

Frank Miyamoto

Friday - 20<sup>th</sup>

## RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATION

### I. Introduction.

Much has been said on the definition of recreation and its distinction from education, art, and social activities. There is no need to define the term for the purpose of this chapter, for the WRA administration has determined the area of recreational activities by its widely circumscribed organization of the recreational ~~al~~ department, better known in the administration as the community activities department. However, there is need to characterize the social psychological function of recreation for such a characterization offers understanding of the place recreation has in the lives of evacuees.

For the individual personality recreation is generally not a means to an end, as is presumably the case with economic or educational activities, but the activity in recreation tends to be an end in itself. The case is well illustrated in the play of infants and the games of children where an educator or a social philosopher might conceivably find some hidden significance in the relationship of play to children's maturation, but for the child as a growing biological and psychological organism, there is probably nothing more than a release of energy in pleasurable activity. On the other hand, "work" as it is generally conceived is a means, usually a toilsome means, of gaining later satisfaction of fundamental needs. "Study" likewise is generally conceived as a means of gaining personal satisfactions, which, at the moment, are still in the distant future. In these instances, there is suspension of the consummatory response during the time the means of gaining the



*Muyamolo*

anticipat<sup>end</sup>~~ed~~, are performed. To the degree that recreational activity is identified with a health program, a commercial enterprise, or with courtship, the activity loses the character of recreation for the person who so identifies it. By contrast, recreation has a close affinity to expressive religious behavior, mob action, or personal expressions of anger, for in all these there is a release of tensions which probably results in cathartic effects, but recreation has the further quality that it does not leave as disturbing after effects as in the analogous instances mentioned.

Considering the history of Japanese of the Pacific Coast since the outbreak of war with Japan, it is needless to state that the psychological state of these people may be described as disturbed, disorganized, frustrated and without adequate means of happy expression. Knowing this history, one may readily understand the meaning of the Issei who declared, "There is nothing but emptiness within me now,"<sup>1</sup> a general attitude which is expressed in various ways by these people though they all mean essentially the same thing.

Among the Japanese immigrants there has always existed a considerable emphasis on the habits of industry and perseverance at hard work, and men among them thought nothing of putting in ten to fifteen hours a day on their farms, at their grocery stores and market stalls, or at any enterprise that would provide them an income for livelihood and possibly for wealth. Most of these people originally came as "birds of passage" intent upon saving

---

<sup>1</sup>Diary Notes, Aug. 1, 1942



enough to return to Japan where they might establish themselves at a higher status than when they left; but as the years wore on, families were established, and the making of a "pāt-o'-gold" quickly grew dimmer; they remained here but still concentrated much of their energy upon work. Whatever these people had for their life goals, whether of family status, wealth, education for the children, or of a sublimated hope of returning to Japan, their ambition was closely tied into their work for they expended much of their time and energy at their occupation and had relatively little time to expand their experience in other directions. Not only was this true of the male immigrants, but women, too, often worked closely side by side with their husbands or spent much time at the menial tasks about the home. They were, of course, not entirely without their leisure time pleasures. These activities characteristically fell within the pattern of social calls (usually quite formal), drinking parties among the men, go or shogi games, organizing and participating in kenjinkais (prefectural groups), Japanese Association, business associations (which were frequently as social as they were commercial in their aim), and churches, and reading and newspapers books/in the Japanese language. For the rest, they waited for special events such as shibais (Japanese plays and entertainment), Japanese movies, sumo and judo tournaments, and holidays such as New Years Day. But by and large, work and organizing activity within their own group took up most of their time.

The breakdown of these normal routines of life were bound to create the feeling of the "emptiness of life" described in an earlier paragraph. Here in the Tule Lake Project the Issei, especially the men, find themselves without reading material in Japanese, do not



have the incentives for work which they had on the outside, have none of the organizations like the kenjinkai, business associations, Japanese Association, and their old church, with which they busied themselves, and even have lost their normal circle of friends as one of the misfortunes of relocation. One may even conjecture as to the difference which the absence of osake (rice wine) makes in the lives of these men, for it was a normal complement to all festivities and parties, and a hospitable gesture wherever drinking men gathered in homes. One suspects that a good part of the hostility against any <sup>available</sup> scapegoat evinced by the Issei in the relocation situation arises from their feelings of frustration created by these abnormal circumstances of life. ~~for them.~~

Issei women, on the other hand, show little of this type of aggressiveness, except as an echo to their husband's expressions. Perhaps this is in part due to the traditional docility and reservation of Issei women, but it <sup>is</sup> undoubtedly equally explainable by the smaller disturbance created in their life routine by the evacuation. The women still are the keepers of the home, and mothers to children, but beyond this, there have been developed a range of activities for the women which constantly keeps them occupied. To be sure, there are those women, principally those who came from the farms, whose habit it was to work long hours of the day out in the field, or among shopkeepers' wives, at the stores, but they too are entering into the round of activities which keep women busy from morning to night. There are the sewing classes, crocheting and knitting circles, handicraft work, church work, social gatherings of various kinds, all of which is building a morale among women



such as does not exist among men.

Among the Nisei, the case is a little different from either of the foregoing groups, for they, like their counterpart among the youthful/<sup>white</sup>Americans, have been accustomed to be on the go, to "travel fast and far". Their experience was probably not as limited as among Issei men, for money-making activities were not the sum total of life to them, but they interpersed their daily routine with/<sup>studies,</sup>sports, movies, dances, young people's church work, and other social activities. Nor have the Nisei activities been as strongly curtailed in the War Relocation Projects as have Issei activities, for there are still the same sports, studies, dances, church work, etc.<sup>*found in their home communities.*</sup> In fact, the opportunity for one of the chief youthful activities, the carrying on of boy-girl relationships, is probably increased in the intimate circumstances of relocation life. The one outstanding psychological characteristic which characterizes the Nisei as a result of evacuation is that of restlessness, and this gives a cue to an understanding of the effect of evacuation on the Nisei. It seems to be the limitation on movement which most disturbs the Nisei and which frustrates them the most. The barbed wire fence is symbolic of this restriction on movement (until the project area was enlarged to include many acres outside), and the expression of the feelings about this restriction is clearly brought out in such an instance as the following.

Since Chie is leaving for Arkansas to join her fiancé in Camp Robinson, a party was started among a small group to give her a send off..... I learned that we were going to the farm for the picnic and wiener roast, and since we were leaving the cantonment, every person would have to be checked out by the armed guard at the gate.



Just as we passed the gate going out onto the highway, numerous remarks were passed around that indicated the relief of our group at gaining a measure of freedom outside the barbed fences again. There was a general murmur: "Oh, we're outside now. Gee, it feels good to get out." Jobu Yasumura: "Ah, the air smells different out here." Myself: "Yeh, what is that strange smell." (joke) Dave Okada: "It does give a sense of relief, doesn't it?" There was much joking about this new freedom. Jobu: "Say, let's stop somewhere to get some beer. There must be some place along the highway here." Girl: "There's a sign says chicken dinner at some inn one mile down; how about it?" Michi said, "Oh, there's a tree!" Chorus: "Where, where?" General craning of the necks to see the tree. We joked along pointing out cows, horses, grass, stores, and all the things we hadn't seen within the cantonment.<sup>1</sup>

This restlessness has expressed itself in other ways, for instance, in the large number of Nisei who snatched at the opportunity of getting out to the sugar beet fields, not alone for what they might earn, but because they wanted to be free from the restrictions of relocation center life. In the period when recruiting for the sugar beet fields was at its height (mid-September), a very common remark among those leaving for the fields was, "I just want to get away from this place."

There is perhaps no great distinction between restlessness and boredom, but both are equally present in the Nisei psychology. I carried on the following conversation with a young man, twenty-one years of age, who is married and has a child.<sup>2</sup>

Joe: "How are you, Frank?"

Myself: "Oh, up and down."

Joe: "Gee whiz, Sunday and not a doggone thing to do."

Myself: "You feel that way too?"

Joe: "Who doesn't?"

One gets a sense of the drabness of life for persons like "Joe", not that there are not abundant channels of activity, for there is more

---

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Journal, Aug. 5, 1942, pp.2-3.

<sup>2</sup>Miyamoto Journal, Sept. 6, 1942, p. 3.



going on in any single day than any<sup>one</sup>/person could take in alone, but there is an absence of novelty such as one might find in the "big city" on the outside. The stream of life is slow, the landscape is unchanging, and the very houses one lives in are monotonous in the extreme; and, thus, stimulation comes all too infrequently and at too low a level. <sup>of persons</sup> In the extremes of despondency, one finds cases like the following; a bachelor girl living with a friend here because she was stranded apart from her family in Hawaii by the outbreak of war. She declared in a moment of pessimism, "I wrote to my parents, 'don't expect me alive.' I'm getting so sick of the place, I can't write anything nice any longer."<sup>1</sup> An enterprising person with a knack for developing novelties and fads would probably have a field day here, though there has heretofore been no sweeping adoption of new games or practices.

Thus, for most ~~of the~~ persons in this community, but especially for the sensitive ones, there exists a personal loneliness within the closeness of life in this communal society. The external hilarity of young people is sometimes a false signal of their true feelings, for as one young girl declared, "The life here is so boring and depressing that the only way to fight it off is to act silly."<sup>2</sup> She apparently expressed the sentiment of a whole group of girls who spend their days about the music building in seeming laughter and gaiety. One gets a suggestion of a search on the part of these people for identity with others of kindred interests, but the search goes on in a community where the breadth of contacts is restricted and interests are relatively dormant due to the absence of underlying incentives.

---

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Journal, Sept. 6, 1942, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Oct. 4, 1942.



As for children, they too are probably sufferers from the dislocations of evacuation. It was, of course, impossible to bring the variety of toys, which children usually have, to the relocation centers, and one does note the paucity of toys and games in the homes of families with children. Children may frequently be observed with all manner of makeshift toys: a long string which pulls a piece of scrap lumber with tin cans on it, a box nailed on barrel staves which is pulled across the sandy ground, or just a piece of wood used as a spade; and in the more fortunate instances where some kind-hearted person had taken the trouble to shape a real toy, a wooden rocker horse, or a cart with wooden wheels. But on the whole the children seem to make a happier adjustment to the shortcomings of their life here, for although their physical surrounding does not offer a variety of environment that may be explored, there is plenty of room for play and there are always children enough to join in the play groups. From the parental point of view, the communal character of life here sets grave obstacles to the control of their children's environment, but the closeness of the neighborhood also offers possibilities of organization better than in the normal community.

In the Tule Lake community it seems that the one organized channel of relief from the disturbing conditions of a discontented community is recreation. Issei entertainment permits the release of habitual and traditional sentiments which can get no other adequate expression in this community. For the Nisei it offers a check upon boredom and restlessness by allowing an outflow of energy in sheer activity and thus gives momentary significance to life.



## II. Incipient Organization

As with every other phase of social organization in the Tule Lake Project, the recreational organization had to begin from scratch without any tried practices or past experience to guide it by. The difficulties of the recreation department, in this respect, were particularly great, for highly centralized community-wide control of recreation is relatively unfamiliar in our society whereas such control is not unfamiliar in the fields of economics, education, politics, and religion. The organization of recreation here is unique for the reason that it administers under its department almost every organized sport, club, handicraft, dance, entertainment, musical, dramatic, forensic, and social activity that goes on in this community, a condition imposed on the recreational department by a general lack of individual equipment for carrying on such activity outside of WRA administration. Furthermore, for a Caucasian administrator supervising the recreational activities of a Japanese community for the first time, it must have been particularly difficult to decide at the outset what activities should be included and what activities should be emphasized.

