that Mr. Matsuda is taking a very active part in preparing for the November 3rd celebration and that the Sokoku Kenkyu is supposed to be in charge of the program. (Last year the Daihyo Sha took a prominent part, I am told.)

TALK WITH NISEI GIRL IN BLOCK 7 - KAYO IIDABeating of Sunday:

We have heard very little about it. Very few people seem to know about it. All we hear is just that they were against the petition. They didn't sign for it. They were beaten up in block 54, ward VI. Ward VI is always getting into fusses like that. They have their own Japanese school, you know.

Kayo also remarked that her father didn't agree with Kurihara. Kurihara was too American. He could never understand how Japan is or how Japanese think. (I gather that Kurihara is getting criticized for his criticism of the Resegregation group. Kayo's father, I believe, is a member.)

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARA

Kurihara was not himself. He appeared distraught and at the beginning of our talk he responded to my remarks curtly or not at all. I gave him an account of my visit with Mr. Wakayama and Kurihara said he was glad to hear that Wakayama admitted there might be a split in the Resegregation group. He said: "We have heard rumors of it, but I am glad to hear that Wakayama confirms it." He did not know, however, who was splitting off. On Wakayama's statement about repatriating Japanese sticking together and working communally when they returned to Japan, Kurihara said:

In some respects what Wakayama is preaching looks reasonable. But if we go back before or for several years after the war, we are going to be regimented and not allowed to do as we please. The government will put you in the place where you are best fitted.

In many ways what he tells to the people seems reasonable. But knowing him, I have my doubts.

He made a serious statment that night which you should watch out for.

(Mr. Kurihara looked at me so sternly that I did not dare to ask what the statement was. Somewhat at a loss, I asked if Tsuda and Mori were still being called inu.)

The rumors concerning them no longer exist. When they first undertook to get those boys in the stockade out, to some extent people said that Tusda and Mori are dogs. We were to some extent inclined to believe that.

I remarked that this might have been rumor deliberately spread by the Resegregation Group. Kurihara said that was possible. I said that some members of the Resegregation Group had told me that the people were ready to demonstrate, so as to force the Administration to return the interned Issei members of the Negotiating Committee to Tule Lake.

[1. The anniversary of the beginning of the Meiji dynasty.]



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

We all sympathize with the families of those people. But I don't think the people will support it (effort to get them back) by demonstrating.

Then Mr. Kurihara said angrily:

To some extent these things are going on because the Administration lacks a strong hand. If the Administration acts at the right moment and holds the whip, I think they could bring those people into line. They try to appease them too much.

[I was taken aback, because by the standards of many of my respondents Mr. Kurihara was talking like an inu. I asked whether he had heard about the beatings on the night of October 15. At this point something seemed to snap and Mr. Kurihara poured out the following statement:]

Beatings of October 15:

Very few people seem to have heard about that beating. The men themselves are keeping it under cover. The Police Department isn't doing anything about it.

They were beaten because they refused to sign the petition. One of them you know, Mr. Tokunaga.(1)

(This is the gentleman who wrote the paper for us. He is a kindly old soul, weighs about 90 pounds and is around 60 years old.)

They were supposed to be the leaders of a certain religious sect. That group (this sect) in particular did not sign the segregation petition. They were blamed for it, for influencing the people against it.

It was the act of a bunch of cowards. It must have been a bunch of gangsters with clubs and a hammer. (These weapons were used by the assailant according to the story of the Project Attorney)

I went to see Mr. Tokunaga on Tuesday. He requested me to let the thing die out. They fear that neither they nor their families will be safe if I carry out my intentions. One of our friends was going right over to beat Wakayama up, all alone, but we restrained him.

(I said that I too felt like running over to the Manzanar section to beat up Wakayama. Mr. Kurihara grinned and said: With your great strength you could probably throw him clear into block 54.)

They were blamed because that particular sect didn't sign. We know threats were made and we know where the threats came from.

Even on the night of the eighth of the month an open threat was made when he, Wakayama, spoke from the platform. When such an open threat is voiced, how is it possible that the colonial police do not know?

Mr. Tokunaga was hit across the forehead and had four or five stitches taken. One of the other men was struck with a hammer on the back of his head. The third on the back of his hand when he tried to protect his head.

(I ventured to suggest that the group rising in competition to the Sokoku Kenkyu (Kai and Kuratomi's new group) might denounce Wakayama. Kurihara said he did not think so. If a denunciation comes, said he, it will come from the inside of the people.)

[1. Hearing this, my face grew cold with rage. I had a vision of myself running to the Manzanar section to beat up Mr. Wakayama. At the same time, I am ashamed to say, I took down Mr. Kurihara's words verbatim.]



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The people of this camp must choose if they want such terrorism to exist or else cast that leader out. They are just trying to beat the people into line. If those persons had not asked me not to carry out my intentions, I would have done it.

I'm afraid there's going to be serious trouble here, if the people don't wake up in time and cast them out.

(I reacted pessimistically to this and said so. However, Kurihara thinks otherwise.)

You must remember that the Japanese people are not troublesome. They are a peace-loving people.

(I get so damn mad when I think of little Mr. Tokunaga being set upon by a half dozen young toughs that I'm about ready to go and beat up Wakayama myself. I can't even visit him to express sympathy. Well, he had guts. I warned him the last time I spoke to him, but he said Kurihara and I were taking things far too seriously, cf. Notes, October 10, p. 1.)

TALK WITH NAKAMURA - OLD TULEAN

Mr. Nakamura is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and the assistant to the Project Attorney. He works in the colony office. We retired to an inner room and had an animated discussion on the early difficulties of camp. He was not here during the "trouble", having left Tule Lake in September of 1942. He returned for frequent visits, one of which was in July of 1943 and another in early October of 1943. He left in mid-October and did not return until January 1944. I remarked that he had missed all the excitement, but he said he was glad he had. Life hadn't been very pleasant in camp during his absence. His attitude is interesting and, for an Old Tulean, quite unusual.

The way I look at it, from what I've heard, there were mistakes on both sides. The sentiments of the people were with the minority group (Daihyo Sha) who were believed the self-appointed delegates.

Naturally, the conditions in the center here might have been below standards. I know, having visited Omachi and Topaz, that the facilities there, especially the latrines, were in every way superior. You know very well, that the Old Tuleans, by comparison through letters with friends, were aware of the fact that the center was handicapped in many ways. But you get used to things.

Errors of WRA

One of the biggest mistakes was creating Tule Lake as a segregation center in the first place. They should have made the segregation center at Leupp or elsewhere. The residents of Tule Lake wanted a separate segregation center. Since the bungling in registration was made (so many here refused to register) the WRA decided to make Tule Lake the segregation center.

The super-patriots are a very sincere group. They feel they have a certain destiny they are obliged to fulfill. Many of them had the right intentions, but their methods were too aggressive. Besides, the Administration had not laid down any definite policy. They would waver from day to day.

The Administration did not have a sincere policy in mind on dealing with the representatives so as to use it in some ways according to their desires. If their intentions had been sincere in accepting some of the proposals made by the representative groups, some form of understanding could have been reached.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

If the Administration had suggested that the services of a mediating board be employed, such as the representative from the Spanish Embassy, or some of the people from the University of California on the Fair Play League, and they had met together with the representatives, I think it could have been worked out. The Spanish Ambassador might not have been able to give a decision, but he could give his suggestions.

(I asked Mr. Nakamura if he thought the Negotiating Committee would really have been willing to accept the decision of such a mediation board. He had no doubt about it, because they would have been satisfied to get some part of the numerous things they asked for.)

Opinion of the Administrative Staff:

Brushing everything aside, we feel that the Administrative personnel is incompetent to handle the camp and that a definite policy has not been made.

The kind of thing America is saying what she'll do after the war! She says that she'll give the people of the world the four freedoms! Here they've made a mess of a camp of 15,000 persons. I don't see how they'll be able to manage the Asiatic people in the orient.

We Nisei feel we've been made the guinea pigs of the Evacuation Program.

The fanatical resistance made by the Nazis and by the Japanese is something to be taken into consideration. They know what the outcome is going to be: a world dominated by Anglo-Saxon power.

There won't be any people left in Japan after the war. If the Empire is gone, their lives are gone too. The only people there would be those who go there from here.

Support of the Daihyo Sha:

The sentiments of the people as a whole were not behind the minority group. But since the Administration had been reluctant in granting them anything, they felt this was just as good a time as any to get it. Anything acquired is something gained. This type of psychology has been acquired by the Japanese people since they were interned in the camps.

The Status Quo Vote:

Some members of the administrative staff and some Old Tuleans had told me that in January some people had voted in favor of the status quo out of intimidation. I asked Mr. Nakamura for his opinion. He said that it was more likely to work the other way around: pro-status quo people refused to vote and waverers voted anti-status quo because of the soldiers watching them.

That was intimidation, if you ask me.

The fellow who stands on his principles gets stuck in the stockade. . . . We figure - if you handle the damn fool Administration properly, why you can get a lot out of them. There is an old saying in Japanese, 'If a person is a fool and you call him a fool, he gets mad.'

(This is a very interesting statement when one recalls what happened in May, when the WRA tried to establish a permanent Representative Committee.)

Everything that WRA wants to do we'll be antagonistic to.



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It's no trouble at all to attack the personnel who were incapable. It's easy enough to put them on the spot. You might as well struggle along with the numbskulls. It's the sincere person who gets mad.

Department of Justice:

We'd rather have the camp under the Department of Justice. The majority of the people are very firm in their desire to return to Japan.

(I asked Mr. Nakamura for an estimate of how many people really want to return to Japan and he said that though it was impossible to do more than guess, he thought about half.)

Many people might go out after the war and try to make a living. If they can't, they figure they'll go back to Japan then. Of course, if people have property and wealth, they might be able to go back to California and go into their old business and make out.



OCTOBER 24, 1944CALL AT TACHIBANAS

Called on the Tachibanas to see what I could find out. He was not at home, which was fortunate in a way, since his wife gossiped and dropped hints which Mr. Tachibana would be far too cautious to do.

We discussed Huycke's leaving. I praised the growth of the Sokoku Kenkyu. Mrs. Tachibana invited me to come to the Meiji Setsu celebration on November 3, but recommended that I speak to Mr. Matsuda first about coming. I turned the conversation to the members of the Negotiating Committee, released from the stockade, and remarked that I had heard that some of them were giving the Sokoku Kenkyu a great deal of support. "Yes," said Mrs. Tachibana happily, "Mr. Uchida and Mr. Yoshiyama are really helping the Sokoku." Mr. Uchida, in particular, is taking complete charge of the judo instruction which is part of the program for young men. I praised Uchida and Yoshiyama. Reverend Kai, Mrs. Tachibana continued, was not thought well of. He had not appreciated the efforts that the Resegregation Group made in his behalf. In fact (said Mrs. Tachibana), Mrs. Kai had been quite curt and rude to a delegation from the Resegregation Group which had called on her when her husband was in the stockade.

Mrs. Tachibana said that at the time when the Resegregation group was working to get the men out of the stockade, Mr. Uchida's relatives and Mr. Yoshiyama's parents-in-law to be (Yoshiyama's parents are dead) had been very courteous, cooperative, and appreciative.

We chatted about knitting for awhile and then Mrs. Tachibana remarked of her own accord that another inu had gotten hit on the head. "Is that so?" said I, "I heard a rumor, but that's all." "Yes," said Mrs. Tachibana, "They got him over in block 54. He was a Christian scientist. They beat up three of them, but they wouldn't have beaten the other two if they hadn't been along." I found out that the man slated to be beaten was Mr. Aritaka, not Mr. Tokunaga. Mrs. Tachibana was quite happy over the beating. She thinks the men deserved it.

Another inu was warned a few days ago, she continued:

Mr. Tambara of block 31 was selling some of the things he had stored in a warehouse. They were his own things and he was selling them at three or four times the price.

Somebody blackmailed him. They wrote him, 'Would you like to see another Hitomi?' He closed his door. But he's probably selling things in his backyard now.

We discussed the possibility of the Department of Justice taking over. Mrs. Tachibana remarked optimistically that it looked as if something might be going to happen because Mr. Best hadn't sent out any new orders since he came back, so it looks as if he's getting out.