It was perhaps because of the impossibility of knowing what to expect of the recreational demands of Issei and Nisei evacuees that Mr. Theodore Waller, supervisor of community activities, chose a policy of almost anarchic control by recreational leaders, (at the outset) in which the central idea was that the leaders themselves should determine the ultimate content and organization of the department. In a sense, Mr. Waller had taken ~~out~~ a leaf out of the bible of progressive education: it was his view that the evacuees should be allowed to express their personality fully



by allowing their impulses to indicate where recreation should be developed. This central policy which guided the supervisor during the first period of recreational organization is clearly brought out in a statement made by him as ~~the~~ chairman of the Committee on Promotional Training of Colonists Throughout the Project:<sup>1</sup>

"The Committee believes that it should be the policy of the Project to conduct all work activities in such a manner that a maximum amount of specialized training will result from every work assignment. This means that the individual colonists's interests, capacities and vocational objectives must be motivating factors in assignment, transfer, rotation and general supervision. If this objective is to be realized it is imperative that every supervisor from foreman to division chief come to think of the Project as a vast training program."

To some degree, the fact that the community grew slowly with a minimal population to begin with had something to do with the acceptance of this policy, for, as Mr. Waller declares in a report of June 4,<sup>2</sup>

"It has been necessary to, in some degree, develop activities around available personnel rather than to recruit specialized personnel for a predetermined program. Thus, far, program policy has been formulated as a result of personal contacts with incoming colonists made by the colonists on the recreation staff.

Another fundamental notion which characterized this very democratic policy laid down at the outset was the idea that, wherever possible, the Issei and Nisei should so work together; that through contact in their mutual work situation a better understanding of each other would develop. As far as possible, it was thought undesirable to separate the two generations, and the ideal goal toward which the program worked was of bringing mutual understanding through constant interaction of the two. There was no opposition

---

<sup>1</sup>Committee on Promotional Training, June 9, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Report on Community Activities, June 4, 1942, p. 1.



to Issei activities per se, but there was unquestionably a hope of continuing the Americanization program through such institutional channels as the recreation department.

The first group of evacuees arrived in Tule Lake from the Puyallup and Portland assembly centers on May 28, 1942, and in the following two or three days several recreation leaders were recruited. On June 4, 1942, Mr. Waller reports:<sup>1</sup>

"To date, we have a librarian, a children's worker, an adult group worker, an athletic leader, a specialist in music and entertainment, and an all-round boys worker."

"Three of these people have had professional training in the fields to which they are assigned. The other three have been selected because of a unique adaptability to the program in which they are working.

The adult worker has been a radio artist featured on many trans-continental programs and, for whatever reason, is remarkably adroit with the Issei group. The librarian is a young woman of extraordinary intelligence, and imagination, and of very high standing in the community. The children's worker will ultimately be assigned to the library, but in the meantime is the best person available for work with the 6 - 10 age group."

The three with professional training were the athletic leader, a graduate of Willamette University with a physical education major with a teaching certificate in the field; the specialist in music and entertainment, a graduate of the University of Washington with a (piano) music major and a teaching certificate in the field; and the boys worker, a graduate from Oregon State College working for an M.A. in physical education. None of these persons <sup>was an</sup> ~~were~~ outstanding workers <sup>his</sup> ~~in their~~ field, but each seemed competent in the capacity of leadership. Two of these persons, the music and boys worker leaders, have left the community, but the athletic leader is continuing as the director of athletics. The

<sup>1</sup>Report on Community Activities, June 4, 1942, pp. 1-2.



adult worker is said to have played the part of "Watanabe," a Japanese servant with an important part, in a radio program put on the air through a Portland station. He undoubtedly had a flair for entertainment, and was a tireless worker at his job, but a prima donna temperament made him a difficult person to work with and he was ultimately displaced by the supervisor in the effort to gain a more stable leadership in the Issei department.<sup>1</sup> The Librarian described as a "young woman of extraordinary intelligence and imagination" was hardly regarded as such in the community from which she came, and had little or no training in librarianship. She continues as the head of her activity division, however, and one suspects that it was the superficially favorable impression which she made upon the supervisor that caused him to select her in the absence of any training qualifications to guide him. The children's worker, a young girl of about twenty-one years, continues as the head of the recreational nursery.

Had the whole community arrived at Tule Lake together, it likely that the selection of personnel particularly for the roles of leadership would have followed a somewhat different line, but the population trickled in over a period of two months. As it was, it was necessary to chose leaders immediately to get necessary activities under way, while at the same time carrying out a weeding process whereby the best qualified persons would be at the top. To satisfy these dual and contradictory demands, a sheet of paper was posted in the recreation center on which persons desiring to join the recreation staff were requested to place their names and

---

<sup>1</sup>The conflicts arising from these initial selections of leaders is brought out in a later section. See p.



the activity which they desired to promote, but at the same time almost every person selected for a position was given the title of "activity leader." The administration repeatedly made the statement that all positions given prior to the relocation of the whole population would be temporary, but in the period of two months over which the relocation took place, it was almost inevitable that persons should gain a vested interest in the positions early assumed.

The secretary of the department who joined the staff quite early described the period as one in which "there was more enthusiasm than organization." Coming as these persons did from the restricted circumstances of the assembly centers, and given a situation in which they were asked to take leadership in organizing where nothing had existed before, it is understandable that a high enthusiasm for the work existed among the staff. Many who had specific training for recreational activities and others who possessed developed interests in such activities, but who previously had never found the opportunity of expressing themselves fully in recreational leadership because of the scarcity of openings for non-Caucasians, now were able to realize their ambition.

Some idea of the earliest effort at organization is gained from the following quotation in the first week's progress report by Mr. Waller.<sup>1</sup>

"During the first week of the project (approximately 2½ blocks were filled ((about 500 persons)) and one mess hall was in operation), two general meetings were held for the purpose of giving anyone interested in recreation an opportunity to present his ideas on program and organization.

---

<sup>1</sup>Report on Community Activities, June 4, 1942, p.2.



These meetings developed many ideas bearing on activities and have, in fact, given the program its general direction. They were relatively inconclusive in the area of organization, there being much discussion as to whether recreation should be organized by block, by ward, on a project basis, or by activities. It was finally decided that preliminary organization should be by activities, but the decision was made by a very close vote.

It is contemplated that within the next few days block meetings will be held to further consider a recreation program. These meetings will be supplemented by almost simultaneous activity meetings so that neither category of interest will gain disproportionate momentum."

There was unquestionably a recognized need for recreational activity; indeed, in the requests to the Portland and Puyallup assembly centers for an advance crew, recreational leaders were among the personnel requested. The impetus toward recreational organization must have originated with Mr. Waller, but the general meetings served to publicize the department, give information to the supervisor as to the needs of the people, and ~~to~~ crystallize the opinions of the people regarding the organization of the department.

Ten activities were listed as under way in the first week of the department's operation. The activities included:

1. Newspaper (No longer in community activities).
2. Library--125 books received from the County Library. Building, bookcases, benches, etc. under construction. A library committee formed, and inquiring for individual contribution of books.
3. Entertainment--One dance held, and dance class scheduled. Supervised by a committee.
4. Older Women--Forty women in knitting and sewing classes.
5. Issei Men--Adult recreation leader arranged party for Issei lasting from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. Japanese games played.
6. Junior Work Corps--Boys and girls from 10 to 16 yrs operating a messenger service.
7. Sports--Two baseball fields constructed and in constant use. Committees at work on tournaments.
8. Younger Children--First nursery group being organized.
9. Wood Pile--Rec. leaders and block managers supervising salvaging of lumber scrap.
10. Religious activity--(No longer directly under rec. staff)



The most spontaneous responses were to baseball, in which teams organized without urging from the department, to dances, and to knitting and crocheting classes for older women. Men were largely concerned with the gathering of lumber and making of furniture and the demand for other forms of recreation among them did not develop until later. On the other hand, the public school program was then several months from inception and there existed a need for recreational activity to keep those of pre-school and school age occupied, but due to the greater need of organization in this area for the successful accomplishment of desired ends, and developments were slow here.

By June 14, Ward 1 was completely filled and the evacuee population of Tule Lake was then about 2,000. ~~to 2,500~~. Most of <sup>from</sup> this population were/the farming and oyster country in the Puget Sound Area with an additional 500 from the city population at Puyallup and Portland assembly centers. A report by Mr. Waller on this date indicates a considerable expansion of recreational activities for thirty to forty specific activities were now under way or being started by contrast with ~~them~~ ten that were originally listed. (See Appendix A) Fourteen softball teams were engaged in league play. Furniture competition was started and exhibitions with prizes were displayed at one of the recreation halls. Clubs, choirs, and music appreciation were other activities that were being installed about this time.

Thus, community activities grew rapidly and the personnel involved was growing with each new contingent from the assembly centers, but there was also a growing confusion in the department



due to lack of equipment and proper supervision of the activities. General policies had been stated, but definite procedures had not been outlined, even for the office force which was a key group in this early period of organization. Mr. Waller presumably "knew the answers", but he could never be found when the occasion demanded, and no one knew where to locate him. Recreation leaders had been appointed, but no authority was delegated to them; hence, in the absence of equipment with which to start anything, the leaders sat around and waited for others to start something. Even the recreation center at 1808 where the leaders congregated was simply one long room with several long tables in it, but with no possibility of organization until office equipment could be introduced.

It was not until after the gala celebration on July 4th, however, that any effort was made to bring order out of the confusion. Sectional conflicts, especially in the Issei department, and Issei-Nisei controversies offered concrete proof of a need for organization. The determination of wage classification also arose as a problem. A Recreation Association was established on June 20 for the purpose of solving some of these difficulties, but the organization was found too bulky to deal with the question of ordering the affairs of the department. It was thereupon decided to establish a Classification Committee, composed of three members from the staff and two non-members, to recommend to the Supervisor an organizational plan for the section and a job classification for the purpose of pay determination. This committee first met on July 7, and it was not until late in August that



recommendations ~~were~~ submitted to the Supervisor.

### III. Formal Organization

The outcome of the meetings of the Classification Committee was an organization chart of <sup>the</sup> community activities section, a job description of each department under this section, and a series of recommendations for the more efficient functioning of the section. (These recommendations are embodied in Chart I, and in Appendix )

The scope of organization is project wide with centralized control in the Supervisor (Caucasian) and the Assistant Supervisor (Nisei), and with specialized activities directed by evacuee personnel. It is unlikely that any other organizational structure would have been feasible given the conditions of this community, for buildings, playgrounds, and equipment are almost all WRA and community property and private recreational activities are almost completely restricted. For instance, in each block is a recreation hall, but neither individuals nor blocks can claim exclusive use of these buildings since community-wide activities such as sewing and knitting classes, adult education classes, Japanese card tournaments, and dances must have access to these halls. Conflicts have inevitably arisen due to the necessity for centralized control on the one hand, and the impulse of individuals and small groups to develop their recreational interests outside the range of total organization, but in general the community activities department has been able to maintain control through minor compromises with the demands of individual and block group demands. Total organization, however, gives rise to a condition



in which individuals and groups cannot any longer be held accountable for their conduct in organized recreational activities, but the recreation department can be made responsible for anything which occurs in any of these activities. Beginning about June 15 when the Walerga group started their relocation to this center, criticisms of the social dances put on by the recreation department became increasingly loud, partly due to the sectional fear of Issei parents from the Pacific Northwest of the "rowdy" Sacramento youths. While it was the "rowdy" element who were criticized in the rumors and gossip about the misconduct of youths after dances, it was the recreation department which was called upon to curb the alleged "nocturnal activity" by reducing the number of dances, and by closer supervision of them.

In a community of 15,000 people, a project-wide organization of recreation is bound to have the shortcoming of not reaching all the people and meeting their recreational needs. In fact, one would have to regard it as a miracle if such an organization could even partially meet these demands. As in any institution serving a large aggregation of people, the community activities section suffers from poor adaptability to individual needs, and while the staff has attempted to reduce this problem by increasing the variety of activities offered, there develops a limit beyond which a centrally controlled organization cannot extend itself. It was also the hope and anticipation of the Supervisor that voluntary help would be available in <sup>the</sup> blocks and wards such that recreational activities originating at the center could reach the smallest cells of the community, but voluntary aid never ma-



terialized---due to an attitude that a person should be paid for what he does here---and the department was forced to the alternative of expanding the paid personnel, probably considerably beyond the original intention. As a result, the organization has little concreteness for persons in the community; and one can observe it in action only as it presents a scheduled performance, either as a member of the passive audience or as a participant if one has special talents. The inability to promote informal recreational activity within small intimate groups seems to be one of the chief shortcomings of the present project-wide organization.