TALK WITH MELBA KAMINAKA, NISEI GIRL - ONE OF JIM TAKEUCHI'S FRIENDS

Melba is still determined to get out of camp, but does not want to apply for leave clearance now unless she is forced to it. She asked me if it were true that 1,000 people were leaving camp in a bunch in November.



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She had not heard of the beating of October 15, but remarked that there were a lot of small beatings going on. She gave additional information on the threat made to Tambara:

Mr. Tambara - there was a threatening note pasted up in the 41 canteen. He sold articles and kept on raising the prices. Now they say he's going to leave camp.

I remarked that it was too bad that the Colonial Police couldn't do anything about these beatings and threats. "Oh," said Melba with immense scorn, "They can't do anything."

#### TALK WITH OPLER

I learned from Opler that the Administration does suspect Wakayama as a possible instigator of the beating, but that it does not have a shred of evidence on him. One of "his boys" in particular is suspected, but nothing can be done. Best's attitude is that he can handle Tachibana easily by packing him back to Santa Fe, but since Wakayama is a Nisei, the problem is made much more difficult.(1)

Opler's informants tell him that a new name has been give to the Sokoku Kenkyu. Opler also said that the camp is full of rumors that trouble is to be expected not from the Sokoku Kenkyu boys but from the Kai-Kuratomi Dai Nippon group.

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[1. Mr. Wakayama was a U.S. citizen and Mr. Tachibana was not. In point of fact, Mr. Wakayama was an Hawaiian born Kibei.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

OCTOBER 25, 1944CALL ON MRS. MATSUDA

Called on Matsudas to tell them that I could not deliver their question to Mr. Robertson (about the use of Japanese flag) since Robertson is off the project for two weeks. Mrs. Matsuda asked twice, quite sternly why he was off the project. I said I had not asked. Mrs. Matsuda also remarked that she had recently discovered that the Resegregation Group had applied for and reserved the use of the outdoor stage for the Meiji Setsu ceremonies. A rumor had been going around camp, said she, that the stage was reserved, but nobody knew who had reserved it. Her husband had not told her, so she was concerned about it. It seems that both the Japanese Language School and the Civic Organizations had applied for the use of the stage for November 3, but the Resegregation Group, due to its foresight, had won out. (November 3 is also the first anniversary of the Japanese Language School.) Now the language school will have to find other accommodations.

I also checked on Dr. Opler's information that the Sokoku Kenkyu had changed its name. Mrs. Matsuda told me that it was not the Sokoku Kenkyu which had changed its name but the Resegregation Group, which was considering the adoption of a new name which did not contain the term "resegregation." The new name means: "Return immediately to the mother country to serve." The name has not as yet been officially adopted, said she. She told me also that an elderly man, a "black-cat" of a Japanese noble family here in camp (she may mean "black-sheep"), is now teaching a course of study in old Japanese literature. His name is Kano.

TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIROReverend Tsuha Offends Japanese Teachers of Ward VII:

Reverend Tsuha made a very unreasonable statement about the Ward VII teachers. Reverend Tsuha said in his sermon last Sunday that a certain teacher in here said that the attack Japan made on Pearl Harbor was ridiculous. He said that if that teacher said such a thing they ought to knock him down or kill him.

The people in Ward VII got very angry and asked the principal if any teacher said such a thing. No teacher did. The teachers are very angry. When they go back to Japan, if anybody thinks that one of them said such a thing it will be terrible for them.

I know that they are planning to take some drastic steps. They will probably resign. They have held off for a few days because one of the teachers in Ward IV died and they are waiting for after his funeral.

Reverend Tsuha said this at the Ward VII church.

My husband went to see him and said, 'Why did you say such a thing? If you have evidence, it's all right.' But Reverend Tsuha said that it was only what he had heard. I (Sally) heard that the head of the reverends (Buddhist) has become very worried about it. That's Mr. Nishikawa who is a good friend of George's.

Threats:

Sally said she knew that threats were being made, but George wasn't telling her about them. She had not heard of the beating of the three old men. It is really strange how



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little the story of that beating has spread. A great contrast to the beatings that preceded the Hitomi murder.

Threat Against Mr. Tambara:

A man from Sacramento who had a wholesale store was selling things at a very high price. I heard he made a lot of profit. The Manzanar group said to him, 'If you don't close the door of your store, we'll lay you flat.' This was something O.K. to do. The people like the Manzanar group for this.

(Sally had no doubt at all that the Manzanar Group was behind the threat to Tambara.)

Threat Made to Jimmy Takeuchi:

Jimmy Takeuchi went out (of Tule Lake) because he was threatened by the Manzanar group. The Manzanar group told him to bring them sugar from the warehouse. (He was asked to smuggle this out to them.) He refused. They told him they'd get him sometime when he was going home from work. He said he might as well get out of camp if they were going to kill him.

(Jimmy Takeuchi, was, as you remember, one of my best informants. He never mentioned this threat and except for a period immediately after the Hitomi killing, he always urged me to call on him. If the story of this threat is true he may have feared that if he told me I'd report the matter to the authorities. I shall write him in Topaz and ask him about it.)(1)

[Added to the information given me by Mr. Kurihara on October 16 and 23, Sally Yamashiro's account of how my friend, Mr. Takeuchi, had been threatened made me extremely anxious. I was particularly concerned, because Mr. Kurihara had told me: "I've told a man who I know talks a lot so that he'll tell Wakayama, 'If serious trouble breaks out in camp, he will not escape!' I also told him that I had prepared papers to be sent to the FBI and to Mr. Best, so that if he kills me I'll speak from the grave." My distraught state is reflected in the comments I made in my fieldnotes.]

I have an uncomfortable hunch that the Manzanar gang may try to silence Mr. Kurihara. This may be "Tule Terror" on my part, but they got away with beating the three old men and they are likely to beat up anyone who speaks against them. I hope to God that Kurihara does not remain silent (if he's still alive when they get through with him). He told me that he had prepared papers so that he will "speak from the grave", but I don't know how that will do much good. Hell. I need a vacation. But that would be un-Japanese weakness.

MR. CURRIE TELLS ME OF THREATS

Mr. Currie told me tonight that he had been told by Internal Security that Nomura, the Co-op Business Manager, had received several threats on his life. Nomura said nothing about this to Currie although he's been looking sicker and sicker lately.

DR. OPLER ON THREAT MADE BY WAKAYAMA

Opler told me that he had been told that Wakayama in his speech of last Saturday night had said that "The little bugs must die so that the big bugs can live."

[1. Mr. Takeuchi did not answer my letter.]



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TALK WITH GEORGE KURATOMI

Took over the minutes [Daihyo Sha Kai] which I want checked, planning to stay just a short while. But George was very communicative, so I remained for the greater part of the afternoon.

George says that the Internal Security has the copies of the Japanese minutes so he can help me only by memory. He looked over my copy of the minutes briefly and remarked that several things needed changing.

He also informed me that he had heard that Yamatani, the #1 inu, is in Heart Mountain. He also remarked that when he had straightened out the Santa Fe problem which is keeping him very busy, he will have time to hunt out and prepare a good many documents for me. He pulled out some things hidden in his house and went over them giving me the following documents to copy:

Petition for Release of the Hunger Strikers:

(This is the petition which was circulated in July which, Mr. Kurihara told me, caused him to contact Mr. Best and get the promise of release in a month. This petition was never handed in. Kuratomi said that it had been signed by roughly 8,000 people. This may well be the truth, because at the time this was done, sentiment was strongly behind release of the hunger strikers.)

PETITION

BY THE RESIDENTS OF THE TULE LAKE CENTER  
TO THE PROJECT DIRECTOR, R. BEST REGARDING  
THE RELEASE OF THE FOURTEEN RESIDENTS  
CONFINED IN THE STOCKADE WHO ARE ON A  
HUNGER STRIKE FOR THEIR RELEASE

We were shocked to learn that fourteen residents confined in the stockade are on a Hunger Strike for their release and return to this center. The Hunger Strike is on the 10th day on Friday, July 28, 1944.

Naturally we, as members of the Japanese race, are very worried and anxious about the lives of our racial brothers. Already several persons have collapsed from hunger. If any or several of our racial brothers should die on account of the Hunger Strike, we all would feel deeply grieved. Reverse the case; suppose Americans in an internment camp in Japan should die on a Hunger Strike, how would you feel? Would not the American people be deeply grieved? So will we if our racial brothers die of a Hunger Strike.

Therefore, we, the residents of Tule Lake Center, request you, Mr. Raymond Best, to be merciful to our racial brothers and release the fourteen persons on a Hunger Strike from the stockade. Your mercy will never be forgotten.

- - - - -

Mr. Kuratomi now showed me the original of a letter signed by Mr. Best, telling me that if the authorities had gotten hold of it they would certainly have confiscated it. The letter, said Mr. Kuratomi, was given to Mr. Hayashi who is now in Santa Fe.



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War Relocation Authority  
Tule Lake Center  
Newell, California

November 4, 1943

To whom it may concern:

Immediately following the incident at the hospital wherein Dr. Pedicord was beaten by some unknown group of men, Director Myer and Dr. Pedicord agreed that doctors on the appointive staff and the appointive staff of nurses were to be removed from further duty at the hospital. Federal regulations require that a hospital administrator must be responsible for government property and narcotics. In accordance therewith Nurse Shipps has been detailed as hospital administrator. There are no fact to the rumor that Dr. Pedicord will return to the Tule Lake hospital.

s/ R.R. Best  
Project Director

Food:

You can ask any person here whether they ever got pork or chicken prior to November 4.

Garbage and Coal Crews Return to Work:

George made quite a point of the fact that the Daihyo Sha had gotten the garbage and coal crews to go back to work, showing me the announcement in the Tulean Dispatch of November 9. They had, however, not succeeded with the warehouse workers.

The Army, however, wished only about 25 of the warehouse men to go back to work. 98 men had been working originally. The Army thought that 25 men could do all the work. But in their estimate the Army did not consider (the men needed) for unloading and maintenance.

From Japanese psychology, their point of view would be impossible for us to come back and tell the group that only 25 of the 98 could be picked out and approved by the FBI, WRA, and the Army. That would have left a queer impression on those picked. The remaining people would be thinking they were inu or informers. We stressed that point.

I asked George if the Army had gotten any of the warehouse workers to go back to work and he said he didn't think so. (However, as I recall, the demands of certain warehouse boys to go back to work was one of the reasons given by the Divisional Responsible Men in late December and January for initiating the procedure which broke the status quo.)

Resolution Made by the Block Managers:

It appears that there are no English copies of the resolutions passed by the Block Managers and the farm group. These are important documents with regard to the legitimacy of the Daihyo Sha's position. Kuratomi had copies in Japanese and translated them for me which, I reckon, is the best thing I can get now. I am planning an interview with Mr. Furakawa who was a big man in Civic Organizations and (I am told) an anti-Daihyo Sha man to get his version.



Block Managers:

Dated - October 16, 1943 (day after the farm accident)

(oral translation by George Kuratomi)

We, the Block Managers, in a body, regarding the accident of October 15, express our unqualified support of the resolution drawn up as a result of the Farm Workers' General Meeting and furthermore regarding the solution of this problem, we are requesting that the WRA director (Myer) and the Spanish Consul visit here.

Taking this grand opportunity, we the people of this center, concerning the improvement of living conditions in this center and all the problems pertaining to the people of this center, and for these reasons, we are asking the people's whole-hearted cooperation in this request.

Resolution of the Farm Group:

Dated - October 15, 1943

As a result of the automobile mishap on October 15, there were many persons injured. The reason of this happening of this incident might be directly traced to the fact that the Administration has been using many minors. This employment of minors should be affected by the child labor amendment of the Constitution.

Here George left off a literal translation and said: They give as a direct cause of the auto accident because of laxity on the part of the Administration to take some definite step preventing the previous accident (the fire truck accident).

He then returned to a literal translation:

However, the circumstances might have been, we feel that absolute responsibility rests with the WRA Administration here. In order to compensate in the best possible way to the persons who were the victims of this mishap, we should request and demand for legitimate action from the Administration and also to prevent any such happenings in the future we wish to bring about the resolution of various other problems in the center. This problem should be the concern of all the residents of this center. We resolve to make this a center-wide affair and we, the Farm Workers, will not return to our places of employment until our request for such is granted fully.