One effort, suggested by the Classification Committee and now being undertaken by the staff, for reducing this disparity between total organization and the recreational demands of people in blocks and wards, is the appointment of ward activity leaders. The function of this leader is to promote social relationships in the nine blocks within his ward, and to seek competitive and co-operative recreational activities with other wards. The reasonableness of the proposition appears in the fact that the blocks are the natural social and political units of relocation projects, and if recreation is to be a factor in the building of community morale, there is no place where it can better begin than in the blocks. But the difficulties of starting this ward program <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ great. There is first the problem of finding seven men in the respective wards energetic and capable enough to make the program a significant reality, but such talent seems extremely rare. Again, there is the problem of meeting both Issei and Nisei demands, of developing the interests of the old and the young, but



this presents an almost insuperable obstacle. The only hope for the success of the program seems to lie in the enlistment of considerable voluntary aid from members of each block and ward, and a capable leader might be able to enlist such aid, but as we have already mentioned, there does not exist at present an attitude favorable toward voluntary work.

The work of the Classification Committee in determining the organizational plan was largely inductive, that is, of finding out through personal interviews the nature of the work each member of the staff had been performing up to the time of the interview, and of fitting his job somewhere into the general plan of the recreation department. One of the chief complaints which appeared in these interviews was that members of the staff had no clear conception of what they were supposed to do, and that the supervisor was seldom available to direct each individual activity. This confusion was especially noticeable, not among those at the bottom of the scale of responsibility, but among the activity directors and the administrative staff in the recreation department. No organization had been pre-determined, no procedures had been set up, such that in the administrative staff there was no clear understanding as to how to execute requests and orders. Authority had not been delegated, and persons in positions of leadership were unable to act until direct communication could be had with Mr. Waller or his assistant, Harry Mayeda. At the source of this problem was also the fact that equipment was grievously lacking, and nothing could be accomplished until some equipment were made available; but requisitions seemed to get squeezed into



bottlenecks with discouraging frequency.

Frequent comments heard among the recreation staff were:<sup>1</sup>

"My job's all right, but I wish someone would tell me what I'm supposed to do." (Youth Social Activities Leader)

"I don't like the set-up any too well. There is a lack of equipment and supervision over the recreation leaders. Our work isn't clearly defined as to what we're supposed to do. There should be someone who has authority to say and tell us what to do. We start to do something but a lack of equipment makes it hard to continue..... There should be someone in the office as a supervisor of the department or a director who will always be in the office when he is needed." (Athletic Director)

"There is no organization in the recreation department, and there is no one to report to." (Athletic Leader)

"There are not enough tables and chairs in each school and I have made requisition after requisition for them but the teachers are doing the best they can without them." (Nursery Director)

"I'm just swamped with work. I have to take care of too many different things at once. I feel I'm running around in circles. I wish Mr. Waller would stay in one place for a while so I'll know where to find him when people ask for him." (Office Worker)

The department was in a state of demoralization at the time due to the absence of equipment and organization. Several of the best leaders resigned and sought out other work. The difficulties arose due to a lack of clarity on the part of the Supervisor regarding his personal function at that stage of development in his department. Because authority had not been delegated, the activity leaders constantly sought him out for advice; and because he was so occupied with directing each activity, he was unable to attend to what was most needed at the time, the procurement of supplies, lacking which the whole recreational program was relatively at a standstill. The problem of procurement apparently is the most acute in every department of the Project, and there probably were reasons why he could not obtain many things immediate-

<sup>1</sup>Personal Interviews, Classification Committee, July 13, 1942 to August 1, 1942.



ly; but this should have been a warning to the Supervisor to attend first and foremost to the problems of procurement, and allow evacuee personnel to organize the activities and direct them.

In the case of Issei activity leaders, the problem of organization was interpreted differently than among the Nisei. From the beginning, Ray Muramoto, Issei entertainment leader, had personal differences with Ted Waller, and the dislike of the latter rapidly became general in the whole Issei group of workers. Coupled with the dislike and mistrust of the Supervisor, there was resentment against the Nisei who dominated the department in numbers and in status. Recognizing that it was impossible to displace Ted Waller as supervisor of the community activities section, the Issei nevertheless demanded a separate Issei department of recreation that was responsible directly only to the supervisor. This concession, however, was never granted for both Mr. Shirrell and Mr. Waller felt that to separate the two generations in the organizational structure would only widen the breach between the two groups, and further, that the project could be held accountable by the public for promoting an Issei department with strictly Japanese customs. But the Issei interpretation of the situation was that the Administration merely desired to high pressure the Issei, and one man offered the explanation that ~~The~~ Waller kept the present structure because his function would rapidly disappear if an Issei and Nisei departments were established and authority was delegated to them.

In the discussion of the Classification Committee, it was agreed that separation of the two generations was undesirable, but there was recognition of the differences between the Issei and



Nisei and the need for a certain amount of independent control by the Issei. It was decided that the term "Issei Activities" should be abjured in the structural chart, and as a camouflage the relatively innocuous term "Adult Social Activities" was selected. The head of this department was to be an Issei entertainment director and all forms of Issei entertainment such as the shibai, odori, and Japanese music, were to be under his direction. On the other hand, Japanese table games such/<sup>as</sup> goh and shogi were to be under the director of Indoor Games, and Japanese sports such as sumo (wrestling) and judo were to be under the director of athletics. While the Issei have theoretically been included under the one big department, in actual fact there now exist the Issei and Nisei departments of recreation. The Issei even have a separate office from the Nisei joined only by a connecting door. The Issei sumo and judo leaders sometimes seek out the assistance of the Nisei Athletics director, but more frequently do they go to members of the Adult Social Activities department for aid; and the same is true of the Issei leader of the Japanese table games. The ultimate expression of this separation is indicated by the fact that the office is never called the "Adult Social Activities" office, but rather the "Issei" office. The Classification Committee rationalizes the failure of their proposed organization to function as it was meant to by declaring that the present chart at least gives a tendency toward greater cooperation between the Issei and Nisei.

One other characteristic of the Issei group which offered problems in their organization was their preference to work as a



group rather than by the individualistic system enforced by a plan of division of labor. In part, there was a historical factor which caused this tendency, for the Issei had functioned as a group unit in the preparations for the various events of the 4th of July holiday. All of the group worked together in the preparation of the stage for Issei entertainment, and the same group then worked on the sumo tournament, or, again, on the bon odori, a plan of work which seems to have been highly satisfactory to them. It was Ted Waller's desire, however, that there be a division of labor formed within this group such that leaders would respectively be in charge of Japanese athletics, table games, entertainment, and so on. The Issei group at first opposed the plan, but, at the insistence of the department head, accepted it later. Once the new plan was adopted, however, the former spirit of cooperation disappeared, and activity leaders refused to help in any work outside their own sphere. The secretary of the Issei group commented, "There's not much cooperation among them any more," and others remarked on the difference that had come into the Issei group. Concomitantly, Ray Muramoto who had hitherto been the informally selected leader of the Issei recreation staff rapidly lost his former leadership and became the object of much criticism.

One other major problem of organization loomed late in August with the announcement of the opening of the public schools in September, and the possible encroachment<sup>on</sup> the work of the Community Activities section which the opening of school would have. Having begun its program of activities early in the summer, the Community



Activities section developed a fairly inclusive program that was careless of fine distinctions between education and recreation. Even early in the summer the recreation department encountered conflicts with the adult education department due to parallel courses, such as in the classes on flower arrangement, but no serious problems arose. However, the invasion by the public school into the activities of the recreation department was bound to be of much greater proportion, for the schools threatened to take over not only the school age population which the recreation department had served throughout of the summer, but the schools intended to start classes in drama, dance, music, painting and sketching, handicrafts, ~~recre~~ nursery, and even in athletics, and hoped that many of the teachers in the recreation department could be recruited for the school. The question thus arose as to whether the Recreation Department should retain such departments as Fine Arts, the Library, Junior Activities, and even Athletics. Mr. Shirrell warned that many of these activities might eventually be taken over by the education department and urged careful consideration of the organizational chart before assuming too many activities, but since there was no criteria available at the time for making a distinction between those activities rightfully belonging in the education department and those belonging to the recreation department that it was finally decided to retain all ongoing activities until such time as decision was required by the appearance of parallel programs. At present, all parts of the recreation department is functioning as it was during the summer, except for a slight curtailment due to the loss of children



to the schools.

Personnel Problems In the organization description of the community activities section, the position of the supervisor is described in the following manner:<sup>1</sup>

Supervisor: Under the supervision of the Chief of the division, he is responsible for the planning, stimulation and organization of the recreational and leisure time activities of community residents; in that capacity performs and supervises the staff described below in their various functions.

A robot performing the above function would require no further discussion concerning the manner in which he fulfilled the position, except perhaps to balance the accounts of what had been done by the robot against what had been left undone. But because Theodore Waller, Supervisor of Community Activities, is a human personality possessing all the incalculable qualities of a human, the role which he has played in giving definite shape to the recreation of the community must be assessed in terms of his personal characteristics.

"Ted", as he was commonly known around the recreation center at 1808, had gone to college after remaining out for some eight years, and at the University of Chicago where he took his work he studied public administration. It seems that he took further work in the same field at the University of California, and at a still later time headed a large staff of NYA workers. What his qualifications were for the position of supervisor of recreation in a relocation center remains unknown, though one assumes that he had had some experience along these lines.

The community's reaction to Ted Waller varied considerably, for the majority were of the opinion that Waller was quite unsuited

---

<sup>1</sup>Recreational Staff Administrative Bulletin on Organization, September 1942, p. 1.



to the task of supervisor, others who worked with him liked him personally and thought him a hard worker but were generally of the opinion that he was personally disorganized, while still others (a very small minority) thought that Waller knew as much about the Japanese as anyone here among the Caucasians. Early in the development of the recreation program, there developed a considerable dislike of Waller upon the part of the Issei staff, and a mere toleration of him among the Nisei. He clearly possessed many signs of personal disorganization. While he was active and energetic in the extreme, much of his activity might be described as wasted motion as in a person who has failed to discipline his energy. Frequently, he would throw himself headlong into a sentence and midway through develop an agonizing spasm of stuttering due to his inability to find words to express himself. He was impetuous in the extreme making judgements verbally as fast as they arose in his mind, <sup>and</sup> making frequent errors due to a lack of clear forethought, but he was also equally enthusiastic over every new idea that arose in his mind. He assumed airs of non-conventionality by abhorring gentile manners, possessed an unnatural extroversion as of one who had cultivated it, and exhibited his sociability through a back-slapping, strong hand-shake technique. It should also be noted that the administrative personnel seemed to regard him as one of their difficult members, <sup>though</sup> certain persons like Mr. Shirrell who understood Waller ~~treated~~ frequently "stepped on him" in a good natured way to keep him in line.

Waller possessed personality characteristics which were perhaps most naturally distasteful to Japanese, traits such as lack



of restraint and of self discipline. One could hardly question his sincerity in trying to do his best for the Japanese, but these efforts were frequently wasted because the people could not trust and respect him. It seems that conflict between the Issei group and Ted Waller was almost inevitable as long as the latter attempted to maintain any direct control over the former. The Nisei, on the other hand, though they may not have respected Waller, liked him personally for his friendliness and enthusiasm, but they <sup>his</sup> ~~dés-~~paired at the irregularity of ~~his~~ habits. Much of the disorganization in the recreation department throughout his stay here must be directly attributable to his inability to systematize work.

On the other hand, such traits as his enthusiasm and liking for "grand plans" were a definite asset in the production of major recreational events such as the 4th of July and Labor Day festivities, and the Popularity Contest. The magnitude of these projects (for Tule Lake) and the wide publicity given them probably had more to do with their success than anything else.