Dai Nippon Seinen-dan:

Since George seemed to be in an excellent mood, I thought I'd risk a remark on the rumors about Reverend Kai's organization of the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan. George denied that Kai was doing any such thing, saying that he was on excellent terms with Kai and that if Kai were forming such an organization, he, George, would certainly know about it. He remarked that Kai had had a young men's organization in San Francisco, called the Dai Nippon Seinen-dan and that this may have started this present rumor.

Role Played by Hawaiian-born Japanese in November Incident:

George was most insistent that the Daihyo Sha Kai had not been composed of or supported by Hawaiian-born Japanese. He also took umbrage because of my remark that many Hawaiian-born Japanese stood up for their rights. "After all, said he, I was born here!"



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He said: "I don't care who the leader is or how powerful. If he does things which are very un-Japanese-like, I would not support him. I would not cooperate with him."

George also told me that he is going to a big party being held in a mess hall on the night of November 1. He gave no details except for saying that about 100 people would be there and that he hoped that Internal Security would not look upon it as a demonstration.

During the conversation on documents he said that he had not gotten together with Yoshiyama on the minutes. In fact, said he, he didn't think Yoshiyama liked him very much.

He does not know which Meiji Setsu ceremony he is going to attend, the one given by the Sokoku Kenkyu or the one given by the Japanese school. The Japanese school, Mrs. Kuratomi told me, is giving its exercises in the block 34 firebreak.



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TALK WITH MR. YOSHIYAMA

[In our meeting of October 16, Mr. Yoshiyama had made it clear that he found me attractive. I had made no response, since I did not know how I could say "No" without offending him. But after learning of the assault on my friend, Mr. Tokunaga, I felt impelled to risk a visit. On arriving at his apartment I was relieved to see that Mr. Yoshiyama was sitting outside talking to an elderly man and that his wife was hanging up the wash a short distance away. After the caller, Mr. Hayashi, had left, I opened the conversation by remarking that I had been reading Dr. Inazo Nitobe's book, Bushido, The Soul of Japan. I praised the stern moral precepts of the samurai and expressed my admiration for those Japanese who had maintained their honor even at the price of great personal sacrifice. I also told him that I had been put under a heavy obligation by his frankness. Because he had been so frank, I, out of honor, must treat all his remarks with equal confidence. Evidently, Mr. Yoshiyama understood what I was trying to tell him, for he never again made any advances.]

[(Months later, R.N. Nishimoto, who found this situation amusing, told me that bushido does not apply to this kind of relationship between a man and a woman. Other Japanese experts, however, have told me that my remarks about honor and obligation were applicable. In any case, I believe I was able to communicate my sentiments without humiliating this young man.)]

Called on Yoshiyama today to return documents. I found him talking to an elderly man who he later told me was the father of Mr. Hayashi, a member of the Negotiating Committee, who is now interned in Santa Fe. Yoshiyama told me that the elder Hayashi had been sent to Santa Fe after Pearl Harbor and when he was finally paroled to Tule his son was in the stockade. He used to go to the fence to try to catch a glimpse of him. Then the son was sent to Santa Fe. Hayashi has not seen his son since the outbreak of war. I asked for the younger man's age and was told he was about 27 or 28. (Mr. Best is supposed to have given permission for the men who were sent to Santa Fe to see their close relatives.)

Then, saying that he oughtn't tell me, Yoshiyama told me that there is not going to be any trouble here before November 3, because if there were trouble, the Resegregation Group would not be allowed to use the outdoor stage for the Meiji Setsu exercises and they might have a hard time explaining that when they got to Japan. But after November 3 - any time - Yoshiyama intends "to make a big trouble in camp." Naturally, he added, he can't tell me just what he's going to do, but he's 99% sure he's going to do it. "They" were resolved that this camp could no longer endure the rule of Mr. Best. Yoshiyama said proudly that he had a tremendous lot of backing now - and that he was on excellent terms with Tachibana and Wakayama. He also said he'd like to tell me his plans, but I interrupted him hastily and said that I didn't want to know. (If I don't know I can't be accused of inuing.)

Yoshiyama then told me with great indignation that he had phoned Mr. Best three times asking for an interview on the Santa Fe matter.

His reply was very simple. He said there is nothing to talk about. Then he slammed the receiver down.

He had also written two letters to Best. To the second he had gotten the following reply:



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October 25, 1944

Dear Mr. Yoshiyama,

With reference to your letter of October 23 regarding the transfer to Santa Fe, I refer you to George Kuratomi. He understands the situation thoroughly.

Sincerely,

R.R. Best

To get Yoshiyama off the subject of Best, I asked him about the notion that Hawaiian-born Japanese had played a prominent part in the November "troubles".

Hawaiians on Daihyo Sha:

That is utterly false. There is no truth to it. I really felt sorry for the Hawaiian fellows who were picked up. Most of them didn't know what was going on. Colonel Austin said, when I met him, he said, the people interned from Hawaii were the trouble-makers. Three weeks later he said it was the Kibei made the trouble. Later he stated that the Negotiating Committee had a goon-squad. That is absolutely false.

(Yoshiyama showed me the newspaper clippings containing these statements by Austin.)

On Kai and Kuratomi:

Kai and Kuratomi should realize that the people who really supported us were the people for the status quo. The status quo people feel that they cannot get along with the people who do not want to go to Japan.

Of course, when George Kuratomi met Mr. Myer he stated the necessity of a Resegregation Program. This group, the Resegregation Program, were the ones who really supported us. They gave money to hire the lawyer for us. The immediate families had a lot to do with it too.

Reverend Kai ignored all that. He never expressed thanks of any nature. Naturally, the people who supported him got pretty mad about it. They (Kai and Kuratomi) still think the whole colony is supporting them.

In a time of crisis like this we must stick together. We are not supposed to cooperate with the Administration. That's going against the will of the Japanese government, if you understand me.

Many people just fell into the Caucasians' hand. There was trouble between the Americans and the Japanese. That is as it should be. Now there is trouble between the Japanese and the Japanese, because of a minority people who spread opinion and propaganda and do a lot of inuing around here.

The incident could have been closed long, long ago if the people would only have supported us and stated that they would not work unless we were released. But the Administration made the Coordinating Committee and stated that the Daihyo Sha was just a political organization.

George Kuratomi wanted to bring all the people of Tule Lake into one. You can't do that. There are so many who came voluntarily or liked the climate or just refused to move. These people - we can't get along with these people! In a time of crisis, you have to make it black or white. It is impossible to bring the camp all into one. We will never



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get along with the other group. As far as I'm concerned, I'll never forget them. If I were a big-shot in Japan, I'd know what to do with them. Unfortunately, I'm not.

I've been only three years in Japan. The first thing I plan to do when I return to Japan is volunteer for the Army, even after the war. I want to be educated the hard way - the real Japanese way. At all times, I will have the government of Japan in my mind.

Fate of Okamoto who Organized Group Which Called in Besig of ACLU:

(Okamoto who was active on the Fair-Play Committee in Heart Mountain was arrested in late July (I think) on an accusation of sedition. He had taken the lead in organizing the group to call in Besig.) Yoshiyama told me that Okamoto had been released on \$1,500 bail, which Yoshiyama hinted, he (Yoshiyama) had collected. Yoshiyama had prepared the following petition to be sent to the judge of the district court in Wyoming. He said:

"I intend to support Mr. Okamoto even if he is a loyal American."

PETITION

To Honorable Judge  
U.S. District Court  
Cheyenne, Wyoming

We, the undersigned, all of whom are residents of Newell, California, do hereby petition your Honor to release one Mr. Kiyoshi Okamoto, who has been convicted of Sedition Act, which we believe an untrue accusation.

Mr. Okamoto has been connected with the so-called "Fair-Play Committee" at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, with his honest intention as a true American to protect, maintain and fight for the Constitutional Rights, Bill of Rights, and Democracy of Citizens of Japanese Ancestry whose rights as aforesaid have been abridged unlawfully by military order of evacuation on basis of racial discrimination and are now being pressed with Selective Service Act.

We are under the impression that he is not objective to the boys being inducted into the armed forces of the United States, but are protesting to the enforcement of such Act upon them before their rights are first being restored equally like other citizens enjoying freedom and liberty without being prejudiced.

Signed and dated this 26th day of October. Thanking you for the special consideration.

(This petition was signed by only a few hundred names, though Yoshiyama assured me he could have gotten thousands. However, he didn't have much time.)

He also showed me a letter from Okamoto to himself in which Okamoto made the interesting statement that the only hope of the Japanese in this country was if Dewey were elected. I tried to find out the reason for this but was unsuccessful. Yoshiyama told me several times during this interview that he was not afraid to go to jail. He's going to continue on this path no matter what happens. He has also, he said, been asked by the leaders of the Sokoku Kenkyu to take charge of one of their groups, but he is at present "too busy".

Note: It is very interesting that both Yoshiyama and Mrs. Matsuda criticize Kuratomi for attempting to "bring the whole camp into one." It appears that this powerful demand for cleavage springs from the leaders of the Resegregation Group. In his recent conversations with me Kuratomi has not spoken about unity.



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TALK WITH CURRIE

Currie, Supervisor of the Co-op, came around in a state of perturbation. It seems that the Co-op Board, Currie, and Noyes, the Project Attorney, have been working very hard preparing a new set of by-laws for the Co-op. In these by-laws the Board makes no mention of any Caucasian Co-op members - every statement refers to evacuees. Currie interprets this as part of the Board's ever-growing determination to cut the Caucasian canteen out of the Enterprises. So he went to talk the matter over with Best. "Don't tell me about it now," said Best, "Come and tell me about it later. I'm not going to stand for any pressure." Currie suggested that the Administration prepare to take the punch from the Board's stand by making arrangements to have the Recreation Club quietly take over the Caucasian Canteen. Best will not hear of this. Currie said, "If we put it to the General Assembly and the people vote to close the canteen the issue will really grow into something." Best still would give no expression of what he would like done. "Forget you talked to me about it," said he. "In fact, if you come in later and say you spoke to me about it, I'll deny it." Currie really feels desperate.

He said he's going to tell George Matsumura, who is determined to close the Caucasian canteen, to write out the reasons for doing so. If they'll hold water, Currie will present them to the Administration. If they don't hold water Currie says he's going to refuse to turn them in to keep the Board from making a fool of itself. For two cents, says Currie he'd write up the reasons himself.

TALK WITH LILLIAN MANJI - NISEI GIRL

I had a fine talk with Lillian, who really knows a great deal more of what is going on than most Nisei girls of her age. Working in Community Activities she meets a good many of the less important leaders of the pressure group and is very conscious of the need for sufficient cooperation to keep the peace. She expressed her concern that there might be trouble in camp before the big Musical Review that the Community Activities Section is giving in camp on November 11 and 12 and on which she is working hard. They have a lot of money tied up in this and if there is trouble they'll lose a great deal.

The Petition: (Resegregation)

We never even thought about it. We just frowned on it. Everybody in camp is supposed to be equal. I think we should go back to Japan as the Japanese government says. A lot of my friends said, 'My old man signed because he was told to sign.' Now they regret it. The people say they (Resegregation Group and those who sign) are selfish to wish to go back to Japan before the others.

Sentiments Toward Manzanar Group as a Whole:

We get along perfectly with them. They're really cooperating and showing their spirit. They're meeting us half-way. Many of the people have the same idea we (CAS workers) do. Because they (Manzanar) were segregated over there, they were bitter. We mix in more now.

Lillian was particularly impressed by an experience she had. She was arguing with a young man also employed in CAS and the battle got heated. The young man shoved her and she fell. Immediately, a group of Manzanar boys, passing in a truck, got out, grabbed the fellow, knocked him around and forced him to apologize to Lillian. This chivalry has really impressed her.