Harry Mayeda, the assistant supervisor, is in many respects a direct contrast in personality to Ted Waller. Mayeda is cautious in making decisions and weighs all the possible consequences with utmost care before taking action, he is thoroughgoing and systematic about his work, he is friendly and makes an effort to show his sincerity, but approaches others with restraint, and he is a gentleman under all circumstances. Although trained to be a lawyer, Mayeda apparently developed interest in group work through the church, and his industrious, if not brilliant, pursuit



of the work of the department has kept the organization together at times when it might have been disrupted by the problems confronting it. It was a fortunate circumstance that brought Mayeda under Waller for the former's soft spoken manner and effort to understand the other's point of view permitted compromises in a situation where no established rules of organization existed and conflicts arose between groups unyieldingly opposed to each other, as particularly was the case in the Issei-administration differences.

The function of the Assistant Supervisor has been defined in the organizational outline of the department as:<sup>1</sup>

Assistant Supervisor: Carries into operation the policies and ideas of the Supervisor. In this capacity, he serves as a liaison man between the administration and the Community Activity directors. All departments of C.A. are directly responsible to the Assistant Supervisor, who in turn is responsible to the Supervisor.

Possessing the characteristics that he did, Harry Mayeda was especially suited to the task of Assistant Supervisor. His general ~~fittedness~~ <sup>suitability</sup> for the position is indicated in the almost universally favorable opinion which members of the staff hold of him. It might even be said that no other member of the whole evacuee personnel had as much administrative responsibility as did the Assistant Supervisor, a circumstance brought about by several conditions. First, from the standpoint of amount of activity, the recreation department was one of the busiest of all departments throughout the summer. Second, this department was the only major one which had its office completely apart from the administration building, and if Ted Waller was at his desk at the administration building,

<sup>1</sup>Recreational Staff Administrative Bulletin on Organization, September 1942, p. 2.



it was necessary that the Assistant Supervisor have considerable authority in the recreation office at 1808. Moreover, due to the lack of telephones and automobiles with which to communicate, decentralization of control was practically imperative if the department were to function efficiently. Lastly, the nature of recreational activity makes it <sup>unsuited to</sup> ~~unsuitable for~~ bureaucratic organization for the success of recreational programs depends more upon the ingenuity and independent enterprise of groups of recreational leaders than upon systematic control throughout the organization. But the administrative control which Mayeda exercised was significant not so much in the organization of activities per se, but rather in the organization of personal relationships for the accomplishment of tasks which required cooperation among persons with specialized and diversified interests. It was in this latter function that Mayeda was most successful.

. By contrast, we may analyze the case of Ray Muramoto, chairman of Issei entertainment until he was deposed, who had a knack for organizing entertainment programs, but whose inability to get along with others cancelled out whatever talent he may have had for staging Japanese entertainment.<sup>1</sup> In some respects, Muramoto's position in the Issei recreational group was comparable to Mayeda's position in the Nisei group, for throughout the months of June, July, and August, Muramoto was the recognized spokesman for the Issei members of the department. To be sure, Muramoto did not have direct access to Waller as Mayeda did, and it was in fact the former's effort to gain a comparable status that led to his

---

<sup>1</sup>See pages

for a complete account of Muramoto's case.



undoing, but had Muramoto not alienated both Waller and his own group from himself, he might have gained considerable power in the department for the Issei body has in actuality split itself off from the main body.

Prior to evacuation, Muramoto had been a professional entertainer, taking the part of "Watanabe", a Japanese servant with an important role, in a national broadcast from Portland. His history in Tule Lake, however, has been one of trying to assert his individual interest above that of all others. In the first stage<sup>s</sup> of ~~relocation to this community~~, his aggressiveness gained for him the position which he desired of leadership among the Issei entertainers. Following the Fourth of July performance, when the Issei group desired to split off from the rest of the recreation staff, Muramoto became symbolic of the opposition of the Issei to the Nisei and the administration. But when this issue was temporarily settled by the administration's unwillingness to allow a separate organization of Issei recreation, Muramoto's assertiveness and aggressiveness led him to be unpopular even among his own group until he was almost completely isolated from his following. It has frequently been the characteristic of personnel selection in this relocation center, that those who have been the most assertive have, in the initial stage, gained advantages over others who were less assertive, but time seems to be a leavening element that displaces from leadership those who lack <sup>the</sup> general characteristics of personality that make for social acceptability. Mr. Uo who was recently appointed the Issei director of recreation lacks the inspired talent of Muramoto, and is more a business man



interested in recreation, but he commands much more general respect from his group than did Muramoto.

The foregoing illustrations of the relationship of personality to the organization of the recreation department serves well to indicate the extent to which personality seems to affect the organization of this department. Unlike a bureaucratic structure where offices and functions are clearly defined and persons fit themselves into the office rather than the contrary, the recreation department developed out of an amorphous mass in which the personalities within it tended to shape the resulting organization. In this respect, the recreation department may be contrasted to the procurement section or the accounting department of the administrative staff, for in the latter instances, the influence of personal interests upon the organization of the department is much more restricted because of the mechanical character of their procedure. There is room for personal expression and ingenuity in recreation that does not exist in the same degree in business offices.

Personnel selection was, therefore, an extremely important matter in this department, and it necessarily offered many problems and difficulties in a department which was created, in a sense, overnight. Errors in selection inevitably occurred because of the rapidity with which the organization was developed and the impossibility of accurately assessing ability in all cases. Disgruntlement appeared among those who arrived late and found most of the best positions already filled by earlier arrivals many of whom were felt to be inferior. Some thought was given to these problems very early in the development of the program by Mr. Wal-



ler, and an interviewing staff for the purpose of getting recruits was one of the first office groups established; but except for very general estimates as to the applicants usefulness to the department, no adequate evaluation could be made of the relative merits of those who were selected. The tendency of Mr. Waller and the interviewing committee was to fill the department with as many prospective recruits as possible, give most of them the general title of "recreational activity leader", and hope that time and the social process would eliminate the weaker elements and select for leadership the capable ones.

The three main criteria of qualification for a position was, of course, training, experience, and personality. The first two qualifications are relatively easy to evaluate, but the third is an intangible factor which had to be very carefully considered especially in the absence of the former two. Recreational leaders like Tats Yada and Tom Hayashi, athletic director and athletic leader respectively, Wilbur Takiguchi and Mitsuru Nishio, junior activities leaders, and Amerik Ishikawa, weight lifting instructor and holder of a world's record, were all relatively easy selections for they brought both training and experience qualifications and the interview committee had to be assured only of their general capability in getting along with others. Where training and/or long experience were absent, however, as was frequently the case among the applicants, the margin of error in the selection of capable leaders was much greater. The selection of Harry Mayeda for the extremely important position of assistant supervisor directly under Ted Waller is perhaps an exceptional instance of favorable



choice under the condition in which only general training and experience qualifications were offered.

In the circumstance in which only general qualifications for a position is offered, it has usually been the case that the person who impresses the interview committee or the supervisor most favorably has been selected for positions of responsibility. The selection then is subject to all the errors of judgement characteristic of first impressions, and persons who are aggressive and know how "to put up a good front" often have an advantage over those who lack these characteristics though they may, in fact, possess better qualities of leadership. An outstanding instance of such an error of judgement is offered in the case of the selection of Mrs. Hayashi as director of the library. Waller describes Mrs. Hayashi as "a young woman of extraordinary intelligence, and imagination, and of very high standing in the community."<sup>1</sup> From external appearance, one might describe her as attractive and even vivacious when she makes an effort to be so, but a brief acquaintance with her reveals a painful ignorance about books and the absence of any special qualities of leadership. In her home community, she was not known to hold any positions of responsibility, and ~~she~~ was regarded as a quite mediocre person. By contrast <sup>to</sup> ~~with~~ Mrs. Hayashi, Nori Shiba, a worker in the library, is unattractive and unimpressive on casual acquaintance, but when the Classification Committee sought the advice of each of the two girls on ways of improving the organization of the library, the Committee was so much more impressed by the suggestions offered by Miss Shiba that they recommended that the tempor-

<sup>1</sup>See page 11 under Recreational Organization.



ary chairman of the library, Mrs. Hayashi, be replaced by Miss Shiba. By some oversight, when the permanent chairman of the department was chosen, Mr. Waller named Mrs. Hayashi for the post much to the dismay of all those concerned with increasing the efficiency of the library.

In other similar instances, persons who aggressively sought positions of leadership in the recreation department have been successful in achieving the desired status through favorable impressions which they made on Mr. Waller, but several of these leaders, like Ray Muramoto, Grace Hosokawa, and Mrs. Yoshimura,<sup>1</sup> have been relatively unpopular with the remainder of the personnel. Unfortunately, once a leader is selected, he gains vested rights in his position and it becomes increasingly difficult to displace him. On the other hand, there is a tendency, in this community where occupational changes are made frequently, for the more capable ones to gradually oust the less competent, but the process is slow.

---

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Yoshimura who was trying to get the chairmanship of the music department failed in her effort, but only because Ted Waller was "wised up" about her by those who knew her from the Pinedale Assembly Center.



Conflict, Disorganization and Re-organization

In common with the rest of the community, the recreational staff has been torn with conflict and disorganization at frequent intervals since the inception of the department. The difficulty which has most upset the Recreation department is the one which was waged between the Issei entertainment group and Ted Waller.<sup>1</sup>

The chief character providing the source of the difficulty in the Issei entertainment group was Ray Muramoto, a person with considerable energy in entertainment work and with some experience in radio work, but also endowed with an artist's egocentrism and temperament. The first signs of dissension appeared during the preparations for the 4th of July festivities. Roy Teshima, Issei coordinator in the recreation department, described the situation as follows:<sup>2</sup>

"Just before the 4th program, Waller and Ray Muramoto had a disagreement. It happened over the question of performers. The Issei had arranged a program for two places, as you'll remember, but the Nisei wanted a program on the outdoor stage and took some of the Issei performers. Ray and Waller had quite a bit of disagreement over that."

Gossip was going about among the Nisei that Ray Muramoto was an extremely difficult person to deal with/a <sup>possessing</sup> desire to dominate any show which he puts on. Part of the Nisei objection to Muramoto lay in his insistence upon including in his program certain forms of Japanese entertainment that seemed definitely tinged with expressions of the most militant Japanese spirit. Prior to the performances of the 4th of July, one kibeï went to Muramoto urging him to exclude nationalistic forms of entertainment, and he

<sup>1</sup>Document, Issei Entertainment, reported Sept. 21, 1942, p.1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p.1



says of the encounter:<sup>1</sup>

"One of the men living with us in our quarters is putting on a kembu performance (sword dance) for the fourth of July program. I thought that was going too far, because the kembu can be interpreted very nationalistically. I suggested to Muramoto that he be careful about putting on anything with any taint of Japanese nationalism, but he only blew up on me."

A girl working in the recreation department who happened to listen in on this conversation, added, "He's terrible. He just won't listen to anybody, and blows up when anyone offers a suggestion."

After the Fourth of July program, the Issei group made a vigorous effort to have their department separated from that of the Nisei, and to have an Issei supervisor in a position comparable to that of Harry Mayeda's (assistant supervisor). There were two reasons for disagreement, one, a personal dislike of Waller on the part of Muramoto, and, two, a feeling among the Issei that it was impossible for them to work with the Nisei due to the complete separation of their respective recreational interests. Waller, on the other hand, refused to allow the separation because "it wouldn't look right to the people on the outside if it were known that the Issei and Nisei had separate departments." There is reason to believe that this was a view handed down to Waller by Shirrell, and is earmarked with the WRA policy to Americanize the evacuee population as far as possible. A series of meetings took place among the Issei entertainment group to argue the matter with Waller and to decide among themselves what they should do in the event the supervisor could not be dissuaded from his view. Harry Mayeda (Nisei assistant supervisor) attended these

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Diary Notes, July 2, 1942.



~~MEETING~~ meetings as Waller's representative and tried to explain the latter's position. His presence seemed to aid in relieving the tension for he was able to bring more understanding of the Issei point of view than Waller was capable of at that early period of his acquaintance with the Japanese. On July 8, the matter came to a head. The Issei had a meeting among themselves and then approached Waller with the declaration that Ray Muramoto was resigning. Muramoto's position was that the Issei department could not function properly unless the conditions specified by him were granted. Waller, though much disturbed, accepted the resignation, for according to him there was no alternative,; to back down would be to forsake the very principles which the WRA was striving to achieve.

Muramoto's tender of resignation immediately brought a wholesale resignation from the rest of the Issei staff, for while not all of them agreed with Ray that the matter was of such importance as to call for their resignation, the Japanese principle of group responsibility required that everyone act in concert on a matter in which one of their members was concerned. One of the Issei group who was working on several committees for Waller and was one of the most respected members of the staff, apologized profusedly but was adamant in his decision that he must resign. Half an hour after Muramoto had offered his resignation, however, he returned to declare that the whole Issei staff had reconsidered their resignation and they declared themselves willing to continue in the department. He still protested his original grounds for resignation, but Waller greeted him back equally protesting



his desire to work with Muramoto within the limits which principle would permit him. One suspects that Muramoto was made to reconsider his resignation by the weighted argument of other Issei who carefully salved his hurt pride and at the same time urged the folly of resignation.

The difficulty between the Issei department and the rest of the recreation staff was not fundamentally resolved by this series of discussion; the hostility had only been sublimated. When the recreation center was partitioned and office space was distributed among the various departments of community activities, there was another explosion from the Issei group because of what they considered the unfavorable office space given them by the Nisei administrators.<sup>1</sup>

"Things didn't go so well between the Issei and the recreation department. For instance, there was the big explosion about the office space. When the Issei got put away in an inside room, they blew up. (Many of the Nisei expressed the view that they'd just as soon have taken the inside room where there was more quiet, and nobody was necessarily the loser, for each room had its advantage. The set-up was: a long barrack divided up so that there was a small room at the north end for the wardens, a long middle room that was partitioned off into small offices by walls that extend up as high as one's chest, and which room was the one the Issei wanted to be in with the rest of the staff, and an inside room with a connecting door for the Issei and the Athletic departments. This inside room had the advantage of being quiet and out of the traffic in the main room, but it did not have office partitions. The small room at the south end of the barrack was then occupied by the social welfare department, but this was later given up, and the Issei took it over and made it into a neat little office of their own. There are connecting doors all through the recreation staff offices, including the Isseis, but the separation of Issei and Nisei is apparent in that there is the intervening inner room which is still used by the Athletic department. There is relatively little traffic from the Nisei office to the Issei's.) Now that the Issei have their little office, they're pretty well satisfied. They just took it over as soon as the Welfare Department left, saying nothing about it to anyone in the main staff office."

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. Cit., Document, Issei Entertainment. p. 1.



The second major disturbance in the recreation department occurred early in August, about a month after the first disagreement between Waller and Muramoto. On the evening of August 5, 1942, a picnic was held out at the farm in honor of Chie Aoki, a popular recreation leader, who was leaving for Arkansas to join her fiancé, and all the Nisei members of the staff as well as several administrative personnel including Mr. Waller attended the picnic. An Issei entertainment was scheduled for the same evening on the outdoor stage. During the course of this entertainment program, Mr. Sakamoto, chairman of the evening, said to his audience over the P.A. system, "Because of the party out at the farm/<sup>this evening</sup> for Miss Chie Aoki who is leaving for Arkansas to marry her army friend, all the white personnel have gone to the farm to the party. There is no white person around to hear us, so we can say anything we want tonight." Sakamoto repeated this statement two or three times, and just prior to the presentation of an ahodarakyo (a satirical comic monologue) he added, "There are even worse things coming." These remarks by the chairman brought out laughter from the audience, which was largely Issei, but some Issei later commented that they thought such remarks in bad taste and didn't think it wise to make such statements publicly in a place like this. The ahodarakyo performed by an old man, a person without much sense according to some, gave a running series of comments about all manner of subjects in a disconnected manner for humor's sake, but among his comments, it is alleged, was a statement, "Even in American democracy, a person who does bad things will get himself into trouble and be thrown into jail." There seems to be considerable disagree-



ment as to what actually was said, and many Issei were inclined to discount its harmfulness because of the humorous content within which it was placed. People in the community talked about the Issei entertainment after the performance that evening and the next morning. The administration somehow learned of the statements made that evening, Ted Waller was held to account, and Waller in turn "jumped on" Harry Mayeda.

~~Three days later, another~~

By the morning of Saturday, August 8, the accusations had reached down to the Issei group, and a meeting was held among them to discuss the whole thing. To the Issei, the seriousness of the problem lay in the fact that the administration had learned of the statements of Wednesday evening for there was now a threat that Issei entertainment might be censored and that some persons might be taken by the FBI. The effort seems to have been to try to identify the informer because of the threat to the community as long as he remained among them, but strangely enough it was Ray Muramoto and other members of the Issei entertainment staff who were accused of being the informers.

In the background of these accusations was a long period of conflict between Sakamoto and his henchman, Arita, both of whom were from the Arboga Assembly Center, <sup>and Ray Muramoto whom they</sup> ~~who~~ wished to displace ~~Ray Muramoto~~ as leader of Issei entertainment. Sakamoto and Arita are said to be "tough" persons difficult to deal with, and they had been causing a great deal of difficulty for the Issei entertainment group by operating outside their fold in trying to discredit the <sup>latter's</sup> ~~former's~~ work. The conflict between Sakamoto and Mura-



MOTO was particularly acute. Sakamoto, for instance, had been organizing entertainment groups in various wards, putting on these entertainments in various blocks without consulting the recreation department, and even preventing his performers from participating in anything put on by the recreation staff. According to Sakamoto's interpretation, therefore, Muramoto had told the administration of Sakamoto's statements of Wednesday night in order to get him out of the way. The whole Issei entertainment staff vigorously denied informing the administration, but the Saturday morning meeting broke up with complete bad feeling all around.

That evening, Saturday, August 8, another Issei entertainment was performed in one of the blocks. On this occasion, Muramoto was chairman, and prior to the start of the performance, there was a disagreement between Muramoto and Sakamoto that almost ended in blows. Sakamoto wished to announce at the performance that <sup>money</sup> a/collection was being made for Ray Nakamoto whose P.A. system had frequently been used by the recreation staff although Nakamoto was never compensated for the use of his instrument. Nakamoto was somewhat peeved because the recreation department refused (at least, allegedly) to pay for the replacement of parts which had deteriorated under constant use, and Sakamoto apparently was ~~apparently~~ utilizing the opportunity to discredit the recreation department and present himself as a community-minded person. Muramoto refused to permit the announcement because, as he declared, it was none of the recreation department's business. Some of the "tough" gang from Sacramento wanted to have it out with Muramoto immediately, but somehow the disturbance was quieted and Muramoto had his way.



In the middle of this program, however, Waller and Harry Mayeda suddenly ran in inquiring why it was that the Japanese announcements were not being preceded by English announcements. Muramoto contended that he knew of no such ruling, but Waller insisted that he had made known the regulation to the Issei staff, and that the program would have to proceed with an English announcement of the program preceding the Japanese. Mayda thereupon started announcing in English. For this oversight, Muramoto was eventually fired which again started another series of trouble within the department, but this was not to be known until the following week.

The next afternoon, a meeting was held of the Issei staff and Sakamoto and his henchmen to iron out some of their differences. Teshima describes this meeting as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"The next afternoon there was a meeting to settle some of the differences that had arisen between Sakamoto and Ray Muramoto. Still, no one knew that Ray was to be fired, and the discussion that afternoon had strictly to do with settling the difference between Ray and Sakamoto, and also Arita who was on Sakamoto's side. We called together certain persons like Mr. Nishisaka, and Mr. Miyauchi, and others of Sacramento people who are interested in Issei entertainment but also have influence over fellows like Sakamoto and Arita. That is the way with the Japanese. Even among gangsters and gamblers there are certain persons who ~~hav~~ give orders to them to which they must say 'yes'. They are persons of influence who are accepted by the group. We asked these persons in because they know Sakamoto and Arita and have influence over them, and we asked them to referee or act as advisors in settling the differences. Nothing definite was accomplished that afternoon, but at least the personal differences between Ray and Sakamoto were ironed out so that bad feeling no longer existed. It was also decided that these referees should hereafter act as an advisory group to the Issei department so that nothing like the troubles of the previous Wednesday night should happen again, and it was decided they should look over the program each time before

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. Cit., Document, Issei Entertainment, p. 2-3.



it went on."

"So you see, there were two lines of difficulties in the Issei department at that time. On the one hand, Ray Muramoto was in opposition to Ted Waller and he was in danger of losing his job in the recreation department, and on the other hand, there was the opposition between Ray Muramoto and Sakamoto and Airta. Sakamoto and Airta had been trying to gain leadership over the Issei entertainment for some time, since early in July, but noone wanted that type of fellow in there, and they had been kept out until then. That was the source of the difference between Ray and the others."

On Sunday night, August 9, Ted Waller called Muramoto to his office and handed him his termination paper, the ground for termination being his failure to comply with the regulation of having an English announcement along with the Japanese at every Issei entertainment. When the Issei staff heard this the next morning, a meeting was held and everyone decided to resign. They were not satisfied with the reason given for firing Muramoto and felt rather that the Wednesday affair was the real ground for firing Muramoto since, as chairman of the Issei entertainment, he was responsible for what went on that evening. On the other hand, the administration refused to recognize the affair of Wednesday night, denied any knowledge of the affair both to safeguard themselves and the colony, and Waller therefore was adamant in his position that Muramoto had been terminated for failure to comply with the regulation concerning English announcements. The Issei staff also agreed that personal differences between Waller and Muramoto had much to do with the termination, and since they themselves disliked Waller, they all agreed that their resignation should be submitted. What Waller did not realize was that he was forcing the hands of the Issei staff into those of Sakamoto and Airta, which was a double reason for the resentment of the Issei against Muramoto's termi-



-nation.

On Wednesday night, August 12, another meeting was held by the Issei staff in the presence of the advisory group which had helped to settle their problems with Sakamoto. The advice of this committee of elders was that the Issei staff should not resign immediately, but remain in their positions until further negotiations might be carried on with the administration to see if Ray Muramoto might not be reinstated. It was further argued among the staff that, ~~until~~ for the welfare of the community, resignations should not be turned in until another Issei staff had been recruited and trained for the work. One suspects that the intent of this argument was to prevent an invasion of the department by Sakamoto and Arita. In any case, the Issei staff decided that they would not resign until further developments clarified the situation.

As early as the middle of July, the Classification Committee, after consideration of some of the Issei problems appearing in the interviews, had urged the establishment of an advisory committee of respected and stable Issei in the Recreation department. In fact, names had been submitted to Mr. Waller and Mr. Shirrell of persons who might serve well in such a capacity, but due to Mr. Shirrell's fear that an administration appointed advisory group would have no recognition in the community, <sup>in view of</sup> ~~due to~~ the people's distrust of administration action, nothing was done about it at the time. However, Ted Waller had been trying to organize an advisory committee, on the one hand, and seeking some means of displacing Ray Muramoto with a more cooperative Issei leader, on the



<sup>other</sup>  
1 hand. Plans were being worked out prior to the difficulties which arose in the first week of August, but the crisis forced Waller to meet both issues immediately. In the meantime, the community had learned of Muramoto's termination, and wild rumors were spreading about the presence of informers in the community. Two rumors which became current at the time were (a) that the old man who had performed the ahodarakyo had been taken by the FBI and interned at Missoula (rumor unfounded), and (b) that no more Issei entertainment would be permitted on this project. But the most vicious rumors identified certain individuals as informers, and gradually the story boiled down to indicate one person, Ben Kasebuchi, block manager of the 1400 block, as the informer. It was said that Kasebuchi had been seen talking to Jacoby on the day following the outdoor performance at which Sakamoto had made his statements, and others declared that he had also been seen talking to Waller. A member of the recreation staff offered the information that Waller's secretary had overheard the conversation between Kasebuchi and Waller, while others declared that they had heard Kasebuchi, a Kibei with a tendency to be loud-mouthed, bragging that the FBI had asked him to be one of their agents. All these reports seemed to clinch the fact that Kasebuchi was the informer. Outraged individuals threatened to beat up Kasebuchi, and wardens had to be stationed in front of his office and home for several days to prevent any violence from taking place. Waller recognized the need immediately to hire someone replacing Muramoto, put on another Issei performance quickly to quiet the rumors, but also to have an advisory committee to stabilize the



Issei staff.