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(I shall attempt to get more information on the general population's attitude toward the Manzanar section as a whole. It may be that I have let Kurihara's denunciations of Wakayama and his gangsters impress me too strongly and have assumed that the hostility of the earlier segregants toward the "Manzanar section" (which was fairly strong a few months ago) has continued unabated. This is lousy field work, and I'll try to do better. I doubt that Kurihara's contention that "the people know about Wakayama" is accurate. Curious and concerned folk like George Yamashiro may suspect a good deal, but Sally Yamashiro's praise of the Manzanar boys who scared the alleged profiteer and now Lillian's appreciation of their protection indicate that I should talk to more people about the subject.)

On Tambara:

The people sure got sore at him. He sold a pound of tea for five dollars. Rice bowls worth 10¢ he sold for 50¢. They say his family is just oozing money.

Sentiments About the War Situation:

Most of the people take the center position. They get the American news and the Japanese broadcasts. They listen to it and go in between both broadcasts. Because -- no country is going to tell the truth.

Rumor:

What about this rumor that the money they (Resegregation Group) collected to give the stockade people is all missing?

(Lillian Manji is a good respondent and I must see her more often. This is difficult because she works and I have to see her at night which is very hard now that it gets dark at 5:00p.m. By that time I'm usually too tired and hungry to work well.)



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CALL ON CONSERVATIVE NISEI GIRL FROM GILA - YAYOI NISHIKAWA

Talked most of the afternoon on inconsequentials, my intent being to see what Yayoi thought about the Manzanar people and if she would express any opinion on the war situation. I failed completely on the latter point but found that she now thinks quite highly of the Manzanar group as a whole. "At first we didn't like them because we heard how rough they were. But now we've gotten to know them." A Manzanar boys' club invited some of the high school girls to a weiner bake and the girls were afraid to go. Those who did go, however, were treated so nicely that the reputation of the young fellows from Manzanar is now very good.

As I left, Yayoi said that she hoped very much that there would be no more trouble. She evidently lives in constant dread of a recurrence of the discomfort and confusion of last November. She is fairly happy in her high school courses, but complained, as did Lillian, that very few interesting or broadening courses are given. The high school graduates really have a tough time keeping themselves occupied.



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OCTOBER 30, 1944

TALK WITH MR. TACHIBANA

I wanted to get the matter of the resegregationists' change of name straightened out, I also remarked that I had heard that the goal of the organization was being changed.

On the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi dan(1) - the Resegregation Group:

We don't have exactly the same name it was previously called. But being that this is a segregation camp, we wanted to be resegregated so we could prepare for immediate repatriation. So under such circumstances, we became regarded and called "the resegregants."

But because of the fact that this camp never has been a segregation camp in the real sense of the meaning, as there were so many residents who were not clarified themselves or by WRA as segregees, the main aim of the so-called resegregation petition was to wish for the immediate repatriation. Therefore, we have named our organization specifically from the principal reason of the movement -Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi-dan -The Patriotic Organization of the Immediate Repatriates.

We are not requesting priority - but we believe by our belief if we can be given the opportunity of boarding on the exchange boat - we prepare for immediate responsibility.

It is only the name has been specifically made at this time. But the meaning and aim of the organization is the same. It is for the real Japanese who wanted to help the mother country if there is a possibility of doing so.

It is nothing against the WRA or anything like that.

Aims of the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan:

The Sokoku Kenkyu aim is just the same in that it has been adapted for the mother country. It is the study of the mother country. This younger generation can study every possible thing of the mother country while utilizing this ample time. This will keep in each ones' mind what our countrymen in Japan are doing for the best of themselves to serve for the country and to prepare for himself all the possible necessity in physical and mental conditions, so that what he will prepare for himself physically or mentally while residing here in this camp, can be utilized for the best of the mother country on his arrival, if he can go on the exchange boat.

I then asked Mr. Tachibana about Mrs. Matsuda's reference to the change in emphasis on which the Sokoku Kenkyu was planning to embark. He said there had been no change.

The principal of the organization cannot be changed. The program of organization cannot be further stated or thought of other than in preparing themselves, while residing here in this camp. They can hear lectures here, to polish themselves mentally and physically. They can study and they can acknowledge modern education by studying electricity, radio or any other things he wish to utilize.

And for physical training - it is necessary for it is natural for the young people to train themselves physically because this camp can be considered as a little larger jail - and jail people even walk around the jail wall when they exercise themselves for their own benefit.

[1. <u>Sokuji</u>	<u>Kikoku</u>	<u>Ho:shi</u>	<u>dan</u>	]
instant	return to country	dedicated	association	



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Furthermore, since this is a way, our brothers, cousins and what not are actually fighting for the mother country. And so that we, the younger people in this camp cannot forget what is going on in Japan by exercising and training, especially early in the morning after worshipping and praying for victory and eternal life for our soldiers. These young people can be deeply impressed with such thankful action and attitude taken by the Japanese people in Japan. So -physical training in the early morning here at this camp are first, physical training for themselves are second, they feel training of this kind will give or can be utilized that particular time whereby these young people are strongly impressed in his heart what the people of Japan are doing and these young people cannot forget that such thankful action taken by the people in Japan more or less of a spiritual commemoration.

[What Mr. Tachibana did not tell me was that these morning exercises were explicitly patterned on the militaristic exercises performed by children and young people in Japan.]

If we were training in open daylight, it will not impress the people much - just ordinary exercises. But getting up early in the morning, is to feel that we - even though here in this country, are not taking for granted that we can sleep long and at any time.

We cannot live here luxuriously. We must do parallel to what our brothers in Japan are doing.

Mrs. Tachibana interrupted here, asking me if I didn't think it was terrible that some Japanese had reported the exercises to the Internal Security, claiming that they disturbed their sleep on Sunday morning. Due to these complaints, the Internal Security had forbidden the exercises in the Manzanar section on Sunday mornings.

Mrs. Tachibana asked me then if I had been to see Reverend Kai. I said I had not, but said that I'd been to see Kuratomi to discuss the earlier events of the camp. ('Tis better to be frank than be caught lying, I figure.) In Japanese style I hinted that I knew of the break, but said, again truthfully, that Kuratomi had said nothing uncomplimentary of the Resegregation Group or the Sokoku Kenkyu. (What Kuratomi implies is my business.) Tachibana stressed the impossibility of uniting the camp into one as Kai and Kuratomi had attempted to do. I remarked that some people were criticizing the Resegregation Group, saying that they wished to get to Japan before the other people in Tule Lake. This angered Mr. Tachibana.

If we are considered highly by the Japanese government and if we happen to return to Japan, we wish to sacrifice everything, mentally, physically and materially. We're not requesting priority. We just wish to let the Japanese government know what we have in our hearts. Therefore, there should not be any misunderstanding between our group and those who did not sign. Those who did not sign are still sitting on the fence.

Mr. Tachibana then asked me if I listened to the short-wave broadcasts. I said I did not. (A Caucasian informant told me this morning that he had heard a shortwave broadcast by a Japanese Admiral. The Admiral had given a picture which is the exact opposite of that given by American newspapers.)

Mr. Tachibana continued:

This is election time so the American Office of War Information is under very strict censorship by the Democratic Party under the Roosevelt regime. In a lot of things, the American people have been purposely misinformed. I personally cannot understand how the American government, even for a short while, can camouflage the news misinforming the American people.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

In the Formosa battle and the Phillipine battle, you probably heard the American radio make the statement that two-thirds of the Japanese Imperial fleet has been defeated and is gone for good and that the American fleet was damaged very little.

Of course, we cannot rely fully upon the short-wave, one vessel can be sunk with one airplane with one pilot who jumps right on to the vessel and explodes life and everything. What has been done in the Phillipines and Formosa we cannot believe.

I'm watching with interest how the American government is going to release the news of the Phillipines.

(Mr. Tachibana continued to speak harshly of the Democratic Party and the Roosevelt administration. Come to think of it, every respondent who has brought up the subject favors Dewey. I have yet to meet a pro-Roosevelt Japanese here.)

TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara started out the conversation by making the same points about the Phillipine situation that Tachibana had made earlier in the day. He quoted Carter, a newspaper columnist, as saying the American public was grievously misinformed by the Office of War Administration.

We hear just the reverse of the American newspapers over the short wave from Japan. America says it sinks 30 Japanese ships; the Japanese radio says that they sank 30 American ships. America says it shot down 125 planes; the Japanese radio says it shot down 125 American planes. I think the Democratic Party ought to be afraid that the Republican Party will blast Roosevelt's lies.

I can't understand Roosevelt wanting to be President again, unless he knows that the country is in bad shape and that the next president may disclose all the things he has done.

Action of Mr. Tokunaga

He met the representatives of the Resegregation Group. After giving them his point of view, they seem to have left with a very good impression that he was not really opposed to their organization. He wanted to see Wakayama or Tachibana, but they sent representatives. One was Fujizawa - there were two others.

(Mr. Kurihara said that he thought that my visiting Mr. Tokunaga would do no harm at all now. At present, I am waiting for a reply to my letters).

When Wakayama made his speech in mess hall 84, there were over 300 young men there. He said that 'To save the big shots we have to kill the small guys.' Dai no mushi wo tasukeru niwa; sho no mushi wo korosanekeba naranu.(1) That's a very serious statement.

He arouses and agitates the people. He tries to take the credit when things go good and pretends he had nothing to do with it when things go bad.

[1. The literal meaning of this statement is: "In order to help the large bugs, we must kill the small bugs." By implication it may be interpreted as: "To save the great cause, we must exterminate those who oppose it."]



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Kurihara told me that he had gone to hear Tachibana speak, when he spoke in Kurihara's mess hall Saturday or Sunday night. He does not think that Tachibana is so dangerous a man as is Wakayama.

I had a vague idea from what Tachibana said that he suspects Wakayama for the kind of person he is. It may be he will be kicked out. If he is, thank God. If he's not, then there may be trouble. Wakayama has lost the respect of a considerable number of people due to the very vicious statements he makes.

Their organization is so well formed now, it may not be so easy to break. But if internal dissension takes place and the organization is severely criticized (by the people) I think they will disband. The residents will lose interest. I expect this to take place within a month - perhaps before the 19th (of November).

I remarked that I had been so impressed with the fanaticism of some of the leaders that I did not think they would ever stop their efforts. Kurihara argued that if the group split up the leaders would struggle on, but the split would make them lose the respect of the people.

Reverend Tsuha hasn't left the organization. But he no longer is it's mainstay. He's still connected and lectures now and then.

Kurihara then told me what Tsuha had said, warning me that if it got out to the Japanese that he had told me this he might be killed.

What I'm referring to: Tsuha said, 'There are quite a number of killers in this organization.' I never expected that out of a priest.

(Now I know why Mrs. Matsuda told me about a week ago that people were taking Tsuha's "joking remarks" too seriously. She told me he had made this statement and said he was speaking in fun. I did not remember to put it in my notes.)

The trouble is that the leaders, Tachibana Wakayama, and Tsuha are jealous and their egotism is so great they don't care about the others. They look out for themselves.

Public Opinion of Manzanar Section in General:

It's true to some extent that they have gained liking. They (former residents of Tule Lake) thought the Manzanar people were all radicals but they changed their minds since and see that they are not.

Tambara - the Threatened Profiteer:

I mentioned this incident. Kurihara laughed and said:

If Tambara had been killed I think everybody in camp would have rejoiced just as they did when Hitomi was killed.

Kurihara then asked me to read some of the poems he had recently composed. It is strong stuff for a hakujin [Caucasian], expressing absolute faith in ultimate victory for Japan. I praised the spirit, helped him with the grammar, and suggested that his feelings might be better expressed in blank verse. He explained that in school he had been told that poetry had to rhyme. He experimented in putting some of it into blank verse and was very pleased with the result. I left him working happily on a new poem, denouncing the lies of the American press over the Phillipine situation - titled, "Smile, Japanese, smile!"



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Rosalie Hankey Wax

This reminds of a story Dr. Miamoto, whom I met in the library, told me about the recently deceased leader of the Black Dragon society. It seems that once, when this leader was caught by the Secret Police, he was stripped to the skin. A packet which he wore over his heart was examined with care. It was found to be a love letter from a noted geisha, with whom the leader had been enamored but from whom the course of fate had kept him. The officers apologized and returned the letter. There is a pathetic softness to be found in the hearts of the agitators. The tougher they are, it seems, the softer they can be.