Waller was asked to reinstate Muramoto, or at least to accept Muramoto's resignation rather than to fire him, but Waller This brought another threat of resignation from the Issei staff. refused to do either. Waller's position was that Muramoto had failed to comply with regulations, and he must be held responsible for the failure; the acceptance of the resignation, in other words, would not clarify the administration's policy and authority. But Waller's effort to create an Issei Advisory Committee offered another complication which Teshima describes:<sup>1</sup>

"On Monday morning, (August 10) of the same week, however, I heard something which was to cause terrible difficulty later. I heard from Waller that he was trying to set up an Issei Advisory Council for their entertainment group. So Waller was trying to form an advisory committee, while the Issei department had already chosen their own advisor (unknown to Waller). Waller, of course, went ahead with his plans to select the committee, something which he kept in the dark at the time. I didn't tell Waller about the other advisory group because I couldn't very well reveal it."

Waller called

On August 13/~~asked~~ together a group of Issei and Nisei not on the recreation staff to confer with him on the problems that had appeared ~~in~~ his department. He declared that he had called the meeting because something had to be done immediately to quiet the community, for the disturbance in the Issei recreation staff had spread considerably among the people, and he sought the advice of the persons present in solving the difficulty. In the ensuing discussion, during which the whole difficulty was reviewed, it was pointed out by some of the highly educated Issei present that the ahodarakyo was originally a Buddhist chant for religious purposes, but which, because of its difficulty of understanding to the common person, was transformed into the vernacular in humorous



extemporaneous monologue by which a performer would philosophize on life. ~~But~~ the intent of these monologues, they insisted, is purely nonsensical. Much discussion took place as to the various meanings of Japanese performances, and it seemed that many of the Issei performances which were looked upon askance by the Nisei were relatively harmless in its meaning to the Issei. But it was agreed that statements such as those of Sakamoto at the Wednesday entertainment threw a bad light on the whole affair, and the appointment of an advisory group to review performances before their public presentation was again urged. The desirability of including Ray Muramoto on this advisory council to indicate friendly relations between him and the administration was also urged by one of the Issei, and the idea was accepted. Finally, the Issei present urged the inclusion of representatives from every geographical section to avoid the appearance of sectionalism, and it was decided that advisors should be sought from each ward since wards are quite representative of sections.

By Sunday, August 16, Ted Waller and his staff appointed an Issei Advisory Committee and had their names and function presented in a full page spread of the Tulean Dispatch both in English and Japanese.<sup>1</sup> At the same time announcement was made of a "Colossal Show Planned for Friday." Mr. Uo of Tacoma, Washington, whose name had repeatedly appeared in the discussion for the selection of an Issei entertainment leader, was finally selected for the position.

The announcement of the advisory council immediately brought

---

<sup>1</sup>The Daily Tulean Dispatch, Aug. 16, 1942, p. 1B.



Repercussions from the advisory group which had been unofficially appointed. Teshima, who was in the thick of the Issei problems throughout this period, says,<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, however, it was announced that a Recreational Advisory Council had been selected by Waller and Mr. Shirrell. When that news came out, the other advisory council jumped on us, for they had thought they were to be the advisory committee. Sakamoto and Arita, of course, goaded them on because they wanted to get into the recreation department. That was the most terrible experience I have ever had. It finally came to a point in which the whole blame for the mix-up was placed on my shoulder and Harry Mayeda's because we had known about both the advisory groups. We apologized for the mistake, but the whole thing never did entirely quiet down.

Waller and Harry Mayeda's plans to put on an Issei entertainment on the following Friday was blocked by the refusal of the Issei staff to participate because Ray Muramoto had been fired without just cause.<sup>2</sup> However, the matter was turned over to the Issei Advisory Group and they somehow induced the staff to cooperate. Sakamoto and Arita also continued to disturb the recreation department by their efforts to get in. The two men started an Issei Entertainment Club outside the control of the recreation department, and announced that this club would thereafter put on all the productions on the stage since the Issei directors knew nothing about such matters and didn't have the performers anyway. Again, the recreation department turned the problem over to the Issei Advisory Council. The Issei entertainment club never got in because noone would recognize them.

Teshima concludes: "Now, things are much quieter in the department among the Issei, and they rather fight among themselves."

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. Cit., Document, Issei Entertainment. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Mayeda promised Muramoto that a suitable position would be found for him somewhere. Muramoto refused one position as Issei reports specialist in the department. Nothing else was done for him, and Muramoto is now head waiter in one of the messhalls.



# Chart I. Structural Diagram of Community Activities Section

Secretary — Supervisor — Recreation Commission  
Asst. Supervisor

Coordinators — Planning Board & Planning Specialist  
Leadership Trainer

Office Staff  
a. Office Manager  
b. Records & Files  
c. Personnel  
d. Buildings & Grounds  
e. Receptionists  
f. Info. typists  
g. Messengers.

Information  
a. Information Specialist  
b. Publicity reporter  
c. Poster artists

Activities

Procurement & Property Control  
a. Chief Clerk  
b. Equipment Room Clerks

Maintenance & Service  
a. Playground Service  
b. Electricians  
c.

<u>Time Arts</u>	<u>Library</u>	<u>Handicrafts</u>	<u>Recreational Nursery</u>	<u>Athletics</u>	<u>Indian Games</u>	<u>Adult Social Activities</u>	<u>Youth Social Activities</u>	<u>Youth Activities</u>	<u>Junior Activities</u>	<u>Clubs</u>	<u>Forum</u>
Coordinator	Head Lib. Clerk	Director Clerk	Director Clerk	Director Leaders	Director Leaders	Director	Director	Director	Director	Director	Director
Secretary	Assistant	Tech. Asst.	Tech. Asst.	Leaders	Leaders	Steno. typist	Clerk	Steno. typist	Steno. typist	Steno. typist	Steno. typist
a. Drama		Knitting		Softball	Ping Pong	Steno. typist	Children's Entertainment	Boy Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
b. Music		Crocheting		Baseball	Card Games	Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
c. Arts		Needlework		Football	Bridge	Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
d. Dance		Pattern Design		Boxing	Table Games	Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
Flower Arrangements				Swimming		Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
				Scuba Diving		Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
				Judo		Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
				Wrestling		Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum
				Weight Lifting		Steno. typist		Girl Scout	Girl Scout	Book	Forum

Ward Leaders (7 persons)

Forum



This long and complicated case history of the conflict between the Issei recreation staff and Waller, ~~the~~ administration, and the Nisei, offers in retrospect some understanding of the factors which contributed to the disagreements. If one considers the difference in stability/<sup>in</sup>~~between~~ the Issei staff during the period in which Ray Muramoto was its dominant figure and the present, there is no alternative to the conclusion that the presence or absence of one man made considerable difference in the action of the staff. Under Muramoto, when his star was at its height, the Issei performances were brilliant and the group had a considerable esprit de corp, but it lacked the persistent stability, the morale, which characterizes the group today. The fundamental difference in view of the Issei and the American, however, is so deep-seated that the disparity between the Issei and the administration or the Issei and the Nisei could not have been removed under any condition. The Issei were perhaps correct in their contention that the interests, tastes, sentiments, habits, attitudes, and the whole experience of the two groups are so different that it is impossible to impose the pattern of one upon the other. In the Issei view this was precisely what the administration was doing by placing the Issei staff within the structure of a strictly American recreation program. In the disorganized circumstance of the initial period in the recreation department, the Nisei at least had Harry Mayeda working furiously among them to direct the clearing of the debris, but the Issei had no such appointed leader who could communicate directly with the supervisor and gain the required authority to take needed action. The appointment of an



Issei leader, and the right kind of leader, would probably have prevented much of the disorganization in the Issei group which eventually lead to open conflict. Ted Waller realized this early, but once he had an Issei staff actively working on programs, it was impossible to introduce any outsider until a crisis was reached and reorganization was imperative.

The importance and authority of a carefully selected advisory group where organization is contemplated among the Japanese people seems likewise emphasized. Japanese have a respect for the wisdom of elders, where the leadership of these elders is recognized, that is far less true of Americans; and <sup>the elders</sup> they have traditionally been a restraining factor upon younger men and their tendencies toward extreme action. Unfortunately, in the process of relocation, those who had been leaders in their home community were <sup>often</sup> lost in the reshuffle. A leader in Sacramento would not be recognized as a leader by a person from Washington, and the ~~general~~ mix-up of population in the relocation centers generalized this condition of unfamiliarity. Under the circumstance, it was the most outspoken and extroverted who gained dominance in the initial period, "until the community" found them out", but these aggressive persons were not always the most desirable in the capacity of leadership. The advisory council of the recreation department was, in this instance, selected from the various major communities represented here, and on the basis of past knowledge about these persons. In actual fact, it was not so much the need to choose someone recognized in the past as a leader which made the selection by past performance so important, for a person of statesman-like



quality seems to gain respect rapidly regardless of whether he is known or not, but it was rather the difficulty of finding the right persons in a community of strangers which led to the necessity of referring to <sup>their</sup> ~~his~~ past experience.

A further illustration of the Issei-Nisei conflict throws light upon the problems which are involved in this relationship. In the crafts department of community activities, the largest classes are in women's handiwork such as knitting, crocheting, embroidery, sewing, pattern drafting, and quilting, and these classes are largely taught and attended by Issei women. Until the early part of August, the whole section was directed by a Nisei girl, Chie Aoki, who because of the varied functions she was serving at the time, gave minimal supervisory attention to these classes. <sup>she</sup> ~~she~~ limited her activity in the section to procuring necessary equipment through requisitions, coordinating the activities of the different teachers, and generally doing the "dirty work" that needs to be done by someone in such a department to keep the group in action. After Chie Aoki's departure, it was necessary to select a new director of the crafts section, and after some consideration, another Nisei girl, Shizuka Fukuyama, (Mrs. John Fukuyama) was selected. Chie Aoki had been having trouble with one of the young Issei sewing teachers, Mrs. Saiki, although matters were somewhat kept in restraint, but under Shizuka, the whole problem rapidly became aggravated.

Mrs. Saiki who had come in with the Pinedale group from Tacoma, Washington, had been causing a great deal of trouble by her desire to extend her classes to abnormally large sizes. It



is said that she wished to supervise a sewing and pattern drafting class of 200 pupils, but due to the lack of equipment and the practical impossibility of teaching adequately a class of such size, the recreation department had been trying to restrain her ambition. After Shizuka was appointed director, Mrs. Saiki made a special point of criticizing her, particularly in front of other people, and on one instance denounced Shizuka loudly in front of her classes for some alleged error. The older woman did not leave matters with that, however, but approached Shizuka's parents, who also are from Tacoma, and her friends, to make open criticisms of Shizuka. To make matters worse, John Fukuyama refused to have anything to do with the complainant. John, it is said, while a very intelligent young man, is not altogether well thought of by the Tacoma people among whom he grew up because of a condescending air with which he meets the common people. Shizuka, on the other hand, appears to be a very popular person, but because of her identity with John had to contend with the antagonism against him as well.

Recognizing that Mrs. Saiki is a difficult person to work with, Ted Waller had been hoping to keep things under control until Mrs. Saiki could be removed from the department, but the conflict came to a head before he was able to accomplish his desired end. Because of the talk that was spreading among the Pine-dale people about the whole affair under the incitement of Mrs. Saiki, Shizuka decided to resign and withdraw before the personal differences grew into a scandalous brawl. Her husband especially wished to avoid talk.



4 By contrast with the lack of success of Mrs. John Fukuyama, who was director of the crafts section for less than a month, is the generally high regard with which Grace Hosokawa is held by many women in the flower arrangement classes. Some Issei women speak with surprise at the excellent manners and ability to express herself in Japanese which Grace Hosokawa possesses, although she is apparently a Nisei. Likewise, the cold reserve of a girl like Miss Hosokawa which makes her seem prematurely old to the American, stands well with the Issei by contrast with the western vivacity of Mrs. Fukuyama.

But it seems doubtful that Mrs. Saiki could have forced Mrs. Fukuyama's hands in any other community than this one, or at least it could not have been done in Tacoma which was their home community. Here the personal relations of 15,000 people are so intertwined, that gossip started in one part of the community can become a major scandal in a very short time, and a person with any delicacy of feeling would probably prefer to forego the best <sup>of</sup> positions than be subjected to the sharp-tongued criticisms of an aggressive woman. Moreover, in a long established community, there is a tendency to weed out the undesirable persons from positions of responsibility, but here where no one has even passing acquaintance with even a fraction of the community, and there has not yet been sufficient time to evaluate the work of various persons in different capacities, the worst person may well displace the best if he shouts long and loud enough.

At present, no director of the crafts section has been appointed and the position will probably be left open until some new ex-



Agency forces the appointment of a director.

The unknown quantity and quality of aspirants for positions in the community makes it difficult to estimate the validity of the claims of various applicants for positions of leadership, and under the circumstance, the person who somehow gains the greatest amount of support, gains vested rights over an office, or makes an unusual impression on the supervisor, is chosen for the select offices. Such a situation offers fertile ground for <sup>a</sup>the conflict of personalities since differences of opinion are inevitably bound to arise and there are no adequate standards by which to measure the rightness of the one or the other.

The music department began to organize late in June, and by the middle of July had a clearly defined program of action for the ensuing months. The lack of instruments somewhat handicapped the development of the department, but a music building was established and certain activities were set under way. In the case of piano instruction, some 500 pupils applied for lessons, but with only one piano available, it was clearly impossible to do much work until more pianos could be procured. Toward the end of July the relocation to this center was completed with the incoming of the Pinedale group, but due to the lateness of ~~the~~ arrival of this group and the feeling among several of their leaders who were seeking positions in the recreation department that all the best positions had already been taken up by previous arrivals, sectional feeling and resentment developed between those who were in and those who were seeking to get in. The difficulties focalized upon the music department due to the activities of one aggressive girl



from Pinedale who attempted to use three pianos belonging to the Pinedale people as a wedge by which to gain leadership in the department.

The outline of the case is summarized briefly in the following account:<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties of the department began about July 25th after the arrival of the Pinedale group. At the center of the intruding force was Mae Yoshimura, formerly of Seattle, Washington, who had been head of the music department at Pinedale. The first note of ensuing difficulties came about July 28. It seems that Mae Yoshimura appeared at the recreation center accompanied by her husband, Tom Yoshimura, and cornered Ted Waller. The content of the discussion was revealed later by Waller and Yasumura who informed the music department of Mae's wishes.

It seems that Mae Yoshimura urged Waller to appoint her head of the music department, and pointed out the great success of her department at Pinedale where she had 750 pupils taking piano lessons in her department. Lessons were taught in large classes three times a week for each class. Dummy keyboards were used since only one piano was available. Three pianos, incidentally, were brought by the Pinedale group to Tule Lake, and this became another point of disagreement since the question of its disposition here arose. Each pupil, she declared, had a chance to touch the piano during the week, though, to be sure, they had to be seated two at a time at the piano. There has been talk among the Pinedale group that the parents wish their children taught by the "Krinkey Method," Mr. Krinke having been Mae's teacher in Seattle. Mae emphasized the fact that Mr. Krinke was one of the best piano instructors in Seattle, that he had devised a special technique of classroom instruction on the piano, and that her method would best serve the purpose of such a situation as exists in this center.

Tom Yoshimura had a reputation in Seattle of being an effeminate busybody who gallantly chased girls and never caught them (until Mae Yoshimura), and one who put on the air of knowing much though he frequently made faux pas. Tom had worked for years with the Sumitomo Bank in Seattle, and made extravagant claims of his work there though he really was disliked by his fellow workers and never advanced far beyond the position of a clerk. His reputation seemed unchanged for Jobu Yasumura who had headed the evacuee organization in Pinedale warned Waller prior to his encounter with the Yoshimuras that Tom would undoubtedly prove a most "persistent pest." On this occasion, Tom apparently did everything possible to impress Waller with his wife's im-

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Diary, August 5, 1942, p. 1-2.



portance as a pianist, but Waller having been forewarned did not react as Tom had expected, and later went to Jobu to question him further on Tom's character.

As the chairman of the music department saw the problem, it was an opposition of a person who emphasized quantitative production of pianists against those who desired to inculcate in the pupils something of the qualitative significance of music. Quantity of pupils, the chairman argued, could easily be achieved by such a method as advocated by Mae Yoshimura, but the pupils would then gain no conception of the real meaning of music. Moreover, the chairman had known Mae Yoshimura as a pianist in Seattle, and was certain that the latter had little real understanding of musicianship. Mae Yoshimura had offered several references of her past work to impress the department, but the chairman questioned the validity of these references on the basis of her past knowledge of Mrs. Yoshimura. The consequence was that Mae Yoshimura claimed sectional opposition on the part of those already in the department and attempted to split the support of the Pinedale group away from the recreation department, an attempt in which she was partially successful.

Mrs. Yoshimura did not gain the chairmanship of the music department which she desired, but a series of difficulties followed as a result of her unwillingness to cooperate although she was admitted into the department as a piano teacher. The main problems arose about the disposition of the Pinedale pianos. Since the Tule Lake department had only one good piano in the whole center, they wanted the use of the Pinedale pianos to relieve the pressure of use of the one piano. Since the Pinedale people had



bought the pianos as a group, a meeting was held of those who had been leaders in the Pinedale center to discuss the allocation of the pianos, and it was decided by this council to place two pianos in wards occupied by the Pinedale people, and one in some central location not necessarily within their wards. This arrangement was agreed upon by both parties, but when Mrs. Yoshimura heard of the disposition, she balked the arrangement and had the pianos redistributed in a manner more agreeable to her. She likewise impressed the Pinedale people of the superiority of her training and her method---the "Krinkey Method"---, and sought to disaffect her group from the incumbent music group. In this, she was partially successful, for the whole Pinedale group was considerably resentful of the greatly limited opportunities which they felt had been imposed on them in respect to all positions by those who had arrived first. Hence, when a meeting was held of the music department, including the Pinedale teachers, for the selection of those to teach music in the department, there was a clear-cut division between the Pinedale teachers behind the leadership of Mae Yoshimura and the incumbent group who had previously joined the department. If cooperation and morale had not existed in heightened form within the music department before, it came into existence at this time in marked degree among those fighting to prevent the displacement of the existing policy of instruction by the "Krinkey Method." The struggle was one of policy as well as personality.

By virtue of the stronger alignment of forces among those already in the department, their policy triumphed, and in the mean-



time Mrs. Yoshimura has lost the support even of her own group. Of the three girls who had taught the piano in Pinedale, only two, Mrs. Yoshimura and Miss Kurose, were accepted, and the third girl was not given a position because she did not meet the standards set by the department for piano instructors. Miss Kurose showed more willingness to cooperate with the music department than suited Mrs. Yoshimura, and the latter tried to retain her support by withholding musical material bought at Pinedale from her use, and by commandeering Miss Kurose to do all kinds of petty chores for her. These efforts to subordinate Miss Kurose finally led to disputes between the two, and reassured by others' accounts of Mrs. Yoshimura's lack of musicianship, Miss Kurose finally challenged her to a test of piano ability and thus made a break with her. The third girl, Miss Hoshide, showed resentment at first because she was not accepted as a teacher, and therefore continued to work with Mrs. Yoshimura. However, she joined the Piano Pedagogy class taught by the chairman of the department, and having proved herself an earnest and promising student, has gained in the favor of the department, and she herself has gained confidence in the members of the department. Mrs. Yoshimura apparently no longer has the support of her last follower, Miss Hoshide, and the latter has since confided:<sup>1</sup>

"Down at Pinedale, Miss Kurose really worked more closely with Mrs. Yoshimura than I did. I always felt a little inferior because I hadn't had any college training as they did (Mrs. Yoshimura's claim to university education has since been shown false). In fact, Mrs. Yoshimura and I didn't get along very well. In the Issei entertainment at Pinedale, they had programs of Japanese singing for which they wanted an accompanist, but since they had no written music, the accompanist had to play by ear after listening to the sing-

---

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Diary, October 28, 1942, p.



ing. I was the only one there able to accompany in that way, so at the entertainments I did all the piano accompaniments. Mrs. Yoshimura came to me and asked why I didn't give others a chance to accompany, and I explained to her that it was necessary to play by ear. She then told me, 'You should listen to the music, then, and write it out for others.' I was so mad, I went home and cried. I cried more than once because of Mrs. Yoshimura."<sup>1</sup>

The history of Mrs. Yoshimura's effort to gain the leadership in the music department has followed a certain pattern. At the outset, she attempted to gain the favor of the supervisor of community activities and worked exclusively on him, but failed due to unfavorable reports about Mr. and Mrs. Yoshimura by persons who knew them which were passed on to the supervisor. Undoubtedly, their personalities and their aggressiveness in seeking status probably contributed to this unfavorable impression. Mrs. Yoshimura then attempted to use the three Pinedale pianos which the music department needed badly as a wedge to force her opposition, but the incumbent group preferred to do without the pianos than to give way to Mrs. Yoshimura. Moreover, the Pinedale people rapidly lost interest in the issue of the pianos as they found satisfactory positions for themselves in the project's division of labor. Failing in her efforts to gain the chairmanship of the department, Mrs. Yoshimura apparently gave up open conflicts with the members of the department, took a position as a teacher in the music department, but constantly offered passive resistance to the department's program and attempted to restrain her followers from Pinedale from cooperating with the department. When the public schools opened, it seemed that she might transfer from the recreation to the education department and accept a position as teacher of music.

<sup>1</sup>See top of next page.



<sup>1</sup>Miss Hoshide was not accepted as a teacher because of the absence of reference to show theoretical training in music, and her inadequate experience as a teacher. However, the teacher of the Pedagogy class declares that she is musical though perhaps not well trained, and that it would not be surprising if she were able to improvise the accompaniment.

---

Indeed, Mr. Gunderson informed the music department that Mrs. Yoshimura was joining the school teaching staff and would take the three Pinedale pianos with her. Presumably, she was to have freedom in teaching piano in the way she desired. However, she later changed her mind about teaching in the public school, and has remained with the music department. Her most recent stand has been that she is no longer concerned about her status in the music department since she and her husband expect to leave the center soon to take up residence in Denver, a declaration which was made shortly after her husband was the point of attack in the strike of the warehouse crew who refused to work under him in one of the departments.

This illustration from the conflicts within the music department shows in an especially acute manner the problems that may arise over differences of policies and ideals in a newly established community. Music, like other arts, is such a specialized and technical field that few, even with so-called training, have an appreciation of the subject, but many would-be appreciators of the art presume to know enough to form opinions about it. Since there was no one in the community to assess the relative merits of the cases, the discussion about the music department conflict could not be on the level of the merits of the policies, but the determination of leadership came rather as a consequence of marshal-



ling the stronger group of supporters, or by gaining strategic advantages as by the possession of pianos that were much needed in the department. The same kind of conflict undoubtedly goes on in the normally established community too, but in such a community, there is a more gradual process of sifting out the adaptable from the unadaptable, and a body of tradition is established that offers a standard of comparison for any idea that is introduced. To be sure, change then takes place at a slower rate, but there is not the confusion about norms such as exists in the relocation center in its first stage.

One other form of conflict which requires mention is that which has arisen in consequence of the recreation department's centralized over-all control opposed by individual demands for the use of recreational facilities in independent activity. Since buildings for independent recreational use is absent in this community, and the only accessible buildings are those controlled by the recreation department, the use of these buildings for individual parties has been an especial source of difficulty.

An instance of such a conflict is illustrated in the following example.<sup>1</sup>

Tom Uyeda was pretty angry with the recreation department. After the arrival of several of his friends from Pine-dale, he had been planning a dance party for Saturday night to welcome them to Tule Lake. Yesterday, he went to see the recreation department about the use of recreation hall 508, and was shunted around from one officer to another about the question. Finally, he reached the coordinator, Roy Taguchi, who conferred with Harry Mayeda and Sam Takeuchi before giving a negative reply to Tom.

Tom described the whole affair. "That damned Taguchi,

---

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Diary, July 30, 1942. (From untranscribed notes)



what does he know about running the recreation department. That guy's got no sense. You need an older man in the job of coordinator; someone who can see things broadly enough. He says we can't have a dance in one their recreation halls tomorrow because the recreation department sponsors community dances on Saturday nights, and he doesn't want ours to conflict with theirs. I guess he's afraid we'd draw patrons away from their dance. Anyway, he says it's not fair to those in the department who work hard at the job of putting on the dances. But, what the heck, our party wouldn't interfere with theirs. I'm not interested in going to their dance, and I don't think most of the people we invite would be interested. We like to get together, that's all, and if we dance it's only because we're among friends. We even offered to clean up the place afterward. They didn't have to worry one bit about it, but they still won't let us have the hall. God dammit, they don't have any common sense."

From the standpoint of the individuals in the community, it seems unreasonable for the recreation department to restrict personal freedom in recreation by not permitting the use of buildings. The question would obviously not arise in the normal community, but because of the lack of space for individual activity in the relocation centers, individuals are forced to go to those departments which control buildings for various uses. The stand of the recreation department seems illogical to the individual for in the communities from which ~~they~~ he has come, there had never arisen the question of not being permitted to hold a party because some central organization prevented <sup>his</sup> ~~their~~ doing so. On the other hand, the leaders of the recreation department who must constantly deal with the issues developing in their department saw the problem somewhat differently. <sup>1</sup>

"During the course of discussion about relationship of the blocks and wards to the recreation department, I brought out the question raised by Tom Uyeda. Sam Takeuchi, one of the two coordinators, defended his position. Said he, 'We had to tell them they couldn't hold their dance because it conflicted with our own department's community dance.'

---

<sup>1</sup>Miyamoto Diary Notes, August 1, 1942.



I don't think it's fair to the recreation leaders who put in a lot of time getting these dances ready to have others put on dances that conflict with the community dances.' I insisted that spontaneous recreation from the people should be promoted as much as possible; that the recreation department was too formalized to fulfill all the requirements of recreation in the community. Sam seemed troubled by the contrary point of view, but he was adamant in his opinion.

Harry Mayeda came in presently, and I raised the same question with him. Said he, "Yes, I see your point, and I agree with you generally. But the trouble is, the recreation department is responsible for what goes on in the recreation halls, or at least the people hold us responsible. Whenever there's a private dance, we have to send someone from our department to watch that no disturbing conduct takes place. So when there's a community dance going on, we can't spare anyone from our department to oversee the private dances. There's been a lot of criticism already about some of the private dances being held too late into the night, and the criticism isn't directed most immediately to the dancers themselves, but rather to us in the recreation department. It was because we were unable to send anyone from the department to a private party on Saturday night that we told Tom Uyeda he could have his dance on any other evening but not on Saturday."

It is doubtful that Takeuchi or Taguchi made the arguments to Tom Uyeda for the existence of the policy as clear/as did Mayeda to me, and Tom perhaps had justifiable ground for complaining that the coordinators lacked understanding of their problem. However, in a community of 15,000 people, it hardly seems workable to restrict private dances on Saturday night, and, in fact, the policy has been altered more recently to permit private dances on the same nights as community dances. The criticism of dances which was, at one time, quite open has now become somewhat latent in the conservative Issei groups of the community, and the pressure of responsibility which burdened the recreation department at the time of Uyeda's request has relaxed noticeably since then.

It is not alone with reference to dances, however, that the disagreements concerning the use of recreation halls exist. When the adult education program was first established, there was heavy



demand for the use of recreation halls by adult education classes and minor conflicts arose between Ted Waller and Dr. Francis of adult education. There were further appropriations of recreation halls for classroom use by the public school. To remove the increasing difficulties that were arising under the existing method of assigning recreation halls in the recreation department, Mr. Fleming, head of community services, placed the office of building assignment directly under himself such that all the departments under him now have equal access to the buildings.

Even more persistent, however, has been the conflicting relationships between the recreation department which controls the recreation halls and their use centrally, and the block managers who must care for the individual recreation halls. Block people who desire to use their block's recreation hall sometimes find themselves in conflict with community activities that are assigned to their hall. The recreation department frequently requests the block managers to act as custodian and caretaker of the block recreation halls and its equipment, but some refuse to be bothered with the stream of persons who inquire for the key to the hall. To alleviate these difficulties, the recreation department established two committees for the purpose of ironing out the problems. The first was the Recreation Commission which is represented by commissioners from each ward and whose function it is to relate the demands of the people in their respective wards and blocks to the activities of the department, but this body has met only in a desultory manner and has not been effective in communicating the wishes of the people to the central organization. The



Other group is the coordinators whose function is to settle disputes between the Issei and Nisei and also to promote harmonious relations between the department and the blocks and wards. Although the work of the coordinators has not always been successful, as we have witnessed in the incident cited above, the existence of the committee as a place of appeal for the people and the blocks has aided in dissolving some of the persistent difficulties innate in the relationship of a central organization which is not always coordinated with the individual blocks.



I Introduction

II History

III Administrative Org.

IV Collective Adjustments

a. Social Structure

b. Social Institutions c. Other Group Adjustments

d. Tule Lake Customs

e. Elementary Collective Behavior

V Personal Adjustments

VI Maladjustments & Social Conflicts

VII Problems for Research.



Bolt

# ARRIVALS TO AND DEPARTURES FROM TULELAKE RELOCATION PROJECT

<u>FROM</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>ARRIVALS</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
Puyallup	May 27	197	197
Portland	27	250	447
Medford	June 1	38	485
Oregon	2	249	734
Washington	3	339	1073
	4	307	1380
Clarksburg	6	482	1861
	15		1911
Walerga	16	498	2409
	17	504	
	18	512	
	19	494	
	20	477	
	21	499	
	22	509	
	23	512	
	24	545	
	27	85	6540
Arboga	25	520	
	26	499	
	27	488	
	28	490	
	29	397	9038
	July 1		9038
Salinas	4	105	9166
Onico	10	319	9523
Lincoln	11	440	9963
Marysville	12	580	10551
Lincoln	13	387	10942
	15		10947
Pinedale	16	499	11446
	17	503	11900
	18	508	12478
	19	515	
	20	513	
	21	515	
	23	510	
	24	446	14983
	31		15020
	Aug. 15		15080
	Aug. 30		15170
North Portland	Sept. 4	75	
	10		15276 (peak)



# ARRIVALS TO AND DEPARTURES FROM--2

<u>FROM (TO)</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>DEPARTURES</u>	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>
Utah	Sept. 11	50	
Idaho	14	48	
Montana	14	52	
Montana	15	50	
Idaho	16	48	
Montana	16	41	
Idaho	18	42	
Montana	18	49	
Idaho	20	45	
Idaho	22	52	
Montana	22	26	
Idaho, Oregon	24	48	
Montana	24	28	
	30		14,648
Klamath	Octo 2	20	
	Oct. 3		14,628

Major Arrivals and departures,

Taken from the Housing Division records.

October 3, 1942



*myamoto*

TOTAL COLONISTS RECEIVED  
TULELAKE RELOCATION PROJECT

JULY 29, 1942

<u>FROM</u>	<u>TOTAL RECEIVED</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Walerga- Sacramento, Calif.	4,668	31.0
Pinedale - Fresno, Calif.	4,009	26.7
Arboga - Marysville, Calif.	2,452	16.3
Lincoln - Calif.	827	5.5
Washington	646	4.3
Marysville, Calif.	583	3.9
Clarksburg, Calif.	482	3.2
Chico, Calif.	319	2.1
North Portland A.C. - Oregon	271	1.8
Oregon	249	1.7
Camp Harmony - Puyallup, Wash.	212	1.4
Salinas, Calif.	112	.7
Medford, Oregon	38	
Idaho	30	
Tanforan - San Bruno, Calif.	20	
Others	103	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	15,021	100%



*Myanats*

POPULATION  
OF  
TULELAKE RELOCATION PROJECT

JULY 29, 1942

Total Colonists Received  
Births

15,021  
14

---

15,035

Less:  
Departures  
Deaths

10  
6

---

16

---

TOTAL

15,019



Bale

## BREAKDOWN BY STATES OF COLONISTS RECEIVED

## TULELAKE RELOCATION PROJECT

JULY 29, 1942

<u>FROM</u>	<u>NO. OF PERSONS</u>	<u>TOTAL RECEIVED</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>			
Walerga, Sacramento	4,668		
Arboga, Marysville	2,452		
Lincoln	827		
Marysville	583		
Clarkburg	482		
Chico	319		
Salinas	112		
Tanforan, San Bruno	20		
Fresno	17		
Sacramento	16		
Merced	15		
Santa Anita	6		
Sharp Park	6		
Del Rey	5		
Tulare	4		
Selma	4		
Orange Cove	4		
Auburn	4		
Palermo	2		
Oakland	1		
		9,547	63.5%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>			
Pinedale, Calif.	4,009		
Washington	646		
Camp Harmony, Puyallup	212		
Olympia	1		
		4,868	32.4%
<b>OREGON</b>			
North Portland	271		
Oregon	249		
Kedford	38		
		558	3.7%



Bale

AGE GROUPS  
OF PERSONS RECEIVED  
TULELAKE RELOCATION PROJECT  
May 27, 1942 - Sept. 18, 1942

Age Group	Males	Females	Total
0-5	610	608	1218
6-10	564	546	1110
11-15	768	807	1575
16-20	1365	1256	2621
21-25	979	993	1972
26-30	648	529	1177
31-35	312	229	541
36-40	371	320	691
41-45	417	493	910
46-50	222	508	730
51-55	558	333	891
56-60	587	182	769
61-65	588	107	695
66-70	260	52	312
71-75	75	11	86
76-80	25	5	30
Total	8349	6979	15,328 *

\* Total figure does not include:  
1 male 83 years of age  
1 female 86 years of age



*Myamoto*

\* AGE DISTRIBUTION  
OF PERSONS RECEIVED  
TULELAKE RELOCATION PROJECT  
MAY 27, 1942 - SEPT. 18, 1942

(Source: Original Housing Forms)

Age	Male	Female	Total	Age	Male	Female	Total
1	219	238	457	41	83	86	169
2	88	103	191	42	113	101	214
3	100	98	198	43	87	102	189
4	108	94	202	44	75	116	191
5	95	75	170	45	59	88	147
6	104	87	191	46	53	110	163
7	107	113	220	47	49	97	146
8	112	110	222	48	46	118	164
9	123	113	236	49	38	92	130
10	118	123	241	50	36	91	127
11	119	140	259	51	55	62	117
12	145	132	277	52	96	78	174
13	173	157	330	53	140	70	210
14	151	185	336	54	139	51	190
15	180	193	373	55	128	72	200
16	236	230	466	56	89	46	135
17	240	258	498	57	116	32	148
18	277	252	529	58	131	45	176
19	296	266	562	59	139	32	171
20	316	250	566	60	112	27	139
21	303	247	550	61	112	25	137
22	197	221	418	62	138	27	165
23	177	197	374	63	121	20	141
24	151	185	336	64	125	23	148
25	151	143	294	65	92	12	104
26	178	143	321	66	65	13	78
27	134	116	250	67	78	16	94
28	127	116	243	68	42	12	54
29	123	80	203	69	48	5	53
30	86	74	160	70	27	6	33
31	76	50	126	71	16	0	16
32	59	46	105	72	20	5	25
33	53	54	107	73	13	3	16
34	60	43	103	74	15	3	18
35	64	36	100	75	11	0	11
36	52	49	101	76	12	1	13
37	71	62	133	77	4	2	6
38	79	67	146	78	5	1	6
39	91	61	152	79	2	0	2
40	78	81	159	80	2	1	3
				83	1	0	1
				86	0	1	1
Total					8350	6980	15,330

\* Age given at time of registration.